

Creative Tools in Reconciliation after Terrorism

A case study of the presence and impact of creative tools in reconciliation after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and July 22, 2011.

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"—to be united with the beauty we see, to pass into it, to receive it into ourselves, to bathe in it, to become part of it."

—C. S. Lewis—

Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to answer the following research question: *How can creative tools be utilized to facilitate processes of societal reconciliation after terrorism?* Creative tools are understood as metaphors, stories and rituals, functioning as potential instruments in conflict resolution and reconciliation. Concepts and understandings connected to terrorism and reconciliation as phenomena are investigated, in order to discuss societal efforts of reconciliation after terrorism. The thesis looks to reconciliation as healing and restoration of the ruptured society, specifically focusing on the damage and ruptures caused by terrorist attacks on the symbolic dimensions within a society. It is argued that such an objective requires a different set of tools and concepts than those utilized in handling the material dimensions of the destruction.

With reconciliation being understood as healing and restoration, this thesis looks to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York and July 22, 2011 in Oslo and at Utøya. The thesis aims at discussing whether the societal response to terrorism in the case studies can be observed as significant beyond the expression of commemoration and grief. This allows for considering the role of symbolic expressions in these case studies, and a discussion of whether the counter-response can be found to funtion as tools that facilitate healing and reconciliation of damage on the symbolic level caused by terrorist attacks.

The thesis moves beyond a classical rational approach to terrorism and reconciliation. The research question will be answered by the aid of document analysis as research method, in the manner that the written empirical material will be analyzed in light of the theoretical material presented.

The findings of this study indicate that creative tools appear to have had an important function in the societal response after the two terrorist attacks. It is suggested that the prospects for such tools in facilitating, but also potentially complicating processes of reconciliation after terrorism necessitates an awareness of the presence of such tools.

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1 Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND AND PERSONAL MOTIVATION

This journey started in the fall of 2010, as I had the privilege to start working in a flower shop in the centre of Oslo. A whole new world began to open for me, as I learned about beauty and the importance of creative expression. Reflecting upon the importance of beauty, I found it interesting to see that the perception of what is beautiful is part of what makes us truly human.

Discovering the world of flowers and of aesthetics made me eager to find out more about the role of beauty and of creativity as phenomena within the social sciences. Enrolled in the Master's program *Religion, Society and Global Issues* at MF Norwegian School of Theology have provided me with the opportunity to look at how creative elements can function as tools in processes of healing and reconciliation.

After the terrorist attacks in Oslo and Utøya on July 22, 2011, the civil response both in Oslo and other towns and cities of Norway was immense. People participated in privately initiated rose parades, and in Oslo, every corner and every street were filled with roses. These were acts of commemoration, honoring the victims of the attack. Especially the area in front of Oslo Cathedral was filled with a massive "sea of flowers" and also of letters, candles and drawings. With the flower shop placed a stone's throw away from the cathedral, naturally many citizens of Oslo stopped by our shop to buy roses. In working late afternoons these subsequent days, the apparent sincerity of people entering our shop was remarkable. This experience made me reflect on the role and importance of such expressions of commemoration after terrorist attacks. These creative expressions seemed to represent concrete and physical ways of demonstrating against the hatred and crimes of the terrorist act committed, and they also appeared to function as a response performed in an effort to heal from and to reconcile after the national tragedy. Consequently, the background for the theme of this thesis grew out from the desire to further investigate the role of such kinds of societal response after terrorism.

1.2 Theme Presentation

It is commonly recognized that the efforts and effects of terrorists in destabilizing the society they attack create increasing levels of conflict within that society. Conflict caused by terrorism cause damage and destructions. Most often, the material and physical destructions of terrorism has been highlighted, both the damage to infrastructure and casualties, in addition to the security threat posed by terrorism. However, looking at terror-struck nations and communities, it becomes clear that also the symbolic dimensions of society is damaged by such attacks, with regards to the fear and trauma created by terrorism, and also concerning the ideological or religious foundations for such acts.

Resolution of conflict requires reconciliation, but speaking of reconciliation after terrorism has not been common. Rather, terrorism has been dealt with as national or international criminal issue, where crime fighting efforts and judical processes becomes appropriate means for combating terrorism (Renner and Spencer 2012:1). However, looking at the example of July 22, even though it must be seen as crucial, the judicial process could not suffice as means for processing the trauma and destructions of the attacks. Because of the ruptures and destructions caused by terrorism, societal healing and restoration becomes necessary, and a restoration is needed not only of the material damage but also of the damage caused on a symbolic level.

This thesis aims at investigating concepts and understandings of both terrorism and reconciliation in order to discuss societal efforts of coping, recovering and reconciling after terrorist attacks. Being a challenge to move straight towards the traditional kind of reconciliation between the parties, perpetrator and offended, the thesis rather looks to an overall reconciliation and healing of the ruptures *within* society. Dealing specifically with damage caused by terrorism on the symbolic dimensions, requires a different set of tools than those utilized for handling the material destruction. With regards to this agenda, starting with mechanisms already at hand becomes helpful, to see whether some of these might be observed as reconciliatory, even though not commonly recognized as such.

With reconciliation being understood as healing and restoration, this thesis will therefore discuss whether the civil society response to terrorism, such as the one witnessed in Norway after the attacks of July 22, can be considered as more than commemorating and grieving acts, and look at whether the creative and symbolic expressions of a counter-response to terrorism may in some ways function as tools that facilitate healing and reconciliation of damage on the symbolic level caused by terrorism. Addressing the symbolic dimensions of terrorism and the damage it causes give rise to a need for new concepts, and this thesis therefore moves beyond a classical rational approach to terrorism and reconciliation, in order to include new contributions emphasizing these symbolic aspects within the field of terrorism and reconciliation research. Consequently, it becomes interesting to ask how other manners of processing the attacks have been present and valued, and what can be the fruitfulness of utilizing non-rational perspectives, and specifically the theory of creative tools, when analyzing this subject. This thesis therefore aims at recognizing how a post-terrorism response consits not only of crime fighting and judicial processes, and seeks to find whether the use of creative tools can be observed as a potential strategy for societal healing and reconciliation after terrorism.

The terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 can be said to have altered the modern concept of international terrorism both by being larger than many previous terrorist attacks, killing nearly three thousand people, and also by affecting and altering the focus of the US foreign policy (Hoffman 2006: 3-4, 18-20). Ever since 9/11, there have been an increased focus on terrorism internationally, both in countries foreign policies, as well as when looking at media attention and at the amount of literature that has been produced on this subject. The military response to September 11 with the 'War on Terror' in Afghanistan and beyond, as well as the strengthened airport security bears witness of this. From being a small- scale threat in local conflicts, terrorism became a global phenomenon, with a potential to promote fear and produce damage, hurt and destruction on a global level (Hoffman 2006: 18).

Being a different case, the brutal terrorist attacks of July 22 in Oslo and on Utøya resulted in an extraordinary kind of response- both on the level of the Norwegian government and civil society. This response, with the sea of flowers and the rose march even gained great international attention due to its exceptional and distinctive character. The importance and significance of these two cases- the momentous one and

the one with the remarkable response- gave rise to the interest in including these two as units of analysis in the thesis.

Ever since September 11, counterterrorist efforts have become highly prioritized on security agendas both on national and international levels. With July 22, terrorism also arrived at our shores. These cases, and the occurring threat that terrorism represent to national and international security, proves that the ability to deal with this kind of conflict in our global world becomes crucial. Consequently, the perspectives of this thesis aim at expanding the prevailing perspectives on both terrorism and its response. The objective of this thesis first and foremost to point to the presence of creative tools as means for dealing with post-terrorism reconstruction and reconciliation, and discuss the significance of such tools.

Several courses within this Master's program have focused on the interaction between religion and society. This has relevance for my thesis as the role of two churches from the case studies- Oslo Cathedral (Domkirken) and St. Paul's Chapel will be discussed as actors on civil society level- in order to look at the role of these institutions in making room for creative tools in the post- terrorism processes of healing and reconciliation.

1.3 Research Question

The theme of this thesis raises the following research question:

How can creative tools be utilized to facilitate processes of societal reconciliation after terrorism?

This research question will be answered by the aid of the following sub-questions:

- a. How can the symbolic features of terrorism be understood?
- b. Which theories serve to explain reconciliation processes on the level of civil society?
- c. How are creative tools related to non-rational dimensions of reconciliation?
- d. What were the main characteristics of the governmental and civil society response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and July 22, 2011?

1.3.1 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

A definition of the concepts in the research question is required, and these will be further elaborated in the subsequent theoretical Chapters 3, 4 and 5. A *creative tool* refers to a concept developed by Michelle LeBaron, as instruments for approaching conflict, adding to traditional conflict resolution approaches. According to Lebaron, such tools are particularly suited to confront symbolic dimensions of conflicts, and she depicts metaphors, stories and rituals as examples of creative tools (2002: 181). This thesis will make use of the concept of creative tools according to the definition of LeBaron.

Terrorism is understood as a phenomena creating or escalating conflict in society. A discussion of different definitions and understandings of terrorism will be elaborated in chapter 3, including a discussion of the difference among scholars in their emphasis on the symbolic and the strategic dimensions of terrorism. With an emphasis on particularily the symbolic dimensions of terrorism, this difference becomes relevant in the manner that creative tools aims at conflict resolution related to the symbolic aspects of that conflict. The understanding of the attacks in both of the case studies as acts of terrorism is a prerequisite in the thesis.

Creating or escalating levels of conflict, terrorism evokes the need for restoration of what has been broken. As mentioned in 1.2, the thesis is concerned with reconciliation as healing and restoration of the damage caused by terrorism within the affected society. The centre of attention is put on *societal reconciliation*- defined by Cecelia Clegg as the processes of reconciliation within communities or on a group-to-group level. Throughout the thesis, the term 'societal' is in some instances equated to 'civil society'. The thesis is also concerned with processes on the political level¹, but only in so far as such processes are observed within the societal arena, and as these two dimensions, - the societal and the political- are found to be reflexively affecting one another (see 4.3). The intersection between societal reconciliation and political reconciliation becomes relevant to the thesis as both divergence and resonance in the response of civil society and governmental actors will be searched for. The distinctions between the different

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¹ *Political reconciliation* is the type of reconciliation defined by Clegg as reconciliation in the governmental sphere- in the macro level of society (2008: 82-84). See 4.3 for further description of political reconciliation.

dimensions of reconciliation are not definite, as described by Clegg (2008: 83-84). However, even though healing and reconciliation on one level within a society naturally affect reconciliation processes on other levels as well, a focus on the personal or interpersonal forms of reconciliation extends beyond the scope of this thesis. Implied in this thesis is the assumption that reconciliation after terrorism is possible. Even though this assumption function as given in this thesis, a discussion of challenges related to the reconciliation paradigm is placed in Chapter 4.

The sub-questions will be answered in the order they are posed throughout this thesis, and they aid in structuring the thesis in the way that they are concerned with important themes that are in need of discussion in order to approach the research question. A further definition of key concepts will be placed as I have found it useful in the theoretical chapters 3 to 5.

1.4 Choice of Method and Selection of Material

The research question will be answered by the use of qualitative document analysis as research method. The analysis will be discussing the role of creative tools in healing and reconciliation processes after the terrorist attacks, and it is carried out in the manner that the theories are utilized to give insight into the empirical material. Deriving from interdisciplinary fields within the social sciences, the theoretical accounts concern the nature of terrorism and reconciliation, creative tools in conflict resolution and ritualization after catastrophes. These theories have been chosen as they serve to illuminate the empirical material through the use of document analysis as method.

The empirical descriptions in this thesis consists primarily of written material, - described and in some instances also previously analyzed by several researchers, - in addition to my own material from two semi-structured interviews conducted in St. Paul's Chapel, New York. Among the written empirical material, the National Geographic's official September 11 memorial book "A Place of Remembrance" (Blais and Rasic 2011) is of specific relevance, and the material regarding July 22 is based mainly on articles from the volume "Den offentlige sorgen", written by Aagedal et al. (2013). The interviews aided in gaining more insight with regards to the role of this Chapel after September 11, 2001. They are presented in the two case studies of September 11 and July 22, and further discussed related to the theoretical material in the analysis. The

material concerning July 22 builds exclusively on written material, as the existing material describing and analyzing this case was considered sufficient for the insight needed for the thesis.

In this manner, the thesis is not singlehandedly a case study, as my main aim is not to compare and contrast the two cases. Rather, the case studies are present with the intent of answering the research question in a more detailed and nuanced manner, as is made possible also through the use of two, rather than just one case study. However, the cases are looked at in relation to one another in the analysis where this is found to be shedding more light on the research question and the sub questions of the thesis.

The theoretical chapters of this thesis include different perspectives from researchers that highlight various views on terrorism, reconciliation and creative tools that are found to be relevant. These contributions derive from researchers within the field of various social science disciplines such as sociology, international relations, peace and conflict studies and religious studies combined with elements from philosophy and even psychology. No works were found to contain a research design in complete similarity to this thesis, even though many contributions were highly useful in approaching the whole of the research question. Common to many of the authors is their dealing with specific elements that are relevant to make this thesis into a whole, either related to the theories or the empirical material. In this way, the broad scope of this thesis, with regards to the interdisciplinary approach and the attention put on the theoretical material is seen as necessary in order to discuss and answer the research question. Additional reflections with regards to the perspectives of this thesis in relation to previous studies can be found in 2.1.1. Furthermore, the most important theoretical contributions to this thesis are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

There is an extensive amount of literature existing on the subject of terrorism, and many books have been published in recent years due to the public interest in the field, as a result of media coverage and of frequent events of terrorist attacks. Bruce Hoffman (2006) provides a detailed analysis of both the history and the main characteristics of global terrorism. Mark Juergensmeyer (2003) understands terrorism within the logic of a drama or a theatre, and Jeffrey Alexander (2006) elaborates the theory on symbolic performance, understanding the symbolic dimensions of terrorism and its response as performance and counterperformance. With the rise of religiously motivated terrorism,

there seems to be an increased interest in these symbolic dimensions of terrorist attacks in recent research, examples being Juergensmeyer (2003) and Alexander (2006).

Ever since the abolishment of apartheid in South Africa in 1990, scholars within the social scienes has been engaged with reconciliation as proper manner of resolving societal conflicts (Renner and Spencer 2012: 6). As a result, the theoretical framework concerning reconciliation has been elaborated over the past few decades. However, there is less to be found on literature that looks at reconciliation related to terrorism. In this respect, the unusual contribution of Judith Renner and Alexander Spencer with their volume "Reconciliation after Terrorism" (2012) is important. In addition, approaches to reconciliation forwarded by Robert Schreiter (2008) and Cecelia Clegg (2008) is relevant, specifically with Schreiter's understanding of reconciliation as healing, and Clegg's description of four different dimensions of reconciliation. The theory of American theologian and ethicist Reinhold Niebuhr (1932/1960) stands as a contrast to Clegg and Schreiter, as he is critical towards the prospects for reconciliation on civil society and political level.

Michelle LeBaron's theory on non-rational and creative tools (2002) is central in this thesis. Perspectives on aestheticism and creativity provided by Rollo May supplement this theory. Related to creative tools, theories on ritualization and spontaneous memorials are specifically relevant, elaborated by the perspectives of Jack Santino (2006) on spontaneous shrines, and Lars Johan Danbolt (2001) on the function of rituals. A further description of relevant literature concerning theoretical accounts and empirical material is found in Chapter 2, together with a more in depth explanation of how and why this study will be carried out.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

In this chapter, the main themes have been presented together with the research question, after the introductory paragraphs describing my motivation and background for writing this thesis. This introductory chapter has also contained a short description of the choice of both material and method. Chapter 2 presents a more detailed account of my choice of method, containing an assessment of the fruitfulness of employing this method. Furthermore, the chapter goes further into discussing the selection of material for the thesis, in specifically considering traditional theoretical perspectives related to the perspectives of this thesis. This is followed by a description of research methodology.

Chapter 3 takes a closer look at some significant characteristics of terrorism, discussing the relation between its material and symbolic dimensions. I will look specifically at the symbolic dimensions of terrorism. Chapter 4 goes further into the characteristics of reconciliation and looks at societal reconciliation in particular. Chapter 5 relate reconciliation to symbolic dimensions and practical features by looking at the prospects and challenges for utilizing creative tools in reconciliation processes. The use of creativity and non-rational tools are described as potential means for reconciliation.

This chapter is followed by a presentation of the case studies describing important features of the two terrorist attacks and the response to these attacks in Chapter 6 and 7. Chapter 6 concerns September 11, 2001 as case study, and Chapter 7 describes the case of July 22, 2011. These case chapters lay the foundation for uncovering the presence and function of creative tools.

Chapter 8 contains the analysis, discussing the use of creative tools in societal reconciliation after terrorism, by the aid of the empirical material from Chapter 6 and 7, in light of the theories from Chapter 3 to 5. The structure of this chapter is opposite to that of the theoretical chapters, enabeling a discussion of themes connected to the research question in a suitable way. Chapter 9 recapitulates the research question and summarizes the most important findings of the thesis, followed by a short evaluation of this contribution. The chapter finally concludes by reflecting on potential relevant themes for future research within this field.

2 Method and Literature

In the following, perspectives on the choice of method and selection of material that were presented in 1.4 will be further described, with regards to how these choices function as foundation for discussing and answering the research question of this thesis. In addition, an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of these methodological choices is included towards the end of this chapter.

2.1 RESEARCH METHOD

The research question will be answered by looking at the empirical material through the perspective of the theoretical framework provided in this thesis. Research data is provided by the employment of document analysis as method, as the written empirical material is analyzed in light of the social science theories presented. This forms the basis for the interpretation of data (Repstad 2007: 103-105). In this manner, the case study cannot be regarded as a research method in itself, as case studies rather function as a "detailed exploration of a specific case" (Bryman 2012: 45). This is supported by Thomas, stating that rather than being a method, a case study "is a focus and the focus is on one thing, looked at in depth and from many angles" (2011: 9). The case studies are present in this thesis with the aim of providing the analysis with more details and insight in answering the research question. This objective is, according to Thomas, the way case studies can function at best within social research (2011: 217). Case studies offer empirical descriptions, while the research method, - in this instance qualitative document analysis- is required in order to study the cases and produce data (Bryman 2012: 45; Thomas 2011: 9).

The type of document analysis utilized in this thesis may be qualified as thematic qualitative content analysis, and represents a common manner of analyzing documents within qualitative research, investigating "underlying themes in the materials being analysed" (Bryman 2011: 557). The method is carried out through an investigation of sections of text related to themes that are relevant to the research question. This will be seen throughout the analysis. Consequently, document analysis becomes useful in the manner that the content and the occurring themes in existing written material are helpful in reflecting on the role of the theoretical material related to the case studies.

Similarly, the validity of the findings of the study can by the employment of document analysis as research method be evaluated in relation to previous and existing research and empirical accounts dealing with the same topic. The use of this method also necessitates an assessment of the selection of material, and this becomes important specifically with regards to the reliability of the selected material (Bryman 2012: 557; Repstad 2007: 103-105). The function of validity and reliability as research criteria related to this thesis will be outlined in 2.3.

The perspectives that arise from analyzing the theoretical material are hermeneutical in the manner that the interpretations are colored by the reality of myself as a researcher (Repstad 2007: 121). Objectivity becomes an unobtainable aim as all parts of a social research process may be influenced either consciously or unconsciously by the values of the researcher. This necessitates reflexivity from the part of the researcher, namely demonstrating an awareness of the presence and influence of subjective values and perspectives to the degree that these may influence the research process and findings (Bryman 2012: 39, 393-394). In this thesis, some degree of bias and subjectivity will be traced, as it is written from a Western and a Christian point of view, with literature from sources in Norwegian or English. This naturally has consequences for the angle of analysis and for the selection of material and method, and may as well serve to weaken the findings of the research. However, this degree of subjectivity is unavoidable in qualitative research. This interpretative process is part of what characterizes the study, and can equally be regarded as strengthening the study in the manner that it allows for comprehending and interpreting social phenomena through such an analysis (Bryman 2012: 380).

Common to qualitative research is the inductive approach, as theories are derived from empirical material. The approaches arising from this thesis must however be looked upon as abductive, in the manner that theory and empirics challenge one another alternately and iteratively, as the empirical material also shed light on the theories (Bryman 2012: 26, 380, 401).

2.2 Selection of Material

With the use of document analysis as research method, an assessment of the use of sources becomes a matter of great significance in this thesis. The material is collected from secondary sources, with the exception of direct expressions of officials, together with my own material deriving from the two interviews I conducted in St. Paul's Chapel, New York. The two semi-structured interviews gave insight into the role of St. Paul's Chapel after September 11, as this chapel stood across the street from World Trade Center and became important in the period following the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The use of interviews allowed for listening to experiences within their proper context (Repstad 2007: 76). The interview guide I used when conducting these interviews can be found in Appendix 1. As explained in 1.4, my objective is not to compare and contrast the two case studies. However, some comparison will be present as the tracing of patterns and phenomena occurring in only one or in both case studies, can indicate findings related to the theoretical material. The novelty of this topic has required an inclusion of several theoretical perspectives from various social research disciplines. Looking into the thesis' topic, it became clear that perspectives supplementing the traditional approaches to theories on terrorism and reconciliation were needed in order to answer the research question.

2.2.1 Traditional approaches and research design

Considering media accounts and common representations of terrorism as phenomenon, it becomes quite evident that terrorism most often is presented mainly as violent political actions with strategic aims and with the objective of spreading fear. Observing terrorism in this manner, makes it probable to say that the proper measures for combating this sort of violence is through military reactions or through law enforcement. However, when looking at various scholarly definitions and observations of the nature of terrorism, it becomes clear that several scholars emphasize that terrorism must be understood not only in materialist terms, with its strategic dimensions, but also with emphasis on the symbolic dimensions of the phenomenon. If the symbolic aspects of terrorism must also be counted for, then what strikes becomes not only military and political, but also symbolic in character. When the damage and destabilization of a society caused by a terrorist attack extends beyond material and physical destruction, this calls for an assessment of the measures needed to respond to

both dimensions of these attacks. As mentioned in 1.3.1, this thesis will focus primarily on the symbolic dimensions of terrorism.

Traditionally, reconciliation has been looked at as desirable and at best viable in conflicts concerning state actors, called *the reconciliation paradigm* (Renner and Spencer 2012: 6-7). However, when dealing with conflicts related to terrorism, it has been more unusual to speak of reconciliation. Renner and Spencer are among the few to introduce and discuss the possibility for reconciliation after terrorism (see 1.4). Their contribution is mainly focused on challenges and opportunities for reconciliation between the parties, - terrorists versus the rest of the society, with the intent of creating a discourse that addresses the root causes of terrorism (2012: 6-7).

Drawing on the perspectives of Renner and Spencer, this thesis considers the possibility of speaking of reconciliation after terrorism. However, the focus of this thesis is somewhat different to that of Renner and Spencer, in the manner that the aim of this thesis is to look at reconciliation within the society that has been attacked, rather than looking at reconciliation between the terrorists and their victims (see 1.2). As a consequence, a discussion concerning reconciliation between the parties extend beyond the aim of this thesis. Focusing on ruptures and destructions caused by terrorism within society demands for understanding reconciliation as healing and restoration of what was broken, corresponding with the theoretical perspectives of Schreiter.

