

Master Thesis

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Changes within the Norwegian mentality since July 22, 2011

A Study of how the terror attacks
on July 22, 2011 have changed
certain aspects of the Norwegian culture



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Abstract

In 2011 Norway experienced its first action of terror in peacetime. The response to this was very positive and admirable. The world looked on in awe as they watched a country in the grips of terror come together and create love out of something so negative.

As time passed, this initially positive attitude shifted, especially in the country of Norway. Although all of the right steps were taken in terms of creating this experience a positive one, most saw this as Norway's chance to update some of their systems that were lacking efficiency. The proper wheels were set in turn to find these weaknesses, but the changes were not made after the problems became clear.

Now, almost two years after the attacks, Norway is at a standstill and the people are getting anxious to see the changes made that they see necessary in order to be properly prepared if something of that magnitude was to happen again. The originally quiet, relaxed society is starting to speak out about their worries and views. Therefore, this thesis will bring you through the initial reaction to the country and how that reaction has changed. This while determining if Norwegian politician Per Olaf Lundteigen was correct in stating that the country is in need of a change in the culture of its leadership.

In spite of the changes being made, they are coming quite slow and some of the simpler ones are not being made, creating an irritation within the society and causing them to speak out about their unhappiness; something that has not been characteristic of their culture before.

Dedication

I would like to thank both my family and friends for their support throughout the process of writing this. For putting up with me through the ups and downs that come along with a project like this and understanding my needs throughout, even if they did not understand the reasoning behind them. I could not have done it without their support.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to sort out some aspects of Norwegian culture in relation to how the nation reacted to the attacks that took place on July 22, 2011. It starts out with the immediate responses and then it moves on to consider how the reactions changed in the time after the terrorist attacks. The main focus is to see how some aspects of Norwegian culture pertaining to matters of trust has changed after the nation “lost its innocence”, as a consequence of the first major peace time terror attack on Norwegian soil.

In the remainder of the introduction I will give the background for this thesis in detail (1.1) and state my hypothesis. This will pertain to traceable changes that the terrorist attacks has led to relating to key aspects of Norwegian culture as a whole and what can be called Norway’s “culture of trust” (1.2). After, the content and argument of the thesis will be outlined (1.3)

1.1 Background

Being an American with Norwegian heritage, I grew up with many Norwegian traditions instilled in me. Most immigrants chose to abandon their cultures upon entering the United States when they immigrated. In this situation, their culture would mostly be pertaining to their language. They did this in order to become real Americans. They also slowly phased out some of their holiday and everyday traditions as well, but this is much harder to track than the loose of language. This also would have partly been due to the fact that not only did they want to be more American, but resources available to them did not allow them to practice their regular traditions any longer. This lack of interest in one’s heritage in the United States is fairly common, but it seems that it is more and more common that the generations now are taking an interest and claiming that culture that was lost however many generations ago. Due to members in my family having an interest in preserving certain traditions from the ‘motherland,’ various Norwegian traditions central in my upbringing. This thus sparked my general interest in the culture and history of Norway.

Having come to the country a few years prior to the attacks as an outsider, I was able to see how things functioned on many different levels, whether those levels be social, political or how Norwegians handled themselves when it came to security. When I first came to Norway, the low level of security and high level of trust in the people surprised me. Coming from the United States, it was a big change. It was also one of the things that made me fall in love with the country. For Norwegians, the systems and procedures they have in place are normal, so to see these from an outsider's perspective gave me more, or at least a different insight into them. Being in the country at the time of the attack and being able to see the reactions of the population as they happened was what really sparked an interest in the topic. Ultimately because of the sense of awe I got as I watched a country that was not nearly prepared for something so catastrophic to happen, pull together and become a stronger, more open people. This especially because I come from a country that has been through a deal of terrorist attacks itself and not had nearly the positive reaction Norway did. I had seen that look of shock and disbelief on people's faces before and through my previous experience, I was expecting a wave of hate and a thirst for revenge.

When the news came out about what was happening in Oslo, and then even more shocking, the shooting on *Utøya*, I was prepared for a reaction similar to the reactions I had seen before. But the reaction I was prepared for was not the general reaction to the population in general. Through my previous experiences with terrorist attacks, I had seen hate and revenge as the main repercussions to such an event. Thus, letting the assailant, or the group of terrorists, ultimately attain their goal. This is not what was witnessed here in Norway. In the hours and days after the attacks, a country that pulled together was witnessed. There was a big show of a great deal of strength, love and openness within the country. In a time that it, in reality, would have been socially acceptable to react in a way that is normally unfavorable, the nation really pulled it together and showed what the Norwegian society is really made of.

I had expected a reaction of wanting revenge, or something along the lines of a wave of negativity that spread across the population, changing their positive state of mind, and thus many policies and cultural norms in a dire way. A great deal of people expected those things to happen, including the assailant. The world was surprised and mistaken to assume such a thing. Although there are a few out there that this did stir up some feeling of hatred

and discrimination, the majority chose to use this experience in a positive way as they looked at the future of their culture and country. In the end, using the attack as a tool that exposed their weaknesses and then determining how they could work towards bettering the society as a whole, highlighting and increasing the things they held, and still hold, as important to their culture, while at the same time finding ways to eliminate, or lessen their own weaknesses and faults.

In light of the international reactions to the atrocity, this was arguably one of the best ways a country could react to something of this magnitude happening. When such problems or situations arise, people or in this case, an entire nation, are not thinking about how others view them, and thus their true character can be assessed. In a crisis a person does not have the time or energy to mask one's true self because he or she is trying to solve the problem at hand, not think about how their actions are perceived or affecting others. The way Norway reacted, by embracing the positive side of things and not focusing on the negative, it showed their true colors. Not only that, but the country took all of the proper advances in admitting that there were some weaknesses on the day of the attacks and investigating them. To embrace their strengths while at the same time taking the proper measures to minimize the weaknesses that were made clear under the attacks showed that they acknowledged their weaknesses and did not just brush them under the rug in some sort of dilution that they do no wrong. To acknowledge one's weaknesses is one of the biggest strengths one can have. This is something the world saw. After taking all of the right steps in reacting and preparing the way for the proper changes, this was Norway's chance to modernize some of their out-of-date laws, security precautions and other such areas.

The first weeks, and soon after that months, went by after the attacks. It seemed that things went pretty much back to normal in Norway. Although the attacks were not forgotten, people went back to their everyday lives, and it did not appear as if these changes that seemed almost necessary for Norway to join the modern day world were going to happen. Thus, my initial response of awe and astonishment turned to disappointment because the country was leaving themselves open for something similar to happen again, or so it seemed to me, without taking the proper precautions to be more prepared than the last time. It was hard to understand why the authorities would not make the changes to increase security, etc. Especially after the investigations of how the events were handled by

the different groups who assisted produced their reports. The work was done for the police, the government and other groups. All they had to do was change what was already proven not to work efficiently. How could those responsible for the safety of the nation just decide to stay, on one level, so vulnerable? Did they not learn anything from the attack? It is of course impossible to stop all such things from happening, but to not even try to update some of the simpler precautions to avoid new attacks or to become more effective when it came to handling such an event seemed a bit under dramatic. That is why this topic became so appealing to me, awakening me to the idea that the change may need to be in the culture of leadership when reading how Per Olaf Lundteigen felt that the solution was a shift in the Norwegian leadership culture: "This country and culture seemed in need of a change, but what type of change I was unsure of. Upon doing my research on the topic, I came across what change Norway needed, a change in its leadership culture."¹ This notion may seem strange since, among others, the Prime Minister was hailed for his leadership after the attacks, but the meaning behind this will be explored in the following.

1.2 Statement

Here is my hypothesis as to why, in Norway, one has been so slow in making the changes to increase the level of security: *In Norway one has been hesitant to change certain things pertaining to issues of security because the Norwegians are afraid that it will turn their culture and society into something that it is not, something that they are not partial to.* This is a pointed formulation on my part, which aims at putting in relief the fact that most Norwegians seem to *not* want to lose that openness and democratic spirit within their culture that became so evident in the time after the attacks July 22, 2011. As Americanized/westernized as Norway currently is, it still has preserved the key values that make its culture recognizable as Norwegian culture, something which will be discussed later.

This attitude, with the key values at its base, also point to one of the main reasons why this country is so appealing to foreigners, at least from my point of view. Namely the trust and openness Norwegians have and offer. One good reason behind why they did not

¹ Per Olaf Lundteigen [my translation] See: <http://www.senterpartiet.no/meny-forside/det-trengs-ny-ledelseskultur-og-styrka-beredskap-paa-grunnplanet-article80028-12919.html>

change a large number of laws and security measures directly after the attacks was because they did not want to rid themselves of this feeling and the innocence that the country had prior to the attack. If the country loses *that*, one could claim, then the entire culture changes, and so the majority of the population would like to hold on to that special feeling and the core values at its base for as long as possible.

Even more after looking at a topic brought about by Joakim Hammerlin in his book *Terror & demokrati*. The biggest reason behind the change would be the phobia that is growing among people that something bad will happen. In countries with high levels of security, there is a higher sense of fear that something such as a terror attack will happen. Thus, developing even more into a phobia as time passes.² To raise security will put this fear into the Norwegian population, reducing their openness and trust. Here we can bring in the notion that no matter how many forms of security that are put in place, there is no way to stop terror completely. This is where the politicians come in. It is their job to choose the proper forms, even levels, of security for the country while still maintaining this important aspect of their culture. This predisposition for permanence, stability and harmony within Norway as a nation will be discussed in further extent in the section on change within Norway (chapter five).

The reaction of the Norwegian people was very positive until about a year after the attacks. They were satisfied with what had been done within the country so far and were supporting their leaders in what steps they were taking to move forward after the attacks. After this point, one can observe the frustration escalate; this in turn shifting the reaction from a positive to a negative one. Especially after the fall of 2012, over a year after the attacks, after the July 22nd Commission, which will be explained in chapter five, published their findings and made their suggestions and the people with the responsibility seemed to sit on the findings without taking much action to better the aspects of the Norwegian system that were criticized. When the few who dared make a statement about it did, the blame game started amongst the politicians. Upon the New Year, 2013, the shift in attitude among the population is very apparent when following the media. The population wants to see results, and they are now becoming vocal about this and the fact that their once positive attitude to the politicians actions in regards to this specific event has changed.

² HAMMERLIN, J. (2011) p. 110

In light of the above hypothesis, it is the purpose of this thesis is to highlight some detectable changes to a key aspect of Norwegian culture in consideration of the terrorist attacks that were carried out by Anders Behring Breivik on July 22, 2011. The things that were happening within the country as a reaction to the attack were very interesting in comparison to reactions to other countries in which similar events have happened.

Therefore, this thesis brings up the following question:

What can explain the detectable changes that have taken place within the Norwegian mentality since July 22, 2011?

The noticeable change that has occurred can that the present time be can in brief be characterized as a shift in the mentality of affirmation and patience to that of criticism and impatience. According to my hypothesis this shift hinges off of a specific cultural factor, the fear of losing the relatively high level of trust and openness in Norway. What is therefore being called for, by Lundteigen and others, is a change in leadership culture.

The topic of Norwegian leadership culture is a complex one, especially if it is seen as not only a matter of political leadership but also as a pervasive problem in the Norwegian society taken as a whole, in the manner of Lundteigen. Some criticize it for being naïve; others are satisfied with how their country is being lead. In general, the Norwegian population is quite relaxed and not necessarily proactive when it comes to changing things or taking action in changing them unless deemed absolutely necessary. That is why it has been interesting to watch the population become active in lobbying to get the changes they feel necessary to be made. The public was not as vocal with their opinions before, and they are slowly waking and making their voices heard within the political spectrum of Norway. Mostly of topic are the changes that the public feels should have been made, but have not, in the time after the attacks July 22, 2011. This could bring up many different notions in regards to reasons why this is, but in the perspective at hand, Norway is in need of a change in leadership culture.

1.3 Outline

This thesis first goes into a brief explanation of theory and method (chapter 2) before establishing what the Norwegian culture was prior to the attacks and how it has changed in a certain extent in regards to 'the Norwegian culture of trust.' Chapter three touches on the background of Norwegian and the attacks themselves. Thus making the Norwegian culture clear for those who do not have much knowledge of the culture or why it is the way it is, and giving reasoning behind why the attacks happened, even though it is hard for the average person to wrap their head around such an event happening. In doing this, each reader, no matter what their previous knowledge of Norwegian culture or the attacks themselves, will have a window into how the Norwegian culture was before and be able to see themselves just how much it changed.

After the introduction into the Norwegian culture and the attacks, chapter four will bring the reader through what happened the day of the attacks, how Norway reacted and how the world reacted to the news of terror hitting Norway. These topics are important in seeing the shift I have described. This leads then into the question of how Norway will obtain that key aspect of their culture discussed throughout this thesis, trust. Certain changes might lead to it being affected – and to what degree – by a possible change in its “culture of trust”. In doing this, shift in the reaction to the population from positive to negative will be shown. Chapter five will then take the reader through some changes that have been made since/because of the attacks, but show the areas that are lacking and what the Norwegian political system has done to change, or not to change. Finally, chapter six will contain the conclusion.

The argument throughout this will be that the Norwegian culture is in need of a change in regards to its leadership culture. The reasoning behind this being that although the country as a whole denounced the message the terrorist tried to spread through his actions that day by spreading positivity, openness, tolerance and democracy instead of negative things initially, there has been a shift in the reaction. This shift, despite the above mentioned things being held dear to the Norwegian culture, is due to a general increase in dissatisfaction and impatience within the Norwegian society with their leaders in my point of view. Although the politicians seemed to be taking the correct steps in changing the society

Merknad [iMe1]: The outline should follow the order of the table of content, which means that you must also mention issues of “theory and method” in the outline of your introduction. Example:

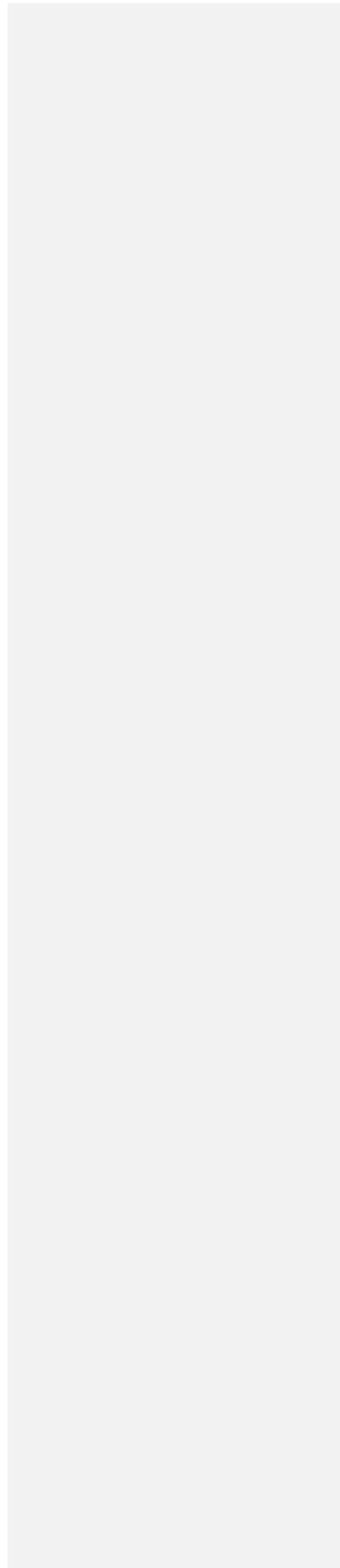
“The thesis starts with some brief remarks on ‘theory and method’ (chapter 2) before it goes ahead with the issue at hand, i.e. certain detectable changes in ‘the Norwegian culture of trust’. Chapter three gives a handful of clues as to how Norway has become what it is and what the Norwegian culture was before the terror attacks touched the country. ...”

and outdated systems initially so that it becomes a safer and more secure environment in Norway in regards to such attacks, the follow through is not present. Consequently, some Norwegians, Lundteigen among them, see a need in the culture of leadership in Norway to change. Even if supporting this means a change within the Norwegian culture, but with the premise of conserving the culture in the long run.

Despite the claims of things not being changed that should be and that Norway and its society have gone back to a “normal life;” this would be used to describe the state of the country and its culture before the attacks happened, it must be addressed that Norway has changed. Any type of act like those committed on July 22, 2011 changes a society. Even if the public is going about like it did before, the awareness level, its attitude and way of thinking have changed to a certain extent. This comes to the fore in an article produced by VG on October 22, 2011. It is stated that: The terror attack of July 22' 2001 have made Norwegians more frightened and more aware of potential dangers.³ The article goes on explaining the reasons why this has affected the society and what groups have been affected the most by use of statistics from a study done of Norwegians in the time after the attacks. This clearly indicates the changes in the society because of the attacks, but the purpose of this thesis is not to say that there have been no changes since the attacks. The purpose is to discuss that some of the changes that were proven to be necessary within the society and culture through studying the attacks and how they were handled have not been made due to lack of follow through on the politicians part.

³ UTHEIM, E. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=1002884>

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Chapter 2: Perspective and Research Methods

2.1 Perspective

As previously stated, as a foreigner I have been able to somewhat uniquely experience the reaction of Norway to the catastrophic events on July 22, 2011. Being not only a foreigner with the connection I do to Norway, but to be in the country at the time of the attacks and succeeding the attack has left me with a kind of double perspective: I have lived in Norway for a while, I have studied Norwegian culture and I am an advocate of preserving the traditional Norwegian culture and language, but I can also analyze the culture and its systems from an outsiders perspective.

Applying to the Cultural Studies master in Bø was a way for me to expand on my previously attained degree in Scandinavian Studies. In the program, one can make it what he or she wants through choosing subjects that are of interest to the student. It is also pretty open as to what you can choose to write about. There are therefore people of many different interests and educational backgrounds in the program. There are political students, art students, music students and students like myself that have a background in a specific culture.

Because of my interest in the Norwegian culture I knew I wanted to write about some aspect of it before even entering a foot in the classroom. A month before I started classes, the attacks on July 22, 2011 happened. I watched as the nation picked up the pieces in the aftermath. I was fascinated by its strength and perseverance. That a nation could react so positively to something so negative was astounding. I then knew I wanted to write about it.

Initially I was going to write about how positively the nation responded. As the months passed, my astonishment faded as I watched the nation seemingly forget about what had happened and make little change in regards to become more prepared for something of such mass to happen again. It was on one had great that a nation could be so unaffected by such an event, but the weaknesses within their systems were visible after the attacks and there seemed to be no forward movement in minimizing these weaknesses either. I decided therefore to write about how security had not really changed since the

attacks and planned on talking to politicians about how they felt about the changes that had made and what needed to be changed in the future. That topic was later denied by the program head because of it having little to do with any cultural aspect of Norway. I chose to keep the topic of July 22, 2011 and went with it.