When looking at processes of conflict resolution and reconciliation, it becomes evident that rational approaches have often been used- focusing on the parties at the negotiation table, on judicial processes and negotiation theories. In recent approaches, however, it becomes clear that creative perspectives have been given more room (Lebaron and Honeyman 2006: 417). This thesis aims to move beyond rational approaches when looking at processes of reconciliation, assessing the fruitfulness in including creative tools as resource into reconciliation theory. With regards to this, LeBaron's approach (2002) becomes useful. Additionally, an understanding of reconciliation occurring on several dimensions within society simultaneously enables an acknowledgement of reconciliation processes occurring not only on a political or a personal level, but also on the level of civil society. As mentioned in 1.3.1, the perspectives of Cecelia Clegg allows for analyzing societal reconciliation as a distinct dimension.

The primary focus of related research discussing the role of public response to terrorism appears to concern commemoration acts such as spontaneous shrines, and the role of such ritual expressions after traumatic events of terrorism. Regarding the phenomenon of public spontaneous shrines, Jack Santino is among few to have theorized this subject (2006). He puts emphasis on the role of spontaneous shrines as rituals being both commemorative and performative in nature (see 5.4.1). In the anthology "Den offentlige sorgen" (2013), the authors analyze governmental, institutional and public grief and response after the terrorist attacks of July 22, 2011. The perspectives of Helge Jordheim and Olaf Aagedal have been particularily useful for this thesis. Jordheim compares the initial process of developing permanent memorials after July 22 in Norway to the process of creating a memorial on Ground Zero after September 11, and Aagedal discusses the role of Oslo Cathedral as memorial space after July 22.

The focus of the authors in this volume appears to be primarily connected to the presence of rituals and commemoration acts in the commemorative response after July 22. Several authors in this anthology build on theoretical foundations offered by Victor Turner, with his theory on liminality and communitas related to rituals (see 5.4.1), and refers to Santino's theory on spontaneous shrines, see Botvar (2013), Aagedal (2013) and Kverndokk (2013a).

Importantly, the predominant emphasis on ritual acts and their significance from existing research and empirical accounts has not excluded descriptions of other creative elements as being present in public response to terrorism, but creative expressions appear to be recurrently connected to ritual acts. It can therefore be argued that the role of creative tools as a present and important factor in societal response towards terrorism has not been adequately emphasized. Both Santino and Turner offer perspectives that are useful and relevant with regards to this thesis. At the same time the use of LeBaron's creative tools as a conceptual framework arguably allows for an expanded horizon, as creative elements additional to acts of commemoration are included within this framework. This implies that commemorative expressions and herein the use of rituals belongs to the category commemoration tools, but that other tools are also suited to contribute to conflict resolution and reconciliation, such as symbolic tools- related to the use of metaphors and symbols and narrative tools- with the use of storytelling. These categories of tools are equally emphasized in the thesis. It

is in other words a framework that allows for understanding creative tools as a whole, and at the same time assessing their distinctiveness.

This will in turn provide a greater recognition of both the presence and function of such elements as creative tools, and of such tools as important factors characterizing the response and perhaps also efforts of healing and reconciliation after terrorism. This framework allows for an understanding of the response as expressions specifically and potentially suited to respond to the symbolic dimensions of terrorism, and in this manner, the perspectives offered may become important in processes of societal reconciliation after terrorism. Using creative tools as conceptual framework allows for answering the research question of the thesis, as the role of such creative tools in facilitating processes of societal reconciliation after terrorism can be discussed.

My argument is not that the approach of this thesis should replace traditional approaches. However, the intention is to question a clinging to traditional perspectives, and suggest that an inclusion of creative and aesthetic considerations when speaking of reconciliation and conflict resolution may add to the picture so that traditional processes cand be ameliorated, and at best enable us to include the whole of the human being when sorting out conflicts through conflict resolution and reconciliation. In this way, the phenomenon of reconciliation and conflict resolution can be observed not only by the use of logic reasoning and analysis, but also by the help of our senses and emotions, using our creative capabilities.

As mentioned in 1.4, the rich space offered to the theoretical material in this thesis bears witness of the novelty of this theme. It also requires an interdisciplinary approach so that phenomena such as terrorism and reconciliation can be observed from new angles and in relation to one another, as this allows for a discussion of the research question. An interdisciplinary approach may weaken the forcefulness and strength of the distinct and specific disciplines utilized in this thesis. However, this approach allows for answering the research question in a manner that is regarded most fruitful for the thesis.

2.2.2 Scope and Function of the Material

Delimitations regarding the scope of the research question were outlined in 1.3.1. Some further limits with regards to the aim and range of the thesis can however be noted at this point, as this relates to both prospects and challenges of utilizing qualitative document analysis as methodological approach.

The descriptions of the case studies are not inexhaustible, as one can never fully depict 'the whole truth' and all aspects of a case in conducting a case study. This can be seen as a challenge with regards to the use of case studies within this thesis, as chances are that important perspectives may be left out, or that perspectives specifically fortunate for the thesis are selected to dominate the account. At the same time, a delimitation with regards to the description of the case studies is also beneficial for the thesis, in the manner that only perspectives observed as relevant will be outlined, avoiding excessive descriptions, and as this allows for focusing on the aspects of the cases that are important related to the thesis' theme.

With regards to the material selected in the two case studies, the scope is to focus on what happened and who were behind the attacks in addition to what were the reactions and response, both on governmental and civil society level. And consequently other information related to the case studies has been excluded. As a result, the empirical material described in the outline of the case studies in Chapter 6 and 7 are supplemented by several empirical descriptions in the analysis. This was found appropriate in order to avoid excessive repetition, and has been helpful with regards to structuring the discussion of certain aspects from the case studies related to the themes in the analysis. Within the analysis, these case studies will be discussed in light of the theoretical and empirical material. Limitations to length together with the wide scope of the thesis pose restrictions upon the level of details to the analysis in chapter 8. In this analysis, only a selection of examples from the two cases will be discussed, in order to make room for a discussion of how the examples from the cases are meant to illustrate and reflect on the theoretical foundations presented in the Chapters 3 to 5.

2.3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

As mentioned in 2.1, the selected material must be judged as either decent or less fortunate representations of reality, depending upon how they are reliable and how they can be held as valid (Johanessen, Tufte and Christoffersen 2010: 194-197). A primary concern within qualitative research is the emphasis on quality rather than measurement. Validity and reliability are held to be important research criteria to secure this quality also within qualitative research (Bryman 2012: 389-390). The following paragraphs will outline a reflection upon the importance of these criteria in this thesis.

2.3.1 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY AS RESEARCH CRITERIA

Validity as research criterion relates to *internal validity*, signifying the compatibility between the theories that are employed and the phenomena that are being studied. Advantageously, qualitative studies allow for a strong internal validity, as the researcher exercise the research in depth and over a long period of time compared to quantitative research (Bryman 2012: 390). Internal validity is ensured throughout the research process of this thesis as the written empirical material and the theoretical material utilized offer in depth insight and function by checking and balancing one another. This serves to confirm the compatibility and consistence between the empirical observations and theoretical framework.

Validity also relates to *external validity*, a criterion related to the generalizability of the findings in a study. An objective within social research is the ability to generalize on basis of the findings of a research, and thereby generating theory, as signifies an inductive approach (Bryman 2012: 24-27). It may be a challenge to generalize based on the findings of a study in a manner that makes such findings valid in similar studies, due to the difficulty in comparing variations within the qualitative research (Bryman 2012: 390). Within qualitative research the analysis of depth and nuances, emphasising the richness of content rather than statistical frequency, as well as the quality of the conclusions becomes important, as this allows for evaluating the generalizations that are proposed on basis of these findings (Bryman 2012: 406; Repstad 2007: 16-17). In this manner, generalizability within qualitative research advantageously may be formulated as the obtaining of *contextual understanding* on basis of conclusions drawn from a study

(Bryman 2012: 408). This thesis aims at arriving at such a contextual understanding by looking at nuances and through an in depth analysis on the role of creative tools in the response and reconciliation processes after the two terrorist attacks. It can be argued that this is a manner of ensuring the external validity of the research findings.

Reliability relates to the replicability of the study, and whether it is possible to arrive at similar conclusions if the study is repeated. This must be assessed through an evaluation of the concepts in the thesis, as to whether these are held to be consistent (Bryman 2012: 46). The richness in nuances and the interpretative approach of a qualitative study complicates the prospects for replicating this study compared to a quantitative one. However, I will argue that the choice of research method and the process with collection of data in this thesis will lead to some findings that can and should be assessed as either reliable or tentative. An assessment of the findings of the thesis related to reliability will be found in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

2.3.2 Research Criteria Related to the Case Studies

Regarding the use of reliability and validity as research criteria in relation to case studies, Bryman points to the discussion around external validity related to case studies, and states that there is agreement between researchers on the point that it is not possible to generalize on basis of the findings of one case related to other case studies (Bryman 2012: 69-70). This resounds with the argument of Thomas (2011: 23), as he affirms this impossibility, and rather points to the prospects of gaining complex comprehension on a specific case by the utilization of case studies. Related to this, Thomas argue that validity is not a central matter of interest when it comes to case studies, but that this does not need to weaken the conclusions drawn on basis of a case study, as he states that generalization within social research will always be tentative:

Concerns about how far we can generalise from a case study are neutralized when we realise how tentative any generalisation might be in social research. Conclusions drawn from case study research become less pronounced when we realize that, to a greater or lesser extent, all forms of inquiry, especially social inquiry, produce knowledge that is provisional—in other words, good only until we find something else which explains things better (Thomas 2011: 216, 62-63).

As a concluding remark of this chapter, it should be mentioned that describing and discussing the case studies must be done with an awareness of the sensitivity of the subject, and the tragedy these events represented to the families and friends of the victims affected. This is specifically relevant when writing about July 22, 2011, due to the proximity of both time and place to the present. However, this sensitivity contributed in making the subject significantly interesting, as making room for creative tools that may allow for a process of societal healing and restoration after tragedy becomes of great relevance.

3 Terrorism as Symbolic Performance

After a brief introduction of the historical and etymological origins of terrorism, this chapter will outline several understandings and definitions of this concept. The view of various scholars on the differences between strategic and symbolic dimensions of terrorism will be discussed. Subsequently, the rest of the chapter aims at taking a closer look at the symbolic features of terrorism in the light of Jeffrey Alexander's sociological theory on symbolic performance, and within the logic of a theater, as described by Mark Juergensmeyer. Through the lens of the theory on social performance, terrorism and its societal response can be observed as respectively performance and counterperformance. This perspective enables the symbolic dimensions of such actions to be taken into account.

3.1 HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT

This chapter will as mentioned be concerned with terrorism as a modern phenomenon, even though one can trace explicit terrorist events back to the French revolution. The historical origins of the concept will however be briefly presented, as this serves as a basis both for understanding how to define terrorism, and for uncovering various potential challenges in finding a proper definition.

The word terrorism derives from Latin, and the verb *terrere*, which means, "to cause to tremble" (Juergensmeyer 2003: 5). During the eighteenth century, the word became common as the Jacobins labeled their governance "le régime de la terreur". Revolutionary leader Maximilien Robespierre spoke in favor of uniting virtue and terror in order to establish democratic values and ideals in society. Regardless of the violent means and techniques used by Robespierre and his fellow Jacobins, they unquestionably contributed in the democratic awakening of the European continent and eventually nationalism by opposing the monarchic rule. In this manner the word originally was of positive signification. Ultimately, Robespierre and many of his followers were guillotined, due to the fear of his opponents from being haunted as traitors to the regime. The execution of Robespierre and his followers marked the end of the revolution, and from that day the term terrorism was associated with the misuse of governmental power and considered some sort of criminal activity (Hoffman 2006: 2-5).

From the 1930s, the meaning of terrorism had been altered, as it was more a tactic utilized by totalitarian regimes to suppress their citizens by the use of force and creation of fear, with examples being Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin in their dictorial states. The signification of terrorism was again altered after the Second World War, with the rise of ethnic nationalist and also anticolonialist groups worldwide, and their "wars of liberation". Examples of such groups were the Sionists, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Basques (Hoffman 2006: 14-16).

From its historical origins and up until today, it becomes apparent that the understanding of terrorism has changed over time. When it comes to modern terrorism, the attacks of September 11th 2001 surpassed previous attacks- as mentioned in 1.2with regards to the number of causalties and the attention given to the phenomena both with regards to the US government and international security agenda. Hoffman points to how this altered the modern understanding of international terrorism, an points to how it became possible to speak of a pre- and post- 9/11 due to the impact of these attacks. Nevertheless, some traits can be held similar when it comes to comparing modern terrorism to the terror during the French Revolution. Both forms of terrorism were characterized by actions systemically and intentionally carried out, and both forms of terrorism had an aim of creating a better world by the aid of actions of terror (Hoffman 2006: 3-4, 18-20). While the original terrorists of the French Revolution were eager to create democratic standards in society by the help of terror, modern terrorists tend to be antidemocratic, opposing the idea of democracy due to ideological convictions (Rapoport 2006:21). However, this may be observed as a parallel trait as well, because, put in other words, the new terrorists in line with the original terrorists violently fight a system regarded both corrupt and impure in the eyes of the terrorists (Hoffman 2006: 4). Ideas and values established in the society that is attacked are opposed in dramatic ways. This can arguably be presented as one main similarity between historical and modern terrorism.

3.2 Labeling of Terrorists

Several scholars argue in favor of maintaining a restrictive use of the label "terrorist" for several reasons. One argument concerns the subjective interpretation of the term. The use of the term will depend subjectively on who utilizes it, because only the victims and the ones opposed to the acts will give the terrorists that label. The terrorists on the other hand would, together with their adherents, not regard their actions as terrorist, and rather speak of themselves as freedom fighters, as revolutionary leaders, or as being part of a resistance movement (Hoffman 2006: 22-23, Juergensmeyer 2003: 8-9). A second argument concerns the difficulty in identifying the role of the different actors involved in a terrorist attack. The labeling of terrorists makes no clear distinction between the actors engaged in a direct or indirect manner (Juergensmeyer 2003: 7, 9). This may result in a rather vague terminology, and serve to undermine the various actors involved in a terrorist plot. A third argument regards how the use of this term can serve to stereotype the persons committing such actions, making a direct linkage between the person and the action. To put it in Mark Juergensmeyer's words, this makes it so that "terrorism exists because terrorists exist" (2003: 7-8). From this perspective, to eliminate terrorism is equivalent with eliminating the terrorists. This view can be seen as giving ground to a materialist understanding of terrorism, where the problem of terrorism becomes directly linked to the 'terrorists' and their specific acts of terror. Materialist explanations are outlined in 3.4.1 below.

In any case, the labeling might outweigh other concerns being potential reasons for terrorism other that the evilness of the persons committing such acts, such as potential cultural or religious clashes causing terrorism. Labeling may also inhibit a view on terrorists as potential legitimate parties in conflict and in conflict resolution (Franks 2012: 27-28). In this respect, one might also look at the boundaries that this label can contribute to establish, a sort of simplified categorization, concerning the logic of "us" versus "them". This has to do with the theme "Othering", as defined primarily by philosopher Gayatri Spivak. Othering is "the process by which imperial discourse creates its 'others'" (Eide 2008: 156). Othering can be observed as the authoritarian use of both actions and language with the effect of increasing a "polarization between Selves and Others" (Eide 2008: 156).

Despite of the awareness of the counterarguments and critique concerning the use of the term terrorists, the use of it will not be rejected throughout this thesis, due to the lack of suitable synonyms, and as it is found to serve the purpose of keeping the language fluent and comprehensible throughout the text. In these instances, my meaning of the term terrorist will indicate all persons willfully involved in committing a terrorist attack, either directly or indirectly. This does not inhibit the prospects for a future debate with regards to new academic terms to describe the actors involved in terrorism in a more nuanced manner. The scope of this thesis does not allow for an elaborated discussion concerning this, other than arguing that the dramaturgical terminology- where "terrorists" as one group is separated into several actors such as the directors and the actors on the stage- aloows for a broader image to be painted, and that this might be useful for labeling the perpetrators in a more subtle approach.

3.3 Terrorism Defined

Trying to define the concept of terrorism is not an easy task. Various scholars within the field of International Relations and sociology have suggested different definitions. When looking at the formal definition from Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, terrorism is defined as "the unofficial or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013). Bruce Hoffman defines terrorism as "...the deliberate creation and exploration of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change" (2006: 40). He describes how the goal of people committing such acts is to impact a local or international community so that political changes are effectuated. Furthermore, he specifies how terrorism is "...designed to create power where there is none or to consolidate power where there is very little" (Hoffman 2006: 40-41). Hoffman's description of modern terrorism seems to be holding a primary focus on the role of politics and power as motivations for the terrorists. Both definitions appears to be focusing on the political aims of people committing terrorist acts, the difference being the way that Hoffman includes the element of fear in his definition. In the effort of describing terrorism many have made use of explanations emphasizing the political objectives of the group of people committing the acts of terror, as illustrated with these definitions.

Mark Juergensmeyer presents another definition of terrorism. He argues that in many cases of terrorism, as in the case of September 11th 2001, the political and economic objectives were remote, as the main strategic aim of the perpetrators was to mark their position in relation to their enemy, the American government. In this case, it is rather objectives of more symbolic character that stands out as important for the actors carrying out the attacks. In this definition the emphasis is rather on the lack of a clear strategic and military aim, as he states that terrorism can be understood as "...public acts of destruction, committed without a clear military objective, that arouse a widespread sense of fear" (2003: 5). It becomes apparent that this definition does not put emphasis on political motivation as important factor, as he states that many terrorist acts- and especially religiously motivated terrorist acts- are committed in absence of a markedly clear military aim and in lack of a clear strategy (2003: 6-7, 124-125).

In line with the definition of Hoffman, Juergensmeyer also includes the aspect of fear in his definition. But while Hoffman's definition together with the definition of Oxford Dictionaries puts emphasis on the political aspects and motivations of people committing such violent acts, and of political power being the perpetrators ultimate aim, Juergensmeyer focus on the lack of a clear military aim or goal of the perpetrators. Juergensmeyer describes how social scientists differ in their views on the motivations behind acts of terrorism (Juergensmeyer 2003: 124). The different definitions presented serve to affirm this argument, as the definitions may vary because scholars tend to disagree about the incentives motivating the persons engaging in terrorist attacks to commit their acts. Hoffman's definition and his view on the aims and motivations of the terrorists can be placed in the traditional camp, emphasizing the strategic goals and motivations behind terrorism, while Juergensmeyer's definition belongs to the camp advocating the symbolic dimensions of terrorism.

3.4 DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON ACTS OF TERRORISM

Juergensmeyer claims that various acts of terrorism can be found along a line or an axis where attacks can be identified either closer to the strategic or to the symbolic pole, as illustrated in Figure 1 below. As an example, the attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001 were mainly symbolic and not strategic in nature. An example of a strategic form of attack is the case from Peru, - the Japanese embassy hostage crisis from 1996, where the movement Tupac Amaru held hostages in the embassy of Japan, with the political motives of forcing the Peruvian government to release the prisoners belonging to this movement (Juergensmeyer 2003: 125-126). Implied in this understanding is the notion that various incidents of terrorist acts can be positioned differently along this line.

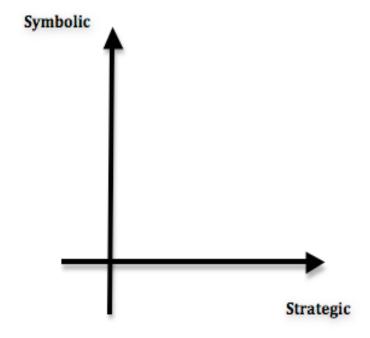
A counterargument to this, or another way of looking at the relation between strategic and symbolic forms of terrorism, is to observe the meaning and objectives of terrorism as operating simultaneously rather than along a continuum, as illustrated with Figure 2 below. Observing acts of terrorism and the significance of these acts as both strategic and symbolic enables a more fruitful and complex understanding of the phenomenon, as there is a presumption that both dimensions are always present, to a greater or smaller extent. This figure then allows for between the symbolic and strategic dimensions of terrorist acts to be understood as interrelated, as the strategic cannot always be separated from the symbolic.

The above presentation and discussion of terrorism shows how there are different understandings of the nature of terrorism inherent in various definitions of terrorism. Juergensmeyer includes the symbolic dimension in his account, but however, his observation of acts of terrorism as along a continuum inhibits an act of terrorism to be both very strategic and very symbolic or little strategic and little symbolic at the same time. According to his observation, it appears as if a terrorist act that is strategic reduces its symbolic dimensions and vice versa. For this reason, it becomes appropriate to employ Figure 2 as an alternative foundation when discussing terrorism and its response in this thesis. According to this figure, it can be argued that one dimension does not necessarily exclude the other. Consequently, even thought the focus in this thesis is on the symbolic dimensions, this figure illustrates an awareness of the presence of both dimensions. I will return to this in the analysis, see 8.3.

FIGURE 1: JUERGENSMEYER'S VIEW ON SYMBOLIC VERSUS STRATEGIC ACTS OF TERRORISM



FIGURE 2: ALTERNATIVE VIEW ON TERRORISM: SYMBOLIC AND STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS OPERATING SIMULTANEOUSLY



Looking at the definitions presented above, it becomes visible that the scholars differ in the weight they attach to different aspects of terrorism in order to define the phenomenon. For the purpose of this thesis- and given that the reader maintains an awareness of both the scope and the limits of this presentation of terrorism- one might as mentioned sharply divide the definitions into two main camps, placing them in either the strategic or symbolic camp. As there is a difficulty in gathering around one definition, the challenges must lie in what the scholars find central when observing the phenomenon. Undoubtedly, many of the same elements appear present in various definitions. However, it is often possible to single out whether a definition belongs closer to either the strategic or the symbolic camp. One might argue that the definitions of terrorism correspond with the logic of Juergensmeyer, placed along an axis either closer to the strategic or the symbolic camp. Still, in understanding terrorism as a complex phenomenon, I will argue that it is more fruitful to look at the concept as multidimensional (Figure 2), as this enables an understanding of terrorism as a phenomenon with layers of both strategic and symbolic character, and this necessitates reconstruction and reconciliation within both dimensions.

3.4.1 Materialist versus Constructivist Perspectives

A parallell pair of concepts to the strategic versus symbolic divide, is the one of Renner and Spencer, distinguishing between two main ways of observing the phenomenon, as either materialist or constructivist. A materialist definition will put emphasis on the aspects of political power and political aims, as well as on fear and violence, while a constructivist definition understands terrorism as a socially constructed phenomenon rather than a material one, varying subjectively depending on the angle the phenomenon is analyzed from, as the understanding of the concept will always depend on who interprets the terrorist acts (Renner and Spencer 2012: 4-5).

The distinction between materialist and constructivist perspectives on terrorism can be useful when looking at terrorism as phenomenon, how it is perceived, written of, and spoken of, in various dimensions of society. It can also be interesting to have this division in mind when analyzing the conception of terrorism in different cases of terrorist attacks. Related to the discussion concerning symbolic versus strategic acts of terrorism as described above, there appears to be a certain affinity between the concepts strategic and material as well as between symbolic and constructionist angles, even though it seems clear that the prior relates to the acts and motivations of terrorists performing the acts, while the concepts materialist versus constructionist rather aims at understanding the interpretation of scholars analyzing and understanding the concept.

Regardless of these differences, these persepctives presented by Renner and Spencer appears to support the idea of the existence of various conceptions and interpretations of terrorist acts. The following part of this chapter will therefore be devoted to examining the symbolic dimensions of terrorism.