When I started writing, I was unsure of where the topic would go. Since recently being denied to go in a direction I had thought was my passion, I was not sure what would come to me after that. My thought then was to go in the direction of how the culture itself had changed since the attacks. After writing about the culture before the attacks and about the attacks, the dissatisfaction of the Norwegian people started popping up in the media. This sparked my new interest. Suddenly my topic became not how the culture had changed, but how the reaction of the people had shifted, much like the shift in reaction I had had. To watch the generally quiet and outspoken Norwegians come forth and express their discontent was quite interesting.

Through all of that my thesis became about the shift in reaction amongst the people in Norway. Most important would be the statement I read from Per Olaf Lundteigen. Although I am an advocate of preserving Norwegian culture, I see that there are weaknesses within its society now that can be strengthened without losing the culture. I realized a few months after the attacks that the push to change things was not there anymore. I just did not realize what was snagging the process. Per Olaf Lundteigen stated that there was a need for change within the leadership culture and it was then that I knew what that change was. I feel that a change within the culture of leadership will help preserve Norway and its culture in the long run. This is the basis for this thesis, and possibly where it connects with the tradition of cultural studies, this by way of its critical focus on a particular cultural aspect of a society, which has to do with power, and with a perception of a "change to the better." Instead of going into a highly in depth theoretical discussion of different perspectives and approaches, I try to attain this critical focus in my analysis of various features of the Norwegian culture of trust in relation to July 22, 2011. As a result, the discussion of the various critical points takes place as the analysis continues.

2.2 Research Methods

The method of research I have used in this process is observational research. I have used media as the main source and collected articles starting after the attack and stopping a year after the attacks. Also, a big part in the overall direction of this thesis has to do with many comments by people talking about the topic throughout the time after the attacks. That is people in Norway and people outside of Norway. By this I mean when the topic of the attack comes up and people comment on things without knowing I am studying the topic. It is then that some interesting viewpoints come out. The way they perceived what has happened and the changes Norway has made in the years after has been of great interest. And when those candid opinions come out, it often leads me in a direction of research I did not imagine before.

The method inside of observational research in which I used is cross-sectional study. A cross-sectional design is used for research that collects data on relevant variables one time only from a variety of people, subjects, or phenomena. The data is collected all at the same time (or within a short time frame). This is the method I have chosen because I have chosen to study the culture of a specific group of people over a specific time period. The culture of Norway, or the Norwegian population, and how its reaction has shifted from the time immediately following the attacks to now, almost two years after the attacks.

The media source I have chosen as my primary source use a popular internet newspaper here in Norway called VG. VG is an acronym for *Verdens Gang*, which means World Times in English. VG Nett, where I derived most of my information, is the biggest internet newspaper in Norway.⁴ Throughout the time following the attacks I have followed their seemingly constant stream of articles on the topic very informative. I chose to use VG because it followed many aspects within the topic of attack and what sorts of ripple effects were caused throughout the years following the attack. They also made the information very easy to access by having a link that lead to all of the articles pertaining to the topic.⁵ As a result of its popularity and ease of access, it was became my primary source for information. Because VG covered the topic so well, I did not feel it necessary to actively search in other

⁴ Wikipedia. (2012) See: http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verdens_Gang

⁵ SANDEMOSSE, A. (1933) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/>

newspapers. There were times that I would come across an interesting article, and because of this I do have a few articles from other internet newspapers, but VG covered everything so well that I did not actively search other newspapers. The information in the other newspapers was much of the same that was being distributed by VG that it was not essential to utilize extra time to go through other sources.

I have used books as a secondary source. Due the proximity of the attacks, there is not yet an abundance of literature published on the topic thus far. I was surprised to find as many books as I did, but still relied on the media for most of my information.

As well as reading books, I found useful information in the politicians' speeches in the days, weeks and months after the attack. They were very good at underlining what they felt was important for the Norwegian population, as well as informing the people of what changes they felt were necessary after such a thing happening.

With these as major sources for information, a compilation has been created. Taking into account the initial reaction of the country, reactions of other countries and what has changed within the country in regards to the overall attitude of Norwegians, how their culture has been affected by their change in attitude and what has been changed politically and judicially because of that that happened on the day of the attack. A drawback of using the media as my main source was definitely I was then only to retrieve information of areas that the media chose to focus on. An example of this was my initial response to Pedersen fleeing. This was not brought up in the media until almost a year after the attacks. This example will be discussed more thoroughly later.

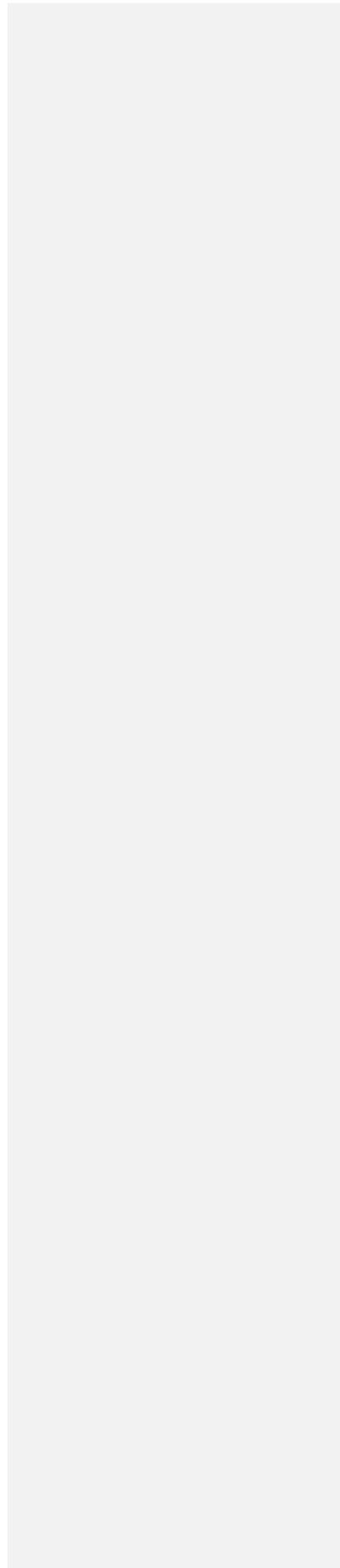
Another drawback was that I was studying the topic as things unfolded. Thus, when I started my project, the views were a great deal different than that they are now. When I started writing I was writing about a very different aspect. Then, as things unfolded and my interested took me to other aspects of the attacks, it became that of what it has become.

With this in mind there are many different standpoints to be taken and studied within this topic. There are many different perspectives to be taken and that a person can use to help explain what happened that day in Norway. I was lucky to find a good book about the different perspectives. This book being *Akademiske perspektiver på 22. juli*

(Academic perspectives of July 22nd [my translation]) by Anders Ravik Jupskås. In it does not only discuss the different perspectives that can be taken in trying to understand why the attack happened, but also perspectives of how the country should move forward after such events.

As an additional point, there has not been a lot of information given out, or articles written about containing the details of the attacks in English. The bulk of this information is rightfully in Norwegian, but to get information about how the society reacted changed and remained so great is a message I feel deserves to be put out there in a way that more than five million people can read. I have myself seen an interest in the attacks from people that do not speak Norwegian and think it is important for them to have access to the information not only about the attacks if they are interested, but about the society and how it has remained strong, open and caring in a trying time and what has happened since the day Norway lost its innocence. That way the information will be available for many more people if they so choose to explore the topic.

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Chapter 3: The Background

There are many different ways to define and perceive culture. Each person may have a different perspective as to what makes up a culture. The view of Norwegian culture can vary from person to person due to knowledge and/or which area of Norway a person is from or has visited. In this thesis, I have a view of Norwegian culture as seen in my perspective through my studies and my experiences as a base. This view will be connected to the tradition of cultural studies and how cultural identity plays a big role in this perspective; cultural studies being an academic tradition that explores the production and inculcation of maps of meaning and cultural identity being the unfolding of these meanings linked to self-nomination or ascription by others.⁶ The aspects of Norwegian culture that I touch upon in this chapter and the following ones are by no means extensive, but they are meant to contribute to the task of understanding what I have called the Norwegian culture of trust and also the Norwegian leadership culture. The point is not to define what culture *is* but to highlight some aspects of contemporary Norwegian culture and society in relation to the attacks that took place on July 22, 2011.

The chapter will then include the background and reasoning of the attacks. The rationale behind this would be to give outsiders a look into why the attacks actually happened and thus help form their opinions of why the reactions were of what they were and why they have become what they have in the time after the attacks. Additionally, it helps encompass some of the perspective reasoning behind the hesitance of the politicians to change in certain aspects.

3.1 Janteloven

After World War Two, Norway has in general had a very peaceful history. It has not been the leader in any war and has managed to stay somewhat neutral in most of the wars in which it has been involved in. Thus, when something along of the nature of the terror attacks on July 22, 2011 came up, the country was not necessarily prepared for it.

⁶ BARKER, C. (2008) p. 476

The culture has also been shaped a great deal by something called the jante's law, known as *janteloven*.⁷ This is a law that has ten parts. All in all, it states that no specific person is better than another person so they should thus not act like as if they are, or try to be better than anyone else for that matter. They should also not think they are special for some reason. It was part of a Norwegian novel by Aksel Sandemose describing the culture of the Scandinavian countries. At the time it was used to describe a town in which most were from the same class, but was it was later generalized to social groups.⁸

This was very present in the culture from the thirties until recently. Although some may see it as a hindrance to those who have special talents, it also creates an equal environment where people are not judged by their profession or wages. While it is not as dominant as it was before due to global structural and ideological forces, it is still apparent that it is part of the culture today.⁹ The equality has thrived in the Norwegian culture especially.¹⁰ Thus, leaving people more at ease and accepting of one another. This aspect of the foundation of culture in Norway is highlighted as to help support points throughout this thesis.

3.2 The Modern Day Norwegian Culture

3.2.1 Immigration and a Multicultural Norway

With that as a background of the Norwegian culture, in the modern day it has become much more mainstream and multicultural. There is an ever-present influence from America because of its huge role in popular culture. There is also an ongoing debate as to whether the larger amount of immigration to the country since the 1980s has influenced the Norwegian culture in a negative way or if it has just made it better. It has definitely influenced the culture nonetheless.

⁷ SANDEMOSE, A. (1933) See: <http://www.iusshjelp.com/janteloven.htm>

⁸ WIKIPEDIA. (2013) See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_of_Jante

⁹ MAAGERØ, E. and SIMONSEN, B. (2008) p. 179

¹⁰ Ibid p. 14

There are not presently any strong requirements for immigrants to assimilate themselves into the Norwegian culture. Immigrants are currently, for the most part; free to practice whatever religion they see fit and follow most of their cultural traditions no matter what culture they come from. Aside from a big debate a few years back about whether it should be allowed for women to wear a hijab at their place of work or not, requiring immigrants to change themselves by changing their traditions upon arrival to this country has not been largely opposed. In fact, it seems like a great deal of Norwegians find it refreshing to share their neighborhood with people from other backgrounds to learn and experience new things.¹¹ This is something that the assailant on July 22, 2011 was aiming to change.

On the interesting position of Norwegian culture in a period of immigration is the position of Jonas Gahr Støre. Jonas Gahr Støre was the former Minister of Foreign Affairs in Norway and the current Minister of Health and Care Services. Støre's position is that Norway will become a new and bigger Norway through the influence of the immigrants.¹² This is perhaps the dominant liberal view. It says that people who try to hold onto that traditional Norwegian culture without the influence of other worldly cultures, or more precisely, areas they perceive as unfit as an influence, will just grow bitter. They will grow bitter because now, with the technologies we have readily available to us today, it is impossible to close out influences from other countries and other cultures. Accordingly, if one focuses their energy on holding onto the traditional culture instead of embracing the new culture, or at least trying to assimilate some aspects of the 'old' culture into the 'new' culture, they will end up defeated because in this day and age it is debatably impossible to close out other cultures. Because of this, it is more important to accept the way the culture has changed and otherwise focus on keeping up traditions that one finds valuable within their family, or in the community around them. That way, the things one finds important, or more the traditions that one finds important are present even though the culture is different.

In comparison, this is what the Norwegians that immigrated to the United States did. Upon arriving in the United States, the majority wanted to become real American's. They then chose to speak English and adopt the ways of American's in every way possible, except

¹¹ SSB. (2002-2012) See: <http://www.ssb.no/a/kortnavn/innvhold/tab-2012-12-18-01.html>

¹² STØRE, J.G. (2011) See: <http://arbeiderpartiet.no/Aktuelt/Innvandring-og-integrering/Mulighetenes-samfunn>

the major things such as what to eat on holidays and, as proven in my family, the traditions will live on through many generations. Even after five generations of people mixing cultures and living completely American lives, lutefisk and lefse is still served at Christmas in my family. Thus proving the point that new culture's can be embraced while retaining aspects of one's original culture.

There are naturally some who would like to see this change in the future. They would like to maintain what they take to be the pure Norwegian culture. This was integral to the mentality of the attacker on July 22, 2011. He was one of the above mentioned that became bitter because of other cultural influences on Norwegian culture. One of his goals was to put a stop to this multicultural future that Norway has. This brings on the question of if it is even possible to maintain that pure Norwegian culture, especially looking at how much it has already changed the last few decades. As I have mentioned before, the Norwegian culture is greatly influenced by North American culture. In the years I have been here, I have seen more and more things becoming like the systems that the United States has. Whether this is food or television commercials, I have seen Norway following in the footsteps of the US. The modern Norway has thus changed. Since the United States has been one of the leader's in entertainment and pop culture for so long, it has an influence most developed countries. Most Norwegians take for granted that this influence is ever-present in their culture now. It makes it all the more interesting when they criticize other cultural influences as being negative because one cannot pick and choose which cultures are present and influencing ones culture. It does not work that way. Everything from television programming, movies, music and, in turn, everyday life would be greatly affected if just the American cultural influence was removed from present day Norway. It has in some ways lead to the breakdown of jante's law in the culture of Norway.

3.2.2 Typical Norwegian to be Impolite?

Nowadays the Norwegian culture is criticized for being quite cold. An interesting book that shows this would be *Typisk norsk å være uhøflig?: Innvandrere har ordet*. This book consists of contributions by different foreigners with experience with Norwegian culture and contemplates the typical Norwegian culture as being impolite. Norwegian's tend

to keep to themselves when surrounded by strangers. In my experience, once you break that outer shell, so to say, they are some of the nicest people, but getting in their circle initially can be hard, and this outsiders view as negative. This aspect leads them to be quite passive aggressive. They are thus not as vocal about their disapproval with others and accordingly quite passive, in general, when it comes to politics. By this I mean that they are not as vocal about their views because everything will work out in the end. These aspects, along with the previous mentioned aspects make up modern day Norwegian culture in a nutshell, or highlight the aspects that are important to point out in regards to evaluating the culture

3.2.3 Trust does not always equate to Naïve

It was easy to be a critic of the Norwegian societal values before the attacks, especially from an outsider's point of view. Looking at the culture and the systems it has in place from the outside, the Norwegians could simply be too lazy to change their current system, or not even realize the need for it. But after the attacks, when the country came together and, as a group, still supported those fundamental and positive beliefs, it was much easier to make sense of it. Norwegians genuinely want that aspect of openness and trust in their society. They want to keep those values as long as possible instead of becoming like other western societies. This meaning that most western societies become more "closed" because of the systems they put in place. This aspect is part of what makes Norway such a desirable and loved country in many people's eyes. The openness and kindness that is shown every day seems so ideal. So why would a country want to lose that?

One reason would of course be the people taking advantage of that openness and kindness. There are many kinds of people out there in the world. There are both those that respect this approach and appreciate it to an extent that they would not take advantage of it because they see its value and want it to continue and those who just use it to their own advantage. On one hand, this approach is admirable because it creates such a nice feeling within the borders of Norway. On the other, one can see those who take advantage of the openness. On a recent trip to Spain, when entering a grocery store, I had to place all of my shopping bags, even my purse into a sealed plastic bag before entering. This is something that would be beneficial to some stores in Norway because there is a high amount of theft.

By doing this, it made the visit a bit less pleasant. One feels victimized to a point that when a worker came by, you felt as if they were checking to see if you had opened the bag and were stealing from them. As if the store had deemed you personally a thief before even walking into the store. It did not create a good atmosphere anyway. Although Norwegian stores may lose more money by not putting procedures like this into place, the atmosphere is much nicer. It is in turn easy to see why the Norwegian population holds this aspect of its culture so dear to them. This is just one example of how security in Norway has changed on a level seen in everyday life.

This approach the Norwegians have taken to form their culture is an approach that would not work for many countries/cultures. To throw love and understanding into the justice and political system would definitely not be effective everywhere either. But here it does work because, in general, the people have an overall respect for each other and the systems put in place.

A lot of this respect comes from that belief that everyone is equal no matter what they do for a living; this being an aspect of jante's law. The difference between the highest and lowest paid has historically not been as high as in other economic systems. This creates less resentment between the classes, as previously mentioned. Some would also say that it creates a sense of laziness within the country as well. If a person can earn enough to live a comfortable lifestyle without having to work hard by getting a higher education or applying themselves more, why should they? Norwegians, although known for being people from one of the best countries to live in around the world, are surely not known for their work ethic. There are even some employers who would rather hire foreigners because they apply themselves more in the work they are hired for, and even at a lower price than a Norwegian would require. The foreign employee's standards of what to accomplish in one hour of work are higher than that of a Norwegians, in part, because the foreign employee feels the stress of succeeding. Norwegians do not have that stress. No matter what, they will be taken care of. If not because they are working, because the government has put several programs in place to take care of them.

This so-called laziness aspect, or underachievement if you will, could be applied to the political system. This could be an underlying factor in why the changes they have

deemed fit after the attacks July 22, 2011 have not been made. This will be discussed later, but as I stated earlier, it is easy to discriminate against the Norwegian culture, or leadership culture to be more precise, and call it naïve being an outsider. I say this because there were many countries that viewed, and currently view, Norway and its leadership culture as naïve because the procedures are not up to date with nowadays needs. After analyzing reasons behind the sluggishness, the leadership culture in Norway is not that fast-acting as others, but there are also surrounding reasons behind it; one of these being the preservation of the Norwegian culture. Not everything is one-sided, but these topics will be discussed in a proceeding chapter. I will now turn to my exposition of the background of the attacks.

3.3 Background of the Attacks

In order to understand the reactions to the attacks and how the culture and society of Norway have changed because of it, it is important to understand why the attack took place in the first place. In this section, a brief explanation of the reasoning behind the attacks will be given. After the reasoning behind the attacks is given, the timeline of the attacks will be illustrated.

3.3.1 Reasons for the Attacks

For years the assailant was unsatisfied with some areas of politics in Norway. After attempting to change this by being politically active at a young age, he quickly found out that his voice was quite small, and that his opinions were not shared by many. He then brought it upon himself to 'save' his country from the evils that are changing it. These evils consisting of religions other than Christianity, immigrants who do not assimilate themselves into the Norwegian culture and influences from other cultures that lead the culture in any way other than the way of a traditional family. A traditional family being defined as a nuclear family in which the man is the dominant figure. An example of these influences, given by the assailant himself, would be the television series *Sex and the City*.¹³ This is because, among other things, the series supports the single life with sex before marriage, and not that traditional sense of a family and that the women are quite independent and strong minded.

¹³ Wikipedia. (2011) See: http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anders_Behring_Breivik

There have been rumors that the assailant was a member of a group with cells throughout Europe that have the same beliefs and will also do something drastic to change the direction that Europe heading. He claims his was the first of many attacks to come. The fact of him being a member of a group of people planning such thing has not yet been proven. Almost two years later there still have been no attacks from this so-called group either so this notion seems to be false.

In addition to the attacks, the assailant also wrote a compendium consisting of about 1,500 pages concerning his ideology. He sent out the file electronically on the day of the attacks.¹⁴ It has in the now been discovered that most of the pages have been copied and pasted into the compendium. It is describing why he did what he did and using different references to try to provoke a reaction from people in an attempt to get them to support his way of thinking.

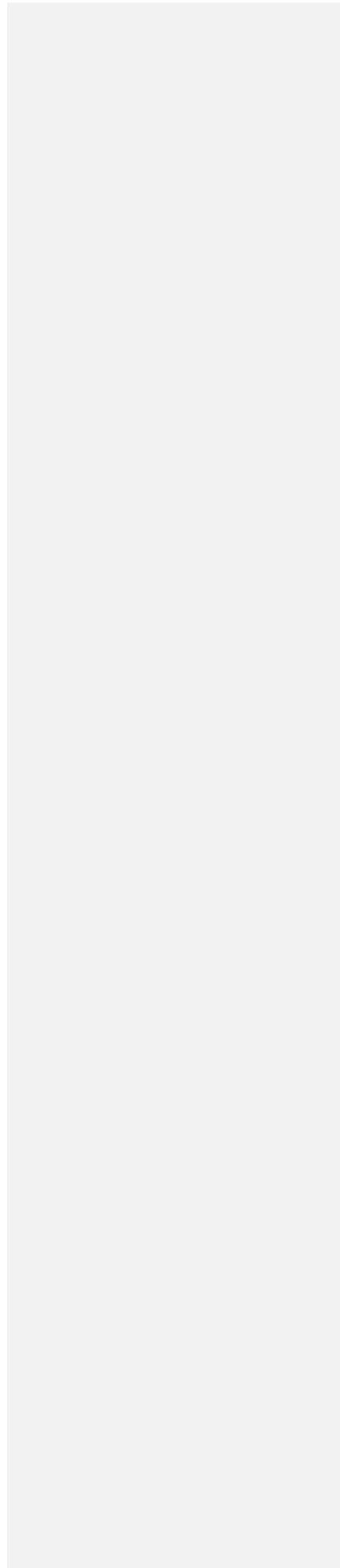
In all, the attacks were a fight against multiculturalism. There are of course some in Norway that agree with what the assailant stood for to a certain extent. Helge Lurås of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs said in a video interview on the day of the attacks in 2011:

We have an increasingly intense and heated debate about immigration. About what immigration is doing to Norwegian culture? That multiculturalism is really not the way to go forward. Marginalized Norwegians feel that their voices are not being heard in the political establishment. That the Norwegian people have never been consulted democratically about whether they want immigration or not. And that the political establishment is a sort of elite that lives in areas which are, to put it that way, are all white. And that it is lower class Norwegians that immigrants are sort of getting in their territories, removing them from their jobs and lowering their salaries etc. And that they have no way of playing the democratic rules.¹⁵

This debate is therefore why the assailant decided to make a move in this direction. So as to push the Norwegian people in a direction that there would be some progress in the direction he wanted it to be in order to 'save' the Norwegian culture.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Helge Lurås See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0LI-STT2pLY&bpctr=1367402785>



3.3.2 Timeline of the Attacks

This section's purpose is to give an inside look as to what happened the day of the attacks. To see the decisions made and to see the initial reactions of the people as the events unfolded; this then giving them a better look into the reaction shift in the end.

The attacks started with a bomb going off in a parking lot to the main government building in Oslo, Norway at 3:25 pm.¹⁶ The bomb was made of fertilizer and placed in a vehicle. The assailant drove the car there, got out and walked calmly to a car he had rented that was parked just meters away. Some minutes later the bomb went off; killing seven people, injuring many more and creating chaos in Oslo. Windows were broken all along the block. Stores were hit badly by the waves, but the death toll was not as high as it could have been because this was just after working hours in a time that most people have vacation in Norway.

After getting into the rented car, the assailant drove towards his next goal, *Utøya*. *Utøya* is an island a distance of about 40 kilometers from Oslo. It has for many years been the destination of many young, politically active Norwegians that are a member of the Youth Labor Party, *AUF*. Every year a summer camp is held for them in which they can participate. The purpose is to network with others of the same political beliefs from all over the country, practice their political beliefs and have a nice time in a political atmosphere.

The point of hitting *Utøya* on this specific day was to kill the previous Prime Minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Brundtland was scheduled to speak to the camp participants that day. The assailant did not agree with Brundtland's political views. Although the assailant had considered other targets, he found this summer camp on *Utøya* to be the best because, in the assailant's eyes, no one on *Utøya* was innocent because they were going to be the new political leaders of Norway soon, and enforce things he was against. In the other targets he had thought of, there would have been innocent, as in innocent defined by the assailant, people that would have died.¹⁷

¹⁶ STORMARK, K. (2011) p. 39

¹⁷ WIKIPEDIA. (2011) See: http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anders_Behring_Breivik

On the originally planned route from Oslo to the island, there was a car accident that stopped traffic. The assailant was therefore forced to drive a different route than originally planned. Because of this, he came too late to the island and the previous Prime Minister, Brundtland, was no longer present on the island. At this point he had to decide if it was still worth it or not. He decided that it was then or never and went ahead with the assassination plans.

Dressed as a policeman, the assailant convinced a ferry to give him a ride over to the island on the grounds that he was a member of the police force sent to make sure everything was safe after what had happened in Oslo. On the way over, there were some suspicions that had been raised about the authenticity of his job position and what he was doing there. Upon arrival to the island, *Mor Utøya*, or Mother Utøya, who was a long time leader of the summer camp and a very well known for her dedication to it and the children who attended it, who had also been with on the ferry ride, went straight up to the security man on the island to share the suspicions she had about the authenticity of his police force status. The assailant decided that it was at that point or never to begin the attack. He then proceeded by taking out his gun and shot both *Mor Utøya* and the security man on the island before starting to head around the island shooting.¹⁸

Up until this point all of the witness's stories match up. After the shooting started, the stories of the people present seem to get scrambled. Some say one thing; others say another and the assailant has later said another thing and what is true is yet, and will always remain a mystery. There seems to be a general consensus in that he just took rounds around shooting at almost everyone. People hid in the woods, in buildings, in rock crevasses and caves for safety. After a bit, there were some that even started swimming.

Authorities were alerted and started to assemble to take the assailant down. Some people in the area got into boats to pick up children, but found it hard to help because of their distrust for everyone. The fact that the assailant was wearing a police uniform really created a high level of distrust for the children and young adults coming from the island. This slowed the rescue process down a bit. The rescue process was also slowed down by problems of overall communication and with the system that the police had put in place to

¹⁸ STORMARK, K. (2011) p. 134

warn other departments in a state of emergency. The police did not get on the scene as quickly as they could have, due to lack of a concrete plan and other things like experience and equipment. Subsequently, the shooting started at around 5:15 pm and the assailant was stopped and arrested at 6:27 pm.¹⁹ He had managed to shoot and kill 69 summer camp employees and participants by that point. This number much smaller than the number he had planned to shoot. The assailant had planned to shoot everyone on the island. That number was close to 600 people.

¹⁹ Ibid p. 136-260

Chapter 4: What Happened

The morning of the attacks, Norway was a country known for its fish, luck in oil, its hot dog eating, skiing and mountain hiking habits. One can also not forget about the colorful history of the Norwegian Vikings that has lived throughout the ages. But after that day, the oil, fish and Viking times would be far from the first thing to pop into people's minds when they thought of Norway any longer. From that day, the nature and rich culture of Norway was tainted in a way beyond repair.

4.1 The Day of the Attack

The biggest topic in the news that day was that Jens Stoltenberg, the Prime Minister, had received a boat as a birthday gift. This was at the top of the list of problems in Norway. There was not anything more scandalous or urgent going on in the country of Norway at the time. Politically, economically and socially, Norway was in a position desired by many, if not most, other countries. No bigger political issues than what to do with the oil money, how to improve the nursing homes in regards to standard of care and size or where to put toll roads and what they should cost.

It was a rainy day and people went about their business as usual. It was a mid-summer day to be enjoyed by all Norwegian citizens in the high point of the vacation period in Norway. Then came the afternoon, the bomb went off in Oslo and a short while later there was a message that there was shooting on *Utøya* as well.

Many people in the areas did what they could to help people in need. In Oslo this meant assisting the people who had been injured in the blast and getting out of the city center in case there was another bomb. Around *Utøya* it meant driving boats to try to help the swimmers to land, waiting on land to help the injured and exhausted survivors that made it to land and later creating a meeting place for them and their families to meet and for those who needed it to get medical attention.

Right away Jens Stoltenberg, the Norwegian Prime Minister, came out and gave a speech to the people. In the speech he stated that Norway should and would not lose its democracy, openness, but also not be naïve.²⁰ This is going to be a hard task. To balance those three things is something that not many, if any, countries have mastered. Many would look at Norway and say that it is naïve in terms of its security systems and overall laws when it comes to crime and punishment that were in place as of July 2011. But before the attacks, the country had not experienced any crime to that level. The system was in turn not prepared to handle something of this size or matter.

Media kept people closely informed all through the day and night as things were happening. The major Norwegian broadcasting channels voided their previously planned programming to host an ongoing news feed of what was happening. The internet newspapers were as well coming out with information constantly. Everyone wanted to watch as the events unfolded. It was not something that happened to someone. It was that this was happening to everyone.²¹

As the day progressed and evening fell, the assailant was arrested and the survivors were sent to a makeshift hospital set up at *Sundvollen Hotel*, a short distance from the island. Those that were critically hurt were sent to where they needed to be for the proper care, but most were sent to *Sundvollen Hotel* to be reunited with their families and recover before returning home. This is also the place most families found out the fate of their loved ones.

Both the King and Queen and the Crowned Prince and Crowned Princess were present at the hotel. Volunteers and police worked well into the night recovering bodies and securing the scene. The country was torn.

4.2 Reactions

A big part of what made Norway so different from other countries in regards to their reaction when terror struck in their country was how much the population came together

²⁰ STOLTENBERG, J. (2011) See: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/smk/aktuelt/taler_og_artikler/statsministeren/statsminister_jens_stoltenberg/2011/sjokkerende-og-feigt.html?id=673127

²¹ SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ. M. (2011) p. 95

and supported each other whether it was through flowers, parades or volunteering. The Norwegian population showed their true nature and culture in such a big way through their reaction. This section will contain reactions to the population as a whole, as well as pinpoint specific reactions to political leaders and some regular citizens in the hours and days after the attacks. It will also show the shift in the reaction of the Norwegian population and of the reactions around the world as time has passed. Norway's reaction was strong and the news of it and the attacks hit worldwide. This section will therefore touch on the reactions around the world as well.

4.2.1 Norway

Initially, Norway's reaction to the attacks impressed many people worldwide. The Norwegians as a population seemed to embrace each other in a way not many other countries which have had similar occurrences take place within their borders. Their reaction was deemed very honorable.

Being from a country that has experienced terrorist attacks, I have seen the devastation it can cause to a population. I had personally expected that seemingly typical reaction of wanting revenge and stopping at little to get that revenge, even if it were to cause more trouble and hate in the end. This expected reaction never came. It was quite the opposite that happened, and a teenager named Helle Gannestad really summed up the reaction of Norway the night of the attack: "If one person can show so much hate, just think of the all the love we can show together"²²

This is what the Norwegian population did. This was its reaction. The nation came together and showed love, openness and togetherness like it never had before. There were many volunteers who aided in the process of cleaning and such. Then in the days after, instead of finding ways of revenge, there were parades arranged to honor those who had been victims of the attacks. There were roses placed to honor them and candles lit. All of these showing love and support. Showing also that the population cared for the people that were lost and proving that their lose would not be in vain because the Norwegian society was not going to become sour and close up, they were going to become more engaged,

²² Helle Gannestad [my translation] in: Mitt lille land

become even closer to the people around them and not succumb to fear, more precisely, the fear the terrorist tried to instill within the Norwegian population and culture. It is positive to look at all of the love that came from the hate that caused the acts of terror. If more love and other positive things come out of them than that in which hate was produced from them, then not everything was lost in the attacks.

As is typical in the aftermath of a terror attack, pictures of the devastation circled through the internet worldwide immediately after the attacks. The difference this time was that there was not just the typical pictures of crying people, broken glass and others of the assailant that were streaming through every media form worldwide after the acts of terror though. There were hundreds, even thousands, of pictures posted of the parades held, the masses of flowers, candles and notes to those that were lost that were posted as well. The Norwegian Prime Minister said: "We want to be a country where people in a critical time take to the streets with flowers and candles to defend democracy."²³ Pictures of the seas of flowers by Oslo Cathedral have more than words could say told people around the world about the average Norwegians reaction to the crimes.²⁴ The positivity and strength was evident and supported what the Prime Minister said he wanted the country of Norway to be like in the time of crisis.

It should be pointed out that not all reactions were positive though. Internationally the results were mixed, as well as in Norway. Although there was that very apparent and overall state of unity, there will always be those who support such radical ideas or jump to conclusions as to who is behind such acts. Even a Norwegian expert on terror, Magnus Ranstorp, and some of his colleagues jumped to the conclusion that it was a foreigner that was behind the events.²⁵ It is a somewhat natural notion looking at the history of the Norwegian people of terror attacks in general. There was nothing of this comparison carried out by a Norwegian in peacetime history. Non-ethnic Norwegians, especially in Oslo, were on the receiving end of many offensive comments, dirty looks and even some spit.²⁶ Even though, when looking at our experience of such events, it is easy to point fingers at certain

²³ Jens Stoltenberg [my translation] See: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/smk/aktuelt/taler_og_artikler/statsministeren/statsminister_jens_stoltenberg/2011/statsminister-jens-stoltenbergs-tale-pa-.html?id=651840

²⁴ SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 102

²⁵ WIKIPEDIA. (2011) See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Norway_attacks#cite_note-245

²⁶ *ibid*

people, or certain groups of people, it is important to give everyone a chance. Norway, as a whole, did that.

In a study done by the *Statistisk sentralbyrå*, or Statistics Norway, that took place at the same time as the attacks in 2011 showed that the answers that were given after July 22nd, essentially after the attacks, showed to be more immigrant friendly than the answers that were received before the attacks.²⁷ Thus proving Norway's openness was not affected and the initial reaction was positive.

4.2.2 Political Norway

Politically, Norway came out shining in the days and weeks after the attacks. The political leaders made all of the right moves in relation to calming their country in a time of crisis and of steering them in the correct direction when it could have gone a different way.

According to a book entitled *Norway: Culture and Society* edited by Eva Maagerø and Birte Simonsen, Norway's goal is to be a positive influence. Directly quoted: "Norway wants to contribute to a positive, international development and to deter and prevent negative trends."²⁸ Despite some isolated incidents that happened on the day of the attacks, Norway lived up to its own standard of contributing to positive development and deterring negative trends. A terrorist's goal is typically to create hatred and fear to change specific aspects of a culture, area or country. When Norway chose to react with flowers, positivity and openness, the goal of the terrorist was not met. The majority of the Norwegian population chose not to become bitter and more fearful, instead it chose to embrace its ethnic populations and include them even more.

For example, to prove their solidarity with the minority groups within Norway, many high-standing politicians visited places such as mosque's, showing they cared and were still just as accepting of the minority groups as before. Fabian Stang, the mayor of Oslo, was visiting a mosque after the attacks he said to the group in front of him that the shooter was a white Norwegian from Oslo, which means he would also fit the profile, but they do not automatically assume he was a terrorist, shooter or bomber when they see him even though

²⁷ SSB. (2012) See: <http://www.ssb.no/innvhold/>

²⁸ MAAGERØ, E. and SIMONSEN, B. (2008)

he fits that description.²⁹ This, in my point of view, was very well stated. It was rhetorically speaking taken well by his audience as well. It makes people think of how they react to certain people who have not done anything wrong, but just get stamped as bad because of the way they choose to dress, how they look and what religion they choose to follow. This is where the political leader's role comes in. Ceasing the moment and setting the stage for this form of a reaction, being an alternate reaction of becoming less open and less democratic, which would have almost been acceptable considering the circumstances, the political leaders of the country has put the nation on a path to be more open and democratic, a path that might also be the way to go as to not remain so vulnerable to attacks in the future. The real key here is to not be naïve while obtaining these things, a point Prime Minister Stoltenberg made in an important speech, which I will turn to shortly.

This goes to show that the political leaders of Norway – in accordance with the official standard to contribute to a positive, international development and to deter and prevent negative trends – were very good examples when it came to leading their country in the hours, days, and weeks after the attacks. What is more, this was an opinion of many within Norway regardless of their political stance. In spite of if they were supporters of the leaders such as Jens Stoltenberg before; there is a general consensus within Norway that he was a great leader in the time immediately following the attacks.

In comparison, the reaction of the Norwegian leaders is in big contrast to the reaction to the political leaders in the United States after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. After the attacks on the US in 2001 the president at the time, George W. Bush, came out leading his speech to the public with the words 'We are at war.' This is an important aspect because citizens look up to the leaders of their country and follow their example. This example, one of revenge, was not the best to set and is thus important in underlining the positive reactions the political leaders of Norway set the course for. Especially in such a confusing and vulnerable time, such a reaction can lead many residents down the same path of thinking. Although the cultures are undeniably different, having one's leader come out with such a view affected a great deal of opinions of the citizens of the United States and they subjectively began to feel the same and follow the example of revenge that was set for

²⁹ TOLLERSRUD, E. (2011) See: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/--Vondt-at-muslimmer-fikk-skylden-5014979.html#.UYluBERwFCM>

them, even if they would not have had that reaction initially. The aftermath of this decision is still affecting Americans, as it probably forever will. Had the president come out with a different message, such as the positive message that the Norwegian Prime Minister set had certain events undoubtedly gone in a different direction.

This is one way the Norwegian political reaction can be deemed as being so great. Although it can be hard to compare the reactions of the two attacks because of the size difference and the fact that the ethnicity and religion did not match that of the majority in the United States, if the leaders of Norway had reacted differently, the society would have arguably followed suit to a certain extent. There are of course some people who reacted in such a way that President Bush did, but the majority reacted in the way King Harald IV and Jens Stoltenberg, the two highest leaders of Norway, did. They simply set a very good example for their country in a time of toil.³⁰ The reaction the United States had to the September 11th terrorist attacks shows how deep an attack can shake and change a society. That is why it makes it all the more impressive, from my point of view, that Norway did not let the attack hit them in a negative way. Although the culture has something to do with this, the political leaders definitely pushed people in the proper direction as well.