3.5 Symbolic Dimensions of Terrorism

In light of the above distinctions between strategic and symbolic dimensions of terrorism, the following part will have an emphasis on the symbolic dimensions of the concept, in order to discuss how this dimension can be understood. In the following paragraphs, the theory of social performance emerging from the field of cultural sociology will be explained. This theory may aid in gaining further understanding of the symbolic dimensions of terrorism. This theory builds on several sociological concepts deriving from the 1950's, such as the dramaturgical theory put forward by Erving Goffman (Alexander and Mast 2006: 2). Before taking a closer look at the theory of social performance related to terrorism as presented by Jeffrey C. Alexander and Jason L. Mast, and at terrorism as theater as highlighted by Juergensmeyer, the perspectives of Goffman will be outlined below.

3.5.1 THE GOFFMANIAN LEGACY

The idea of linking dramaturgy and performativity to social action derives from the work of Sociologist Erving Goffman. Fredrik Barth describes how Goffman's theory functions like a mirror to society, as he analyzes interaction in society by the use of dramaturgical principles and elements such as the analogy of the theatre (Barth 1992: 7-9). According to Goffman, performance is defined as an act exerted by a specific participant within a specific time frame, an act that in some manner affects the other participants (1959/ 1992: 22). Goffman's theory concerns the study of social phenomena from several angles of analysis, and that the choice of angle is related to the researcher's understanding of what shapes and structures society. Examples of such angles of analysis are technical, political, structural or cultural perspectives. Goffman's contribution adds to this picture, as he claims that the dramaturgical perspectives can similarly be used for analyzing and understanding social phenomena participants. However, while the mise-en-scène of an action in a theater is illusory, the mise-en-scène of everyday life is not. Therefore, he opposes arguments claiming that his analysis deals

only with the elements of theater found in everyday life and society, because he actually deals with the social structures of encounters between persons, the structures of the units in society that come alive when people interact. By using this analogy of a theatre, social action is described by use of theatrical elements such as the stage, the performers or actors, the audience, and the act of role- play (Goffman 1959/ 1992: 198-199, 210).

3.5.2 THE PERFORMATIVE SHIFT AND THE EMERGENCE OF CULTURAL PRAGMATICS

The concepts deriving from scholars such as Goffman later developed into the distinct discipline of performance studies. Characteristic about the emerging discipline of performance studies has been the emphasis on meaning rather that action. Within performance studies, meaning has been presented as a powerful structure, in line with other societal structures such as status, power and money (Alexander and Mast 2006: 2-4). This indicates that performance theory puts emphasis on symbolic rather than strategic dimensions when studying social phenomena.

Towards the late 1980s, a theory of cultural pragmatics emerged from these performance studies, putting emphasis not only on meaning, as had been the previous main occupation of scholars within this field, putting the center of interest on the interconnection and encounter between action and meaning in a way that did not reduce the one or the other. Alexander and Mast label this the performative shift in cultural sociology, and the foundations for this turn connecting action to meaning in a new way can be found in the belief of these sociologists that "...only through the actions of concrete social actors that meaning's influence is realized" (2006: 16). The integration of dramaturgy into performance studies grew out from this theory of cultural pragmatics, with the objective of exploring theatrical elements of social life. The process of explaining how culture is expressed through action is then, according to Alexander and Mast, similar to that of a theatrical production, and they consequently seek to elaborate cultural pragmatics by exploring the theatrical elements in social interaction (Alexander and Mast 2006: 5, 15-17). Characteristic for the theoretical framework developed by Alexander and Mast, is making use of the Goffmanian legacy and pulling these concepts up on a global level, in order to look at performance as social events played out on the global theater, such as terrorism, which is analyzed by Alexander (2006: 91-109). This theory moves then, from micro level to macro level, - in the way that the analogy of performance is altered into a sociological theory that can be applied on large scale social and cultural processes (Alexander, Giesen and Mast: 2006). Within performance studies, terrorist acts are understood as "meaning-laden symbolic performances enacted with particular goals and audiences in mind" (Alexander and Mast 2006: 18; Alexander 2006: 91-109).

3.5.3 The "Theater of Terror"

Juergensmeyer is also among the scholars that find it useful to understand the symbolic dimensions of terrorism through the analogy of a theater. The demonstrative nature of terrorism makes this concept concern more than mere violence, as they also manifest the power of violence. The manner that violence is displayed in acts of terrorism is in this way connected not only to a strategic, but also to a symbolic dimension. Juergensmeyer calls this *performance violence*. The impact of this genre of violence on the society it strikes makes it important to look beyond the murders committed in order to include this symbolic and performative dimension (Juergensmeyer 2003: 124-126).

With specific acts of terrorism observed as performance, Juergensmeyer relates the set of events in a terrorist attack to that of a theater. According to this logic, the acts are performed on a stage, the terrorists and victims as the actors and the audience is the public observing the attack (Juergensmeyer 2003: 125-128). Terrorist actors seem to have an aim of making a difference and change how people understand the world by use of their performances. In this way, one can point to the importance of the way the act is observed. Within the logic of this theater, the targets of the terrorists, such as workers in the World Trade Center, were not attacked because the perpetrators found them threatening, but because they in a symbolic way served as a suiting target in order for the terrorists to make their message known to the world. To be able to repel their audience equals reaching the aims of the theater of terror. Even spectators witnessing what happens from a distant part of the world, also representing the audience, can be affected emotionally by the pictures and descriptions presented by the news media. In addition, the message that is communicated by the terrorists can have different significance to different parts of the public (Juergensmeyer 2003: 125-128). Because of the symbolic nature of terrorist acts, such acts can be said to mimic religious rites. Terrorist events are "events to impress", and hence a terrorist attack should be

understood and investigated as a ritual or sacred drama (Juergensmeyer 2003: 125-128). The use of the logic of a theater in order to understand acts of terrorism is not intended to undermine the gravity of such attacks, as stated by Juergensmeyer, because such an approach more willingly makes room for understanding the symbolic features of terrorism (2003: 126).

Juergensmeyer relates these theatrical elements specifically to religious terrorism, as he describes that religious terrorism should be perceived as performance violence, due to the dramatic, theatrical and symbolic nature of this kind of terrorism (Juergensmeyer 2003: 126). Juergensmeyer puts emphasis on the way that many forms and manifestations of terrorism often are connected to people with religious motivations, belongs to the category religious terrorism. The various expressions of religious terrorism must, according to him, be looked at within this performative frame, belonging closer to the symbolic than the strategic end of the axis, as illustrated in Figure 1. (Juergensmeyer 2003: 125-128). However, by the use of the multi-level approach on terrorism as illustrated in Figure 2, this frame becomes applicable not only on religious terrorism, as one might claim that all forms of terrorism include both a strategic and a symbolic dimension. Seemingly, acts of terrorism with distinct religious features may also have a more visible symbolic dimension, but this does not have to preclude a symbolic dimension in acts of terrorism appearing with clearer features of other characters, such as political features. With this in mind, it is useful to look at terrorism within this logic of a theatre when looking at the symbolic aspects of terrorism in general, and furthermore, this will be connected to the two case studies of September 11, 2001 and July 22, 2011.

Consequently, this makes it less relevant to place these to attacks on a fixed point along the axis as described by Juergensmeyer, as practically all kinds of terrorist acts will more or less contain symbolic aspects as well as strategical ones. Additionally, as has been outlined in this paragraph, this understanding enables the use of this logic of a theater on terrorist acts that are either religiously motivated, or motivated by other features such as politics.

3.5.4 TERRORISM AS SOCIAL PERFORMANCE

In a similar way to Juergensmeyer, Alexander analyzes the dramaturgy of terrorist acts. As Juergensmeyer speaks of the theater of terror, Jeffrey Alexander takes this concept even further by explaining how the symbolic dimensions of terrorism should be understood as social performance and within a dramaturgical framework. He does this by tracing various theatrical or narrative elements in acts of terrorism, such as a narrative and a script, a plot, and different social actors, in a similar way as Juergensmeyer, but however, he puts more emphasis on the aspect of performance, and specifically in the way he explains the usefulness of looking at terrorism and its response as performance versus counterperformance (Alexander 2006: 91). Consequently, the framework provided by Alexander is wider and therefore a valuable inclusion in the discussion concerning symbolic features of terrorism.

Alexander traces several theatrical elements when looking at terrorism as phenomena. First of all, the script narrates the sacred and profane dimensions of a conflict, and can either be created before the performance is brought about, or simultaneously as the drama takes place. Within the plot, action and confrontation takes place. The drama is made out from several different social agents, from the actors performing the terrorism, to the directors who organize the actions and are driving forces of the ideology and to the audience, responding with fear, agony and pain, or joy and triumph, depending on how they conceive of the drama unfolding when terrorist acts are committed. Alexander states that in order for a scripted narrative to be successful, new moral conceptions of reality needs to be created as well as new social actions, as a result of an experience of the narrative. The action in a social drama should be understood by the term *mise-enscène*, meaning "putting into the scene". A mise-en-scène demands a "control over the means of symbolic production", which can be done by constructing arenas for such performance in the minds of the spectators, and by having access to publicity through the media (Alexander 2006: 95).

The drawing of blood in terrorist attacks must be understood both concrete and physical and also symbolically or non-literal as a way of throwing "...a striking and awful painting upon the canvas of social life", where the aim besides to kill is also to "gesture in a dramatic way" (Alexander 2006: 94). In this way terrorism must be understood as carrying a message of both explicit and immanent character. This corresponds to

Juergensmeyer's description of terrorist acts of violence not only as physical but also as "performance violence". As stated by Alexander: "Social performances, like theatrical ones, symbolize particular meanings only because they can assume more general, takenfor-granted meaning structures within which their performances are staged" (Alexander 2006: 94). In this manner, Alexander arguably points to the dependency on the symbolic of the concrete and physical, as the symbolic gains it meaning on basis of the concrete actions performed. This proves the interconnection between action and meaning, as was emphasized by Alexander and Mast as scholars within cultural pragmatics, see 3.5.2. Arguably, this conception is in line with Figure 2, as both the symbolic and strategic, meaning and action are analyzed in interconnection to one other.

Alexander reviews common interpretations of the phenomenon of terrorism, and the common framework that constitutes the theories we use and assumptions we have when discussing terrorism. He states that: "Modern audience tend to see power at work and not to see meaning. They attribute to would-be actors instrumental, non-idealistic, motivations" (Alexander 2006:96). In this respect, terrorism should to be observed and analyzed not only in instrumental terms and in terms of physical violence, but also as a "particularly gruesome kind of symbolic action in a complex performative field" (Alexander 2006: 91). This argument appears to support the inclusion of the symbolic dimensions in order to understand the both terrorism and its response (2006: 91). As a result, Alexander argues in favor of analyzing terrorism as social performance, in a way not unlike theatrical performances. In this manner Juergensmeyer's perspectives can be observed within the frame of performance studies.

When looking at terrorism as phenomenon and the various ways that terrorism has been played out on the global stage, the picture undoubtedly seems complex and multifaceted. Writing about the subject makes probable a risk of using stereotypes and hasty conclusions. Trying to capture realities in text and theory always contains this risk. After having looked at various ways of approaching the phenomenon of terrorism, it becomes evident that the choice of definition will have implications for the view on the role and impact of terrorist attacks on society.

This chapter has discussed important characteristics of terrorism as phenomenon. Maintaining an awareness of the distinction between different conceptions of terrorism, and including the symbolic dimensions together with the more traditional and strategic dimensions of terrorism may contribute in making the picture more nuanced.

4 Reconciliation

This chapter will take a closer look at common understandings of reconciliation, emphasizing specifically how reconciliation can be understood as healing of memories and of narratives, and how processes as well as outcomes of reconciliation can be understood as occurring on several dimensions in society. Base on this, the emphasis is on reconciliation processes on the societal level. After having presented these prospects for reconciliation, the chapter turns to look at challenges to the reconciliation paradigm, both by examining the theoretical contribution of Niebuhr, as he questions the possibility of such processes to come to place within civil society and on a national level, and by asking whether a given reconciliation paradigm in any case could apply when speaking of terrorism as conflict.

4.1 RECONCILIATION DEFINED

As outlined in 1.4, a growing numbers of scholars have considered reconciliation an interesting and valuable option for resolution of conflict ever since the 1990s, and ultimately, theories concerning this phenomenon have been developed. In spite of various debates and discussions concerning the nature of reconciliation, Renner and Spencer argue that broadly speaking there seems to be a "vaguely shared understanding" among scholars when it comes to understanding the main features of the concept of reconciliation (Renner and Spencer 2012: 2). This common understanding of reconciliation concerns a view on reconciliation as restoration of broken relationships between hostile parties. Consequently, it is the relationship between the parties in a conflict that is the central focus when defining reconciliation. Most scholars dealing with the subject of reconciliation would also agree that the conflicts often concern the oppressors versus the oppressed. In addition, the aim of reconciliation can commonly be understood as the creation of a community that makes it possible for the parties to live peacefully together, and in this manner reconciliation demands a "far-reaching social transformation" (Renner and Spencer 2012: 2-3).

However, there are nuances among scholars, as various scholars emphasize different aspects as being crucial in the understanding of the concept. Some scholars focus on the parties change of identity, and bringing an end to the construction of ones' own identity

on the basis of a negative image of the other, "the removal of the negation of the other as a central component of one's own identity" (Renner and Spencer 2012: 3). Other scholars put emphasis on the healing of traumas, and focus more on the importance of the therapeutic aspects of reconciliation, and reconciliation being the effort to heal the wounds and dispose of the "legacy of violence in individuals and societies" (Renner and Spencer 2012: 3).

4.1.1 THE RECONCILIATION PARADIGM

Renner and Spencer speak of "the reconciliation paradigm". This paradigm rests on the belief that reconciliation is possible, and that reconciliation can be a viable alternative in conflict and come to place through processes contributing in healing the wounds and the traumas of the inflicted parties in a conflict, and processes aiding the evolvement of a renewed relationship between the agonistic parties, where trusting and accepting the other as a "legitimate social actor" becomes central (Renner and Spencer 2012: 4). In other words they argue that the question is not whether reconciliation is possible at all, because according to this paradigm, there is a common conception withholding the necessity and possibility of reconciliation. This does not mean that reconciliation can be achieved effortlessly, the process unquestionably requires much from the parties involved.

4.2 RECONCILIATION AS HEALING OF MEMORIES AND NARRATIVES

The following paragraphs will continue to outline characteristics of reconciliation as healing of memories and narratives, by the aid of Robert Schreiter's perspectives. As described in 1.2, the focus of this thesis is on reconciliation and healing within the ruptured societies after terrorist attacks, and not between the terorists and their victims, and this contributes in shaping the theoretical contributions presented in the following.

Schreiter observes reconciliation as a form of healing of memory. He speaks of the aim in a reconciliation process to establish a shared identity between the parties, within which memory and hope play important roles. A shared identity can be established on the basis of the parties' acknowledgement of their loss, and by examining current narratives and identities of both conflicting parties' communities, this can allow for new narratives to be created (Schreiter 2008: 7, 13-14). The fact that we are unable to remember

everything that happens is evidence of how our memory is formed "...by a dialectic of remembering and forgetting" (Schreiter 2008: 10). Memory is a fundamental part of our identities, and with time passing we change how we relate to our specific memories, allowing for us to consider past events from new angles, such that can happen in a process with healing of loss and trauma (Schreiter 2008: 9-10).

The process of healing of memories takes place when victims in a post-conflict society are able to alter their memories so that they can focus on the future. This can be made possible by help of the passage of time, and often the generations that are the successors of the generation that initially experienced the trauma and the loss can easier deal with past events on the path of healing (Schreiter 2008: 12-13). Schreiter highlights that the healing of memories does not equal the disappearance of wounds. He describes the remaining wound as "testimony to history" and as "sign of absence" (Schreiter 2008: 14). The impossibility of eliminating the wounds does not hinder the possibility of changing our relation to them, "...in such a way that they become sources of life" (Schreiter 2008: 14). Essential in this process of healing of memories (regardless of the amount of time passage) is, according to Schreiter, three stages. First comes the acknowledgement of loss, followed by the making of connections and subsequently the taking of new action (Schreiter 2008: 13).

Acknowledging the loss one has suffered implies to recognize what has happened, and allowing sentiments of grief and anger to enter the stage. This can be a way of creating a new relationship with the past, as what happens becomes a past narrative. An acknowledgment of the loss makes room for the creation of new implications of the past and new connections to it (Schreiter 2008: 13). New prospects and visions can arise out from these new connections to past wounds, and this might be perspectives and narratives continuing in the heritage and traditions of the dead (Schreiter 2008: 14).

When it comes to the role of time, Schreiter points to how the passage of time can make the prospects for reconciliation more difficult, because memories of the conflicting parties previously united may fade with the passage of time. On the other hand, the passage of time may aid in reconciliation processes as well, as new generations may find new ways to remember and deal with past wounds (Schreiter 2008:7-9).

Reconciliation can also be understood as healing of narratives. Narrative can serve to function as a witness of the past, a tool for remembering what has happened, in keeping "...the past present to us", and narrative can also serve to reveal the truth (Schreiter 2008: 15-17). If healing of narratives are necessary in order for a reconciliation process to progress, and if truth and narrative are closely interrelated, then the role of truth becomes central in processes of reconciliation. After having become aware of ones own narrative, one must be willing to face the narratives of the other in order to heal the wounds and memories. The presence of truth requires that the parties go to depth with their own narratives and the narrative of the other in dialogue, and the kind of healing that emerges from this meeting face to face and this dialogue and encounter. This shows that dealing with narratives can be among the crucial first steps in order for restoration and reconciliation to come to place (Schreiter 2008: 16-17).

4.2.1 The Role of Forgiveness

Forrester points to how healing begins with forgiveness (2005: 113). This corresponds to the conception of Tutu, defining forgiveness as *Ubuntu*, - the ability to make whole (Tutu 1999: 31-32, 264). Forrester claims that rejecting revenge while including forgiveness is a prerequisite in order for reconciliation processes to come about (2005: 113). The presence of forgiveness is considered as a prerequisite in reconciliation on the personal, societal and political levels, as "...the only way to sustain a decent family, community, nation or world" (Forrester 2005: 112-113). Schreiter points to how forgiveness is connected to memory in the manner that recalling the past in new and different ways can be steps along the path to forgiveness. However, he asserts that forgiving must not be observed as the equivalent of forgetting, as he states

In forgiving we do not forget, for how could we forget something that has so irrevocably changed our lives without diminishing ourselves and undervaluing the loss we have incurred? (Schreiter 2008: 10-11).

4.3 CLEGG'S TYPOLOGY OF RECONCILIATION

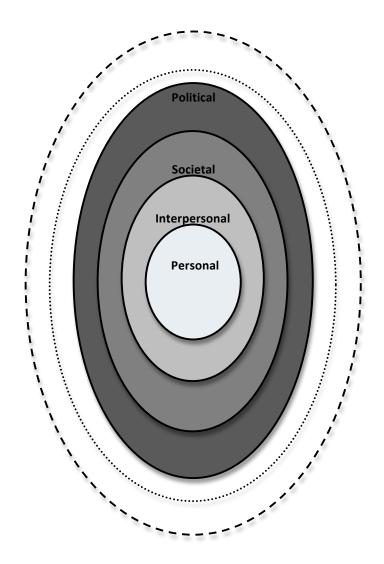
Cecelia Clegg describes reconciliation as both a process and a goal. In this respect she argues that it is important to maintain an awareness of the utilization of the term in various settings and contexts, in order to understand what is being discussed. A fruitful way to look at reconciliation from a theoretical approach is by regarding reconciliation processes and reconciliation outcomes as occurring within several dimensions in society, in a typology of reconciliation as provided by Cecelia Clegg, see Figure 3 below.

Observing this illustration, it is visible how the figure is drawn in a way that reflects the various dimensions of reconciliation. Clegg divides the phenomenon of reconciliation into four different dimensions, - a political, societal, interpersonal and a personal dimension (2008: 81-82).

Political reconciliation concerns the political and judicial dimensions of the reconciliation process, and takes place on macro level of society. One example is the creation and development of peace agreements. There is not a need for forgiveness and repentance at this level according to Clegg. Societal reconciliation concerns reconciliation processes on a group-to-group level, either in communities or institutions. Within this dimension, groups are working towards sharing "contested space" in a society, and towards establishing a culture of non-violence. While justice is the main issue on the level of political society, relationship is the crucial theme on the societal level. On this level, Clegg argues that though it is not indispensable, the element of forgiveness may be existent (2008: 82-84). Interpersonal reconciliation concerns the parts of reconciliation that involves small groups to small groups, families to families, or individuals to individuals. Essential within this dimension is the role of forgiveness. Grief and reconciliation are equally important on this level, and this is where one most commonly speak of healing the wounds in post-conflict groups where there is need for reconciliation. Personal reconciliation involves the healing of the individual's inner self, and concerns the psychological aspects. On this level, Clegg states that both forgiveness and compassion are important factors in order for a personal reconciliation to take place (Clegg 2008: 83).

FIGURE 3: CLEGG'S TYPOLOGY OF RECONCILIATION

Illustration from Cecelia Clegg's Figure "A Typology of Reconciliation" (2008: 92).



When speaking of these various dimensions of reconciliation, it is important to keep in mind how the distinctions between them are not fixed or permanent. In the case of societal reconciliation, as shown in figure 3 this dimension is linked "inwards" to interpersonal reconciliation, connected to the effort of reducing hurt and anger in a society, and "outwards" in the way that civil society can be affected by the political sphere (Clegg 2008: 83-84). In this manner, the different levels are reflexively affecting one another. As mentioned in 1.3.1, this thesis is primarily concerned with reconciliation on the societal level, and the relation of this level to the political one. The following

paragraphs will therefore discuss the characteristics of specifically societal reconciliation.

4.3.1 Features of Societal Reconciliation

Clegg maintains how it does not suffice with reconciliation in the political and the interpersonal dimensions, but that reconciliation also needs to take place within the societal dimension. One example of how this can happen is when the citizens of a society support the peace accords entered by its leaders. She argues that most commonly reconciliatory measures aim at either political or interpersonal versions of reconciliation, while a full, sustainable process of reconciliation of a society will not take place unless there is reconciliation on the societal level as well. This dimension is important, because of the way it is linked to "...the highest aspiration of human needs for identity, belonging and community..." (Clegg 2008: 84). With support from the insight of Harold Saunders, Clegg asserts that it is the citizens who make peace in a society, and this also serves to underline the importance of the societal dimension (Clegg 2008: 81, 83-84).

In practical terms, crucial for a reconciliation to come to place within the societal dimension is the letting go of violence, prejudice and hostile attitudes, as well as an acceptance of the differences between the groups involved. This is required in order for the foundations for a common ground to be created (Clegg 2008: 84). The process requires goodwill of the parties toward each other (Clegg 2008: 84-85). The need for identity, belonging and community come to life within a process of reconciliation, and can be viewed as "patterns of behavior" that one should be able to trace in societies where processes of reconciliation are emerging (Clegg 2008: 85).

The path towards societal reconciliation requires the parties to recognize their involvement in the conflict, and their obligation to contribute in finding a solution. Clegg describes some prerequisites in order for a societal reconciliation to come to place; among them the will of the parties to work towards peaceful co-existence and the need for a re-negotiation of the identities of the parties (Clegg 2008: 91-92).

First of all, willingness for a societal reconciliation to come to place can be expressed both individually and collectively in a society. On an individual level, this implies that the individuals express a desire to work towards creating an "us and us" instead of a "them and us", in order to make an effort for peaceful co-existence with the former enemy. This can take place on either a religious or a pragmatic basis (Clegg 2008: 85). On a collective level, expressions of a will to co-exist can be more troublesome, but examples of such expressions are various changes in the physical surroundings of the parties in a society, such as the creating of monuments and other efforts that may serve to improve the ambiance and reduce the hostile tensions. This can be especially of great import in the instances where a conflict has concerned a contested space (Clegg 2008: 85-86).