If one should highlight a few of the key political leaders that contributed to the sense of positivity and openness after the attacks, the most prominent choices would be H.M. Kong Harald V, Jens Stoltenberg, Fabian Stang and Hadia Tajik. In the following pages their personal contributions will be discussed in order to further corroborate the argument that the political leader's initial response was crucial to the people's response at large. Also, to show how that reaction showed a willingness to improve certain areas within the system so something of this matter would not happen again, but that those initial changes that were talked of have, to a great extent, not been carried out.

King Harald V is the current king of Norway. He is known as the people's king, or *folkets konge*. King Harald V is a very down to earth leader who has time and time again chosen the more practical route instead of taking advantage of the royal perks he could; thus receiving the previously named nickname. On a more controversial note, he was also the first of royal blood to marry a commoner, the royal couple subsequently sent their

³⁰ HAMMERLIN, J. (2011) p. 60

children to regular school in Norway instead of special elite schools and other things he and the queen has been criticized for. The criticisms coming from the fact that with such a position there comes certain responsibilities and duties and those must be carried out. Being that as it is, the population is satisfied with his rule and the choices he has made. The Norwegian people's esteem for their king was confirmed as recently as 2012 when 93 percent of those asked said that they felt that the king does a good job for Norway.³¹ His words carry great weight and are listened to.

On the 22nd of July, there was no exception to his status of being there for the people and of the people. Not only the king, but the whole royal family was there for their country in it's the time of need. They showed up at *Sundvollen Hotell*, earlier mentioned as the meeting place for the families and victims. I personally will never forget the image of the royal family standing there; the reason being the facial expression of King Harald. He was there to be a part of this people and support them, but he just looked bewildered and in such dismay. He is quoted as feeling very helpless in the situation that night, but sometimes all that is needed is someone's presence. He was there showing himself and that was just the support his country, especially the people whose lives were immediately affected by the attacks. These people needed all the support they could get that night. They saw that he was there and sympathized and hurt right along with them. That is to say, not only his *words* but also his *actions*, his compassionate presence, contributed to the nation's reaction.

As I said, the image of the king at *Sundvollen Hotell* has been imprinted in my brain for a lifetime. In comparison, being in the United States at the time of the terrorist attacks on their soil, I cannot remember once seeing anything about any of the political leaders reaching out in such a way to those directly affected by the events on that day before the recent happenings in late 2012 and early 2013. This is, if I may say so, another example of how it came about that so much love and togetherness resulted from the attacks.

In the weeks and months after, King Harald was then of support to the country by holding speeches, pointing out what was important in such a time when the future was unstable. As mentioned before, the outcome could have gone in many directions, but the leaders and countries citizens ended up leading the country on the path they did by setting

³¹ NTB. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/artikkel.php?artid=10049859>

positive examples for others. It was important to remind them of such things as to maintain the open and democratic society that were high on the list of priorities. Then the New Year came around. Every New Year the king gives a speech that is broadcasted throughout the whole of Norway. In that speech in 2011, welcoming 2012, he mentioned Utøya and said later, that “We [Norway] must still hold our open society and democracy.”³² It was a repetition of the advice that had already rung true throughout the country, and at a time people seemingly started to forget about the attacks.

Another politician in Norway who shined in the time following the attacks was the Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg. This a view not only by a majority of the Norwegian population, but he was also recognized internationally for his efforts subsequent the attacks. Stoltenberg has been the Prime Minister in Norway since 2005. The Norwegian population has been overall satisfied with his work as the Prime Minister. But, as mentioned earlier, he was really a rock for the people after the attacks. Even if the people do not generally agree with his politics or the political party he represents; they felt he was of tremendous support after the attacks July 22, 2011.³³ Stoltenberg reminded the people to remain open and democratic, but not naïve, which was very important because there were many who thought of this as Norway’s weakness, being naïve.³⁴ The low level of security and questionable competence of certain groups in such a crisis was questioned greatly, from outside Norway’s borders especially. These comments showed that he was aware that there were some holes in the systems and policies that Norway had in place at the time of the attacks. His message was also a great reminder to people what was really important to them and the core values of Norwegian culture in a time that it could be so easy to forget.

Much in contrast to that of the reaction of the American President, the Prime Minister did not to stand up and declare a war. Alternatively, he sent out a message that whoever had planned the attacks was not going to succeed in ruining Norway’s democracy and their wish to move forward in creating a better world.³⁵ One thing that made his

³² King Harald [my translation] See: <http://www.kongehuset.no/tale.html?tid=96023&sek=26947&scope=0>

³³ NTB. (2011) See: <http://www.dn.no/forsiden/politikkSamfunn/article2298782.ece>

³⁴ STOLTENBERG, J. [my translation] (2011) See: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/smk/aktuelt/taler_og_artikler/statsministeren/statsminister_jens_stoltenberg/2011/statsminister-jens-stoltenbergs-tale-pa-.html?id=651840

³⁵ STOLTENBERG, J. [my translation] (2011) See: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/smk/aktuelt/taler_og_artikler/statsministeren/statsminister_jens_stoltenberg/2011/sjokkerende-og-feigt.html?id=673127

support and speeches so great in the eyes of so many was that everyone could relate to these aspects. They felt that he spoke as a fellow human being on behalf of all of Norway. Although some may consider Stoltenberg's speech and action to be politically correct in a manner typical of the Norwegian political elite, the general impression was that he put himself out there for the public to see and hear whether they agreed with his stand or not. He struck a chord of the heart of the nation and *that* was a crucial point.

What is more, Stoltenberg was such a great leader in the time after the attacks that his support was also strengthened immediately following the attacks because of the positive influence he was for his people. That support later dwindled amongst the population because they felt that it became all talk and very little action, a topic that will be discussed further later on.

One name that was not as well known as the Prime Minister's or the King's before the attack, but is worthy of mentioning because of the support he proved to be for many people, would be Fabian Stang. Stang has been the mayor of Oslo since 2007. He was born and raised in the city and has been politically active for many years.³⁶ In the days following the attacks, he stood up and said all of the right things to the city residents. In the time since, there have been many influential quotes that have come from the things he said after the attacks. One example would be the following:

Those that have died today have not died in vain. They will be models for us so that we can be even more proud to be Norwegian citizens, love each other even more and be much better to take care of each other. We will be a warmer and better capital.³⁷

Much like Stoltenberg, Stang's political carrier was strengthened by the attack. He was given the chance to show his strength as a leader and he succeeded.

Another politician who shared good words of wisdom was the current Minister of Culture in Norway, Hadia Tajik. Although not the Minister of Culture at the time she did a good job making it clear shortly after the attacks that it should not be the attacks that define Norway, but the people by saying:

³⁶ OSLO KOMMUNE. (2010) See:
<http://www.bystyret.oslo.kommune.no/article.php?articleID=99257&categoryID=29067>

³⁷ STANG, F., Mayor of Oslo [my translation] Mitt lille land

It is not him that stood behind the attacks that defines Norway. It is us, we that formed the sea of flowers in Oslo a few days after the attacks and all those who were with us in thought, which define Norway.³⁸

It is important that the people define Norway through their reaction and actions after. The people who created such events like the parades and flower memorials to honor those who were affected or died because of the attacks are the ones defining the country and its culture and nature. In the future, Norway should not be defined by this one act. Norway has been a peaceful country throughout history. Prior to that that happened on July 22, 2011, the country was thought of by many with positivity. It was a country known almost exclusively for its beauty and kindness.

The final politician to really stick out was Eskil Pedersen. Eskil Pedersen has been politically active for many years. Among other titles, Pedersen became leader of *AUF*, Norway's Youth Workers' League, in 2010.³⁹ He did a very good job at setting a good example as Norway moved on after the tragedies. Although I personally had problems with the actions he took on the day of the attacks, he was a good leader in the time after the attacks and has worked hard to rectify *AUF* and to be certain that the political party continues down the correct path. His actions the day of the attacks will be discussed in a later section.

4.2.3 Ethnicities role in the reaction

After the attack, aside from the normal shock reactions, there was a sense of togetherness and love that filled the country. People gathered together instead of closing themselves in and forming negative opinions and judging others. They went out and laid roses, had parades to honor those that were lost and many key figures were there in support. The display of love and togetherness was quite admirable and in very big contrast to reactions other countries have had to similar attacks.

In the days after the attacks in Norway it was not only that reaction of love and compassion was that came out. Although openness and positivity were very strong reactions, right after and in the days following the attacks there was blame placed on people

³⁸ TAJIK, H., Minister of Culture [my translation] ibid

³⁹ WIKIPEDIA. (2012) See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eskil_Pedersen

because they were a part of a minority and not ethnic Norwegian. The initial reports were only positive, but after a while, many reports of racism and discrimination surfaced. People that had lived in Norway their whole lives, but had foreign parents or an ethnic look, were given the message to get out of the country by ethnic Norwegians. People who had lived a great deal of their lives in Norway, but did not look ethnic Norwegian were harassed. These people, who were just as scared and surprised as to what was going on, were then blamed because of their cultural heritage or religious background. Some of the youth on *Utøya* even reported wondering if some of the foreign people who had participated the entire week with them at the camp had been a part of the group that put the attacks together and now, knowing the layout of the camp, they were to strike.

A Pakistani store owner that has lived in Norway for nine years experienced just how it was to be discriminated against when her neighbor came into the store after hearing the news of the bomb and gave her a weird look before asking if it was her that had bombed the government building. Her feelings of anger and hurt are very justified. Her that is of the same age as many on *Utøya*, having someone that was an acquaintance, not even a complete stranger, believe that it could have been her that would do such a thing when she is even a citizen of this country now. Although it is quite disheartening that this happened, when such things happen, people automatically use their experience to figure out their next move. Unfortunately, in most cases of terrorism, it has been someone of these minority groups like Al Qaida or Islam that has led such attacks.⁴⁰

As stated earlier, it is not just the Norwegians who had this thought. It was also the thought of these minorities that were being ridiculed and harassed as well. They feared that it would turn out to be someone from their racial group or religion and that they too would be stamped negatively for it. If it had been this way, there would have quickly been a raised level of conflict in Norway. Life would have gotten much harder for those of a minority to live in Norway. Despite Norway's openness and democracy, people would have had a hard time accepting foreign people after one carried out such an act.

This is interesting to point out; that people of the Islamic religion were even afraid that it would turn out that someone of their religion was behind the act. It was not just non-

⁴⁰ STORMARK, K. (2011) p. 46

Muslims stereotyping the religion; people of the religion even had the same thoughts. This fear of being stamped as a terrorist as a form of guilt by association notion is something Muslims in the United States have had to deal with for many years. Although it may not be at a level as high as it was before, the discrimination will always be present in their everyday lives, as they are travelling, worshipping, etc. It was not only members of minorities that were pleased to hear it was a Norwegian that preformed the attacks though, many Norwegians I have spoken with have expressed that they felt a sense of relief because there would have quickly been a social war against minorities in Norway.

I personally think that it is part of the reason people have become so active in the time after the attacks. That that they saw what someone just like them could be capable of has forced them to take action to prevent someone else with similar feelings to react in a similar way. This topic will be discussed more in depth further on though.

4.2.4 Rose Ceremony

Five days after the attacks there was a Rose ceremony held at the Town Hall Square, *Rådhusplassen*, in Oslo. The initiative was seemingly started on Facebook by two Norwegians and ended up being a huge even that about 150,000 people participated in.⁴¹ The arrangement consisted of a little concert and some speeches before the crowd made their way to the area where the bomb went off called *Youngstorget*, by a church. There was a church service held open for everyone as well.

Not since the days following Norway becoming free from German rule in 1945, had there been so many people gathered in the center of Oslo than when they gathered for the rose parade on the 25th of July 2011.⁴² They came together to place flowers, candles and notes to show their unity. At the starting point there were speeches given by various people, the crowned Prince and Eskil Pedersen included.

In the speech given by the Prince of Norway, Haakon Magnus, at the ceremony he is quoted saying:

⁴¹ Kronprins Haakon Magnus [my translation] See: <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/distrikt/ostlandssendingen/1.7727559>

⁴² SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 95

We want a Norway where we live together in community with the freedom to believe and express ourselves, where we see differences as opportunities and where freedom is stronger than fear.⁴³

Some might say that this describes Norwegian culture perfectly. For everyone who has criticized and doubted its' system in the time after the attacks, this is why they have acted in the way they have. The leaders do not want to lose that sense of freedom they value within their society. Therefore, they must carefully, with calculated moves, change the levels and forms of security and laws. Therefore not losing that in which they truly value within the Norwegian culture. If this is lost, then their culture as it now is known is lost. This brings up multiculturalism and the new hypothesis of that it is impossible for cultures to stay pure in the present day world, and essentially one of the reasons the attacks happened.

Also at the ceremony, Eskil Pedersen, leader of *AUF*, held a speech. One of the most important things to pull from his speech is this quote: "We, Norway, shall not hate and we shall not take revenge."⁴⁴ Being the leader of the youth organization that was hit by the shooting, *AUF*, Pedersen has influence over many youth throughout the country. This is just another example of how the leaders guide their people in the right direction after the attacks. Although many people already had the same positive thoughts in their minds, there are then those who think and react negatively. There were of course those that did react negatively and fell into the trap of hate, but when a respected public figure comes out and shows such a positive example, it is harder to be angry, hate and to be overall negative. This also pushes the people that are on the line between thinking positively about the path ahead and those who just want a quick solution, such as revenge in the form of torture or death of the assailant. The way in which the role models respond sets the tone, and to be a good example for the followers and for the country is what is most important. In this case referring to role models as politicians, but these role models could be anybody from politicians all the way to a parent or older sibling. Kids watch their parents and model their behaviour, as of that of their older siblings.

⁴³Crown Prince of Norway, Haakon Magnus [my translation] See:
<http://www.nrk.no/skole/klippdetalj?topic=nrk:klipp/765078>

⁴⁴ Eskil Pedersen [my translation] See:
http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/07/26/nyheter/innenriks/terrorangrepet/terror_i_oslo/17456351/

As well as musical performances, there was also a church ceremony involved in the program for the rose ceremony. This was open for everyone to attend, but priority was given to those who lost loved ones and those who volunteered during and after the attacks.⁴⁵ In the hours after the attack there was a very large work force that came together to clean up the mess and recover that in which could be recovered. There were even people that worked 40 hours straight to clean up the aftermath and devastation. There were many volunteers from organizations such as the Red Cross, policemen, firemen, divers, first response and many more who offered their services wherever needed to assist people. After their efforts, most of them attended the commemoration in Oslo Cathedral. Upon leaving the ceremony, they were met by the large group of people who were present to participate in the rose parade. The crowd then broke out in a long applause for their efforts as a thank you.⁴⁶ It was very touching and not many could keep back their tears. This was a great way to thank and honor them for their efforts. Not any medal or gift, whether money or something practical, could top the feeling they got from that and make them sincerely realize that what they did was of such high worth as that did. They greatly deserved it as well.

4.2.5 Norway's Reaction to the Family of the Assailant

Along with all of these reactions, it should be noted that there were several thousand people who thought about the assailant's mother and how she must feel.⁴⁷ It is easy to think of the assailant as a monster with no earthly connections, but there was family and some friends that he left to fend for themselves in the aftermath of the attacks. Although he had been pulling away from them for some time, there was still the connection there.

One must sympathize in the feeling of finding out that such a horrible act was carried out by a family member, let alone ones son. Think of all of the conversations one would go through. The guilt she must have felt for not seeing what was happening and how she could possibly have stopped it from happening. Thoughts of when things went wrong and what she did to raise a person who could commit such an act of violence, or what she could have

⁴⁵ SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 89

⁴⁶ Ibid p. 89

⁴⁷ Ibid p. 114

done differently in certain situations. It must be very hard to go through such an instance. To top it off, it was not and will not only be her thinking these things, but all of Norway, even all of the world. Judging her. Judging her son.

Most parents are worried about raising their child or children properly, let alone having something like this occurs. It is not at all her fault though. Although the assailant did not have the best life growing up in a single mother home and having some problems with his mother, who does have a perfect life growing up? Even though there are different ways of analyzing a terrorist and why he or she commits that act he or she does, one approach is to look at the family background. It is known as *familietesen*, a concept brought about by Anders Ravik Jupskås. This is studied because studies have shown that a person develops most psychologically as a child and their family is thus an important factor when it comes to their development.⁴⁸ Using theory, the childhood that the assailant had could have contributed to the psychological problems he had later in life, resulting in him acting in such a way. It should also be pointed out that not all children who have such a background end up doing something like this. This is just one perspective to take in explaining the attacks. It is never just the fault of the family. Taking a look at the family is not the only approach to trying to explain such behavior. In the book *Akademiske perspektiver på 22. juli (Academic perspectives of July 22nd)* [my translation] edited by Anders Ravik Jupskås, there are many perspectives explained. These perspectives are there because people in general have a hard time understanding why such an act would happen. They need then such approaches as to explain why such a thing would be possible or why the assailant felt it was acceptable to commit such an act because the logic of the assailant cannot be comprehended.

What initially brought on the several thousand people keeping her in their thoughts was one person who made a Facebook group to support her.⁴⁹ In the group that the following was stated:

We would really like to show our sympathy for the terrorist's family, which everyone describes as nice, warm people who had no idea of what that awaited them. ...

⁴⁸ JUPSKÅS, A.R. (ed.) (2013) p. 20

⁴⁹ Anders Behring Breiviks mor og søster er også ofrere for terror, Group on Facebook [my translation] <https://www.facebook.com/groups/210103985704470/?fref=ts>

Others can only imagine how she feels now that one of the people she feels to be so close to has become a horrible monster.

The assailant's mother has probably faced much ridicule since that fateful day the summer of 2011, but after someone posted a Facebook group to support her, it was not long until there were 10,000 people that were a part of the action to show her support.⁵⁰ It is encouraging that there were so many that realized that she was probably hurting. One can only hope that she saw it so that she knew that not everyone was against her or putting any of the blame on her. Even though her son had left her without support to fend for herself, the population of Norway had not. The group name was even later changed to include the assailant's sister when expressing sympathy to the family for what they must be going through and feeling.

4.2.6 National Commemoration

A National Commemoration, *Nasjonalt minnemarkering*, was held in honor of those who lost their lives under the attacks, for those who survived the attacks and others who were directly affected by the attacks. This took place on Sunday August 21, 2011. Among others, the King of Norway held a speech. In the speech he thanked Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg for being such a great leader in the month after the attacks. He also said that the Norwegian people needed to remember that they are now awakened to a new consciousness of what really means something to the population of Norway.⁵¹ This is something that rings true throughout the spectrum of reactions and actions taken after the attacks. Although the safety of its people is its first priority, there are many different types of security and ways to secure a society or group. The easiest or most obvious way is not always that in which is best. There are many factors to look at.