Secondly, societal reconciliation processes are in need of re-negotiation of identities, implying an affirming and honoring of the positive rather that the negative identities of the groups involved. The process where the parties re-negotiate their identities so that they become stable and positive identities, involves giving up on the negative images of identity, both of 'us' and of 'the other'. A re-negotiation of identities requires creation and establishment of safe spaces, spaces that are neutral and in which the parties and people involved in the process are respected and listened to (Clegg 2008: 81, 86-91).

Additionally, the complexity of societal reconciliation may explain how the endeavor of achieving societal reconciliation requires more than it does to shake the foundations for peaceful co-existence and produce opposites of reconciliation in a society, such as conflict and violence (Clegg 2008: 84-85). In this manner, reconciliation cannot be viewed in a fast forward, step-by-step or straightforward evolution, but needs to be regarded as a process with both breakthroughs and setbacks. There is a need for flexibility and discernment when approaching this subject. Accordingly, it is important to speak truthfully of the nature of reconciliation and avoid simplistic formulas. Nevertheless, finding efficient and creative tools for making the process more manageable, smooth and subtle can be seen as desirable.

4.3.2 Forgiveness according to Clegg's Typology

The presence of a probable discrepancy can be found when comparing the perspectives of Clegg and Forrester, as outlined above. Forrester emphazises the necessity for reconciliation as healing to be present within all processes of reconciliation, while Clegg points to forgiveness as essential only within the interpersonal dimension of society. Their different views become valuable for this thesis, providing a larger framework for understanding the features of reconciliation. Regardless of these differences, Clegg and

Forrester appear to be united in their acceptance of the reconciliation paradigm. Consequently, the following part will turn to reflect on challenges to this paradigm, through the aid of the theoretical premises of Reinhold Niebuhr.

4.4 CHALLENGES TO THE RECONCILIATION PARADIGM

Criticism towards perspectives as those forwarded by Schreiter and Clegg can be found in Reinhold Niebuhr's approach to reconciliation, - as he opposes the possibility for such a phenomenon to take part on larger group levels of society.

In his book "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness" from 1944, Niebuhr defines what he sees as the problem of modern political philosophies, namely the error that these theories, although the purpose of them all are good, ignores the existence of original sin in human beings. Hence, such theories become naïve and idealist because of their inherent element of corruption due to this original sin (Niebuhr 1944: 16-17). He explains that through this doctrine of original sin

...one may understand that no matter how wide the perspectives which the human mind may reach, how broad the loyalties which the human imagination may conceive, how universal the community which human statecraft may organize, or how pure the aspirations of the saintliest idealists may be, there is no level of human moral or social achievement in which there is not some corruption of inordinate self-love (Niebuhr 1944: 16-17).

This kind of corruption can be found in the way that each of the rivaling theories on society claim to have found the one and only solution on how to organize society in a proper way, and in how they justify the use and the abuse of power in order to attain their ideal society. These theories can be placed into two different kinds of groups, either those theories belonging to 'the children of light' or those representing 'the children of darkness'. The children of light are driven by an idealist belief in a 'higher law' provided by either rationality or morality that is capable in offering perfect solutions to conflict and tension in society, while the children of darkness are more cynical in the way that they do not believe in such a higher law, as they do not adhere to any law beyond themselves. Niebuhr explains that the children of darkness "...are wise, though evil, because they understand the power of self-interest" (Niebuhr 1944: 9-11) He explains how the theories of children of light, such as Karl Marx' utopian political philosophy, together with other theories within this group is destined to be used as

instruments by children of darkness in their pursuit of self-interest and power (Niebuhr 1944: 31-33)

In his volume "Moral Man and Immoral Society" from 1932, Niebuhr argues that there is a difference between individuals and larger groups in society when it comes to moral and social behavior, as individuals in their intimate groups possess a capability to extend beyond egoism and care for others, while groups are in lack of this ability. The same capacities and resources that enables individuals to create and preserve harmony in their relationships and show goodwill by prioritizing altruist considerations, does not apply for groups, as groups can not maintain the same level of ethics and morality as individuals. According to Niebuhr, groups differ from individuals on this matter because neither rationality nor religion can restrain the egocentrism and self-interest within and between larger groups and nations (Niebuhr 1960: xi-xii, 83).

Niebuhr criticizes a common view claiming that social conflict and corruption in social spheres can be solved by humanity reaching a higher level of intelligence by a firm belief in the evolvement of rationality. He does not dismiss rationality, but maintains that there is a limit to its power, and that human beings- especially on the level of larger societal groups- may allow for social injustice, as group interests become more important than the interest of the individuals, giving way to egoism and self-interest, increasing the level and possibility for societal conflict (Niebuhr 1960: xiii, xx, 34-35). In the same way, Niebuhr does not deny the importance of religion when it comes to being a source giving strength to the morality of individuals, but he maintains the limit of religion when it comes to its ability to restrain and eradicate group level conflicts (Niebuhr 1960: 52, 75).

Conflict cannot be avoided, according to Niebuhr, and consequently he argues that "power must be challenged by power", which is why justice cannot be fully obtained by human collectives by the help of rational or moral means (1960: xv). Peaceful relations between groups and nations is allowed and necessitated by coercion through politics, but societal injustice may be a result of this aspect of coercion, as the use of power often relates to a pursuit of egoist interests. With this view on power and coercion characterizing the dynamics of social groups, the ideal of eradicating social conflict becomes impossible. This makes society remain in a "perpetual state of war", meaning that the aim of creating a good society does not lie in eradicating conflict, but to manage

to balance justice and power in an adequate way (Niebuhr 1960: 19-22, xxiv, 240). And in this way, means such as non-violent opposition and non-violent coercion becomes the most efficient way to obtain and maintain societal justice in a peaceful way (Niebuhr 1960: 240, 254).

As seen according to the theory of Niebuhr, reconciliation of any kind becomes unobtainable on larger societal group levels and on the level of nations. Consequently, he appears to counter the perspectives of Clegg, assuming a possibility for reconciliation also within societal and political dimensons in society. Opposite persepectives may balance one another, and their different contributions will be further discussed in 8.3.2.

Niebuhr's theory relates to reconciliation in a way that questions the reconciliation paradigm, and will have consequences for how to assess the possibility for speaking of reconciliation on the level of society in general and as a counter-response to terrorism in specific. Even though they describe reconciliation between parties in a manner that can be utilized when approaching reconciliation between hostile parties after a conflict, the contributions of Clegg and Schreiter are found to be suitable for looking at reconciliation within ruptured societies as well. Schreiter in the manner that he points to healing of memories and narratives, and Clegg in the manner that she identifies reconciliation on different dimensions of society.

This chapter has dealt with theoretical material concerning reconciliation as phenomenon, specifically emphasizing how reconciliation can be understood as healing and forgiveness, and as occurring within several societal dimensions. The chapter has also described challenges to the reconciliation paradigm by the aid of Niebuhr's perspectives. The following chapter will investigate the concepts of aestheticism, creativity and creative tools.

5 Creative Tools

One of the main objectives of this thesis is to look at the role of creative tools in processes of societal reconciliation and healing after terrorism. The use of creative tools in conflict resolution and reconciliation necessitates creativity. This chapter will therefore begin by introducing aesthetic theory and the role of beauty related to creativity. This is followed by an examination of how creativity is connected to conflict, before LeBaron's theoretical framework describing creative tools is presented. As mentioned in the introduction, this will be presented as an alternative and a supplement to the rational discourse concerning both terrorism and reconciliation after terrorism.

5.1 BEAUTY IN AESTHETIC THEORY

Distinct from the epistemological discipline concerned with what is true, and also distinct from ethics, engaged with what is good and morally right, aesthetics can be observed as a separate discipline, examining the role of beauty and the nature of art (Svendsen and Säätelä 2007: 17). The term aesthetics derives from the Greek word "aisthetikos", meaning "sensory perception" (Shelley, 2013). Aesthetics concerns our knowledge of what our sense perceive as beautiful. Aesthetics was not considered a distinct philosophy until the 18th Century, when it was separated from philosophies engaged with epistemology and rationality, amongst other by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarden (1714-1762). During this period, art was disconnected from science, and the aesthetic set apart from the rational (Svendsen and Säätelä 2007: 199-204).

Explaining the nature of beauty is a challenging task, especially because beauty as phenomenon cannot be easily measured. Svendsen and Säätelä claim that all human beings possess some kind of perception of beauty, which makes it is impossible to remain indifferent to their surroundings and whether these are beautiful or hideous (2007: 200). Rollo May states that it is not so easy to speak of beauty in our society because of the discursive character of our language. Often when observing something beautiful, a person instinctively responds with silence. Hence the experience of what is beautiful is something never entirely explainable, and recognizing this is what makes us "...preserve our capacity for wonder..." (May 1985: 20-24).

Beauty is described as a "universal language", and people of all nationalities have for thousands of years decorated clothes, and household objects with flowers and ornaments by the aid of art as instrument, which shows the love of human beings for design and form that surpasses what is practical and functional (May 1985: 227-229). In this manner beauty may encourage a realization of "our common humanity", crossing ordinary boundaries between groups of people and promoting a form of interconnectedness (May 1985: 225). As May states: "In beauty we have a language common to all of us despite racial or cultural differences—and even despite national and historical enmities" (May 1985: 225).

Beauty can be connected to creativity due to its potential "...to find form in chaos, to create form where there is only formlessness" (May 1985: 137). In other words, confronted with chaos, persons may experience a need for making order and structure, creating something beautiful (May 1985: 138-139). In this manner, the movement from chaos to form can be described as a transformation (May 1985: 144, 148-149).

5.2 The Function of Creativity in Conflict Resolution

Rollo May defines creativity as the process of "bringing something new into being" (May 1975: 39; LeBaron 2002: 36). As human beings, we express ourselves through creativity, and creativity can be found in all sectors of society (May 1975: 8, 40). Creativity needs to be understood as occurring within a process, and in this creative process there is an encounter between two poles; the subjective pole, which is the person or the artist engaged in the act, and the objective pole, which is the world, and there is a continual dialectic process occurring between these two poles (May 1975: 41, 50, 78). Correspondingly, LeBaron argues that many creative processes can be directly linked to relations and relationship, with one example being conversations enabling individuals to be creative together (LeBaron 2002: 36-38).

Even though creativity might easily be connected to an imagination characterized by limitlessness and endless possibilities, limitation actually plays an important role in every creative process. This can be seen in the example of an artist drawing a picture, as it is the limits and boundaries marked by the pencil that expose the form in the drawing that shows the motif. In this way, limitation and boundaries are important prerequisites in creative processes. Limitation in this manner can be connected to creating form out of

chaos, and May describes how the creative process is "the struggle to bring into existence new kinds of being that give harmony and integration" (May 1975: 139-140).

Creativity concerns evolving from old presuppositions, conceptions, principles or values. This is the reason why creativity is central in conflict resolution, as resolution of conflicts involves the manifestation of something opposite of the prevailing circumstances, - either the transformation of something old or the creation of something new (LeBaron 2002: 38; 205-206).

Creativity requires courage, and therefore courage is an asset closely related to creative acts. Courage derives from the French word *cœur*, meaning heart. The function of courage can be compared to that of the heart, as the heart makes all the bodily organs work, while courage can be observed as the heart of psychological organs, according to Rollo May (1975: 8-13). Creative courage is the kind of courage that concerns the recognition of new things and ideas brought about through creative processes. In this manner, societal renewal may be linked to creative courage (May 1975: 21-22; LeBaron 2002: 39-41). May argues, in line with philosophers such as Kierkegaard and Sartre, that "...courage is not the absence of despair; it is, rather, the capacity to move ahead in spite of despair." (May 1975: 12).

However, to bring creativity into conflict can be complicated, as conflict may represent the opposite of creativity in several ways. This has to do with the limited and restrained vision of reality carried by persons and groups involved in the conflict (LeBaron 2002: 39). Relationships may have a potential to disrupt creative processes, because conflict comes to existence out from relationship. This, however, requires conflicts to be solved within those relationships, in order of new solutions to come to place (LeBaron 2002: 2, 41).

5.2.1 THE DICHOTOMY OF RATIONALITY VERSUS EMPIRICISM

Creativity may threaten prevailing assumptions and status quo, by the creation of new conceptions and understandings. In this manner, creativity may challenge rational ideas and notions, by surpassing existing knowledge in new manners (May 1975: 76). This can be connected to the dichotomy between the rational and the empirical.

The philosophical distinction between rationalism and empiricism concerns the different views on scientific knowledge; according to rationalism true knowledge derives from the use of logics observed by our senses, while empiricism claims our experiences and feelings to be the source to true knowledge (Svendsen and Säätelä 2007: 21, 37-38). In its strictest terms, rationalism is grounded in positivism, holding the natural sciences to be the ideal to all other societal disciplines, and insisting that studies conducted within the social sciences should be measured by the same needs as the ones guiding the natural sciences. As a response to this, empiricism claims to surpass the presuppositions of positivism, by stating that the measure values from the natural sciences are inadequate to measure qualitative values. Hermeneutics as an example of an empirical approach therefore engages in interpretation of texts and social behavior (Svendsen and Säätelä 2007: 84, 97-99).

Even though the division between aesthetics and rational science emerged in the 18th Century, already in the Antiquity Aristotle laid claim on the link between art and truth, by stating that art has in some instances the quality of being able to express truth in a way that exceeds the capacities of philosophy and science, and may thus complement or replace such sciences in truth- telling (Svendsen and Säätelä 2007: 247). This Aristotelian view supports the empiricist perspective, allowing for creative concerns that surpass rational ones to enter the picture in order to gain a fuller understanding of social phenomena.

5.3 Three Levels of Conflict

LeBaron describes conflicts as "...significant emotional events" taking place in relationships (LeBaron 2002: 3). She identifies and illustrates three different levels of conflict (see Figure 4 below, depicting LeBaron's illustration), functioning as three waves describing the development in conflict resolution theory and practice (2002: 9).

Looking to this figure shows how the first wave relates to a focus on material matters or disagreement on distribution of resources being the issues of conflict, requiring staged and rational processes of conflict resolution. The second wave has put more weight to the role of third parties in being facilitators of communication and mediators balancing the power were recognized. The third wave has emphasized the interconnectedness of people, in instances where solving disagreements on rational terms and working on communication between contested parties has proved to be inadequate. This is, according to LeBaron, a level of conflict related to worldviews and cultural context, where stories and identities that shape our feelings and assumptions (LeBaron 2002: 7-8). An inclusion of the third level of conflict proves to surpass rational concerns in order to include symbolic ones, - stories, cultural conceptions and emotions. LeBaron argues in favor of implementing this third wave into conflict practice and theory, as she asks:

How could our conflict practice change if we saw relationships not as extractable entities, but as woven into cultural and worldview contexts that give them texture, richness and intrinsic worth? (LeBaron 2002: 13).

The inclusion of this third wave appears by LeBaron to be presented not only as an additional and supplementary concern in conflict resolution, but also as giving shape to how communication and problem solving of concrete issues can be brought about (LeBaron 2002: 8). This indicates that looking to symbolic aspects of a conflict may be a fruitful starting point in approaching conflicts (LeBaron 2002: 13).

Figure 4: LeBaron's Levels of Conflict

Illustration from LeBaron's Figure "Levels of Conflict and Conflict Strategies" (2002: 9).

Conflict is about	Addressing it involves	Desired outcomes
Issues and material differences	Problem solving, analysis, logic, staged processes	Clarification of issues, closure, collaborative solutions
Communication and social dynamics	Improving communication, balancing power, managing strong emotions and negative interactions	Enhanced participation, improve understanding, better social structures, outcomes everyone can live with
Symbols, perceptions and meanings	Understanding how identity is woven into conflict dynamics, exploring perceptual differences arising from cultures and world views, using creative tools like metaphor, story and ritual	Meaningful participation in process design, deepened relationships and interdependence, transformative outcomes, increased creative capacity to work and live together.

Within conflict resolution theory, the focus has often been on structured initiatives and communication strategies. LeBaron argues that logic and rational tools may not serve to bridge cultural divergence in all types of conflict. This requires a need for tools on the symbolic level, where "meaning is made, perceptions shape reality, and identities are defined and redefined", in order to turn ruptured relationships into flourishing ones (LeBaron 2002: 1-7, 13-15). It is consequently within this framework of looking at levels of conflict that creative tools belong, and the following will therefore outline LeBaron's theory on such creative tools.

5.4 Creative Tools

The creative tools in conflict resolution are many, and the ways of using them are endless (LeBaron 2002: 33-34). Presented by LeBaron are three sets of creative tools, namely commemorating tools, symbolic tools and narrative tools and as rituals, metaphors and stories. These will be presented below, and the perspectives of LeBaron are supplemented by relevant theoretical material related to these different sets of tools. As presented in 1.3.1, creative tools may be valuable instruments with the ability of confronting cases and situations that are rich in symbolic content as such dimensions of a conflict are not easily acquired by help of analysis and logic reasoning alone (LeBaron 2002: 181). The objective of using such tools concerns finding "...new ways to think of and be with the conflicts that most challenge us" (LeBaron 2002: 294). LeBaron states how it can be useful to begin by confronting conflicts from the angle of such creative tools: "If we want to truly bridge differences, we begin not with formal analysis, but with stories, metaphors, and shared experiences" (LeBaron 2002: 10). Creativity is needed when conflicts are to be bridged on a symbolic level, and various creative tools can be useful when engaging in conflict resolution, making us put away self-consciousness and "compose the worlds we envision" (LeBaron 2002: 35).

5.4.1 COMMEMORATING TOOLS: RITUALS AND SPACE AS CREATIVE TOOLS

Commemorating tools are tools related to rituals, and to various manners of commemorating or marking change, identities and new histories, enabling a connection between "the world we know and the world we imagine" (LeBaron 2002: 34, 281). In this manner, the use of rituals can alter circumstances and relations, as well as address differences, possessing a capability to promote transformation, potentially of conflict (2002: 273, 282). LeBaron points to the definition of Victor Turner in defining ritual as "the social phenomenon of shared experience firmly embedded in human interaction and cultural performance" (Turner cited in LeBaron 2002: 251). Additionally, she describes rituals as "...a time when senses are heightened, moments are distinct and marked, and participants feel connected to each other and to the meaning of what they are doing" (LeBaron 2002: 253). Carrying out rituals implies emphasizing emotional aspects over rational ones. In this manner, rituals are connected to a symbolic dimension, and the creation of meaning. Even in Western, individual-oriented societies,

rituals play a central role, and evolve over time to take place in settings that correspond to the requirements of people in society (2002: 252-255).

Liminality and Communitas

Speaking of rituals, one must turn to the theory of Victor Turner (1974), concerning *rites de passage*, and liminality. Rites de passage refers to rituals concerned with the movement or transformation of a person from one status to another (Danbolt 2001: 175-177). Turner's theory can be used referring to individual rituals, with rites of passage being for example birth, baptism, confirmation, marriage and death. It can also apply on a societal level, referring to a societal contition or phase after an event that has altered status quo, before the entrance into a new phase of that society (Aagedal 2013: 88). Victor Turner draws on the concept of Arnold van Gennep when he speaks of the «liminal phase» in transition rituals. According to van Gennep, all such rites occur in three phases. The first phase is separation, which involves the disconnection from structure. The middle phase he calls the threshold or limen phase. *Limen* is the Latin word for threshold. Within this phase, participants in transition rites become set apart from the ordinary societal categories and structures that exist, and during such a period, the position of the ritual subjects must be observed as ambiguous. The final phase is called aggregation, and relates to reintegration to structure (Turner 2008: 327).

Turner has further developed van Gennep's theory by elaborating the characteristics of the liminal phase. He speaks of the ritual subjects as being "betwixt and between" positions, and puts emphasis on how the "uniform condition" amongst the participants erases the regular differentiation and categories that separates them in the normal, structures state. In the unstructured, spontaneous liminal phase, the relation between the ritual subjects must be characterized by *communitas*, - a deep sense of community due to the ceasing of natural divisions among people within this phase (Turner 2008: 327-328). Communitas can be described as a special kind of community and connection arising in a phase of liminality (Aagedal 2013: 99). Turner explains that "communitas emerges where social structure is not", and claims that the contradiction or "binary opposition" that can be found in structure versus communitas, forms an important dialectic in society. (Turner 2008: 333, 337).

Memorialization and Spontaneous Shrines

American folklorist Jack Santino writes about such rituals as 'spontaneous shrines', meaning public grieving and memorializing of persons who have suffered a "sudden or shocking death" (2006: 5). These public expressions of grieving and memorializing are categorized as 'shrines' because of the way they symbolize some sort of communion between the living and those who have passed away (Santino 2006: 5, 10-12). One could also speak of a shrine as a place regarded as holy or set apart from the mundane, as is the definition of Oxford Dictionaries (2014), and by the aid of creative expressions such as flowers, candlelight, pictures and paintings, the deceased ones are being memorialized (Santino 2006: 9). Such spontaneous shrines have been seen in the last decades after the sudden death of public persons, of young persons and also after accidents, murders or attacks claiming the lives of many in a terrible way (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2012: 12-13).

Santino claims that public memorialization moves beyond commemoration, also to include a performative and symbolic dimension. Distinct from regular public mourning through funerals and processions, spontaneous shrines are not only involving friends and family of those who have passed, and this is made visible in the way that the public in given cases participate in rituals and events that contributes in making these spontaneous shrines, regardless of their personal relation to the victims. This is the commemorative dimension that concerns the way that such rites function to express grief and commemorate the lives that were lost in a tragedy. On the other hand, the performative dimension concerns how people through the performance of these rites mark their stance in relation to the issues concerned. It is the performative dimension that makes spontaneous shrines stand out as a distinct form of memorialization, and this dimension makes public expression of such rituals necessary (Santino 2006: 6, 10-12). According to Santino, spontaneous shrines is a modern phenomenon, that has "...become part of the global expressive repertoire" in face of tragedies (Santino 2006: 9-10).

5.4.2 Symbolic Tools: Metaphors as Creative Tool

Symbolic tools are tools identified by LeBaron as metaphors, being the language, either verbal or non-verbal, that gives meaning to stories by making them come alive. Metaphors aid us to become acquainted with the unknown, uncovering new perspectives and meanings (2002: 34, 183). Metaphors may be defined as the association of two things "...without making the comparison obvious" (2002: 184). Disagreement and conflicts may easily come to surface if parties have different conceptions of metaphors, as metaphors convey worldviews and values that in some instances may label perspectives and worldviews of 'the Other' (LeBaron 2002: 184, 188, 214-215). At the same time, metaphors as symbolic tools may be useful in conflict resolution, in the manner that they may "enhance communication, relationship and participation", as well as allow for entering into "...other worlds of meaning, bridging difficult conflicts and deeply divided communities" (LeBaron 2002: 187, 212).

A symbol can be defined as an image or a form communicating several messages simultaneously, both hiding and revealing messages at the same time (May 1985: 154, 163; Danbolt 2014: 24). Symbols aid in giving meaning to reality in the way that they create a distance from the world, as a certain distance may help to clarify our view on reality. (May 1985: 169-170). In this manner one might say that the distance to the world gained by the use of symbols helps us come closer to the themes and messages that are occurring. The meaning we give symbols can be related to the role of language. Language can be understood as a form of a reservoir containing the symbolic dimensions that adds meaning to out experiences and our histories. In this way one can say that the role of language extends beyond being a communication device, and that "...it is just as true that language uses us" (May 1975: 85).