Take the United States for example; there have been several shootings there, especially at schools in the recent past. Many take the position that there needs to be stricter gun laws. On the other hand there are hunters who find this to be the lesser of possible solutions. They use the guns for hobby and sport, not for illegal activities. If one

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Hans majestet kongen [my translation] See: <http://www.kongehuset.no/tale.html?tid=93376&sek=26947>

looks at the ratio of houses that have guns and how many of those guns are used for shootings such as a school shooting, the ratio is quite small. The actions of few should not ruin it for those who actually use the guns for something positive such as hunting. Hunting is a free time sport that gives certain people a productive way to relax and get away from their daily stresses. In the end, making them feel better mentally, as well as physically depending on the type of hunting being done, not to mention helps population control amongst the animal population to prevent starvation and disease among them. From this perspective, guns are a positive asset. There are only a few people who use their guns for such things as terroristic shootings, and these people usually tend to have psychological problems. But yet the first reaction people have when a shooting occurs is to crack down on gun control. I will point out that it could be a good, if not even more result rearing to increase the psychological resources available to people because no matter what, if the people want the guns, they will find them on some sort of a market

Although this will always be a debate, the best solution would possibly be a mix of the two. Helping those who have unbearable psychological strains so that we get them the help they need before it gets so bad that they feel that such an event is the only or best way out, to that breaking point, would be the best. However, maybe there should be moderately stricter laws when it comes to controlling who can obtain guns. People should although not be denied their right to have guns for the purpose of sport either. In the end, no matter how strict laws are against guns, the people who want to use them for such things as a shooting will obtain them no matter how strict the rules and it will conclude in being the people who would have used them for sport who go through the proper channels to obtain them, that are denied the right to acquire them. Here is where the metaphor of the pencil making mistakes comes in. If someone is writing something and spell it wrong, was it the pencils fault, or was it the person who was controlling the pencil who made the mistake? Of course it was the person controlling the pencil, so why do people want to take away all of the guns when something like this happens? They do not try to take away all of the pencils when people make mistakes with them. This is an example taken from the United States to show how control from the government can be focused in a perceptively wrong direction. If guns are controlled more closely, as I mentioned, the people who want them for things such as shootings will get a hold of them somehow anyway, therefore, although it is important to

have some amount of control, there must be a line drawn and the focus must also be put on other aspects. This is what I feel Norway was working towards in the beginning. They were working towards finding the best areas to focus on for change, but after doing the work to find the areas where change is needed is where the hang up seems to be.

Many in the United States have gone straight to the problem of the guns instead of doing the work Norway did to look within itself and find ways for change in regards to the citizens. Focus on helping your fellow citizens instead. Focus on not excluding people for their differences. Focus on teaching kids the emotional consequences of bullying. If someone had reached out to the assailant before, things could have gone differently. A person with things to lose does not necessarily choose such a route. They then choose their words, become politically active to make a difference. No matter what ones position is on such topics, Norway was awakened to what rings important to them. Whether it confirmed someone's fear of multiculturalism and/or integration, or made them more open and political, it awoke them to what was important in each person's life. Although the sluggishness within the political system can, as earlier stated, be deemed as laziness, I feel that their reaction can be compared to that of this example. No matter what types of security or judicial changes are made, they should not be made in haste and should be a combination between strictness and efficiency, not just that of the quick way out. If the politicians were to take the quick way out, in turn mimicking the system of a westernized country, it would lead to the culture of Norway

Jens Stoltenberg also spoke at the National Commemoration. In his speech he defined what safety was to him. He stated that safety was to be well prepared, have police visible on location, and to have more drills and equipment.⁵² Safety can mean many different things for different people, but by defining safety in his own way, Stoltenberg has then set the standard for what safety will mean to Norway because he is the one involved in changing things within the country politically and delegating resource, etc. He thus paved the way in which the country will change. He in turn showed the country what money and other resources will be used to improve the country from within to help prepare the country

⁵² Jens Stoltenberg [my translation] See: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/smk/aktuelt/taler_og_artikler/statsministeren/statsminister_jens_stoltenberg/2011/statsministerens-tale-ved-nasjonal-minne.html?id=652655

to tackle such situations more efficiently or even to avoid them all together in the future as well.

4.3 Reactions of the World

Despite many people not having any visible ties with the country of Norway, or even much previous knowledge of it or its culture, there were many messages sent of love and sympathy in the days after. A Norwegian that took the initiative to hold a Rose Ceremony in Bodø, Norway said “It is surprising to see how much love can be found in people out there in the world. It is warming to see how we hold together when it is needed.”⁵³

Internationally, things were overall in support of Norway. There were of course not only people lining up in support and solidarity with Norway. There were many Norwegians living throughout the world that were met with love, hugs, sympathy. It came as a surprise to many how sympathetic the people turned out to be after hearing the news. A Norwegian in the United States was met with a hug from a cashier when she found out he was Norwegian.⁵⁴

Like discussed before, there were some who felt Norway needed to update parts of their security and justice system prior to July 22, 2011. Although the system had some flaws, it was also thought to be very beautiful that the society could continue to operate so well with such a low level of security in place as it did in such a changing and uncertain world. Even though disbelief was the normal reaction, there were still some that criticized Norway for being naive. The reasoning behind this being that there were not the proper forms of security in place not only at the government building, but on the island as well. One could critique that there should have been more than one security guard present on the island. All suggestions of such things changing the results are hypothetical, but some felt that if Norway had a higher level of prevention, the massacre would not have reached such a high level.

⁵³ Erill Teigstad [my translation] from: SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 92

⁵⁴ VG. See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10058800>

4.3.1 The Nordic Countries

In the time after the attacks the Scandinavian countries really pulled together and supported one another; this no doubt because of their general closeness and history. Even to be as general as to say the Nordic countries were of great support could be said as well. In the Nordic countries, days after the attack, there was held a minute of silence for the victims of the attacks.⁵⁵ The difference between Scandinavian countries and Nordic countries is that the Scandinavian countries are three and Nordic countries are five. The Scandinavian being Norway, Sweden and Denmark, then the Nordic countries would be these three plus Finland and Iceland. Scandinavian countries are close because of their common cultures and languages. They also have a shared history, as previously mentioned, and thus get the term Scandinavian countries. Although all three countries are of course unique, they share many similarities as well. The Nordic countries being close because of their common histories and politics, as well as their geographic positions. Due to their closeness with Norway, when the attacks happened, they had a special reaction

In Denmark in the days following the attack, all of the official buildings, and many private houses, flew their flags at half mast in solidarity with their Scandinavian counterpart.⁵⁶ On Saturday, July 23rd, there were thousands of Danes that made their way to the Norwegian embassy in Copenhagen to put down greetings, flowers and to light candles in honor of those who perished.⁵⁷

In Sweden there was a worship service held on Sunday, July 24th in which many political figures in Sweden attended. This included the crowned Princess of Sweden, Victoria and her husband.⁵⁸

In Finland there was a memorial service held by the youth political party there that is equivalent to the youth political party that was attacked in Oslo.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ WIKIPEDIA. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Norway_attacks#International

⁵⁶ SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 92

⁵⁷ Ibid p. 92

⁵⁸ Ibid p. 92

On July 25, 2011 there was also a minute of silence held in all of the Nordic countries.⁶⁰ In Norway the minute became five. This was put together to dignify those who were killed under the attacks just days before.

4.3.2 Outside the Nordic Countries

It was a general reaction for people to show their support by visiting the Norwegian embassy in many countries, even outside of the Nordic countries, although the reaction was the biggest in the Nordic countries because of the relationship between the countries. Endre Hjelset, director of communication in *Difi*, an organization that develops the public sector in Norway, said “We have received mail from Bangladesh, the Philippines, the US, Mexico, Canada, yeah, basically from the whole globe.”⁶¹ He thought this was very touching. That so many countries wanted to show their solidarity with the little country of Norway.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jonas Gahr Større, experienced much of the same reaction. Being the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he handled the stream of telephone calls and other forms of messages being sent to Norway from political leaders around the world. In a statement published a week after the attacks he said that there had been between 40 and 50 people that had called. He also said: “I am glad that my colleagues abroad say that they know what Norway stands for. I think they see that this is one extreme action and not something that describes us as a nation.”⁶²

Surprisingly though, there were some political leaders in other countries that in fact supported the killings, or at least excused them due to its fight against multiculturalism.⁶³ Of these were two Italian politicians; one stating that the assailant is just protecting the views of western civilization. This just brings us into the multicultural debate again. What culture is pure any longer? And at where is the line drawn for those who don't support multiculturalism in a world that is now based on it? The debate on multiculturalism is heated and long. Although it has meaning to this thesis, it is not the main focus so I not go into it.

⁵⁹ Ibid p. 93

⁶⁰ WIKIPEDIA. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Norway_attacks#International

⁶¹ Endre Hjelset [my translation] from: SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 94

⁶² Jonas Gahr Større [my translation] See: ibid p. 93

⁶³ WIKIPEDIA. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Norway_attacks#International

The people who supported the attacks were although few and far between. Most institutions and countries expressed their regret, disapproval of the attacks and offered condolences and sympathies; especially since it happened to such a peaceful country. Among these to express condolences and solidarity with Norway were some of the world's leading institutions. The United Nations, NATO, the European Union and governments throughout the world.⁶⁴ The news was broadcasted everywhere. There was a lot of attention in the media given to the fact that the American President, Barack Obama, called and expressed his condolences after getting the news of the attacks.⁶⁵

As previously mentioned, not all outside of the borders of Norway were as sympathetic. Although it was a horrible thing that happened, some placed the blame on naiveness of Norway and its leadership culture for not taking action in areas like security before the attacks happened, and thus leaving themselves open for something of such magnitude to happen. Among those who placed blame on the naiveness of Norway was a reporter from one of the biggest news channels in the United States, FOX news. The news of the attacks was reported on this channel as well due to its size and wow-factor, as it was on many American news channels. One of FOX news' reporters compared the Norwegian political camp, AUF, to the Hitler Youth stating: "There was a shooting at a political camp, which sounds a little like, you know, the Hitler youth. I mean, who does a camp for kids that is all about politics? Disturbing." This was frowned upon and criticized by the Norwegian people.⁶⁶ The comment received much criticism from both Americans and Norwegians. This criticism mostly pointing to his ignorance on the topic of Norwegian politics and the summer camp in general. But it is easy to make such mistakes or assumptions when not informed about the culture and what it is about.

4.4 Media

From the day of the attacks to when the court case was over, there was a constant stream of information coming from the media on the topic of July 22nd. Even approaching two years later the stream of information regarding the assailant and the state of the

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ SOLVOLL, E. and MALMØ, M. (2011) p. 93

⁶⁶ Glen Beck, FOX News See: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article4183971.ece#.UYEscErwFCM>

country is still quite constant. As I mentioned earlier, I have chosen to follow *VG* in their coverage of the topic. Although I did use some other media sources, I chose to primarily use *VG* because if I were to use more than one media source, I felt that I would have gotten much of the same information, just written by a different author. Also, *VG* did such a good job of covering the topic that I did not feel it necessary to explore other such media sources. I did, on occasion, stumble upon an interesting article from other sources here and there, which I have read in hopes of finding interesting information, but these were typically in the recommendations section of the article I read published by *VG*.

Media coverage was great throughout the whole process. There was no lack of media coverage in any case. Some people even criticized the media for printing too much.⁶⁷ The population simply got tired of the constant messages being spread about the assailant. There was even a boycott of newspapers who printed the assailant's picture on the cover. This took place in April of 2012, less than a year after the attacks and about the time the case started.⁶⁸ The notion behind it being that there was too attention being given to him and the whole ordeal. This prompted some newspapers to reconsider what was being put on their covers.

The day of the attack, there was much about what was happening throughout the day. There was also coverage of the hotel that had become the meeting place for survivors and their families and a hospital for those that needed medical attention. The major television channels in Norway stopped sending their normal broadcasting and replaced it with a constant newsfeed of what was happening in regards to the attacks. The police and other emergency services even used the media to warn people to stay away. This kept the Norwegian population constantly updated on the situation. Norwegians are a media culture. They have the technology that allows them to keep in constant contact with each other and media, and Norway is one of the countries that I have seen the highest amount of people that are interested in daily news and staying updated on what is happening around the world and at home through media outlets, especially internet newspapers such as *VG*. Although there is a paper version given out of *VG*, most Norwegians check the internet versions multiple times a day. It seems to be an ever growing part of their culture now.

⁶⁷ AFTENPOSTEN (2012) See: <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/Det-norske-folk-er-lei-av-mediernes-terrordekning-6803329.html#.UYEu9ErwFCM>

⁶⁸ *VG*. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/rettssaken/artikkel.php?artid=10065429>

With this high demand for new, current information the media sources are under much stress to produce and provide what their readers are looking for. In the days after the attacks there was much information that came out about the assailant, why the attacks had happened and stories from survivors and families of people who had been touched by the attacks. Days turned into weeks and weeks into months and the stream got seemingly less and less, although the whole of Norway could still follow what was happening involving the assailant and other relevant topics when it comes to the attacks, until the case came. Then the stream of media was constant again until it was over. Then the stream slowly dwindled again, and now, two years later, although still a hot topic in Norway, the stream of media about the attacks and the assailant is lower than ever.

4.4.1 Criticisms in the Media

Media has a great influence on today's population. Weeks and months after, the sympathy had died down and the critiques started coming forth within the country. At first, these were directed towards the police, then later the ambulance personnel and then the government and politicians. Critiques about how things were handled both that day and in the time after were brought up. After the sympathy died down, people saw the holes in the routines and the access to certain resources that the police and other emergency personnel had. Then the positive outlook that people had of the politicians and the government turned to negative when their words failed to turn into actions.

The police were criticized a lot in the time after the attacks. This was due to things like response time, bad communication and lack of proper resources. These are valid and worth investigating, in many people's opinion. It was, after all, seen as one of Norway's weaknesses even before the attacks by some citizens and by people outside of Norway.

But in contrast to these things that seem to come with a purpose and reason, one of the biggest things the media focused on and criticized in the months after the attacks was the statement the police gave in the night hours of July 22nd. This was because they overestimated the number of people who had died during the attack on *Utøya*.⁶⁹ As before

⁶⁹ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10080616>

mentioned, there was a constant stream of information on the main television channels in Norway. There were of course people being interviewed constantly to get more information to provide to their readers. In one interview of a police officer late in the night he stated the number being higher than it actually was. In the hours directly after the attacks, the number they said was too low. As the hours came and went, the media harassed and harassed the people who had been on the island to get a more updated number. The police officer then gave them a number that was too high. This was the main focus of criticism in the media in the months following the attacks.

The question must be asked: is this really worth focusing on? There seem to be so many other things to focus on, let alone the silliness focusing on such a detail seems to offer. They were pressured by the media to give a number after seeing what they had seen on the island and in Oslo and working long hours to clean up the mess that was left behind in the wake of the attacks. Should we not just be thankful that the real number was in fact lower? Those men were sent in to do something that they probably did not have the training for; something they had never experienced and under the pressure from the media, said what they felt was accurate. The fact that the Norwegian media decided to focus on that instead of other faults that were visible in the way things were handled that day was a little discouraging. This example then pointing out that although the media do provide some very functional and relevant points, the focus is not always on the most influential or productive of topics.

After a while, the focus moved on to more relevant things, relevant in the case meaning things that can be changed and that will matter in the future. The media slaughtered the Norwegian police force and the Norwegian Police Security Service (PST) for not only the efforts put in on the day of the attacks, but for not even having the assailant on their radar.⁷⁰ Here I find it important to point out that even though there were visible holes in their procedures, the people were satisfied with the police's efforts on that day.⁷¹ Since that day, Norway has put into place more methods of catching people with these kinds of thoughts before it is too late. They have cracked down on extremist blogs and such things as well. The Norwegian government also put in place a commission to really evaluate the things

⁷⁰ HAMMERLIN, J. (2011) p.149

⁷¹ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10015134>

that went on that day and be precise in directing the government to be more efficient and prepared in such crises in the future. This commission was called the July 22nd Commission. Their findings will be discussed later.

As the news got out of what was happening on the day of the attacks, two policemen came to the area of the island on land side.⁷² At that point it was unclear if there was one or two shooters, they therefore chose to remain on land side and wait for back up. There has been much criticism of this in the time after the attacks in the media. For every person with such a job, policeman or fireman or something similar, they are taught that their main concern is themselves and their safety. A fireman does not run into a building that is about to collapse. Of course it happens that the safety of an area is misjudged and there are casualties, but priority number one is their safety, then they are to use their knowledge to save others. As stated before, at the time the two police officers were standing on the land side of the island deciding whether to go over to the island or not, it was thought that there were two shooters and they made the decision that it would be best to wait for back up. Hypothetically they could have made their way over and been shot by the shooter as well. All versions of the story but the version that happened are uncertain. Them going over does not mean that they would have saved any more lives. It could have potentially gone that way, but it could also have happened that the shooter shot them and then continuing on as he had. It is all hypothetical of course. Having the type of job they do puts them in danger in many different types of situations, but their safety is what matters. There should not be any guilt or blame put on them for their decision. The media did bring the topic up as a criticism to what happened that day though.

A topic that is more relevant in regards to them having to wait for back up is that there were not enough police on duty the day of the attacks, and frankly more relevant when it comes to making changes for the future. There simply was not the man force to do what needed to be done. It was a quiet day in the time when most of Norway is on vacation. There was so little man power that the security at the *Storting*, the Parliament building, had to fend for themselves for two hours. The building is also located in the center of Oslo. The Norwegian police force feels that the security at the *Storting* should have the proper plans in

⁷² VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10023266>

place to be able to tackle such a situation if it does arise without the help of the police.⁷³ Although the media brought this up as a critique, that the police did not protect the *Storting*, it seems obvious to me that the *Storting* and its security should be able to handle a crisis on their own. Is that not what security is for? They should be prepared for possible situations that could arise, not prepared to wait for the police to come and give them orders in what to do in the crisis.

One thing I was surprised the media did not pick up on and criticize earlier was the fact that the leader of *AUF*, who was on the island at the time, was one of the first to flee. As leader of *AUF*, he was one of the key people in putting the camp together and was a big part of the experience for the children. This is a theme that had not been brought up not initially, but eventually was discussed in the media a year after.⁷⁴ Although it is easy to see why he ran, he was on the other hand also the leader of the organization under attack and a big role model for the children. He should therefore have stayed with them to be of assistance to the children he took responsibility of when he became the leader of *AUF*. In my opinion, taking on the role he did at the camp, let alone the roll he had in the political party, he should have been there for them in their time of need. If not just to be there to direct them to safety, then to be there physically for them for support through the whole ordeal. Instead, when the shooting started he ran, being told by others to get on the ferry that had just docked, bringing the assailant to the island. He then boarded the ferry and the boat left shortly after with a group of seven other passengers.⁷⁵

On the journey, Pedersen tried to alert people off of the island as to what was happening. In the meantime campers sent him messages asking him what they should do and he sent messages back telling them to hide and be quiet. This was of course good advice and essentially the only thing they could do, but being their leader and role model, some felt that he should have been there for them physically instead of abandoning them. Everyone was scared. There was, as they thought at the time, a police officer shooting at them. Then one of the only people they could trust left them. This would be hard for anyone at any age, but these were youth who needed guidance. There were luckily some people who took initiative amongst the groups that were hiding, whether it was the oldest of the group or just

⁷³ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10024933>

⁷⁴ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10065090>

⁷⁵ STORMARK, K. (2011) p. 135

someone who could think clear in a crisis, and helped others who needed it. Some people are better at handling themselves in a crisis than others.

Not until almost a year later did comments about this matter come out in the media. I was quite surprised it took that long for the media to bring this topic up. Upon reading of the day's events, and seeing that Pedersen had fled, the first thing on my mind was that it should not have been that way. I am not saying that he should have stayed on the island to be in danger. His life is worth something. He is a great politician in Norway, but being the role model and leader to so many young people brings on a certain responsibility as well. A responsibility to be there for those children he chose to lead in their time of need. It is very true that one never knows what he or she's response will be unless put in the situation themselves and it is very easy to judge as an outsider.

4.4.2 Negative Aspects of the Media Coverage

Since the media has such an influence on today's population it also steers how people think. If the media writes about a topic, it makes it a topic of discussion for many of the people it reaches. Maybe the topic of the number of people that fell in the attacks had not been such a big deal if it was not portrayed that way in the media. Or maybe people would have thought that Eskil Pedersen fleeing the island was something of a disappointment if it had been brought up earlier. Therefore, media can be as quickly a negative influence as well as a positive. As I stated before, the media has a lot of influence on people. From someone who viewed Pedersen's fleeing as negative immediately, it seemed almost taboo for anyone to mention it until a year later. Even though there have turned out to be many that had the same opinion as myself, that of a negative opinion that a leader would do such a thing, did not discuss it until it was 'ok' to discuss it. Even an article published in September 2012 stated: "OK to discuss Pedersen's *Utøya*-flight."⁷⁶ This was taken from a quote by a lawyer who supported the claims of some mothers who felt that

⁷⁶ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10068663>

Pedersen should step down as leader after what happened. The discussion was initially opened through an interview of Pedersen by the BBC.⁷⁷

Media is also negative in that terrorists use media to spread their word and the fear they want to create. Think of all of the people who now have seen the manifest that the assailant wrote explaining his reasoning behind the attacks. The media printing things about it has in turned helped the assailant get his message out there. Although most people find it to be on the verge of insanity, there are some who support the message that the assailant was trying to get across. After the attacks, there has been a rise in how many people blog about such things that the assailant stood for. This could be something negative about media being so central and fast-moving now. It is of course not all bad though. It is good to get information quickly. For example, on the day of the attacks, the police also used the media to warn people to stay out of the area in the possibility that there was another bomb in the area. One must take the bad with the good when it comes to media.

Thus, one can conclude that the media was good in spreading the news from the time the attacks happened until now, almost two years after the attacks, even if people thought it was given too much attention at times. There is of course a general interest in what happens with the assailant and the country now after the attacks, but some have felt that it has been drug out too long. I think it is important that the media follows what is happening as to remind people of what happened, even if this focus is arguably not in the right direction all of the time. If the country just forgets and does not change, they will be very open for a new attack in the future, and people will not be as sympathetic then.

⁷⁷ NTB. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10065090>

Chapter 5: The Aftermath

Although there were people criticizing Norway for its naivety before the attacks, this grew after the attacks. These people were both of Norwegian and non-Norwegian background. There was on one hand a certain admiration that a country could still remain so innocent and pure and there was no need for them to further the security measures and laws to the level that is necessary in most other countries. On the other hand this innocence and lack of laws and security measures is also, unfortunately, the reason the country has such high potential of getting taken advantage of. This is where the line between keeping the old, core values becomes fuzzy, especially for politicians. When the amount of people that feel it is acceptable to take advantage of the kindness and good will of others and the systems/procedures put in place become too many for Norway to even consider trying to preserve their traditional culture any longer.

In talking with various Norwegians in daily life, there is a general consensus that although their political leaders did a very good job at cleaning up the mess and supporting the people in their time of need; not all of the proper actions that could be taken in the aftermath have been taken. They are on the whole ready for some change. Change in this instance meaning action. It is the most important for the politicians to take action now because it is them who will be blamed for everything that happens in the end. They are the ones responsible for making these decisions on behalf of and for the safety of the society.

As stated earlier, there were many suggestions brought to the table and many meetings where the changes in security and such topics were discussed. That seems to be where it stopped though. There has not been much change since. Thus, the people are starting to become less positive about the initially positive reaction to the governments moves after the attacks.

This is not to say that there have been no changes made, but that some of the fairly obvious or necessary changes that the people feel should be/ should have been made have not been. As time passes, the population gets more and more anxious. As of January 2012,

the Departments Service Center, *Departmentenes servissenter* (DSS), had employed 45 new security personnel in the time after July 22, 2011.⁷⁸ The company Securitas, one of Norway's biggest security companies, has experienced a 20 to 30 percent raise in turnover since the attacks.⁷⁹ Security was then upped quite quickly after the attacks.

Most people say that they were pleased with the work that the police did on July 22, 2011.⁸⁰ With the training they had and the experience they had in such cases, they did the best they could. It is easy to blame them for being too slow when in reality not many could have done any better. In such situations, one never knows how one will react until actually presented with the problem. Under the pressure they were under, any number of things could have gone a different way. Their communication fell apart, they did not have the proper equipment, and these are all things that happen in such situations. As stated earlier, they did not have the proper experience or training when it came to such as this. No one saw something like this coming. Although a big tragedy, it showed not only the police force, but other such organizations, the holes they have in their systems. Now it is their job, in the aftermath, to fix those holes to prevent something similar from happening again.

5.1 The July 22nd Committee

The July 22nd Committee, *22.juli kommisjonen*, was put in place after the attacks so that there was a committee to evaluate the actions taken in Norway on the day of the attacks. They were to without biases analyze what could be done better in order for Norway to be more prepared if something of such capacity should happen again.

They took months in their analysis, going through every aspect thoroughly as to give an accurate report. Their report came out in August of 2012. In it were 31 suggestions for the authorities to improve Norway's preparedness for such events.⁸¹ The leader of the committee, Alexandra Bach Gjørvi, made it clear over and over when presenting the 31 things that could be changed, that no matter what could be changed or bettered, it was still

⁷⁸ DT. (2012) See: <http://dt.no/nyheter/regjeringen-kjoper-privat-sikkerhet-for-350-millioner-kroner-1.6712911>

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10015134>

⁸¹ NRK. (2012) See: <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/norge/1.8279685>

only the assailants fault that there were 77 lives lost on July 22, 2011.⁸² Along with these 31 points, there were two distinct things that the committee felt needed to change among other things. The first of these was that the Norwegian Police Security Service needed to take more initiative when it comes to working together and sharing information with other agencies. The second was that the Norwegian military should have more jobs within supporting such agencies as the police in times of terror and crisis. The 29 other suggestions were given to the following areas: the police, penalty provisions, the military, the health sector, rescue organizations, and security and intelligence. Among these groups, security and intelligence was given the most suggestions on how to improve preparedness for the future.⁸³

When the committee was put in place, a question of what was to remain public was a question. One suggestion was to create a special law that would keep things that came out in the interviews and during the investigation secret. The government took this into account, but in the end came to the conclusion that things that were said under the investigation could be viewed by the public. Karl Eirik Schjøtt-Pedersen, a council member of Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg said:

We wish to have a generally big level of openness, especially in this case, since it is of big general interest and meaning. We are therefore skeptical to a special law about exemption from the Freedom of Information Act.⁸⁴

The committee asked for this exception, or special law, so that people who came forth to give information on the case would be protected, and in turn give all of the information they had in their testimonials. They were afraid of not getting the information they needed to make an informed decision if the law was not in place. This due to the fact that people would be able to see how they responded and the people interviewed would be worried about stepping on peoples toes.

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Karl Eirik Schjøtt-Pedersen [my translation] from: Aftenposten. (2012) See: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/Regjeringensier-nei-til-sr-lov-etter-22-juli-6678560.html#.UWQ1VErwFCM>

There was a big reaction to this suggestion in the media. Although it is easy to understand the reasoning behind why the committee wanted the exception, the people of Norway are very news oriented. The majority of the population checks the net newspapers just as much as they check their Facebook's. As I mentioned before, news is a part of their culture, just as talking about the weather is not just small talk, but normal conversation. Also, communication between the government and the people has been fairly open in comparison to some other countries. Although some feel that they could do without the constant stream of news about the attacks and the assailant, most are genuinely interested in what is happening with events involving the attacks and that to be unable to be a part of and follow of a piece of something that touched everyone in some way was viewed negatively by many in the country. After consideration, the special law was turned down and everything said in the investigations was made public.

5.2 Norwegian Pride

An important point that was brought up was to be even more proud of being Norwegian. This statement was made by Fabian Stang. Out of all of the cultures I have encountered, Norwegians have the most national pride and it is apparent, if not to Norwegians themselves, then to foreigners looking in on the culture of Norway from the outside. They show it by doing things like wearing flags and displaying them everywhere, supporting their national teams even if they are not top class and such things. When I first came to Norway, it was one of the first things I noticed. There were flags everywhere! There are of course those whose pride is lower than others, but there are such people in every country. They could be embarrassed by their government or by other citizens.

Whatever their reason to be embarrassed or for their pride level to drop, Norwegians did not want this to happen due to the attacks on July 22, 2011. It would have been easy for Norwegians to be ashamed that a Norwegian would do such an act and thus lose faith in their country or fellow countrymen, but the initial reaction did not show this. If anything, it made that pride stronger seeing the openness and togetherness that came from that day.

After a while, people seemingly swept the acts under the rug and tried to forget them. The population as a whole has since moved on and thus, continued living their lives as

they did before the attacks. Although there has been a report showing that the average Norwegian has felt unsafe in places where they had otherwise felt safe before⁸⁵, the people have carried on as usual. To the people that have not forgotten what happened, it is disappointing for because it also means that the others whom are forgetting are also bringing about no change. Whether it be a politician or a citizen, the politicians push where the population push forward in the direction their voters want them to go. Even after the July 22nd Committee posted their suggestions for changes, there has not been much done it seemed like things just get pushed back. This creates disappointment for some because they saw this as Norway's wake-up call, so that things would change and that things would be safer in the future.

In a recent survey, it was found that two of three Norwegian citizens did not feel that Norway was more prepared today, almost two years after the attacks, to handle such acts as it was on the day of the attacks.⁸⁶ This is a very negative point to make because Norway has had almost two years to change things that they have viewed as out of date or not up to the proper working standards. Because of this, it would seem that the reaction of the Norwegian population is turning from its initial positive, hopeful response, to one of negativity. More and more in the media there are reports of unsatisfied citizens who are looking for change and do not see it and that fear what will happen the next time there is a terror attack. The once hailed Prime Minister is now being blamed for actions not being taken to better prepare the country. Since the government is in charge of such measures, and he is at the top of the hierarchy, it is falling on his shoulders, especially since the different departments denying blame and instead pushing it on others. With all of the tough questions, Stoltenberg seems to be navigating quite well.

When talking with Norwegians informally about how they feel about the attacks now, they seem to either be indifferent because they have all but forgotten about it, or they are upset because not much has been done since and instead of pushing the politicians to continue, people are forgetting and the all-powerful media was focusing on less important things instead of the cases that will make a difference in the situation. Since March 2013, the

⁸⁵ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10101182>

⁸⁶ Ibid

media has started to crack down and focus on the concerns of the people about the preparedness of the government now approaching two years after the attacks.

5.3 Laws and Security

Immediately following the attacks it seemed as if things were going to change in a big way. There was much talk about how things needed to be altered to better certain areas within the country. Many suggestions were brought forth, and these did not only come from the July 22nd Commission either. But then weeks and months passed and nothing was really changed. Jens Stoltenberg said that the attacks were to be forgotten, but should they be forgotten to the extent they seem to have been forgotten? The society was not prepared for such events to happen and now this is their opportunity to make the security better before something happens again.

5.3.1 Security Level in Norway

The security level in Norway has never been very high in comparison to western societies. There has simply not been a need for the level of security that other countries have had to implement. Although it adds to its beauty and purity, there is a fine line between keeping the traditional, open and trusting culture and being naïve. There has to come a point when trying to be the traditional, good-willed and open people Norwegians are known to be will become impossible due to that aspect being abused. There can be two attitudes when taking this on. The typical Norwegians attitude seems to be to wait until something is absolutely necessary, and then change it after whatever it may pertain to is at the time, which could mean the laws, security level, etc, fails a few times. There may be a few who express the need for change before there is a big problem, but changes do not occur until there has been at least one big problem. The necessary measures are then taken to change things so that the problem does not occur again. The other attitude to take would be the attitude of getting ahead of the problem before it happens. This would be the people who present the changes that should be made in anticipation to the problem.

In this case, we are talking about changing security and laws, and that has been a slow process here in Norway. Recently people have been blaming the politicians for being too careful in their decisions and investigations. This could be the case, but the lines are very unclear when it comes to such a topic because if Norway does change, then the terrorist will

have succeeded in his quest to change Norway. He would have succeeded in that of to close Norway off to outsiders, but Norway must also protect itself, its future and the future of its people as well.

Up to the time of the attacks July 22, 2011, Norway was on the conservative side of putting new forms of security or to even go to the level of security that other countries had put in place.⁸⁷ One could argue that it Norway is still on the conservative side of security in the year 2013. Although Norwegians felt safe and as if they were ahead of such attacks, outsiders viewed their position on justice system and security levels as quite naïve, out of date approaches in the time before the attacks. After the attacks on July 22, 2011 Norway had to truly assess whether their approach was naïve and how to not be naïve in the areas they were to decide were lacking in security and control. This was the job of the July 22nd Commission.

When it comes to security around terrorism there are two different kinds of security measures; focused and unfocused measures. Focused measures are measures taken towards stopping a specific group or individual terrorists who pose a threat. Unfocused measures would be measures taken at places like airports. It is not directed at a specific group, but at security in general, and to hinder terrorism movement via that mode of transportation. Norway has thus far moved in the direction of unfocused security measures, especially compared to other western countries. This could debatably be due to the fact that they did not have anything to focus on due to the fact that terrorism had not come yet and there was no one targeting the, so there was not a need to focus on specific terror cells or people. In comparison to other European countries, the growth and development in security has been fairly moderate also.⁸⁸

Having moved to Norway as a young adult, coming from a country with much higher security, it was surprising to me how low the security here was. After observing for a while, I could see that although the security was low, the people had this trust that was not tampered with which allowed the system to work. Although it has its faults, it is a part of what makes the country so appealing at the same time. That that the stores do not need so much security because it does not cross the populations mind to steal something, or that

⁸⁷ HAMMERLIN, J. (2011) p. 147

⁸⁸ Ibid p. 73

they do not need to lock their doors because there is in general no need for them to do so is something of admiration. One is not labeled a thief before actually committing a crime. It is positive that Norway's culture does not need this and I personally do not look forward to the day that it does.

That feeling of safety and trust is nonetheless becoming less and less common in today's societies. Using grocery stores as a reference to this, when I first arrived in Norway in 2009, the grocery store I frequently visited did not have the security measures in place that it does today. The height of its security was that you had to walk out through the checkout lanes, thus letting the employees essentially get a look at everyone leaving and assess their threat. Now there are cameras installed and there has been a policy inferred that a person cannot take their larger bags past the entrance, thus cutting out the opportunity for people to stash things in large bags. There has therefore been a raise in the security level in Norway over the past few years. What the politicians have to decide in the aftermath of the terror attacks July 22, 2011 is what measures to take to comfortably secure their country without closing the open and democratic society of Norway.

Security measures can be taken without an actual rise in safety in a country. This makes the politicians decisions all the more important. This topic was brought up in chapter two. From the book *Terror & Demokrati* Joakim Hammerlin, the notion of the rise of security creating a phobia within society is approached.⁸⁹ This raise in security does not necessarily mean that the society becomes more immune to terror, but that there are simply more methods of detecting and stopping terror. There are so many ways for terror to enter and affect a society that it makes it impossible to control and stop every possible attempt. With the raise in security there, people become more aware of the threats around them, thus creating fear. Therefore, the politicians must choose wisely when developing the security measures in Norway. They can do this as to raise security in the most effective ways as to not infer unnecessary measures that will influence the Norwegian society, not creating fear.

The point for the politicians is to be active in trying to stop terror while not losing that openness and caring or compassionate attitude. This is what the Norwegian politicians

⁸⁹ HAMMERLIN, J. (2011) p. 110

are trying to dance around now. As time goes though, the public is getting anxious because nothing is being done. There are many discussions on the topic, but no action being taken.

One of the reasons the government has given as a hook up in the process of change over the past two years is resources. *PST* says that they have received too few resources.⁹⁰ They had reported as early as 2007 that they were worried about the level of security in the country. Although the government has year after year added to the resources *PST* has, it was never enough to get the proper equipment, training options and such. As stated before though, it is not always enough to throw resources at something. If we look at the economic situation of Norway, it is sitting very high on the economic food chain, if not at the top. There should not be a problem with money. The point is to find more efficient ways of doing that of which needs to be done to secure the country, not to just throw money at it and expect it to get better because it has more money to play with.

No matter what amount of resources are given, the Commission stated that the ability to assess and understand the risk for terror in certain places is a prerequisite for preparedness to work in the case that a crisis is to come up. Therefore, late in 2012, there was action taken to chart the risk of attacks happening at universities and colleges throughout Norway. With this project they did not try to find solutions to their problems or risks within each institution alone, they also brought people in to help them both assess the risk and to help form solutions if a problem should arise.⁹¹ The director of the higher education department within the Ministry of Education and Research, *Kunnskapsdepartementet*, Arne Lund, stated:

That in which is important is to build skills. What has characterized this work before is that one, maybe to a great extent, had to solve these problems themselves. It is not possible to such alone, and we look positively on those who import outside resources.⁹²

The fact that that past mistakes are acknowledged and used to prepare for the future is very positive. There has consequently been changes in some aspects of the Norwegian society since the attacks. Although it is not confirmed that there have been any changes made in

⁹⁰ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10023455>

⁹¹ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10056230>

⁹² Arne Lund, Director of Higher Education Department [my translation] from: *ibid*

these locations, at least there were investigations and people with special competence in the matters that were brought in to assess possible risks at such institutions as higher education institutions because, as stated in the article, there can be as many people in a small area as there would be in a small city at times.⁹³

5.3.2 Changes within the Police Force

Initially after the attacks, the majority of people of Norway expressed that they were satisfied with police's efforts on the day of the attacks.⁹⁴ As time has passed, their level of satisfaction has dropped, much like the positivity toward the political leaders actions after the attacks. After then being hit pretty hard by criticisms in the report produced by the July 22nd Commission, the police saw the need to make some changes. It was made clear that even though it was only the assailant's fault that so many people died, there were still clear areas that the police could improve after the attacks. Not only did they receive critiques from the Commission in the time after, but the people have also pointed out weaknesses in the police's actions since as well.⁹⁵ In many areas, the police have seen that this is their opportunity to make the changes necessary before they end up in a similar situation and fail in some of the same aspects they failed under the attacks. This is expressed by the leader of the Police Community Association, *Politiets Fellesforbund*: "Right now we have a very good opportunity to develop. We just have one thing to do: to improve."⁹⁶ They are given the best opportunity now because there are no major events happening. It is the calm before the potential storm to come, so it is now they need to get prepared, not after they are in a similar situation again and unlike many of the politicians, they seem to be taking this opportunity to change.