Symbols can be compared to myths in the way that both symbols and myths aid individuals and communities to give meaning to reality, and to comprehend their experiences either in large images as provided through myths or small images as presented in symbols. Both come to life out from creative processes, and myths and symbols must be understood as having not only a subjective, individual pole, but also an objective pole, in the way that they come to existence as part of the world outside of the individual (May 1985: 155; 1975: 91). At the same time, we give meaning to the symbols, and consequently our response to symbols resides within us and not in the

symbols themselves. This can also be seen in the way that various groups will always differ in their perceptions of the same symbol (May 1985: 163).

By the aid of Eric Kahler's perspectives of symbols, May states that a symbol is a "bridging act". Symbols may bridge persons and communities, the cognitive and the emotional, what is both intended and unintended (May 1985: 163). This can be related to creative tools and the importance of such tools as bridge builders in processes of conflict resolution and reconciliation, and will be further discussed in 8.1.2.

5.4.3 NARRATIVE TOOLS: STORIES AS CREATIVE TOOL

As seen above, metaphors bring life to the recounting of stories in various manners. Narrative tools relates more specifically to the characteristics of stories as tools, as stories carry a potential to improve relations, as listening to storytellers may create empathy for the stories of others (LeBaron 2002: 34). As described by LeBaron, stories

...connect us to other times, helping us to make sense and meaning of our lives. They carry hope, values, choices, and reasons. Stories give our lives place, identity and context; they communicate this to others. They connect us in relationship through content, feeling, and meaning (2002: 220).

Stories can carry a potential for being a resource in conflicts. The telling of stories both produces and exposes meaning, worldviews, identities and beliefs. One of the main functions of narratives is the provision of content that describes the context of a story and makes it meaningful. Stories are closely linked to the identity and values of the storyteller. Our identities are complex, and the same story of one event may be told differently, because our perspectives on a story evolve as we tell them and as time passes. The same stories may develop and shift shape over time (LeBaron 2002: 218-223, 240. This can be related to Schreiter's description of the healing of wounds related to the passage of time, as new or evolved stories may emerge that makes it easier to relate to a past conflict, see 4.2. Consequently, a transformation of conflicts may happen only when the stories constructing these conflicts are altered, and stories can change due to a shift in the sentiments and thoughts of the narrator, recreating old stories (LeBaron 2002: 237, 239).

However, stories not only contribute as a tool for conflict resolution, as they can also serve as hindrances and sources for conflict, if the storytelling is composed, told or interpreted in a manner that adds to pictures of the enemy other. Additionally, stories uncover painfulness from unresolved conflicts and issues (LeBaron 2002: 220, 248).

This chapter has examined the characteristics of beauty and creativity, emphasizing the importance such phenomena in processes of conflict resolution. The presence of these phenomena provides richness and depth to the analysis, but however, is also makes an understanding of conflict resolution and reconciliation processes even more challenging. However, such an inclusion arguably enables a movement beyond the rational in order to include also empiricist concerns and symbolic elements. The use of creative tools such as rituals, metaphors and stories becomes helpful in order to approach the symbolic dimensions of conflict. After having presented the two case studies in the following chapters, the role of creative tools will be further assessed in the analysis of this thesis (see 8.1).

6 Case Study: September 11, 2001.

6.1 Description of the Case

On September 11, 2001, a group of 19 persons, fifteen of them of Saudi Arabian origin, caught America by surprise with the terrorist attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center and into the Pentagon (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1105). The hijackers carried out their suicide mission by hijacking four passenger aircrafts, departing from airports in New Jersey, Boston, Newark and Washington D.C. Two airplanes intentionally collided into World Trade Center's Twin Towers in New York City. The towers collapsed shortly after being hit by the aircrafts. The third aircraft hit the U.S. Department of Defense in the Pentagon building, destroying parts of the building faced southwest. On the fourth and last plane, a struggle between the passengers and the hijackers resulted in the airplane slamming into a field outside of Pennsylvania.

The total number of casualties reached approximately 3000. Among these there were mainly American citizens, but also citizens from other countries, on a total eighty different nationalities, becoming by far the largest attack in the history of terrorism worldwide (Hoffman 2006: 18-19; Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1105). During the 20th Century, a total of fourteen terrorist attacks resulted in the death of about one hundred persons, making the 9/11 attacks unusually large in scope (Hoffman 2006: 18-19).

6.1.1 Background for the attacks

Shortly after September 11, American intelligence agencies accounted al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden, leader of the militant Islamist organization al-Qaeda, as the perpetrators responsible for the attacks. The militant al-Qaeda was established as a result of the first Gulf War in Iraq, and hostility towards the political role assumed by the United States in the Middle East were one of their main objectives. Ever since the 1990s, they had brought about several threats to attack the U.S. and they were the alleged perpetrators behind the attacks in Kenya and Tanzania on American embassies (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1105-1107; Juergensmeyer 2003: 182). Bin Laden was already familiar to the U.S. government, due to his relations to the U.S. since the first Gulf War (Bruce 2008:55). During the Soviet war in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989, both the U.S.

and bin Laden supported Afghan forces of resistance in the fight against Soviet, however with motivations of different character. For the U.S. this was part of the Cold War "proxy wars", with an effort of hindering the eastward expansion and influence of the Soviet Union. For bin Laden on the other hand, it concerned fighting the intrusion of communism and atheism by the Soviet Union (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 924; BBC News, 2004).

On October 7, 2001, the Arab television network Al Jazeera aired a videotape with a message from bin Laden. The pre-recorded and undated speech referred to the events of 9/11, and bin Laden justified the attacks by claiming it to be God's will and endeavor that the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked, and praised these events as he stated: "God Almighty hit the United States at its most vulnerable spot. He destroyed its greatest buildings" (BBC News, 2001; Juergensmeyer 2003: 219). Bin Laden put focus on the hostility that existed between the Islamic countries and the United States, blaming the U.S. for imposing sanctions of economical character on Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War, and supporting Israel against Palestine (Bruce 2008:55). Additional raging speeches were broadcasted from bin Laden in the period that followed, but not until a speech in 2004 did he directly proclaim himself as the mastermind behind the attacks (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1106; BBC History, 2014).

6.2 RESPONSE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT: THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

President George W. Bush responded to the attacks by stating: "This is a new kind of evil...[and we] will rid the world of the evildoers" (Hoffman 2006: 19). He also proclaimed a war on terror, pronouncing that such a war "...begins with al-Qaeda, but it does not end there", as this war would eventually include a number of states, called the "axis of evil", "rouge" states including Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and Middle East dictators, as all of these were suspected to possess weapons of mass destruction (Hoffman 2006: 19). The U.S. accused the Taliban, Afghanistan's leaders for sheltering al-Qaeda, and demanded that they should surrender bin Laden unconditionally (Juergensmeyer 2003: 224). The Taliban did not meet this claim, condemning the attacks, but even though they admitted the presence of bin Laden in Afghanistan, they demanded proof from the part of the U.S. with regards to this accusation, and requested an initiation of negotiation. As this was not an option for the Bush administration, the war in Afghanistan became a

reality by the beginning of October 2001 (BBC History, 2014). The "war on terror" became Bush's crusade against evil, as a response to several security threats towards the United States; continuing with the invasion and war in Iraq in March 2003 (Rapoport 2006: 20; Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1107-1108). The dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein was regarded as threatening the US, and there were growing concerns about terrorists acquiring weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. These arguments formed part of the justifications for the invasion in Iraq (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1107-1108).

Rapoport points to how this rapid intervention was "as unprecedented as the attack itself", as more than 100 states, including Iran, joined forces with the United States in the attack on Afghanistan (2006: 20) These forces rapidly put an end to Kabul's Taliban regime in combined aerial attacks and ground offensives. Additionally, significant al-Qaeda cells were tracked down, imprisoned or killed, but however the American war continued against disparate rebel fighters in the mountainous Eastern border to Pakistan. However, a complete elimination of al-Qaeda was unsuccessful, and bin Laden held himself hidden until he was tracked down and murdered by American forces in Afghanistan in 2011 (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1107; BBC News, 2011).

During the years that followed, international terrorist attacks connected to al-Qaeda and related Islamist groups continued to be an international security concern, with examples being the bombings attacking the transport systems in Britain and Spain (Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2007: 1110). From the war in Afghanistan and up until this day, the allied forces have been present in Afghanistan, both with military troops and peacekeeping corps maintaining security, and a complete withdrawal is presumed to take place towards the end of 2014, whereas the American counterterrorist forces plan their withdrawal in 2016 (Landler, 2014; The Hubrechtsen, 2014).

6.3 SOCIETAL COMMEMORATION

In the hours following the attacks on the World Trade Center, approximately 1 million people, both residents and workers, were evacuated from the area of lower Manhattan (DeBlasio, Terrance, Zirker et al., 2002).² In the immediate days following the attacks, many New Yorkers gathered near Union Square. Due to the Square's location on 14th Street, this was a natural location for a spontaneous memorial, as this was straight outside the northern part of what was called the «frozen zone». In commemoration of the nearly 3000 people perished in the attacks, New Yorkers lit candles and placed flowers, flags and drawings together with photos of the missing ones on several street shrines. At first, these photos encouraged people to look for their loved ones. But as the days passed, these photos became memories and expressions of loss, and hence they formed part of the spontaneous shrines (Zeitlin 2006: 104). Steve Zeitlin cites Amy Waldman when writing: "Manufactured in hope, the flyers have now transmuted into memorial..." (Zeitlin 2006: 104).

During the first days and weeks, the streetscape of New York City transformed into "a vast memorial garden", as if the extent of the response corresponded with "the enormity of the loss", as described by Zeitlin (2006: 104-106). Similar spontaneous shrines also emerged nearby the Pentagon, and in Somerset Country, at the place of crashing of Flight 93 (Blais and Rasic 2011: 101).

In the hours following the attacks of 9/11, there was a need for extensive rescue work, and approximately 400 of the emergency workers lost their lives in the rescue effort. Thousands of first responders worked continuously in these hours, and managed to rescue 18 people out form the debris. This initial rescue effort was followed by the recovery period, where the objective of the workers and volunteers consisted in finding remains of the victims as well as removing the pile of debris and building mass, and this process lasted until the spring of 2002 (Blais and Rasic 2011: 63, 69-71, 80-86).

² The message to the New Yorkers, as communicated by Mayor Rudy Giuliani on the morning after the attacks on September 11: "If you are south of Canal Street, get out. Walk slowly and carefully. If you can't figure what else to do, just walk north" (DeBlasio, Terrance, Zirker et al., 2002).

6.3.1 St. Paul's Chapel

As part of the Episcopal parish of Trinity Wall Street, St. Paul's Chapel is situated downtown Manhattan in the Financial District of New York. The chapel, built in 1766, faces the area of the Twin Towers, and became "the little chapel that stood"³ - as the structures of the church building were not damaged on September 11. This chapel became a place of refuge for the rescue and recovery workers, and for the families of the victims (Johnson 2013, Kohn 2011: 6-7).

Initially, in the days following the attack some persons connected to the Episcopal community started gathering in front of the church, across the street from Ground Zero, organizing barbeques. They invited the rescue and recovery workers to these meals, and in this way they provided first responders with food (Simons, 2013). Eventually, the doors of the church were opened and volunteers together with the church staff provided these people with various services that were needed, - from church staff offering certain kinds of counseling, to voluntary podiatrists and massage therapists relieving the sore feet and back pain of firefighters and police officers working on the huge pile of debris searching for survivors. The church was filled with pictures, postcards, drawings and banners sent from people all over the United States and from abroad to mark their support (Kohn 2011: 7-9, 11). People also attached posters and artifacts to the fences around the chapel. The chapel served as a place of refuge and rest from the chaotic environments outside of the church. Cellists and violinists played their music and the first responders could find moment of rest and sleep, prayers and reflection in the pews of the chapel. A daily Eucharist was offered. The chapel served as a relief center in the months following the attacks (Simons 2013, Johnson 2013, Kohn 2011: 6-7, 11).

In cooperation with the fire department the clergy assisted at the temporary mortuary, the *T-Mort* at Ground Zero. In the Anglican independent biweekly magazine "The Living Church", Katherine Kohn describes how the clergy, through their ministry of prayer and intercession observed grieving rituals, also related to taking part in meeting with families of the victims as remains fo victims were recovered. In this manner they provided an important presence during the first weeks and months (Kohn 2011: 7).

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 $^{^{3}}$ This also became the title of a children's book telling the story of Saint Paul's Chapel, written by A. B. Curtiss (2003).

The chapel served many needs during this period, and has even been called "the little chapel that could" (Damico and Quay 2010: 19). During the following eight months after the attacks, about 9000 volunteers contributed in making St. Paul's Chapel into a relief center for the rescue and recovery workers (Kohn 2011: 7-9, 11). After these first months followed a closing and a clean up of the chapel, it reopened to the public as well, and since then, the chapel has been visited by approximately 1,5 million people annually, church attendants, pilgrims and tourists (Kohn 2011: 7-9, 11). Up until this day, the chapel has been filled with various kinds of displays from some of the worndown pews used by firefighters and police officers, to banners, postcards and pictures.

In 2005, St. Paul was invited to be a Partner in the ecumenical organization Community of the Cross of Nails, together with about 150 other non-governmental organizations, churches, prisons, and centers promoting reconciliation worldwide. (Johnson 2013, The Community of the Cross of Nails, 2014). In their service of, St. Paul's received a cross of nails from the Coventry Cathedral, because of the desire of the Chapel to bring about reconciliation and ministering for people of all cultures and faiths. This cross is displayed on the altar of pilgrimage inside of the chapel (Johnson, 2013).

6.4 Ground Zero and the Reconstruction of Lower Manhattan

Following the initial an critical phase, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) was established, as a corporation with aims of coordinating the rebuilding of the damaged parts of lower Manhattan. In addition to directing the rebuilding of the World Trade Center, the LMDC became responsible for planning the construction of a permanent memorial. The LMDC saw the need for including public voices, and they thereby arranged numerous gatherings in order to be able to listen to the opinions of the bereaved. This process was lengthy, and meanwhile a temporary memorial was projected over the skies in March 2002, namely the «Tribute in Light», where light columns lit the sky where the two towers once stood (Blais and Rasic 2011: 101-105).

There were different suggestions to the use of the space on Ground Zero, from proponents of rebuilding the towers in order to demonstrate invincibility, to leaving the space empty, along with other suggestions of building a school, a hospital or a commercial center on the spot. The plan for the area affected many actors; business corporations, the infrastructure services concerning among others public

transportation, as well as the families and relatives of the victims in the attacks. Due to the great interest in the ground zero space, the LDMC decided to propose a global competition, in order to land on a plan and a project for the rebuilding of the site (Blais and Rasic 2011: 108-109). Daniel Libeskind and his team won this competition, in their suggestion to reconstruct skyscrapers forming the skyline, among these the Freedom Tower⁴, as well as maintaining the site where the Twin Towers once stood as a memorial site (Blais and Rasic 2011: 110).

In the process concerning the reconstruction of Lower Manhattan, one of the debated issues that arose was related to the planned building of an Islamic community centre, the Cordoba House. Real estate developer and owner of Soho Properties Sharif Gamal planned the construction of this centre, with the objective of building a cultural centre and not a mosque, offering space for all New Yorkers, including a a gym, a library, an art studio, and a culinary school, in addition to housing a prayer space. Due to its location three blocks away from the Ground Zero site, public and national debates arose, and opponents such as Sarah Palin together with other rightwing Republicans claimed that the centre- called the "Ground Zero Mosque"- was offending the victims of September 11. However, the centre gained support from New York mayor Michael Bloomberg, and from leaders of synagogues and churches, who maintained that this centre could foster reconciliation and cooperation between religions. Mayor Bloomberg pronounced that also Muslim Americans were killed on 9/11, and that Muslims in New York should not be treated differently than others. The discussion was put to a vote in the local community board in May 2010, and a majority supported the centre (Peer, 2010). Today, the centre is under construction as Park51, currently hosting lectures and offering workshops concerning multicultural and religious dialogue (Park51, 2014).

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⁴ Libeskind himself described his vision of the Freedom Tower in this manner: "... the Freedom Tower — in my master plan, second in importance only to the 9/11 memorial itself — will rise above its predecessors, reasserting the preeminence of freedom and beauty, restoring the spiritual peak to the city and proclaiming America's resilience even in the face of profound danger, of our optimism even in the aftermath of tragedy" (Libeskind, 2003).

6.4.1 THE MEMORIAL SITE

Another global design competition was ultimately launched, concerning the design of the open memorial space and the construction of the Memorial Museum, with the aim of commemorating both 9/11 and the 1993 World Trade Center bombing (Blais and Rasic 2011: 120).⁵ On January 2004, the Memorial Jury selected the design "Reflecting Absence" by Michael Arad, in concert with landscape architect Peter Walker. The Jury described that:

In its powerful, yet simple articulation of the footprints of the Twin Towers, "Reflecting Absence" has made the voids left by the destruction the primary symbols of our loss. [...] At its core, this memorial is anchored deeply in the actual events it commemorates-connecting us to the towers' destruction, and more important, to all the lives lost on that day... (Berry, Freedman, Gregorian et al., 2011).

Two large waterfalls were to be constructed, as footprints of the collapsed towers. The voids with streams of flowing water would reflect absence physically in the manner that they gave would give resonance to the enormity of the towers no longer present, and also in the manner that the running water would never fill the two pools. On the edge of these pools, the names of the victims were to be inscribed, and the park surrounding the pools would consist of a grove of trees, placed linearly. The intention of Arad and Walker was to reflect on the loss and absence, and at the same time the surrounding trees on the plaza becomes a reminder of life and regeneration (Blais and Rasic 2011: 136-141).

Additionally, the Norwegian architect company Snøhetta was hired to design the Museum Pavilion, forming the entrance to the belowground museum, and Davis Brody Bond (DBB) was chosen as architect for the National September 11 Memorial and Museum (Blais and Rasic 2011: 148; National September 11 Memorial & Museum, 2014).

The Museum Pavilion has been constructed fairly neutral, with the use of natural materials like wood and glass. Central within the Pavilion atrium are two large steel tridents. These remained intact and were recovered from the building mass after the collapse of the buildings (NRK, Documentary). The façade is made from glass, allowing

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⁵ A bomb detonated from a van below the north tower on February 26, 1993, killing 6 people. This attack was performed by a small group of radical Islamist terrorists (Blais & Rasic 2011: 32-34).

for light to enter the atrium. This façade partially reflecs the exterior, in a manner that makes it communicate with its surroundings, reflecting the skyscrapers, as well as the surrounding memorial plaza with the pools and the grove of trees. According to Snøhetta, this design has allowed for the building to transform throughout the year together with the seasonal rhythm (Snøhetta, 2014). Inside of the Pavilion, a Family room reserved for the families of the victims, overlooking the pools and enabling room for quiet contemplation (National September 11 Memorial & Museum, 2014).

The shape of the pavilion is horizontal and low, and Snøhetta describes their intention and aim with regards to the architectural design of the Pavilion:

...the Pavilion acts as a bridge between two worlds - between the Memorial and the Museum, the above and below ground, the light and dark, between collective and individual experiences. Inclined, reflective and transparent surfaces encourage people to walk up close, touch and gaze into the building (Snøhetta, 2014).

The construction of the memorial plaza was finished in 2011, on the tenth anniversary of September 11, and the Museum opened in May 2014. The process was lengthy due to controversies and disagreements from various interest groups involved in the construction process (Jordheim 2012: 233-236; Blais and Rasic 2011: 212; Farrell, 2014). Within the Museum, several displays can be found, telling the story of 9/11 and its aftermath and reactions in various ways. The Museum contains artifacts from the twin towers, and even contains a brick from bin Ladens compound. A memorial exhibition includes pictures of all the victims commemorates their loss, as well as profiles narrating some of the victim's stories (National September 11 Memorial & Museum, 2014; Drakakis, 2013).

This chapter has contained a presentation of September 11, 2001 as a case study describing the background, the course of events and the response to these attacks, as well as the reconstruction of a permanent memorial at Ground Zero. The following chapter will turn to look at the other case study, of July 22, 2011.

7 Case Study: July 22, 2011.

7.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE

Towards the afternoon of July 22, 2011, a van parked in front of the Government Quarter in Oslo, containing a large bomb. The chauffeur, Anders Behring Breivik, left this van and drove away in another car. At 15:25 local time, the bomb detonated, resulting in an explosion that shattered the windows of the Government building and caused significant damage on many buildings in the area. The state of the city was chaotic and can be described as similar to that of a "war zone" in the hours that followed the explosion (NOU 2012: 14: 17). 8 persons were killed as a result of the explosion, and among many injured people, ten of these were severely wounded (2012: 14: 17).

Meanwhile, Breivik continued pursuing his scheme, and drove in the direction of Utøya island in Tyrifjorden, Buskerud, where the annual summer camp of AUF, the Norwegian Labor Party's youth wing, was taking place. Dressed as an alleged police officer, carrying a large bag concealing his weapons, Breivik was allowed entrance by boat to the Island, as he claimed to supervise the security on the island after the explosion in the Government Quarter. Shortly after arriving at the island Breivik started his shootings. Emergency calls eventually brought the critical news to the local police. Some youth managed to escape by hiding, and some got away by boat or by swimming over to the mainland. Private persons from Utvika Camping across the fjord provided heroic rescue efforts, rescuing many among the youth with their boats. However, the perpetrator managed to kill 69 persons, and severly injuring 33 persons before police officers arrived at the island and arrested him. The terrorist attack has been described as unprecedented and extreme with regards to its extent and brutality, and the bomb explosion together with the massacre resulted in a total of 77 deaths in addition to several critically wounded persons, as described above (NOU 2012: 14: 25-31, 45).

The following year, on August 13, 2012, the independent July 22 Commission led by Alexandra Bech Gjørv released their report on the attack. The report pointed to a lack in several security measures and found that the extent of the attacks could have been hindered if security and emergency measures had been implemented in a better way, and if the police and emergency services had responded faster to the emergency calls that day. (NOU 2012: 14: 15-16).

Breivik was charged for the attacks, and in the trial in Oslo District Court during the spring of 2012, he admitted to be accountable for the planning and execution murders of the July 22 murders. The trials resulted in the sentencing of Breivik, and he was sentenced to the maximum penalty of 21 years in prison, with probable increments every five years after the termination of this sentence, as he poses a threat to the Norwegian society (Zondag, Skille and Andersen, 2012).

7.1.1 BACKGROUND FOR THE ATTACKS

The 32-year-old Anders Behring Breivik was responsible for the attacks. Having planned the attacks for several years, he spent much time in isolation, gathering material for his homemade bomb, as well as acquiring weapons he would use at Utøya. The distant friends and family of the perpetrator did not in advance know of his radicalization, and besides from his previous connection to the Child Welfare Services due to neglect, he was not previously known to the police (NOU 2012: 14: 341-345).

Breivik defended his actions by referring to his ideological convictions. He had planned the attacks to detail, and authored a manifesto describing his ideology. Showritz describes this manifest:

In a 1,500-page manifesto, Mr. Breivik wrote that the attacks were necessary to spark a war that would cleanse Europe of its Muslim immigrants, who he argued were destroying the continent's Christian heritage and culture. Though most Europeans consider his methods abominable, his anti-immigrant ideas, while extreme, are in tune with a growing current of xenophobia in Europe (Shcwirtz, 2011).