One of these changes was response time. The Commission had this topic as one of the main things that they felt needed to be changed due to what their investigation into the attacks concluded. From the beginning of 2013, there was introduced a requirement for maximum response time in a county of Norway.⁹⁷ Norway has a total of 20 counties, unless

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10015134>

⁹⁵ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/artikkel.php?artid=10072282>

⁹⁶ Arne Johannssen, Leader of *Politiets fellesforbund* [my translation] from: ibid

⁹⁷ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10054180>

Svalbard is included. (Svalbard is a little island owned by Norway that lies northwest of Norway in the Norwegian Sea.) The county that placed a requirement on their maximum response time was *Sogn og Fjordane*. This county is on the west coast of Norway. In the same article that reported the change *Sogn og Fjordane* was going to make, it stated that *Hordaland*, another Norwegian county situated on the west coast of Norway was reportedly going to take the steps to introduce the same, but it is not confirmed that has happened yet.⁹⁸ Although there has not been any reports of more counties in Norway taking the Commission by its word and introducing a requirement on maximum response time, one can hope the rest will follow the example that *Sogn og Fjordane* has set for Norway.

Another big change the police have made since the critiques of their actions have started rolling in is to introduce a new requirement of at least 40 hours of annual training for each officer so that they keep up to date and prepared to use methods in case of a situation arising that causes them to use force.⁹⁹ I personally doubt that many of the police officer's who were sent in to take control of the situation either in Oslo or on *Utøya* were trained in such a situation at all, and thus, were unsure of what to do and scared for what was to come of the entire situation. This would have slowed them down because the proper training had left them sure of what to do in regards of who was leading, who was to follow, who was to do this and who was to do that instead of fumbling around waiting for someone else to make the decision. I am not saying that this is all they did, but there was certainly an element of this due to the fact that they were not given the proper amount of training in the area they needed at the time.

5.3.3 Helicopter

On the day of the attacks, one of the biggest things that was noticeably missing was the police's access to a helicopter. A helicopter would have been a great resource for the police on that day. Although there was access to one, there was no one to fly it because the attack happened in a time in the middle of high vacation season in Norway and there was no one to fly it. Because of this, there was much pressure put on the Norwegian Police Security Service to make one available and for there to be an around the clock pilot with the

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/artikkel.php?artid=10072282>

competence to fly in such conditions. Right after the attacks, a helicopter was rented from England with the intention of purchasing one later. The suggestion was also given after the attacks that the military and the police should have better communication, this communication would then give the police easier access to the helicopters that the military has at its disposal. Renting the helicopter was one of the first steps Norway took in changing their preparedness after the attacks. Then, by the summer of 2012 they were to have purchased their own helicopter as well. This date was then later changed to the 1st of September, 2012, and then January 2013. As of the first working day in January 2013 Norway had purchased their own helicopter for the police force and trained enough people so that there will be someone available to man the helicopter 24 hours a day, seven days a week.¹⁰⁰

Although this is quick change, I have heard Norwegians express dissatisfaction with the fact that they are still renting a helicopter from England two years later. The cost of this is not cheap and since the country will need such a resource long into the future, they view it as a better investment to buy than to rent. This is a point added to the previous statement of that it is not always concerned about more money, but also about finding more efficient ways to use the money granted.

5.3.4 Communication

The police force and other such institutions had the right thought process after the attacks in that they chose to upturn every stone to find out what they could do differently and more efficiently. This is the correct attitude to have. They could have come out in denial of their faults, blaming the miscommunications and such on other groups instead of deciding to look into their own policies and see what they could be doing differently to serve their purpose more effectively next time something of this nature comes up.

After July 22, 2011, the goal was that Norway would have the best communication level between its police force and military throughout the whole of Europe.¹⁰¹ It was quite

¹⁰⁰ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10064161>

¹⁰¹ VG. (2011) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10023266>

obvious in the aftermath that there needed better forms of communication and having a link between the two groups would help in such situations in the future.

Another Norway has improved communication within their justice system is by improving their procedures for warning others of what is happening. At the time, it was an email with a message that went to a specific computer. Due to the fact that this was not used very often, in most cases the computer was in a room where it was normal that there was not officer manning the room, and few were even trained in how it worked.¹⁰² This sounds absurd. One of the most important systems intact, a system that warns of terror attacks and other such events, was not even on a computer that was manned 24 hours a day, seven days a week in number of police stations. Now, 20 months after the catastrophic episode, has it been replaced with a new system of an alert that pops up in the bottom corner of the screen, before moving to the middle after an allotted amount of time.¹⁰³

5.3.5 Road Closings

One good example when it comes to proving how the government puts things off is the example of the street that leads to the government building that was bombed. Since 2004 there was talk about closing the street and making it a street only for pedestrians; the reason behind it being safety.¹⁰⁴ This would be the same street that the assailant used to drive into the parking garage of the government building with his car bomb. The topic was brought up because back in 2004 there was a simulated terror attack that led to the police force developing 197 antiterrorism measures.¹⁰⁵ It was at this point that the topic of closing the street to traffic was brought up. They felt was necessary in reducing the risk of terror in the area. This would have prevented the bomb going off under the building. This does not mean that there would not have been a bomb, but that it would not have happened in the same place. The government building was not the only place the assailant had considered in his plans of terror, but the attack could have been prevented in that specific place because the simulation showed this as a danger, it was then brought up with the correct political

¹⁰² VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10115207>

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10048153>

¹⁰⁵ TV2. (2011) See: <http://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/stoltenbergs-22-julitale-faar-internasjonalt-pris-3630840.html>

offices and it was discussed as an option at a number of meetings. Nothing ever came out of these discussions. Knut Storberget, the Minister of Justice and the Police at the time of the attacks said to VG in an article in November 2012 that he did not see it as an emergency to close the street before the attacks. In the same article he states that he felt that the responsibility for closing the street lay with the Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church affairs.¹⁰⁶ This is something that seems to be popping up more and more, that people are trying to put the blame on other people. This will be discussed in the section about the turn in the reactions.

Even now, almost two years after the attacks, the street is still open.¹⁰⁷ This leaves the building vulnerably open for a repeat attack. They cannot just sit back and wait for another attack to happen either. It will, and then they will be in the same predicament, only there will not be that sympathy and support that there was before. Not in Norway, not outside of Norway. There will be fingers pointed and anger that builds up because something could have been done to stop it, but the people who had the power to do that did not take the initiative that they were supposed to.

In addition to this street, called *Grubbegata* in Norwegian, being closed, there is another street that goes by the *Storting*, another government building in central Oslo, which has been proposed to be closed in the time after the attacks. This is *Akersgata*. The reasoning behind the closing of the street being the same as closing *Grubbegata*, they simply would like to reduce the risk of there being a bomb outside of the government building. As of April 2013, the street is partially closed with flower pots blocking full access, but there are still open areas for the possibility of a car bomb. The President of the *Storting*, the government building next to *Akersgata*, says: "The reason that it has taken such a long time to close *Akersgata* is because on first now has received clear, professional advice of closing the street."¹⁰⁸ This could be a valid reason behind the slow movement in the closing of the streets, but now that the proper methods of expressing the threat have been delivered, there will be no excuses for the street not to be closed in the near future.

¹⁰⁶ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10048153>

¹⁰⁷ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10108768>

¹⁰⁸ Dag Terje Andersen, President of *Storting* [my translation] from: ibid

The leader of the Labor Party, *Arbeiderpartiet*, in Oslo, Jan Bøhler, expressed his growing impatience in the government in this particular case to VG with the following statement in March of 2013:

It is hard to understand what is stopping this. I have not heard of anybody disagreeing with closing the streets. Now we need to learn from the slowness of closing *Grubbegata* and show decisiveness. It will also give a nice pedestrian walkway and a better environment in the city. So here there are the plus sides.¹⁰⁹

This shows that it is not only the people that are getting impatient with the sluggishness when it comes to the government changing things so that it is safer for their people and there is an overall raised sense of preparedness when it comes to attacks like those that happened July 22, 2011 happening.

5.3.6 Similar Comparison

It is easy to compare the United States and Norway's reactions to terror because the US has had many problems with terror in the past and because America's culture is so widely portrayed in the media. The most known and talked about terror attack would then be the attack on September 11, 2001. Due to how big the attack in 2001 was, and other differences in the attacks, like ethnic background of the assailant, in comparison to the attack in Norway in 2011, there can be many critiques on as to why the reactions were different. Also the fact that the assailants were not of American decent in 2001, when the assailant in Norway was of Norwegian decent; it could potentially have shifted the reaction of Norway. Therefore, a more comparable attack, although less known, would be the attack in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995.

The attacks are scarily similar. First to describe the motivation behind the attacks in Oklahoma City in 1995. There were two American men that were not satisfied with how the government, specifically the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), handled a few cases and how hard they were coming down on gun control. They as a result chose to fight for their beliefs in the form of a terror attack. They bombed a federal building using a truck bomb

¹⁰⁹ Jan Bøhler, Oslo Labor Party leader [my translation] from: VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10101081>

with fertilizer. As easy as it is to compare September 11th with July 22nd, these two attacks were much more similar. From the choice of what type of bomb to use, to the choice of targeting a government building, to the reasons behind being unsatisfied with the way the government is handling things and being tired of not being heard. The results of this attack has very similar results as the attacks in Norway as well. The assailants were not killed in the attacks and lived to be put on trial for what they had done.

After the attacks the assailants were tried in court, much like that that happened in Norway, and there were some laws changed. These laws pertained to how people committing such acts were to be sentenced and different laws when it comes to preventing such event from happening again. It seems that good came from what happened in Oklahoma City that day in regards to how it changed the government's preparedness and some laws in prevention of such things from happening in the future, but you can still see a major difference in the reaction styles in the US and Norway in many ways. One being in what sentences the assailants received after the attack in the US verses the sentence the assailant in Norway received. There were two assailants in the US. The first assailant was sentenced to death in his first trial. The second was sentenced to life without parole. He was then brought to trial a second time some years later with the intention of also receiving the death penalty, but it was denied. The threat of something like this happening again was also investigated, as well as what could be done in order for the government and aid in such situations to be better prepared for the future. Much like the July 22nd Commission was put into place to do. There was then an act put into place in order for the country to be more prepared in the future. This happened a mere year after the attacks. Then, in 1997 there were more acts passed due to the Oklahoma City bombing in order to create a more prepared country.

Up until September 11, 2001, this was the deadliest act of terrorism on American soil. A pastor named Bill Haggard was quoted saying:

Perhaps our people could have accepted it more easily if it could have been shown that some foreign power came into our country and performed a deed like this. But

the fact that one of our own countrymen, within our country, has does something like this has, I think, added to the total disaster in our mind of what has happened.¹¹⁰

Although there have been many who have said that the reaction had been different had it been al-Qaida behind the attacks in Norway, the fact that it was one of their own people had a big affect on them as well. Although there was no one to wage war against, Norway had to look within itself and accept that although it has tried to take care of the well-being of its citizens, there was at least one who slipped through the cracks and was unsatisfied to the point that they felt the need to attack their own country to prove a point. This is also mixed with the fear of there being another person, or even other people, out there that have the same views as the assailant. Therefore, even though there was not any 'other' group to blame, there are many factors need to be looked at. These could be perspectives that were mentioned before such as his family situation, where he grew up, etc.¹¹¹

In the end, no matter if the assailant is one of one's own countrymen, or if the assailant(s) is not, acceptance and understanding is hard. There could have been an uphill battle for the minorities in Norway to fight had it been someone of another ethnic background. But even though this aspect was not present this time, it still did create a different form of fear and resentment in people. As far as minorities go, there was a study done by Statistics Norway that showed that Norwegians were in fact had a more positive outlook of immigrants after the attacks July 22, 2011.¹¹² In an article published by *Vårt land*, Our Country, a Norwegian newspaper that is given out daily with an emphasis on God's role in current events, there was an article about how Norway was changed by the attacks on July 22, 2011. This was printed in December 2011, five months after the attacks. At that time many people with immigrant backgrounds said that they felt more included and experienced less discrimination in the time shortly after the attacks. In the article, a radio announcer with a Pakistani upbringing on a Norwegian-Pakistani radio station in Oslo states that: "Five months after, there are very few of them that still mean that to be true."¹¹³ Mir has come to this conclusion through his program held every Saturday called Voice of Oslo. Every program

¹¹⁰ Bill Haggard, Pastor See: Wikipedia. (2012) See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oklahoma_City_bombing

¹¹¹ JUPSKÅS, A.R. (ed.) (2013) p. 20

¹¹² SSB. (2012) See: <http://www.ssb.no/a/forskning/artikler/2011/12/1322831561.64.html>

¹¹³ Wakas Mir, PakRadio [my translation] from: *Vårt Land*. (2011) See: [http://www.vl.no/samfunn/hvordan-har-22-juli-forandret-norge-/](http://www.vl.no/samfunn/hvordan-har-22-juli-forandret-norge/)

he talks about actual problems for Norwegians with a Pakistani background. There have been many who have responded on the topic of July 22nd not changing anything in regards to the way Norwegians behave towards them. This is a reaction that has changed from positive to negative because in the time after, there was a general sense of raised inclusion.

Another thing to point out in the comparisons of these two attacks is the reaction time of the government when it came to changing laws in preventing such a thing from happening again. Since the attacks were so similar, the two reactions can more accurately be compared as in results when it comes to changes. Within a year, the US had passed an act to be more prepared if such a situation was to come up again, as well as completed their investigation similar to the investigation of the July 22nd Commission. Then, not even two years later, there were more acts passed due to the events of the bombing to be more prepared in the future. Although some things have been changed in Norway, the reaction time is much different when it comes to changing laws and passing acts that create an overall sense of preparedness. This sluggishness when it comes to acting on the changes they said would come after the attacks is causing a turn in the otherwise positive reactions that Norway had right after the attacks.

As mentioned in the previous section, the assailant was of the same ethnicity of the country. There is no way to say for sure, but it is speculated that the population of Norway would have reacted differently had it been an assailant of another ethnicity or for religious reasons outside of the widely accepted religion of Christianity in Norway. Maybe it helped the people to react in a positive way to see that it was a Norwegian instead of the commonly thought of terrorist from the Islamic religion or of a Middle Eastern country. Not only was he ethnic Norwegian, but he had a good background in relations to where he grew up in Norway and the status of his family within the community. As a general consensus by various Norwegians I have had conversations with over the years after the attacks, it seems that the fact that the assailant was Norwegian created both a sense of relief and an added pain to the already large wound the attacks created. It seems to have given them a sense of relief because of the fear of a racial war in Norway breaking loose. There are already a number of Norwegians that see immigrants in not a necessarily positive light, and having an immigrant or non-ethnic Norwegian perform such an act would have raised this dislike, or general consensus of these feelings. I feel that it also helped Norwegians in a way that they could not

just simply place the blame on someone else, or another group or society. Instead, they really had to look within themselves and try to fix the flaws within their own systems. Changing things within themselves to ensure that there were no more people within their own society that would carry out something of the same nature. This they have done through various methods. One example of this being the July 22nd Commission.

The other side of the attacks being completed by one of their own countrymen is that it, like Pastor Bill Haggard said, potentially creates a bigger sense of hurt and a lower sense of acceptance. It is hard to accept that someone who had quite a similar background as you could commit such an act. When it is a member from another group, with another upbringing, then it is not so important to understand the reasoning because one is not from that culture, country and did not experience the same or at least similar things growing up. But when they do come from the same background and such, the need to explain becomes stronger and even harder to understand because most Norwegians would not even dream of committing such an act, let alone wrap their head around the fact that one of their own actually did.

Therefore, even though it can be argued that it made it easier on Norway that the assailant was of its ethnic background, and there thus could not be a reaction of revenge because there was no one to take revenge on, it also does create a different type of confusion and doubt within the country as well. There is a need to understand something that is not easy to understand, why and how someone very similar to them could do such a thing, and there is also a new fear that there could be more like the assailant lurking within their society.

5.4 Norway's Shift in Reaction

After the attacks on the 22nd of July, 2011, there were many Norwegians that expressed a certain level of pride to be Norwegian, as noted in chapter this chapter. This is because of the initial reaction the country had. There are not many countries that would have had such a reaction. Although a little gruesome to say, it had a very positive effect on the country. Their core values that had previously been untested were put to the test, and as a result, strengthened. It is easy to say that one stands for peace, openness and love, but to

test that theory in such a strong way only to come out stronger in those qualities is something completely different.

As proven throughout the years and in our own lives time and time again, it is easy to talk ones way through problems, making promises and vows, but to follow through on these is not always as easy. To react with more democracy, tolerance and openness, but being careful as to not control everything, creating an entirely different environment in the country of Norway, is a step in the right direction. Where will more control get the country?

More control is what the United States has focused on. After September 11, 2001 the police and other government authorities were, among other things, given more control and rights to monitoring. This is not necessarily the answer in Norway's case. It creates a different environment within the society. That feeling that Norwegians have of trust and openness will disappear if Norway follows in the footsteps of the United States. By following in their footsteps, it would essentially destroy the base of Norwegian culture as it is today. It would also kill the openness that there was such a deep protection for in the time after the attacks. The biggest problem facing Norway after the attack is to choose the right security measures to take in order to increase safety, but not kill their open society and the traditional Norwegian culture that follows with it.

5.4.1 Politicians: Who is to blame?

As media has followed the entire ordeal, it has shown that Norway as a whole was very positive in regards to what was done and what was happening in regards to the attacks. As time passed, this positivity faded. Then, as the year shifted to 2013, there has been more and more disappointment and negativity expressed in the countries handling of this situation, even more so with the politicians because of their lack of action.

In February 2013 there was an article published in VG entitled *Mange 22.juli berørte skuffet over politikerne* [Many affected by July 22nd disappointed by Politicians; my translation].¹¹⁴ This article outlines the reasons why the people are becoming more and

¹¹⁴ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10100948>

more disappointed in their politicians. Alf Vederhus, a father who lost his son in the shooting on *Utøya* says to another Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenposten*, that:

The July 22nd Commission showed courage when it gave out an honest, unembellished report. The judges for the case against the assailant showed courage when they made an independent decision on the sanity of the assailant. The committee hearing and committee are not characterized by courage, neither the so-called responsible leaders or the committee itself. ¹¹⁵

The raise in overall people who started expressing their disappointment was due to a report being let out by a new committee February 19, 2013. This committee was made up of politicians from various political backgrounds. Its purpose was to be sure that the government and its management completes the tasks necessary, suggest changes to the constitution of Norway and election legislation over the Parliament, *Stortinget*, and the Royal House; all this in relation to July 22nd. ¹¹⁶ As earlier stated, a large number of people felt that this committee did not do a well enough job in being honest about the flaws in the system. It was the last straw for most in that they finally went public with their disappointments in the government and how they are handling things. Now it is time for the government to try to defend all of the decisions they have made since the attacks and all of the deadline extensions that have resulted in little being changed in the preparedness of Norway's security. Before this report came out, the Norwegian people were still quite quiet about the matters of what was going on. Even if they were dissatisfied, they were not about to express their dissatisfaction yet. This report seems to be the straw that broke the camel's back, so to say.