Even though Breivik alone committed these atrocities, the quotation above refers to a growing xenophobia visible in Europe, with extreme right wing groups gaining votes and influence in several European countries. This points to how Breivik is not the only one carrying such controversial convictions, even though his persuasions were taken to the extreme.

7.2 National Response to the Attacks

In the days following July 22, more than one million Norwegians gathered to march together all over the country, to express their grief and show their support for the victims who were killed in the attacks (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2013: 9). A survey

conducted by Stiftelsen Kirkeforskning (KIFO) together with TNS Gallup in 2011 indicated that that about 3 million Norwegians participated in some part of the collective rituals after July 22nd (Botvar 2013: 28).

In Oslo, the rose march that was arranged mobilized about 200'000 persons, - more people than had ever gathered in one place in the history of Norway. Because of all the attendants to the march, the rose march rather became a rose ceremony in front of the City Hall, with the Prime Minister and other members of the Norwegian government, together with several members of the royal family participating (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2013: 9, 14). Several speeches were held to commemorate the victims, and Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg stated that the horrible actions should be confronted with "more democracy, more openness and more humanity" (Stoltenberg, 2011). In his speech, Crown Prince Haakon proclaimed that "tonight the streets are filled with love", a message corresponding to that of the Prime Minister (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2013: 9, 14).

The rose parade was a result of a Facebook campaign initiated by a private person⁶ only a few days in advance of the march. People gathered carrying roses, and these roses came to represent most prominent of the commemorative expressions. A vast "sea of flowers" came to place outside of Oslo Cathedral, and people were also recommended to spread the roses around the city. Kverndokk explains how the city transformed into what he calls "a continuous spontaneous memorial" (Kverndokk 2013b: 143).

7.2.1 OSLO CATHEDRAL

Positioned in the middle of the city, only a few blocks away from the Government Quarter, people sought to Oslo Cathedral in the days after the attacks. Each evening, the cathedral held memorial services. The cathedral also arranged separate services for tourists, and for children. Priests were available both inside and outside of the chapel. Throughout the days and weeks that followed July 22, numerous people entered from the streets, lighting candles and leaving prayer notes. The cathedral also remained a

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⁶ Terje Bratland lauched a Facebook group on the evening of July 22nd, encouraging people to participate in a march with torches on the 25th of July (Botvar 2013: 31).

place for quiet contemplation (Aagedal 2013: 94-99; Danbolt and Stifoss-Hanssen 2014: 207). Due to the sea of flowers, international TV stations placed their cars at Stortorvet in front of the cathedral. In this way, the events linked to the cathedral received media attention. In August 2011, the National Archives of Norway (Riksarkivet) gathered letters and notes form the sea of flowers, in order to analyze the material (Aagedal 2013: 106-107; Jordheim 2013: 225).

7.3 Construction of Permanent Memorials

Shortly after July 22, a debate concerning the construction of permanent memorials rose in the Norwegian public. Questions concerned the potential design and positioning of such memorials. One year after the attacks, 52 out of 56 municipalities accepted a statue made by the independent artist Nico Widerberg and donated by an anonymous benefactor (Jordheim 2012: 217-218).

On the 20th of April, 2012, a committee appointed by the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and led by Åse Kleveland, suggested that one memorial should be placed on Sørbråten, in the municipality of Hole- nearby Utøya where the attacks found place- and that the other in the Palace Park in Oslo. The proposed location of a memorial in Oslo became controversial, both in the Norwegian public and among the families of the victims, as the events of July 22 had no connection to the Palace Park's location. Subsequently, the government chose not to comply with the committee's suggestion concerning the Oslo memorial, and rather decided a location near Oslo's Government Quarter. Following this decision, an international competition was launched, in order to find a suitable design for the two memorials (Jordheim 2012: 217-218). Due to the lengthy process of dealing with the reconstruction of the government building, - it was also decided for a temporary memorial to be constructed in the area nearby the Government Quarter as a provisional solution (Art Selection Committee 2013: 27).

In February 2014, the architectural entry proposed by the Swedish architect Jonas Dahlberg won the final competition, and it was decided that his suggestions should be put into place in the making of the national memorials. For the memorial at Sørbråten, Dahlberg suggested an excavation in the natural landscape, making a cut disconnecting the edge of the headland from the rest. Across the channel of water, the names of the Utøya victims will be carved vertically in stone, reflecting the loss of the victims that can

never be replaced. Dahlberg's vision has been for people to reflect on the loss of victims, and at the same time contemplate on the beauty of the nature surrounding the memorial. Dahlberg's entry has proposed that the material from the excavation to be utilized in creating a pathway leading to this memorial (Dahlberg, 2014).

The remains of the stones from Sørbråten will further on be used to make the Permanent memorial site. This site will be formed as an outdoor amphitheater, but without a stage, - symbolizing a place for ceremonies, reflection and dialogue, but not for spectatorship. The names of the victims will be carved into the vertical surface of the amphitheater's steps. Dahlberg suggests that the area around the Government building remains open to the public, and reflects on the way that the memorial site is oriented towards the Government building, - with the intention of reminding the visitors of the ideological and political convictions that motivated the terrorist (Dahlberg, 2014). The jury stated in their announcing of the winner that Dahlberg managed to express loss and absence in a way they perceived as both brave and bold, and that they especially embraced the idea that the suggested memorial at Sørbråten represented a physical work of art instead of merely being a place (Public Art Norway, 2014a).

The choice of memorials has been received with criticism from a number of groups in Norway, and particularly residents from the area near Sørbråten as well as families of the victims feel have expressed various concerns with regards to the decided memorial near Utøya. Some of the bereaved have even refused the carving of the name of their family member, concerned about the positioning and the design of the memorial. Their objections relate to the sense of family members that they were excluded from the decision making process regarding this memorial (Bergmo, Zakariassen et al. 2014).

This chapter has outlined the main features of July 22, 2011 as a case study, with regards to its bacground, course of events and response, as well as the debate concerning the construction of a national memorial. The two chapters containing these case studies have added important empirical insight into the thesis, and this will be helpful in the following analysis.

8 Analysis

This chapter will be an analysis of the theoretical material presented and discussed above, seen in light of the two case studies. The analysis will be structured in the opposite direction compared to the structuring of the theoretical chapters. This structure, I believe, enables the analysis to be presented in the manner that is most beneficial in order to respond to the research question posed in the introductory chapter. First of all, there will be a discussion of the presence and function of creative tools in the two case studies. The second part of the analysis will be looking at the theories of reconciliation, in order to see whether the creative tools found from the case studies can be seen as expressions of reconciliation, enabling healing of memories and narratives. This will be followed by a reflection on how the symbolic and performative dimensions of terrorism can be related to the discussion concerning the possibility for speaking of reconciliation after terrorism. Mostly, the elements from the theoretical material will be discussed in separate and orderly progression, but however, some themes, such as Clegg's theory of reconciliation on the societal level, and as labeling and othering, will be present in different parts of the thesis, as this was found to be the most fruitful structuring of this theme.

8.1 Utilization of Creative Tools

As described in chapter 5, LeBaron claims how creative tools can be helpful in conflict situations, in the way that such tools enables us to deal with conflicts in new ways, especially in confronting the symbolic dimensions of conflict (2002: 294, 181). In the following, the presence and function of creative tools in the two case studies will be discussed. Both meaning and interpretation of examples from the case studies will be considered simultaneously, organized by the kind of tools that appear to have been present. The tools will be elaborated after LeBaron's theory on creative tools as presented in 5.4. I will look at the presence of commemorating tools, followed by a discussion of *narrative tools*, and finally of *symbolic tools*.

The boundaries between the different categories of tools have to be regarded as fluid rather that definite. Even though spontaneous rituals are placed in the category commemorating tools, such a ritual needs to be regarded as a symbolic tool in the way that the act is a symbolic act, and as a narrative tool in the way that the individual and the collective communicates a story when taking part in the ritual. I still find it useful to utilize the categories presented by LeBaron as starting point for analyzing the two case studies, for the purpose of structuring the analysis. However, this remark shows that in practice, various expressions of creative tools appear quite integrated.

8.1.1 COMMEMORATING TOOLS

The discussion that follows related to commemoration tools aims at linking specific characteristics of such tools in relation to commemorative expressions from the two case studies, both connected to rituals and space, in order to trace themes that stand out as important related to the theoretical material.

Spontaneous Reactions: Commemorative and Performative Response

As described in the chapters of the case studies, the terrorist attacks released a massive response on a societal level. In both cases, this creation of what can be observed as spontaneous shrines came to place by the contribution of people from various cultural and religious backgrounds (Santino 2006: 14). The societal response after July 22 can be seen as an opposition and a reaction against the values professed by Breivik in his war on multiculturalism, and the message that this attack represented. People declared through words and ritual acts that the attack would not be allowed to destroy the values of the Norwegian society. This was also expressed from a political stance, as Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg stated that the response to the terrorist acts should be "more democracy, more openness and more humanity" (Stoltenberg, 2011). Similarily, this was the message of Crown Prince Haakon, as he stated in his speech in front of Oslo City Hall during the rose ceremony "tonight the streets are filled with love" (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2013: 14).

In the rose ceremony people stood side by side with their cultural and religious differences. This shows that the sense of community and unity across political and cultural divisions were strong in the days following the attack. By help of ritual actions collectively performed, the grief expressed publicly in the days following the 22nd of July were not only commemorating the loss of loved ones, and honoring the individuals

who lived, but also a definition of what was the national spirit and what were the ideals ruling in our country, to place these ideals as an opposition to the message of the terrorist (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2013: 18-19). In New York, the use of flags and the patriotism that became vivid after 9/11, can in a similar way be interpreted as an opposition against the manners that the terrorists wanted to attack core values and freedoms of the American society. Expressed by Mayor Rudy Giuliani at a memorial service on the site of Ground Zero a month after the attacks, "The fire is still burning, but from it has emerged a stronger spirit" (Alexander 2006: 104).

The faces of individuals on the photos posted around town performed a message opposing what Santino calls a depersonalization of individuals, brought about by the terrorists, as thousands of people lost their lives in the morning hours of September 11 (Santino 2006: 12-13). The spontaneous shrines, Santino states, "...insist on us acknowledging the real people, the real lives lost..." (2006: 12-13). In the two case studies, it can be seen that societal response through spontaneous rituals and shrines were not only commemorative, but also performative, in the way that the values and content of the response they communicated were important as well as expressions of grief. By the aid of commemoration acts, people managed in a performative way to voice statements opposite from the message communicated by the perpetrators. This corresponds with the theory of Santino (see 5.4.1) when he claims that commemorative acts have a performative dimension as well as a commemorative one. The values that were communicated expressed political and public topics, and functioned as part of the societal response to the attacks (Santino 2006: 6, 10-12). I will return to this performative dimension later in the analysis in order to further discuss it, as this can also be related to the performative dimensions of terrorism and its counter-response. From this, we see that the spontaneous commemorative expressions had somewhat, but not totally different characteristics in the two cities, but that in both cities people responded massively.

The Transformative Agency of Rituals

In light of Santino's theory, it becomes visible that spontaneous shrines stand out from regular grieving rituals with this performative dimension. Though the expressions of such rituals are observed from the outside as symbolic expressions, Santino speaks of how spontaneous shrines are perceived by the participants to have what he calls

transformational agency. According to Santino, this bears witness of how such acts does not only have a symbolic value, but also an actual potential of contributing to societal change and transformation, and in this manner have a political dimension as well (Santino 2006:13). Observing rituals in this manner highlights the need to look beyond what is symbolic in order to understand how ritual acts can cause and promote change. Santino's view seems to indicate that it is not sufficient to look at rituals as symbolic acts. Seen from another angle, it can rather be argued that the performative dimension of rituals does not extend beyond what is perceived as symbolic, but rather expands our view on the role of the symbolic related to such acts, to mean something beyond the immediate expression of that symbolic act or message. In other words, this perspective serves to enlarge our conception of what is symbolic, and enables an understanding of the transformational agency of rituals as an effect of symbolic expressions.

Looking to the societal response after July 22, this response can be observed as transformational in the manner that the Norwegian population responded in a manner that opposed the alledged motivations and objectives of Breivik, so that rather than letting his attacks promote cultural and religious disparity, as well as responding to the fear and hatred promoted through these acts, the response contained messages of community, togetherness and love across from regular divisive lines such as religious and political affiliations. This response can consequently be observed as social transformation, surpassing its symbolic qualities.

This finding points to how the transformative agency of rituals are to be found in symbolic acts, and that the symbolic in this manner is directly connected to commemoration acts such as rituals in containing this transformative nature. Additionally, the performative is connected to a political dimension, with a possibility to promote actual change. The uncovering of this aspect that appears to apply for such commemorating acts, will be of interest in the discussion of whether it can be argued that this accounts for symbolic and narrative tools as well, and this aspect will be discussed in 8.1.2 related to symbolic tools and in 8.1.3 concerning narrative tools.

Liminality and Communitas

Santino's argument on the transformational agency of rituals can be looked at in relation to the theory of liminality and communitas, as elaborated by Victor Turner,⁷ see chapter 5. Looking at the two case studies, the days following the terrorist attacks can be seen as a liminal phase, in the manner that people were at sudden placed in a condition betwixt and between, with the regular order being broken, and on the threshold between the old and the new. There was chaos instead of structure, and ordinary differentiation between cultures and social classes were not of import in the same way as before. This became visible as thousands of people gathered in the rose ceremony and contributed in making the sea of roses in Oslo. And it was also visible with the massive efforts of civil society in aiding in the rescue and recovery effort after 9/11. In this liminal phase there was no longer a distinction between white-collars working at Wall Street and the working class such as policemen and firefighters. Jeffrey Alexander highlights how both classes became symbols of the American society, as the victims together with the firefighters and policemen represented something heroic, the bereaved were those who supported and loved them, and the business elite working at the World Trade Center worked in trustworthy and respectable enterprises (2006: 105-106).

Beyond 'betwixt and between': A Temporary or a Permanent Transformation?

In relation to the case studies, it becomes relevant to look at the transformation of societies exiting from such a liminal phase, in order to see how transformation through *rites de passage* are of temporary or permanent character. After the attacks, New York City was transformed as a symbol, from a harsh and unamiable city, to a city with room for poetry and creative expressions in the cityscape. The devastations of the Twin Towers in other words forced a transformation of the city (Zeitlin 2006: 104, 110). Alexander describes how the events of 9/11 served to transform the city of New York as symbol, from being a "dirty, angry and competitive place" to becoming a "prototypically

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⁷ Jack Santino himself is not specifically referring to Victor Turner in his article. Apart from this, several scholars dealing with societal response to catastrophes have found it useful to integrate perspectives from Turner's theory in their analysis, among them Michelle LeBaron (2002), Lars Johan Danbolt (2001) and Olaf Aagedal (2011).

human place" (2006:107). This witnessed of the prevailing humanity of the citizens (Alexander 2006: 107). With time passing, New York and its citizens gradually returned to the everyday life of the city, resuming its daily rhythm, and repairing its damages. Somehow the transition from structure, before the attacks, to chaos or anti-structure, in the liminal phase, returned back to structure. At the same time, the city was permanently changed from this event, as it is possible to speak of a before and an after 9/11.

From representing a dull, unremarkable and somewhat a profane building, to use the term of Alexander, the Twin Towers came to represent something sacred, lively and dynamic after the events of 9/11. The Twin Towers were depicted a new, as representing "...not capitalism but enterprise; not the bourgeois but the cosmopolitan; not private property but public democracy" (Alexander 2006:105). Once being observed as ugly buildings destroying the New York skyline, the buildings came to symbolize something beautiful, as "cool icons of aesthetic modernism" (Alexander 2006: 105, Rollo 1985: 24). The light columns forming the "Tribute in Light" across the New York sky in March 2002 illustrated this "iconic power the towers had come to assume" (Senie 2006: 50).

The theory on liminality and communitas is fruitful in explaining the temporary transition and time set apart that followed in the days and weeks after the attacks in the two cities. But according to this theory, the liminal phase is followed by a return to structure, and to ordinary society, however transformed due to the experienced phase of liminality. This permanent transformation is however in risk of being neglected in Turner's emphasis on the transitional phase followed by a return to structure. In discussing the more permanent kind of transformation, additional theoretical foundations may therefore be useful. Santino's theory highlighting the transformational agency of rituals, as described above, appears suitable when discussing also permanent kinds of transformation.

Alexander argues that the consequences of the attacks on the Twin Towers on September 11 had results that were unintended by the perpetrators. If the aims of the terrorists were to contribute to political, social and moral fractures in the American society, this is rarely the case for terrorist acts (Alexander 2006: 91-93). Alexander actually claims that the terrorist acts of 9/11 had results that were contradicting to the

perceived aims of the terrorists (2006: 93). This shows that the American society, ruptured by the attacks, were not transformed in a way intended by the terrorists- at least not on a permanent basis. If terrorist attacks are not transformative in the way intended by the terrorists beyond the fear and the destruction they impose on a society, and if they, as argued by Alexander, do not change structures, the transformative effects of such attacks needs to be found in the response of society after such an attack. This reflection poses a question towards terrorism, as one might ask how transformative such acts tend to be. It appears as if the intention is to crush and break the structures of the society they attack, but as argued by Alexander, in the case of 9/11 a transformation seems to have been different than expected, as the ruptured society managed to regain structure after the initial liminal period.

A different kind of transformation than intended by Breivik was also visible in the case of Norway. He had the intention of proclaiming a crusade against multiculturalism, while the response was people declaring unity across differences through words and rituals by the aid of commemorative tools. One example is the lines from a poem composed by poet Nordahl Grieg during the Second World War, saying "Vi er så få her i landet. Hver fallen er bror og venn"⁸ (Hauge, 2011). This phrase resonated in the period after July 22, and Stoltenberg mentioned it in his speech in front of the City Hall on July 25 (Hauge, 2011). Norway as a nation experienced the truth in this statement, as everybody "knew someone who knew someone" who were affected by the attacks. Another example is Siv Jensen, leader of oppositional and right wing Progress party, who stated on Twitter on the day after the attack: "I dag er vi alle AUFere" (Jensen, 2011). The examples witness of spontaneous results being different than intended by the terrorist. Similarily, though on an international basis, the German Prime Minister asserted after September 11: "We are all Americans now" (Alexander 2006: 107).

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⁸ English translation: "We are so few in our country. Each fallen a brother and friend" (Madslien, 2011).

⁹ English translation: "Today we are all from the AUF."

These descriptions of transformation of temporary and permanent character in the case studies from Oslo and New York City, indicates how rites de passage have allowed not only transition, but also transformation of both space and communities in the two case studies. Even though the examples presented here are not exhaustible, the view of Santino concerning the transformational agency of rituals is confirmed through these examples.

Preserving Continuity

In a similar way as Jack Santino, Michelle LeBaron puts emphasis on the way that rituals as commemorating tools mark change, and on the transformative potential of rituals (LeBaron 2002: 34, 282). Even though the above discussion confirms how this appears to be an important trait of rituals, there seems to be a dialectic of both change and continuity in rituals. It can be argued that the importance of continuity is not adequately emphasized in the theories of LeBaron, Santino or Alexander. This may be because they describe rituals as phenomena without relating it to social institutions such as religious communities or other bearers of tradition. The spontaneous rituals described in the above discussion appear to be corresponding to the requirements of modern societies. But as will be seen from the following discussion, the two case studies showed how rituals and events connected to St. Paul's Chapel and Oslo Cathedral became firm foundations in midst of tragedy. In modern societies with spontaneous shrines becoming increasingly common, it is interesting to see how old settings appear ever as relevant.

St Paul's Chapel and Oslo Cathedral: Preserving values, Providing Meaning
Looking at Oslo Cathedral and St. Paul's Chapel it is important to bear in mind that a
comparison of the two might be criticized due to differences between the countries,
specifically related to geography and population. However, it can be useful to find
similarities, - as both churches became national icons due to their role and response
after the terrorist attacks. As shown in 7.2.1, Oslo Cathedral took on a prominent role
post July 22, and arguably became a national icon with the sea of flowers outside of the
chapel and with the national memorial ceremonies taking place in this church. Poet and

volunteer J. Chester Johnson took part in the voluntary activity of St. Paul's Chapel in the period following September 11. Being a volunteer, Johnson pointed to how this chapel, even without the same unified expression of the rose as a symbol as in the case of Norway, still gained a national role post 9/11, and that this was related to the steady influx of pilgrims and the prominent role that the space of the chapel came to assume (Johnson, 2013).

Looking at examples from St. Paul's Chapel (see 6.3.1), not only did expressions of commemoration appear similar to the spontaneous street shrines on public places throughout the city, with banners, artifacts, flags and notes communicating values that represented a reaction and response towards the attacks. These kinds of expressions could also be seen as a confrontation with the meaninglessness and chaos that the terrorist attack created. One example was the daily Eucharist offered in the chapel. Reverend Daniel Simons, Priest of Liturgy, Hospitality and Pilgrimage in Trinity, explained how the daily Eucharist in the aftermath of the attacks was an example of a ritual providing stability and coherence in incoherence. He stated that this was an important function of the chapel in the period following 9/11 (Simons, 2013).

The spiritual dimension offered by the chapel provided the participants with meaning, and the daily breaking of bread represented a much needed homely ritual in the period following 9/11, as described by Simons (2013). This can be linked to the importance of community and fellowship, and to the sense of communitas- to use Turners term. But if communitas refers to a temporary feature occurring in liminal phases- the Eucharist as such is rather a feature connected to continuity- in being a ritual performed in churches regardless of circumstances, ever since the Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples. The Eucharist can hence serve as a practical example of a ritual preserving continuity and tradition, and at the same time representing community and communion between its participants. Since the daily Eucharist as a ritual did not emerge specifically and uniquely as a response to the attacks it might be argued that this ritual should perhaps not be connected to rituals of transition as described by Turner. However, with regards to the manner that this ritual was an important part of the response in the liminal phase, and looking at how the Eucharist was organized daily as a consequence of the attacks, it appears to be relevant to look at such rituals as part of the rites of transition. This points to the importance of looking at rituals occurring in times of transition not only as

temporary reactions, as explained in Turners theory, but also as a manner of preserving continuity and reaffirming traditional values and perspectives through such ritual acts. This then, may serve as an example of how St. Paul's Chapel as a bearer of tradition contributed in preserving continuity after the attacks of September 11.

Community and coherence in times of chaos and despair post 9/11 proved to be particularly important. The sense of communitas could also be found in other actions initiated by St. Paul's Chapel post 9/11, such as organized voluntary activities. As expressed by Johnson, -one of the volunteers from the chapel- doing something was a valuable response and became a way of coping with what happened (2013). Looking at the number of volunteers point to how this was important for many. Providing hospitality and space, - room for reflection and silence, for community and for practical aid of various kinds, the chapel represented hope and life, and taking part in the voluntary activities or finding relief in the chapel became a way of moving beyond the meaninglessness, chaos and despair of 9/11. The chapel became "a place where you knew something tangible was happening to express your grief", as expressed by Johnson (2013).

Looking at the case of Oslo Cathedral, this church did not serve as many practical functions as St. Paul's Chapel due to the different circumstances. However, as seen in the case study there was a massive commemorative response expressed by a great number of people within, outside of and through Oslo Cathedral immediately after July 22 became prominent. Olaf Aagedal interprets this response as expressions of *communitas*, as people stood together in unity in a particular way in the period that followed July 22, expressed through rituals and ceremonies directed by the church, as well as in the manner that the church accommodated the modern and spontaneous memorial of the sea of flowers that took place outside of the church entrance (2013: 94-99). Differentiation was dissolved in this liminal phase, in the manner that regular dividing lines did not matter in the same way and in the way that religion merged into society to a greater extent than usual. The cathedral's prayer notes gathered by the National Archives of Norway, shows that even Muslim prayer notes were found from this period. This points to how people got together within the cathedral to pray and light candles, regardless of religious affiliation (Aagedal 2013: 97, 108).