In rebuttal to the newly awakened dissatisfaction amongst the society, the Minister of Justice and Public Safety, Grete Faremo, and Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg, held a presentation on Wednesday, March 30, 2013 about how Norway was currently prepared for terror. In the presentation there were ten different concrete suggestions to strengthen this area in Norway. ¹¹⁷ One of the most important words in the previous statements is suggestions. They did not use the word changes, but suggestions. That means that these ten

¹¹⁵ Alf Vederhus, Father [my translation] from: *ibid*

¹¹⁶ REGJERINGEN. (n.d.) See: <http://www.stortinget.no/no/Representanter-og-komiteer/Komiteene/Kontroll-og-konstitusjonskomiteen/>

¹¹⁷ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10101578>

items that they view as important to strengthen their country against terror are not done, but still being contemplated. This seems to be the root of the problem in terms of the people's dissatisfaction. With such instances it is easy to see why the people are getting so frustrated with the government. If nothing gets done and the government seems to be using their time to apologize, shift blame and give reasons for why it has not yet been done instead of sitting down and taking their responsibilities seriously and making the changes that have been presented what seems to be almost 100 different ways now, there will be no change. Although there has been some changes, all of the investigations into how Norway can and should change elements of their system, etc, have revealed many more changes that need to be made and then the people of Norway can feel safe and like their country is ready to tackle the next situation that comes about in a proper fashion.

The Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, stated in a letter already in August of 2012 that:

I have the highest responsibility for preparedness in Norway, for that that went wrong and that that went well.... That the Prime Minister has the highest responsibility does not, however, release others from their responsibilities.¹¹⁸

In the past months, it seems to have become a game of who is to blame. As the public becomes more and more antsy and disappointed, thus pushing the government to take actions that should have been taken by now, the politicians are trying to point fingers in different directions. In the above statement, Stoltenberg makes it clear that he does accept the responsibility since he is at the top of the hierarchy, but not all of the blame is to be put on him. This is not to be forgotten either. There are different departments within the government because there is too much to be done for one person to handle. The work is therefore delegated throughout the system that has been created. Each department is consequently responsible for their own area within the society and then the Prime Minister is like the manager over these people. With the pressure of the public growing, it seems that the politicians are pushing the blame around as to not have the weight of it on their shoulders. It then inevitably ends up on the shoulders of the person who is supposed to be in

¹¹⁸ Jens Stoltenberg [my translation] from: Aftenposten (2012) See: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/22juli/Her-kan-du-lese-Stortingets-22-juli-innstilling-7126219.html#.UYJXk0rwFCM>

charge of all of the little departments. A good example of this is the example of the closing of the road that the assailant used to drive his car bomb up to the government building. After years and years of discussing the danger of the street remaining open, something dangerous happens. Then, years after the dangerous situation happened, there still is nothing done. The government official in charge of this specific task is then asked why nothing has been done. He then makes a statement saying that it was not closed before the attack because he did not see the street being open as a direct danger and that is why it was not closed before. Continuing his statement, he then says that he felt that the responsibility for closing the street actually lay with another department and not his. After almost ten years of discussion, the person in charge of a certain task is still unclear as to what responsibilities are his and what are not.¹¹⁹ This is exactly what is frustrating the people and shifting their reaction. If the people leading them have no idea what their responsibilities are, how will anything get done. If nothing gets done, the country will not become either safer or more prepared when it comes to such kinds of attacks in the future.

Now there are more and more people seeing this aspect and getting impatient. In an article printed by *Aftenposten* shortly after the release of the committee's report in February with that described the people's feelings for the government: "Focus from the government has been to apologize so much that one is sitting, but not so much that one gets up to do something about it."¹²⁰ This is coming from one of the few that has dared say anything publicly about his disappointment, but there are many that feel the same way. I find the way he stated it to be the perfect way to describe it because through the two years the reaction started out positive. The politicians said all of the right things and took all of the right measures in investigating which direction to go to become more prepared for something similar. This showed that they saw that they were lacking competence and resources under the attacks. That was very positive. Then, when the results of the reports came out, not much action has been taken. When they are confronted with the question of why this is they apologize and point fingers in other directions. In turn, sitting and not getting up and doing something about the problems.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10048153>

¹²⁰ Alf Vederhus [my translation] See: (<http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/-Fra-regjeringen-har-fokus-vart-a-beklage-sa-mye-at-en-blir-sittende-men-ikke-sa-mye-at-en-ma-ga-7127162.html#.UW1mpUrWFCN>)

¹²¹ *ibid*

A member of the Centre Party, *Senterpartiet*, in Norway, Per Olaf Lundteigen, makes clear that he stands behind the letter Jens Stoltenberg wrote in August 2012 to apologize for the peoples disappointment in the low level of action being taken, but that the responsibility is not all his either, but that there needs to be a new culture of leadership adopted in Norway.¹²² As mentioned before, the culture of Norway is generally quite relaxed, there is thus nothing that is changed unless the need has been expressed many, many times and accordingly deemed necessary. In regards to the shift in leadership culture, Ludteigen means the following:

Leadership is not ambiguous either as a concept or in practice. Leadership refers to the interaction between people where someone acts and, through their actions, affect others behavior. Some lead and others follow. This is a matter of particular relationships between people, but it is also true that we understand good leadership as being dependent of what type of situations leadership needs to take place in. In public organizations for example, in agencies where constitutional values are of high priority, where laws and rules are to be followed and decisions are to be made. There are then other requirements for good leadership than in the police force that should act in the first line under a terror attack or in an organization that should save lives under emergency conditions such as fires or big accidents. Similarly, other requirements for good leadership are needed for the government to operate at a superior, strategic and functional level.

With this he basically means that the perception of good leadership can be different for many people. But as more and more people express their disappointment in the government and how they are handling this situation, it becomes more clear that the culture of leadership is no longer working at a functional level, and therefore suggests that the culture of leadership be changed. Informally talking to many Norwegians in the year of 2013, I have found that many do propose that the government be switched out soon, and that the current leading political party, the Labor Party, *Arbeiderpartiet*, be demoted. For the last several years, this party has had the majority in office. It seems that now, people are looking to change this, and thus the culture of leadership in Norway.

¹²² Per Olaf Lundteigen[my translation] See: <http://www.senterpartiet.no/meny-forside/det-trengs-ny-ledelseskultur-og-styrka-beredskap-paa-grunnplanet-article80028-12919.html>

5.5 *Utøya*

Utøya is a key symbol in this whole mix. Not only because of what happened there, but because of the decision of what to do with it after will be.¹²³ Right after the attack, the leader of *AUF*, Eskil Pedersen, came out saying that they would take *Utøya* back as their own. This was a notion that many people supported at the time. As time has passed the debate about whether this should or should not happen has gotten more and more complex. The feelings behind both sides are notably understandable. On one hand, to take the island back would be good because the island has been used for the summer camp since the 1950s. It accordingly plays a big role in the history of the political party. It has become a tradition within the political party and many members of the party have fond memories of the island and what it had to bring with it. The friends it brought them, contacts within the political party, experience it has given them and even love that has come from the encounters some have had there. To put an end to this would be unfortunate. On the other hand, as some parents have expressed, it is not necessarily the warmest thought to think that others will play soccer and have an entertaining time in or on the spot that your child was murdered.¹²⁴ It would be on some level nice for the area to become a memorial for those who passed in the attack and for there to be a place for those who they left behind in their death to visit in their honor if they do so wish. One solution to this problem that has been presented is to continue with the summer camp, but to do so at a different location than it has been held. In 2012 there was no summer camp arranged for *AUF*. They felt it was too soon. Especially with the debate as to where to have it and what will happen to *Utøya* in the long run being as heated as it was at the time.

The debate, now almost two years later, is still open but some decisions have been made. As for the summer camp in 2013 they have decided that they are ready to arrange a summer camp. As for the location, it will not be on *Utøya*.¹²⁵ There is still talk about remodeling the current set up on *Utøya* and returning, but that brings in the debate of those whose loved ones were killed on the island having a place to visit as well as the mixed feelings people have about the safety of the island. As of April 2013, there is a general

¹²³ VIK (NTB). (2013) *Varden*, 10th April, p. 18. See: <http://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/article3213605.ece>

¹²⁴ VG. (2012) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10066401>

¹²⁵ DAGBLADET. (2013) See: <http://www.dagbladet.no/2013/01/30/nyheter/innenriks/politikk/25500624/>

consensus that *Utøya* will be remodeled and some decisions have been made as to what the future of the summer camp will be. They have chosen the memorial place of those who lost their lives on *Utøya* to be a place called *Sørbråten*.¹²⁶ It is a wooded area that overlooks the island and shares many characteristics with the island. Due to the similarities and view of the actual island, it has been chosen as the national memorial for those who died on *Utøya*. It is scheduled to be opened July 22, 2015. The summer of 2015 is also the summer they plan on opening *Utøya* as a summer camp for the Youth Labor Party again as well. Not all are as pleased with these decisions as others, but the positive in this is that there has been a decision made and there is action being taken to move forward in these plans. It can be refreshing to see progress in some areas because it gives hope for a similar progress in others.

5.6 A More Active Norway

Aslak Nore, a Norwegian author, said that he believed the generation that survived *Utøya* would be the strongest generation in Norwegian political history. This has proved to be true in the months and now years after. If anything, the attacks awakened the want for young Norwegians to be involved in politics. Although interest in politics in general increased, it has increased more among the youth. The events fortunately did not leave them in fear of being politically active. This is very positive not only because that means that the terrorist did not achieve yet another of his goals, but to show people that have such thoughts in the future that it is not the way to get their message out there because it does not make that big difference that they want it to. This will then hopefully discourage them from committing any such acts in the future and help people to realize that to make a real difference, other methods need to be tested. They can look at how these politically active youth and adults actually do make a difference through lobbying and being active and go that route instead of a route of destruction.

Luckily, this has been the case here in Norway for the most part. The proper changes just need to be made by the government soon to make the appropriate changes to move forward after the attacks now that they have the time and luxury, and I feel the positive

¹²⁶ VG. (2013) See: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/artikkel.php?artid=10102244>

increase in political activity will continue to rise. In any case, I support Aslak Nore's presumption in that the upcoming political generation will be strong and that if nothing in between changes the leadership culture in Norway, that they will. They will have the drive behind them to make the changes they feel necessary.

Not only has there been a rise in people that have become politically active, but there has been a rise in people that are active in extremist debates as well. People who had similar thoughts as the terrorist did, but were not previously as open about it before have started to be open up about their opinions regarding the topics of multiculturalism and other views the terrorist chose to bring up as his reasons behind the attacks and the compendium he wrote about his beliefs. The terrorist coming out in such a big way has led them to come out and share their message more widely and freely as well. It is not to say that these people will commit such an act as the terrorist on July 22nd, but that although there has been an increase in politically active people, there are also more net debates out there that follow similar theories as the terrorist. Although there is a rise in activity in such areas, Norwegian authorities have increased their awareness when it comes to such extremist blogs, forums and other sites and are following them much more closely now and being more strict in regards to what is acceptable on such forums and debates to minimize the chance of such things getting out of hand like they did with the terrorist. The increase awareness to prevent such events from occurring again by potentially catching a person that would go as far as the terrorist before he or she actually commits the act.

5.7 A Look at Norway from Outside as Time Has Passed

As mentioned before, the view of Norway from outside its borders has also changed. This I have experienced personally by being a student in Norway and traveling to and from the country for holidays and various other occasions and making small talk with people. Before the attacks the conversations were always quite pleasant. The typical reaction was a look of surprise mixed in with a tinge of confusion. After the attacks, even a good year after, the common initial response is along the lines of 'Oh, where that man shot all those kids?' Although it was not something small that happened, it should not be what defines Norway either. Much like what Hadia Tajik stated in the time after the attacks:

It is not him that stood behind the attacks that defines Norway. It is us, we that formed the sea of flowers in Oslo a few days after the attacks and all those who were with us in thought, which define Norway.¹²⁷

The beauty of the land and its once great legacy has been tainted by the work of one man in a matter of hours. Just as Muslims should not be judged based on the actions of a few within their community either. Although this is easier said than done, it would be very positive to see that Norway was not stamped by this one day. People saw the positive reactions of the people in the days and weeks after the attacks, and if anything should define the country, it would hopefully be those reactions.

Just like the people of Norway have changed their reactions after the attacks, so have the people outside of Norway. That naiveness that some saw when the attacks occurred, has become a more and more common feeling when it comes to Norway. Before, people had an understanding that nothing of such a nature had happened in the country prior to the attacks, so it could just have caught the politicians, police force and other groups that aided in the chaos by surprise. Then, it was the perfect time for Norway to update and improve their systems and procedures and become more prepared in not only a way to be able to prevent something of that nature from happening again, but to be better prepared to handle such a crisis if something does come up again.

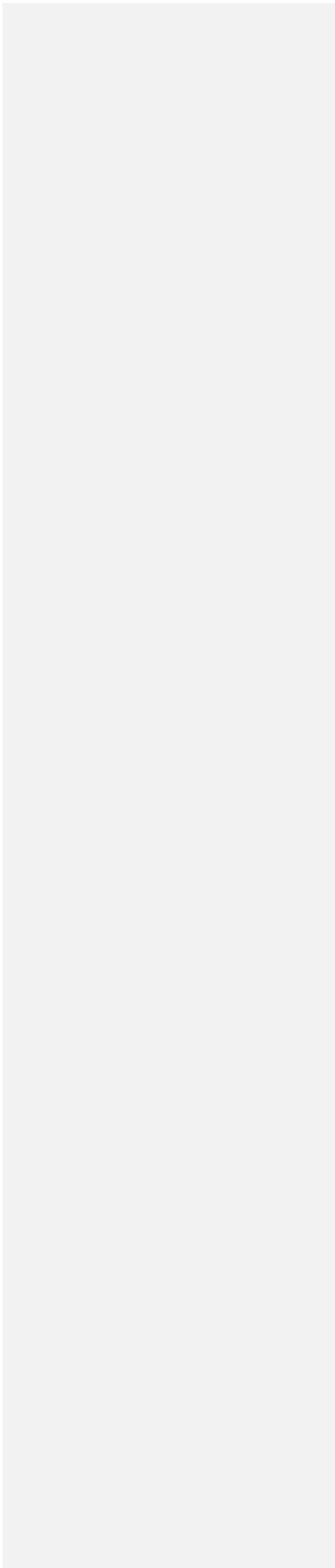
Although there have been some changes made within such institutions such as the police force, there are many things that were said would be done by major leaders directly after the attacks that have not been done. Some of these being as simple as closing roads that are deemed at a high risk of a car bomb being placed there. It is not only Norwegians that see this lethargy in the system. That is why although there was much sympathy and love given to Norway in the time after the attacks, that sympathy and love is dwindling. If there should happen to be another attack as well, Norway will not be supported like it was in 2011 because they did not take the opportunity to place the measures that are necessary to secure their country and the safety of its people.

One day, the attacks will hopefully not be the first thing on people's minds when they think of Norway from an outsider's point of view. One can also hope that the first thing does

¹²⁷ Hadia Tajik [my translation] from: Mitt lille land

not come to be the naiveness of the land and its leader's either. Only time will tell what challenges will come to face Norway though. One can only hope that they will be better prepared to handle the challenges that do arise.

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Chapter 6: Conclusion

Throughout this thesis I have examined the Norwegian culture through my somewhat unique perspective. As a foreigner who has been quite assimilated into the culture I can analyze the Norwegian culture from an outsiders point of view, yet have extensive knowledge and experience of the Norwegian culture by living it and studying it.

Fabian Stang, the mayor of Oslo, said that it is when a nation is given such a test, that its true colors come out.¹²⁸ The true colors of Norway were definitely put to the test and the results of the test were very positive in the beginning. On July 22, 2011, the before innocent culture of Norway was changed forever. Norway, instead of retaliating with more negativity and violence, as has proven a common reaction to terror attacks in the past, its people came together and reacted in a way bringing people closer together. The world looked on in awe and gave its support to the country in its mourning period. There were although those who questioned the naiveness of the country in regards to updated laws and their level of trust.

That being what it was, the Norwegian people did not let the attacks define them, and accordingly set the new definition of Norway through their reaction. More love than hate was created, and that the entire world could see. The entire notion behind the attacks, to create more fear and hate, especially towards multiculturalism, was essentially denied by the Norwegian population and it created the opposite effect; this positive notion being lead strongly by the politicians of Norway.

Initially, the population of Norway, and the world in general, was in overall support of that in which the politicians did. They were of great support in the initial aftermath of the attacks and seemed to be willing to change things as to better Norway on a security level. As time passed, and the investigations into what should change and what should be done in order to make that change in the most efficient way possible, the process has slowed. This is where the detectable shift in reaction is seen.

The population remained supportive and patient while the politicians chose how they were to move forward with what was given to them, but a year after the attacks, their

¹²⁸ Fabian Stang [my translation] from: Mitt lille land

patience started to wear. It seemed that the negative aspects of the system that I had seen prior to this time were now becoming apparent to the Norwegian population as well.

Traditionally, the Norwegian population is not so active in opposing what is going on in politics. Things happen in their own time when the politicians feel it is appropriate. As time has passed, and maybe because this topic is so emotional, the people have begun to speak out about what they feel should be done or changed. This shift in position has been especially visible after the New Year, in 2013. These changes that I had perceived as essential before, coming from a country with more security measures and a bit different culture pertaining to it, I think I was able to see these before Norwegians, but was unsure of how these aspects could be changed.

As Per Olaf Lundteigen, a political member of the Centre Party in Norway, expressed, there is a need for a new culture of leadership in Norway. Even though there is a danger of losing one of the key aspects of Norway's culture, there is a general want/need to do so, and to develop in the areas that were proven to be lacking by the attacks. The proper investigations were put in place after the attacks; an example of these being the July 22nd Commission, now it is time for the politicians to take action.

As Aslak Nore, a Norwegian author stated, the generation surviving *Utøya* will be the strongest generation in Norwegian history. I think this will be evident in the way they choose to lead their country politically. They will be more apt to making the decisions for change if in the correct way for Norway to go and a country and culture than those who lead the country now. This being because of what they have been through. Thus, the change in the culture of leadership in Norway is coming. As for what it should do now, the seemingly slumber of the public has been interrupted. They are now being more active in pushing the things they feel necessary to happen, to actually happen. The politicians will therefore have to change their views on what is necessary and find what types of changes will fit into Norwegian culture and help preserve it for the future.

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