Extending beyond Oslo cathedral to involve the role of the Church of Norway in Oslo, liminality could also be seen in the way that religious leaders and government officials put effort into reaching out each other in the days following July 22. One example was when bishop Ole Kristian Kvarme visited the World Islamic Mission mosque together with Minister of Foreign Affairs Jonas Gahr Støre, Crown Prince Haakon and Oslo Mayor Fabian Stang on July 26 (Tollersrud, 2011). Another example was the burial of one of the Utøya victims, 18 year old Norwegian and Kurd Bano Abobakar Rashid on July 29, the church of Nesodden held a twofold ceremony shared by a priest and an imam, with Christian funeral rituals inside of the church and Muslim burial rituals at the cemetery (Hansen, Kalstad and Dang, 2011).

This liminality could also be found in the way that the spatial boundaries between the interior and the exterior of the church dissolved. Even though the sea of flowers was not initiated by church staff- this spontaneous shrine became closely related to activities and ceremonies inside of the church. Hence, this can be seen as liminality in the way that regular boundaries were crossed between the church and the city – the area of Stortorvet outside of the church. In the same way, boundaries were almost crossed in the manner that people gathered around meals with the barbeques outside of St. Paul's Chapel, and how they also gathered around meals in form of the Holy Communion inside of the chapel.

As a community of hope, the values of St. Paul's Chapel represented something opposite to the values performed and expressed by the terrorists. In a similar way to spontaneous street shrines, it becomes visible that the response arising from the chapel was not only symbolic acts of commemoration and grief, but also performative acts, - voicing statements and values. As discussed above, Santino points to how the performative dimension of this kind of response is linked to its transformational agency, representing something more than grieving rituals, and in this way contributing to change on a societal and perhaps also political level. This does not leave out or omit the aspect of pain and grief connected to the destructions of the attack, but point to the importance of commemoration tools in the response to terrorism. In the example of St. Paul's Chapel, the message of death, hostility, chaos and hate communicated through the attacks was transformed in the response offered in the chapel, as the church staff together with their volunteers through their actions and presence responded with messages of hospitality,

hope, coherence, life and community. The transformational agency of this response became visible in the changing of message and atmosphere through the chapel.

Similarities can be found in the response from Oslo Cathedral. Aagedal states that the cathedral became a place of resistance against what the terrorist attack served to represent (2013: 88). In this way, the response arising from the cathedral was not only commemorative, but also transformative. Transformation became visible through the ritual response of the people, conquering anew what had been attacked (Aagedal 2013: 110). According to Kjeldsen, the example with the Nesodden funeral represented a contrast to the ideology represented by Breivik, and through this event, a strong symbolic message was communicated (Kjeldsen 2013: 136-137).

As described from the two case studies, significant transformations altered the cities in the days following the attacks. Adding to the perspectives that emphasize how rituals may contribute to change and transformation, rituals may also preserve a sense of continuity, in the manner that they connect people to ritual acts performed within their communities that are connected to tradition. In the midst of abrupt changes, and in facing loss and grief and meaninglessness, the prominent role of the churches from the two case studies showed how a return to established values, to firm foundations and to what was known and safe became of great import for the civil societies, and in the case of Norway, even for state officials. This may indicate how one function of St. Paul's Chapel and Oslo Cathedral after the attacks was to preserve continuity.

Danbolt refers to Helge Fahn when he points to the binary character of memorial services, - making room for death and tragedy, and at the same time proclaiming the gospel proclaiming hope and the resurrection of Christ and His victory over death (2001: 178- 179). This binary character allows for the church to provide society with a particular kind of space, making room for meaning and connections in a distinct manner. As words fall short, symbolic actions and rituals offer the affected ones with a possibility to deal express grief and suffering within a community (Danbolt 2001: 179-182).

Related to this discussion, questions regarding the validation of churches and religious institutions as important and irreplaceable institutions when tragedy strikes becomes relevant, as well as the choice of large parts of civil society to gather and commemorate within these churches instead of on arenas that were religiously neutral. The sea of

flowers were not occurring in front of the Norwegian Parliament or in the Palace Park, but specifically in front of Oslo Cathedral. These are interesting questions, perhaps in need of further debate, also with an awareness of how rituals and commemorative expressions centered around the churches also could create new divisions, as explained by Aagedal, who stated that the prominent role of Oslo Cathedral after July 22 may have given rise to new conflicts and new forms of exclusion, in this instance of secular groups, or other religious groups (2013: 106-111).

Taking a glance back at the transformational agency of rituals- it becomes possible to indicate that the activities and response in form of performative expressions of the churches in the period following the attacks contributed in steering the voice, message and response of parts of the civil society level involved, and that the churches in this way may have contributed to both transformation and change. Looking at the connection between the modern spontaneous rituals in the streets and the traditional ones in the churches, Danbolt and Stifoss-Hanssen puts emphasis on how the church as institution after catastrophes and traumatic events integrated new ways of memorializing into the traditional ones (2014: 207-208). Danbolt and Stifoss-Hanssen points to how there has not been extensive research on this phenomenon (2014: 207-208). However, the above discussion makes visible the function of these churches in the aftermath of catastrophe in preserving values, providing meaning, and facilitating transformation, but at the same time maintaing stability and continuity. In this manner, it might be argued that the churches succeeded in bridging the gap between the traditional and the new-encompassing both continuity and change.

Permanent Memorials

LeBaron puts focus on the nature of rituals, when stating that rituals enable a transformation of conflict dynamics. After having looked at the commemorative response in the two cases, it becomes interesting to assess wheter these spontaneous and immediate reactions can be transferred into other commemorative expressions of more permanent quality, such as the construction of permanent memorials. This may also allow for a discussion related to the potential of permanent memorials to play part in altering the dynamics of a conflict. It can be argued that permanent memorials must be seen in relation to and as an extension of spontaneous and immediate ones. In this

manner, it becomes interesting to look at the theoretical framework analyzing spontaneous commemoration, in order to see whether this framework might apply to permanent memorials as well. In light of these theories, this enables an investigation of the architectural design of permanent memorials in the two case studies in order to see what they communicate and assess their function, as will be done in the following discussion.

The memorial design developed by Dahlberg as presented in 7.3, as well as the completed National September 11 Memorial at Ground Zero, described in 6.4 will be discussed. Additionally, it becomes interesting to evaluate whether it is possible to trace coherence and continuity between the spontaneous reactions and the permanent memorials. Even though the discussions in 8.1.2 and 8.1.3 will deal with symbolic tools and narrative tools more specifically, some remarks related to such creative tools connected to the permanent memorials must be made here. This relates to how the debates and challenges of creating permanent memorials must be linked not only to their connection to the spontaneous commemorative expressions, but also to the stories that are being told, and the metaphors that makes such stories come to life, and this is visible in the following discussion of themes connected to permanent memorials.

In developing the design of Sørbråten Memorial, Dahlberg observed how the nature at Utøya had begun a healing process, while the buildings on the island still carried wounds of the terrible events of July 22. With the objective of reflecting the permanence of the wounds, the idea of the memorial arose, designed as an exavation rupturing the natural landscape, as described in 7.3. Additionally, the loss of the victims is symbolically illustrated by the fact that people will not be able to reach the names on the other side of the excavation at Sørbråten (Dahlberg, 2014). Reflecting on the absence of the victims, this can perhaps also point to the cruelty of the terrorist act. This can be related to how such memorials, in a similar manner as spontaneous reactions are placed in proportion to the "enormity of the loss", see 6.3 (Zeitlin 2006: 104-106). The intention of Sørbråten Memorial is observed to primarily reflect the painfulness and the loss of July 22.

As a contrast to the visions of Dahlberg, LeBaron reflects on how people may gather in sharing hopes and dreams through commemoration acts (2002: 253). This was visible in the way that societal resilient spirit was brought about in the wake of the terrorist attacks in both cities, with the massive relief work in the ruins of the two towers and

with the vast sea of flowers and people marching in the rose parade. And perhaps this can point to a potential function of permanent memorials as well. With regards to how this is being expressed in the permanent memorials of the two case studies, the planting of the grove of trees symbolizing life and regeneration at Ground Zero, as well as the reflection of light inside of the Museum Pavilion (see 6.4.1) can be examples expressing such a hope.

From an opposite stance, interpreting the significance of the presence of the brick from bin Laden's compound in the Museum, this can communicate two different kinds of messages. On one hand, how the perpetrator rightfully has been punished, but on the other, this artifact can serve to strengthen images of the other and increase polarization.

Perhaps the disparity in the response on the societal versus the political level after September 11 resounds with the contradicions deliberately communicated on the memorial site at Ground Zero; the unfathomable footprints reflecting absence and pain, and at the same time the liveliness of the trees and the running water, together with the beauty of the architecture (Snøhetta, 2014). In the planned permanent memorial at Sørbråten and in the Government Quarter in Oslo, similar explicit expressions of hope can arguably not be found.

One might ask whether the suggestion of Dahlberg disregards or neglects the natural process of healing of wounds, occurring not only in nature, but also within human beings having experienced loss and grief. This question should be related to the function that a memorial is intended to serve, to point to the pain and loss, or also to reflect on future prospects, hopes and dreams.

Additionally, it is interesting to reflect on which stories are being told through the memorials. The placing of the names of the individuals on the memorials tells a story of loss, in addition to the absence and hurt reflected (Blais & Rasic 2011: 169). But if the memorial is to reflect upon the spontaneous response as well as the horrible attacks, then it might be argued that expressions of hope and future prospects should be allowed entrance into the narratives expressed through such memorials in the two cases, and such an expression appears to be lacking in the Norwegian permanent memorials.

Jordheim relates his discussion on permanent memorials to the issue of continuity. He speaks of how the establishment of a memorial equals "planning the past in the future"

(Jordheim 2013: 218-219). Memorials then become expressions of permanence and continuity retracted from ordinary, chronological passage of time. Jordheim puts emphasis on how memorials interweave the past and present to the future. In this manner the designers of a memorial construct the future perception of our stories, and forward this perception to future generations (2013: 218-219). His view points to the necessity of deciding upon a permanent sort of identity, as some sort of a permanent liminal expression, "betwixt and between" ordinary chronology. Constructing such a permanent "we" is described by Jordheim as a complicated task (2013: 218-219). It can be argued that such a task seems nearly impossible, due to how society adapts, evolves and changes together with the seasons and the passing of time. Therefore, responding to the reflections of Jordheim, a memorial should tell a story based on the "we" of today, as it cannot tell a story in any other way, being interpreted in light of the context that created it by future generations, regardless of how society evolves. In addition, permanent memorials may also reflect on the changing of seasons and passage of time. In the case of Norway, the Sørbråten memorial is placed in midst of a beautiful landscape, and the Government memorial is placed in a dynamic cityscape. Seen in 6.4.1 such a passage of seasons and time is also reflected through the Museum Pavilion at Ground Zero.

However, Jordheim points to how the immediacy of the spontaneous response does not need to be replicated in the process of creating a permanent memorial (2012: 233-236). He points to how the process related to the memorial statues made by Nico Widerberg seems to have been rushed, in the sense that the municipalities needed to respond within a month after the offer was published, in order to receive the memorial donated by the anonymous benefactor (Jordheim 2012: 233-236). Looking to the perspectives of Schreiter, this may be an important reflection.

Schreiter puts emphasis on the importance of the passage of time for the healing of wounds, allowing the past to be remembered in new ways (see 4.2). This reflection may indicate that a memorial can tell a story based on how it is perceived at present time, but however that telling of such a story does not need to be rushed, as the passage of time may be required in order for healing of memories to come to place, and in order for us our connection to the wounds we carry to evolve. Perhaps the short process in the case of the Widerberg statues did not allow for such a passage of time, but however, in the

process with the memorials at Sørbråten and in the Government quarter, a longer span of time is taken into account, estimated to be finished in 2016 (Jordheim 2012: 233-236; Public Art Norway, 2014b). And perhaps this allows for valuable perspectives to enter the debate concerning the significance of the memorials, as one might wonder whether there is a gap between the painfulness and sorrow experienced at Sørbråten, and the democratical dialogue ment to take place in the Government Quarter. A process of healing in between of these two spaces may be required in order for different groups to come to agreement about the design of the memoials. Similarily, this may apply on a symbolic level as well, among Norwegians personally as well as nationally affected by the attacks.

Present time disagreements concerning the memorials points to the necessity of this passage of time, as neighbors in the area of Hole county as well as families of victims feel that their concerns have not been taken into account in the process (Zakariassen and Nilsen, 2014). A lengthy process similar to that of the case of September 11 (see 6.4.1) may be witnessed.

According to Blais and Rasic, a memorial might, at its best, serve to represent a place of transformation, transfiguring from trauma and horror to healing and restoration. Becoming weaved "into the fabric of a living and ever changing city" memorials are important places of remembrance (Blais and Rasic 2011: 212). Blais and Rasic seem to point to the importance of a memorial to serve not only as a space for commemoration, but also for healing and transformation. Such an objective allows for a memorial to move from past to present, and further on to embrace the future. They state how the memorial constructed after September 11 have reached this objective:

Because remembering entails looking back, we sometimes mistakenly think of it as belonging in the past. But the National September 11 Memorial is for the here and now—for the grieving to find a path to healing. And it points toward the future; as a testament to both our loss and our strength, it will stand proud for generations to come (2011: 212).

8.1.2 Symbolic Tools

Chapter 5 contained a presentation of symbolic tools, depicting such tools as metaphors being a language, either spoken or unspoken, with the ability to function as facilitators in making stories come alive (LeBaron 2002: 34). Building on this, the following discussion of examples from the case studies examines the presence of metaphors as *symbolic tools* in the response to terrorism. Metaphors of both verbal and non-verbal character will be discussed simultaneously in the following paragraphs.

Metaphorical Expression

Metaphors carry a potential to aid in the expression of emotion, not only symbolically in the sense that they paint descriptions of something, but also in unveiling perceptions and identities, as seen in 5.4.2. The use of metaphors may according to this be a tool that unites people, aiding in the expression of emotions both verbally and non-verbally in ways that communicate worldviews and values that people may gather around.

The use of metaphors and symbols as uniting phenomena were visible in the photos, drawings, flowers, candles and gadgets forming spontaneous memorials after September 11. Associating these items with messages of hope and life, of humanity, of common loss and grief, the items themselves and the shrines that arose carried symbolic messages and formed a civil language of response. Similar metaphoric and symbolic content could be found in the case of Oslo. The use of verbal metaphors and catchphrases flourished in the social media in the days following the attacks. Tweeted by Helle Gannestad, and cited by politician belonging to the AUF, Stine Renate Håheim to the CNN, the message of love spread beyond the Norwegian borders by this quote: "If one man can create that much hate, you can only imagine how much love we can create together" (Kverndokk 2013b: 133). Researcher Ragnhild Bjørnebekk claims that this set the tone for the response and reactions of the Norwegian civil society, but was also recited by official spokespersons such as prime minister Jens Stoltenberg in the memorial service on July 26, two days after the attacks. She claims that this became a guiding principle for the nation throughout the grieving process and during the following judicial process as well (Bjørnebekk, December 19, 2012).

The use of the rose as metaphor characterized as seen the commemorative expression of civil society after the events of July 22. By and large, the rose marches in Norway in the

days following July 22 have been observed as a demonstration against the terrorist acts, and against the Norwegian societal values that the attacks were meant to damage (Botvar 2013: 46). The rose was perceived as a symbol and metaphor of love and compassion (Jordheim 2012: 223). Representing something innocent and beautiful, the rose symbolized an opposite to the brutality and hideousness of the attacks. People raising their roses during the rose ceremonies, was to symbolize an opposition against the violence performed by Breivik. The use of the rose as metaphor and symbol shows that love was communicated as a message not only through verbal storytelling, but also through symbolic tools and non-verbal statements.

The rose as metaphor represented empathy and grief, and according to Bjørnebekk the rose became a visual metaphor, a "metaphor for navigation" in the period following July 22. Bjørnebekk argues that these visible messages of love became part of the unique Norwegian restorative response to the terrorism (Bjørnebekk, December 19, 2012). The symbolic actions were then perceived as important part of the restoration process, responding to the hatred with acts of love as means of coping with and responding to what had happened. Metaphors and symbols of love were also visible through the social media. As an example, the symbol "Oslove" was spread extensively on Facebook. With this symbol, Oslo was spelled with the symbol of a red heart instead of the last "o" (Kverndokk 2013b: 134). Also messages of democracy and humanity were promoted alongside messages of love (Kverndokk 2013b: 149). Accordingly, the use of symbolic tools were visible both in physical and virtual space after the events of July 22.

Also within the churches, metaphors were visible in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks. Danbolt puts emphasis on how words in meeting with catastrophes may not be a sufficient response. In such instances, the construction of metaphors becomes important, and metaphors come to life through the singing and reading of psalms and also through the message of the Gospel. Through metaphors that are linked to general human understanding, in other words being easily understood by the adherents, the message of hope is expressed through the Gospel (Danbolt 2001: 181). Looking at the case studies this was visible in the case of Oslo Cathedral as well as in St. Paul's Chapel, through services, lighting of candles, and singing of songs. This shows the importance of the use of metaphors and symbols within churches as well, and how the church together

with other religious institutions provided content and meaning to slogans in the streets in the period following the attacks.

Metaphors as Tools: Meaning, Communication and Participation

As seen in 5.4.2, metaphors may be useful for making sense of events that are hard to understand, by relating the unknown to what is known. This is why metaphors function as influential transformational tools, as metaphors aid in bridging the unconscious with the conscious (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 30-31). By the aid of metaphors, meaning may be accessed, and our imagination is engaged. In confronting conflicts and issues, metaphors may improve communication (LeBaron 2002: 187, 212). The use of the rose as a metaphor can be seen as an example illustrating this, as a familiar metaphor allowing for a response to terrorism, and trying to make sense of the meaningless and horrible acts in confronting the violence, pain and loss, especially by opposing the message of the terrorist. In lack of words, the use of roses and flowers became the public way of communicating a response to the attacks. Metaphors also allow for participation, as metaphoric images are available for interpretation for people observing and applying them (2002: 212). In this manner, metaphors may increase participation, in relation to conflicts and issues that would otherwise be incomprehensible and hard to get to grips with.

The Ambiguity of Metaphors

Finding meaning by the aid of metaphor, concerns conveying different kinds of meaning that communicate worldviews and perceptions (LeBaron 2002: 183-184). A metaphor may be interpreted in different manners by its observers and participants. The different possible interpretations of meaning connected to metaphors and symbols, can be related to the ambiguous nature of metaphors, as explained by LeBaron (2002: 205).

Seen from one angle, this ambiguity may be positive in the manner that participants and observers can utilize metaphors as an aid in cases were direct confrontation is difficult. The use of metaphors becomes a subtle way of describing one's worldview, without forcing it on others. In this manner, LeBaron explains that the other is allowed participation while at the same time avoiding "loss of face" (2002: 205, 282). The focus of this thesis is the ruptures within society rather than discussing reconciliation between terrorists and victims is beyond the reach of this thesis (See 1.2). Related to the

case studies then, ambiguity of metaphors within the ruptured societies may have been a positive trait in the manner that an indirect form of communication through the use of metaphors could have contributed in decreasing- or at least not increasing levels of societal conflict. Looking at these characteristics of metaphors, the potential of symbolic tools in building bridges (see 5.4.2) becomes visible.

On the other hand, the ambiguity of metaphors may pose a challenge for conflict resolution. This is related to the way that metaphors may reveal disparate worldviews and hence contribute in creating new conflicts or supporting existing conflicts between opposing parties (LeBaron 2002: 203). In the above discussion, the expression of common values through metaphors has been emphasized. Looking at July 22, the KIFO survey from 2011 (see 7.2), showed that a majority of civil society- nearly two thirds of the population- took part in the collective rituals in the days following the attack. The extensive participation can make it difficult to evaluate the effect on "the rest" of society. Line Grønstad evaluates the findings of a survey conducted by Norwegian Ethnological Research. According to this survey, a significant amount of people did not feel familiar with the collective response, either the symbolic expressions or the arenas that were used as commemorative space (Grønstad 2013: 47-62). This can be related to the perception of symbols and the ambiguity of metaphors. For instance, some responders remarked that it was difficult that the ceremonies were closely linked to the Church of Norway. Others reacted on the use of the Norwegian flag in social media and elsewhere, as they perceived this as excluding to the multicultural community in Norway that the terrorist meant to harm. Grønstad claims that the discomfort expressed by some could be related to the perceived lack of authenticity in the use of symbols (Grønstad 2013: 50,61).

The large participation in commemorative acts and response after the terrorist attacks speaks in favor of a majority of the population regarding the use of metaphors and expression as relevant and authentic, but the discomfort expressed by some confirms different perceptions among the population. This is illustrated when looking at the perception of the rose as a metaphor after July 22. For many, the roses could be understood as a neutral symbol, not specifically related to a particular religious or political affiliation (Jordheim 2012: 222-225). But for some, the KIFO Survey showed that use of the rose was problematic, related to the multitude of meanings connected to

the rose as a symbol. Jordheim mentions how the rose may represent romance and love, and in the Christian sense it can symbolize the blood of Christ, while politically it is the party symbol of the Norwegian Labour party. He argues that this contributed in making the rose less coherent as symbol (Jordheim 2012: 222-225). Looking at LeBaron's emphasis on the ambiguity of metaphors, this must apply for several metaphors, so that if a different symbol had been utilized in the response against the attacks after July 22, it may have been received ambiguously in the population as well. Therefore, the choice of metaphor was not necessarily a less fortunate one, and arguably the mixed perceptions does not need to be related to degree of coherence in a symbol, as this requires a rating of symbols from coherent to less coherent, which must be a challenging practice. Rather, the different perceptions of the rose as a symbol call for an awareness concerning the ambiguous nature of metaphors.

Several metaphors can be found in the language and rhetoric of the government as response to the events of September 11. Such metaphors may have contributed in creating new conflicts. According to Lakoff, the terrorist attacks of September 11, first observed by the U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell as a crime, to being looked at as war by the Bush administration (Lakoff, 2006). This "war metaphor" had consequences for the governmental response to the attacks, so that instead of fighting the attacks as international crime by employing intelligence agencies and "police actions", and by the aid of diplomacy, the government rather spoke of the "war on terror", and about how such a war played part in defending the nation. According to Lakoff, this approach made critical voices towards the war on terror appear as unpatriotic (Lakoff, 2006).

Lakoff is highly critical of the radical Right of the US as he claims that they took advantage of the events of 9/11 by pursuing strategic and political aims. His argument concerns how the war approach actually have contributed in as many lives lost of American soldiers as those lost in the attacks of September 11, and that this approach have been used to defend the policies and strategies of the Bush administration. In addition, he argues that this war metaphor have recruited even more terrorists critical towards the West and towards the U.S. (Lakoff, 2006). Without taking this discussion any further, as this extends beyond the context and aim of the thesis, it is interesting to remark the claimed importance of choice of metaphors in steering the actions and direction of the governmental response after such events.

Similarly, Hoffman emphasizes how the attacks were depicted as acts of evil, and the war on terror as a "crusade" (2006: 19-20). Using the word "crusade" invokes images of religious wars, and implicates that the war of the Americans against the terrorists was of religious character. And invoking the word "evil" implies a clear dichotomy between the good and the evil, - 'us' and 'them'. This use of language can be looked at as metaphorical, defining the identity of the Americans in relation to the perpetrators. These examples show how images of the enemy and of 'the other' become visible through the use of metaphors (LeBaron 2002: 184, 188).

Expressions of this kind were also visible in civil society post-9/11. Patriotism flourished as seen in the extensive use of the American flag utilized in the spontaneous memorials, and after time also in the honoring of soldiers that took part in the War on Terror (Blais and Rasic 2011: 101). These expressions acclaimed the U.S. as a pure and innocent nation, and proved to be supportive of its freedom fighters, fighting evil and defending the country in a military counter-response to the terrorist attack. These examples show that also civil expressions and use of metaphors after September 11 could be interpreted as support of the governmental response.

After July 22, the Norwegian flag was extensively used in the social media, as many persons attached the flag to their profile pictures on Facebook (Grønstad 2013: 52). This was, even though perceived as many as a uniting symbol, representing values of positive character that were communicated through various spontaneous expressions after July 22, also perceived by some with great discomfort, as Breivik claimed that his actions defended "Norwegian values". For some, the Norwegian flag was hence observed as a difficult symbol that did not mark sufficient disdain for the actions of the terrorist (Grønstad 2013: 52). This discussion shows that the meaning of the metaphors invoked interpretations of different kinds, and did not only contribute in promoting common values and building bridges, but also assisted in creation or maintenance of existing conflicts.

The Transformational Agency of Symbols

Looking at these metaphors and symbols, it becomes interesting to link the use of such symbolic tools to the concept transformational agency (see 8.1.1). As well as through rituals, it appears as though the use of symbols and metaphors may alter situations, as in the case of Norway where the rose as metaphor contributed in setting the tone and

became important in order to alter the societal climate in the days following the attacks. The discussion of the verbal metaphors utilized by American government in the period following September 11 illustrates the transformative power of such metaphors in steering the national response to the terrorist attacks. Individuals react differently to traumatic events, both physically and psychologically.

Metaphors may, according to Kalmanowitz and Lloyd aid in connecting the conscious to the unconscious, by recalling experiences (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 28-30). Through the use of creative expression such as art, the art that is expressed becomes visible outside of the individuals carrying images of traumatic events (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 30- 31). Expressing metaphors through art hence becomes a manner of healing (see 4.2). This observation points towards a favorable position of the perspectives of Schreiter, in regarding metaphors and hence healing to be relevant also on the societal level, and not only or primarily on the personal and interpersonal level, as forwarded by Clegg. Besides the interpersonal level, healing of in such a manner appears to matter also on the societal level.

Looking at the role of metaphors and symbols in the two case studies, it becomes clear that it is possible to trace this transformative potential in symbols and metaphors as well. This supports the adjustment of Santino's view concerning the transformative being an additional trait to the symbolic (see 8.1.1), in upholding the argument that the symbolic has to mean something more that the immediate expression and signification of that symbolic act, and that transformational agency is linked to the nature of symbols. This also asserts the importance of symbolic tools.

It is interesting to discuss whether the ambiguity of metaphors contributes in limiting the extent of the transformational potential of metaphors, and other creative tools. It appears as if the transformation is primarily observed by the participants in ritual and symbolic acts, rather than by society as a whole. The ambiguity may then restrict the extent of the transformation, but however, based on the above discussion, the response of the majority in civil society and the response of state officials seem to have influenced the tone and message and consequently this may impact the overall response and promote transformation in both cases.

In spite of this ambiguity of metaphors, LeBaron argues that a dialogue concerning perceptions of metaphors, a metaphor dialogue can invite members of a society to move towards an understanding of different interpretations and conceptions (2002: 216). A metaphor dialogue aids participants to put words to their understanding of metaphors in order to compare and contrast perspectives (LeBaron 2002: 216). The ambiguity of metaphors points to the importance of having an awareness of the role of metaphors in the response after terrorism, and especially with regards to the ways that metaphors can function as creative tools in societal reconciliation and conflict resolution after terrorism. This makes an understanding of the functioning of metaphors important, in the way that metaphors and associations may be resourceful tools for building bridges in society, or that such metaphors may on the other hand contribute to heighten levels of conflict in a society (LeBaron 2002: 184, 188, 210). By the aid of metaphor dialogue, metaphors may become a tool for conflict resolution. This does not require accordance on all perspectives from all parties, but allows for understanding the various interpretations of metaphors and allows for listening to the stories of others. Metaphor dialogue may enable the parties to find common metaphors (LeBaron 2002: 204, 216-217).

The above discussion have tried to evaluate the fruitfulness in assessing tools as specifically symbolic, with an awareness of the potential of such tools to create or facilitate new conflicts. Incorporated in both stories and rituals, this bears witness of the interrelatedness of metaphors and symbolic tools with other creative tools.

8.1.3 NARRATIVE TOOLS: STORIES

The following paragraphs will be dealing with narratives and stories as creative tools. As tools related to the stories we tell, narratives may function as tools in conflict resolution in the manner that they may improve relations through promoting the empathy of the listener's for the storyteller, as well as making meaning and exposing worldviews and identites (see 5.4.3).

Understanding Histories and Narratives

Functioning as bearers of context and meaning, there exists a vast amount of literature with stories concerning September 11, as well as several stories from people experiencing the terror of July 22. In a similar way to commemorative acts and metaphorical language, stories and storytelling plays part in both societal and individual response after such traumatic events. Even though LeBaron uses examples of opposing parties telling and listening to each others stories as part of the conflict resolution process, the importance of narratives are visible also inside of civil societies where terrorist attacks have struck, especially since narratives provide the narrators with the opportunity of voicing different perspectives and opinions. The large amount of literature authored by survivors, rescue workers after the terrorist attacks witness of an interest in the different individual stories, and the need of the authors to tell their stories. In a similar way to books, there has been a large production of documentaries and films- particularly related to September 11, concerning everything from individual stories to conspiration theories. Due to the limitations of this thesis, there will not be room for a description or analysis of such films here, but to remark how this material also belongs to narrative expressions after the terrorist attacks.

There are many examples of written stories from July 22. Survivor from Utøya Siri Marie Seim Sønstelie wrote a book together with her father Erik H. Sønstelie (2011), telling their story of how the daughter survived on Utøya, and how the father experienced the attacks knowing that his daughter was there, and how they have coped with the events after what happened. Another story is written by Bjørn and Aase Margrethe Juvet, - a married couple writing about their efforts in rescuing youth from Utøya, based from the mainland Utvika Camping (2012).

After September 11, people from different parts of society who were affected by the attacks in various ways, started telling their stories of the destruction of the towers, and these multitude of stories underlined the forcefulness of the American national spirit (Alexander 2006: 104). One example is the story of Genelle Guzman-McMillan in "Angel in the Rubble: The Miraculous Rescue of 9/11's Last Survivor" (Guzman-McMillan, 2011). Guzman-McMillan tells her story in this book, being the last survivor to be resqued from underneath the building masses, 26 hours after the collapse of the towers (Blais and Rasic 2011:72).

Narratives can be told not only verbally, but also non-verbally. Kalmanowitz and Lloyd link the use of images to aestheticism, expressing that which cannot be grasped with the aid of words. Rituals and acts of commemoration, as well as memorials both of spontaneous and permanent character as discussed in 8.1.1, are ways of telling stories in non-verbal manners. The feeling and values that were communicated through the rituals and the memorials expressed the stories that are being told in both case studies. As an example, both the spontaneous and the permanent memorials tell a story of what happened and how the events were received and confronted, as seen in 8.1.1. By the aid of non-verbal manners of telling a story, such as through images or artwork, a sense of what is known and recognized can be found, because such expressions may aid in providing meaning to an event, at least for a moment in time (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 28). In the volume "Art Therapy and Political Violence: with Art, without Illusion" edited by Kalmanowitz and Lloyd, Stephanie Wise recounts of her experiences with using art therapy in working with children in New York after September 11, with art and creative expressions as a manner for children to deal with their trauma after what had happened and find meaning and explanation to the attacks of 9/11 (Wise 2005: 144-145). Stories, both verbal and non-verbal, are shown to be ways of expressing values and beliefs, as well as identities.

The scope of this thesis hinders a detailed description or analysis of these stories, even though looking at what is being communicated in the different stories in order to assess their function and importance as response after terrorism might serve as an interesting subject for further research. However, what is important is to point to the presence of narratives in the two case studies, and further to relate this to the potential role of narratives as creative tools in reconciliation and conflict resolution after terrorism.

From written stories to non-verbal narratives, and from individual to national stories- it is interesting to look at the "grand narrative" that became prominent in the American and the Norwegian society after the two attacks. Kyrre Kverndokk speaks of the construction of a master narrative after July 22, and how this narrative provided the society with meaning and understanding of the terrible events of the attacks. This narrative is connected to what has been communicated through literature, the media, and especially the social media (Kverndokk 2013b: 134). As an example, he mentions how the multiple pictures of flowers from the spontaneous shrines posted on Facebook were part of this narrative, as a manner for the individuals of telling their story, showing their response to the attacks and indicating their geographic location in the days of national mourning. Kverndokk describes that "The plot of the master narrative could be described as a transformation from the hatred of the terrorist to unified love" (2013b: 150). In this way, speaking of July 22 implies speaking of both the attacks and the response (Kverndokk 2013b: 151). This points to how the narrative is not only decided by the terrorists, but also by its victims and spectators, to use a term from the performance studies.

The leading narratives after the terrorist attacks, - meaning how these attacks were understood and explained- can be seen as what Alexander calls the *counterreading* of the attacks. He claims that such counterreadings laid the foundation for the counterperformance- the response to the terrorist attacks after 9/11 (Alexander 2006: 104). In other words, as the attacks succeeded in physical destruction and in the killing of a vast amount of victims, they did not succeed in injuring the "ideal inner core of America" (Alexander 2006: 104).

Looking at these grand narratives, one might ask if there were any alternative narratives present in the two case studies. Kverndokk considers the possibility of other narratives vanishing due to the focus on the dominating master narrative. He mentions how the message of love differed from that of anger- and that anger was more present when looking at 9/11. He also mentions how statements of hate towards other nationalities in Norway in the hours following the bomb explosion in Oslo were present- as many assumed that Islamists were behind the attack. However, the police did not receive any reports of such incidents, and because of this, the total number of incidents is not known. Looking at the stories of victims from Oslo courthouse the following year of the

attacks, the telling of horrible stories in the court trial in April 2012 could also promote narratives based on anger rather than love. So could the criticism raised towards the crisis management by the police and the Police Security Service (PST) as a result of the findings from the 22 July Commission's report. However, Kverndokk argues that despite this criticism the master narrative stood firm, and one proof was the spontaneous memorial outside of Oslo Courthouse in the period of the trial, and a gathering by 40'000 people in Oslo April 26, 2012, singing Lillebjørn Nilsen's interpretation of Pete Seeger's "My Rainbow Race". As a "creative re-enactment of the rose parades", this spontaneous gathering renewed their claim on the song that was labeled as Cultural Marxist by Breivik during the trial (Kverndokk 2013b: 152-153).

One might also ask whether the narratives of civil society differed from that of the government in their response. The reaction of Norwegian state officials appeared to be in coherence to civil society, as officials participated in the grieving rituals initiated by individuals. The response seemed reflexive in the manner that the population supported the statements of state officials; see the statements of Crown Prince Haakon and Prime Minister Stoltenberg in 8.1.1, and in the way that these states officials participated in national memorial ceremonies. As the attack came from inside of the Norwegian society, and being a small society, everyone 'knowing someone who knew someone' of the victims (see 8.1.1), it is difficult and also beyond the extent of this thesis to compare this response to that of the U.S. post 9/11. However, taking a glance at this subject, the U.S. arguably appeared more divided in their response than did Norway, as civil society expressed grief and proclaimed their freedoms and values in a way comparable to that of Norway, while President Bush declared their message of war and revenge against the perpetrators. Without searching to find further political or sociological explanations for the varieties in the response, such explanations may be found within the different narratives existing in the response to the terrorist attacks of September 11. Different narratives might have caused the divergent response from the level of civil society compared to that of the governmental level. However, an intersection of the narratives could be found in the focus on American values and the patriotism observed at civil society level, intersecting with the message of defense of the country from the government. This claim points to the narratives of patriotism found on civil society level post 9/11 not only enlivening the 'American spirit', but also sustaining conflict and lending support to the subsequent War on Terror.

Shared Identities and Enhanced Relationships

As shown in 5.4.3, the stories we tell can expose identities and worldviews, affecting our ability to relate to the experience of others, either in a way that increases or decreases empathy (LeBaron 2002: 220, 238, 243). The terrorist attacks of September 11 may have created a need for Americans to assert their identities in relation to the perpetrators, and a need to assert their collective values and beliefs. The sharing of stories may lead to creation of new stories. This was highlighted by Robert Schreiter speaking about the potential of creating shared identities through the aid of storytelling (see 4.1.1). Especially related to those that did not experience the attacks personally, the telling and reciting of personal experiences from 9/11 became important in order for the listeners to understand the extent of vast destructions of the attacks, and this may have encouraged empathy and promoted a unified response to the attacks. Seen from this perspective, stories may enhance relationships, as people become enabled to relate to the stories of others and look at the aspects that unites rather than those that divides. In this manner, stories may be powerful tools in conflict resolution.

Storytelling: Conflict or Harmony?

It becomes visible from the above discussion that narratives at its best offer prominent ways of improving relationships between parties by "communicating and negotiating identity and meaning" (LeBaron 2002: 249). However, the discussion also points to storytelling not only maintaining harmony, but also disturbing it, and this is a trait maintained by LeBaron (2002: 219). This shows that the potential function of narratives as creative tools implies a different possibility for narratives to preserve or create conflicts. Argued by LeBaron, narratives at standstill preserve conflicts, and accordingly conflict transformation is encouraged by change (2002: 237). This proves how narratives can advantageously be connected to other creative tools, such as commemorating tools and symbolic tools enabling transformation (see 8.1.1 and 8.1.2). However, as shown in the above discussion, stories also have the potential to function as a creative tool in conflict resolution. Further reflections concerning the presence of reconciliation as healing of narratives in the two case studies will be discussed in 8.2.2 below.

8.1.4 Creativity and Beauty in Creative Tools

Making form and substance out from chaos is what signifies processes of creativity (see 5.2). In order for rituals, metaphors and stories to function as creative tools, they should somehow make form out of chaos. Consequently, it can be valuable to consider how the creative expressions in the two case studies confronted the destruction and chaos caused by the attacks.

In looking at reactions after the terrorist attacks in the two case studies, it becomes clear that the use of spontaneous and permanent memorials, metaphors and stories were visible elements present as response after the attacks, gathering and uniting communities. Botvar explains the presence of creativity after traumatic events such as the terrorist attacks of July 22, as expressions of "cultural creativity", awakening emotional reactions in civil society, engaging new societal groups to participate in a response, and allowing for grief and commemoration to be expressed in new manners (2013: 46).

As described by May, creativity often arises out from the struggle with boundaries, restraints and limits (1975: 115). Seen from this perspective, in confronting the chaos and restraints opposed on society due to the terrorist attacks, mechanisms of creativity may have been activated in the response of civil society, as manners of making order out of the chaos, and uniting in creating something beautiful (May 1985: 138-139).

As manner of 'sensory perception' (5.1), aesthetics can aid in perceiving creative tools. After the terrorist attacks in the two case studies, the tools appear to have provided people with meaning, confronting the logic of the terrorist attacks depersonalizing human beings, and affirming a common humanity (see 8.1.1). Beauty is highlighted as a phenomenon functioning as a universal language, as argued by May (1985: 229). Surpassing rational concepts, and extending beyond other divisive traits such as cultural, social and religious affiliation in some sort of a *communitas*, the use of such creative tools may have been unifying as they represented a response that spoke a language of beauty, often non-verbally, through rituals metaphors and narratives. Beauty appears to have promoted unity where there were differences, and beauty as a language expressed through creative elements became part of bridging differences between groups and people. A movement from chaos to form involves a transformation,

both internally, related to a personal transformation, as well as externally, concerning a change in the surroundings (5.1). Based on these reflections, the presence of beauty and creativity in the societal response after the terrorist attacks, arguably enabled the different expressions of creative tools to serve as valuable resources in confronting chaos and discordance. And perhaps looking at elements of beauty and creativity in the response enables an enhanced understanding of the symbolic dimensions in the case studies; making it fruitful to look at empiricist perspectives additional to rational ones, as seen 5.2.1.

8.2 RECONCILIATION

The above discussion related to the presence and function of creative tools in the two case studies have discussed how such tools have a potential to promote conflict resolution, as parts of a reconciliation process. The following discussion will therefore take an even closer look at the role of reconciliation in the two case studies, specifically with regards to the two churches of St. Paul's Chapel and Oslo Cathedral. Subsequently, reconciliation will be discussed on a more general level related to the case studies, taking a glance at empirical examples from the case studies in order to trace the presence of reconciliation as healing of memories and narratives in the two case studies. Niebuhr's objections towards the reconciliation paradigm will be discussed in 8.3.

8.2.1 Societal Reconciliation through Religious Institutions

As seen in 8.1.1, many found refuge in St. Paul's Chapel in the days and months following 9/11. The church staff together with the volunteers found some comfort in actively responding to the terrible events, through functioning as a church meeting the needs of the rescue and recovery workers as well as the families of the victims.

According to Johnson, the voluntary activity of St. Paul's Chapel in the period following September 11 contributed to healing in an important way through allowing for the volunteers to give and serve others. Previously, Johnson used to have an office in the World Trade Center, and in the experience of being one who survived, Johnson describes how all his questions hindered him to go immediately to reconciliation after what happened. He experienced that St. Paul's became a place to express feelings, concerns,

and grief. Well aware of the challenges for individuals to reconcile with what had happened, he described how the fellowship offered through the Chapel became important in the process towards healing, although pointing to individual differences with regards to the possibility to move towards healing and reconciliation (Johnson, 2013).

Ten years after September 11, Trinity together with St. Paul's Chapel themed their observance of the anniversary "Remember to Love". They offered a commemoration program in memory of what happened on 9/11 and in the period following the attacks, by hosting classical concerts. They also arranged an event called "Tie a Ribbon of Remembrance", inviting participants to tie white ribbons marked with the slogan "Remember to Love" on the fences and trees surrounding the area of the Chapel (Kohn 2011: 8-10). This message, "Remember to love", represented the caption of the response of the community of St. Paul's Chapel post 9/11, with families of victims and recovery workers, volunteers, visitors and pilgrims participating. This slogan pointed to the spirit of reconciliation present in the chapel, and this has been reflected in the chapel's atmosphere of openness and hospitality.

Through activities and actions of St. Paul's Chapel in the months following 9/11, and through messages of love and healing, the congregation were invited to reflect on their sentiments of revenge and anger in new ways, and the community has in this way lifted up forgiveness and hope as important features on a path towards healing. However, both Johnson and Simons seemed to point to challenges of reconciliation and healing after the attacks of September 11 (Johnson, 2013; Simons, 2013).

On the level of individuals, Simons has experiences with persons who will not forgive. He mentions a neighbor still wearing a jacket saying, "I didn't forget and I won't forgive" (Simons, 2013, Kohn 2011: 8). Such attitudes pose a challenge for reconciliation, and Johnson points to how for some it has been difficult to move towards forgiveness and healing from that point of view, even despite of the passage of time. However, he claims that the passage of time has made it possible to talk about reconciliation in ways that are credible (Johnson 2013). Simons points to how reconciliation has been given insignificant attention from the governmental level- specifically by not being present in the language of government officials (Simons, 2014). According to Simons, looking at the relation between Christians and Muslims makes visible strong images of the enemy and

'the Other' that has hindered Americans to enter into a process of reconciliation after September 11. Simons points to how the U.S. has a long way to go when it comes to reconciliation, as it is still not common to speak of reconciliation after terrorism explicitly (Simons, 2013).

With regards to the civil society level, Simons claims that there is a greater interest to be found in reconciliation- particularly within certain religious institutions. He points to how tolerance and acceptance is part of the multicultural identity of New York City (Simons, 2014). Even though there were huge protests on a national level against the Cordoba House as a Muslim Community Center, Trinity supported the plans of this center, together with a majority of New Yorkers. In Trinity and Saint Paul's, there has been an engagement for having an open attitude towards people of other religions and worldviews, through organized weekly gatherings encouraging interreligious dialogue. Johnson pointed to how he was invited, together with a number of people, to visit a Mosque on 96th Street shortly after September 11 (Johnson, 2013; Simons, 2013). In addition, both Simons and Johnson point to positive prospects for reconciliation through the relationship with the Community of the Cross of Nails. Simons expresses how this organization looks to them "...as a principal icon in the world where reconciliation is happening" (Simons, 2014; Johnson, 2013). However, he states that besides from the response of the chapel in the period after 9/11, the main focus up until today for St. Paul's Chapel has been to talk about reconciliation. In this manner he hopes that St. Paul's as a community will take on more action in order to promote reconciliation (Simons, 2014).

The same amount of time has not passed in the case of July 22. However, looking at the immediate and recent traits characterizing the role of Oslo Cathedral, it was shown in 8.1.1 how the cathedral assumed an important role when it came to communication and preservation of values, as well as offering meaning and providing a sense of communitas. Nevertheless, challenges with regards to the role of the cathedral in providing space for reconciliation must also be mentioned, as these become visible when looking at the debates that arose after the initial phase following the attacks. Some persons did not feel aligned with the message and values communicated in the spontaneous memorials, and others had trouble with official ceremonies being held in the cathedral instead of other religiously neutral places (see 8.1.2). Secretary of state

Amundsen expressed how the choice of space for the memorial ceremony on July 24 was random, based on how the attacks had struck on a Friday. He stated that it was suitable to gather in a church two days later, as this happened to be on a Sunday, and that it would have been different if Breivik performed his attack on another day of the week. (Aagedal 2013: 104-106). This statement may point to unease with the use of the cathedral as official and public grieving space.

Looking at both the memorial service in Oslo Cathedral on July 24th and the rose march on July 25th, shows how the state supported and took part in civil society initiated memorials and events (Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg 2013: 20-22). Perhaps this relates to the special connection between the state and the Church of Norway, as emphasized by Aagedal, Botvar and Høeg (2013: 20-22).

As a commemoration space, Oslo Cathedral became important across the different dimensions of reconciliation, see Figure 3 in Chapter 4. The cathedral provided space for personal contemplation, civil society commemoration, as well as official observance of rituals and ceremonies with the participation of government officials and members of the royal family (Aagedal 2013: 93-94). This can be observed as characteristic for a liminal phase, erasing or at least decreasing the divisions between these levels (see 8.1.1). This may challenge Clegg's typology of reconciliation, making her distinctions less applicable during a phase of liminality and communitas. If this is a reasonable argument, it becomes difficult to explain the higher extent of divergence found on the societal versus the political level in the reponse of the U.S. after September 11, see 8.3.4.

8.2.2 RECONCILIATION AS HEALING OF MEMORIES AND NARRATIVES

LeBaron points to Louise Diamond emphasizing the necessity of the passage of time before addressing histories, and dealing with hurts and unhealed wounds (LeBaron 2002: 248). According to Schreiter, time may either complicate or facilitate our relation to conflict (see 4.2). The discussion of 8.1.2 pointed to the preference of Schreiter's contribution compared to Clegg's, related to how healing in the two case studies appeared important on several levels, not only the personal and interpersonal one.

Looking to the case study of July 22, Kverndokk points to how the use of spontaneous shrines promoted a "negotiation of memories" on behalf of the victims, as the response that was constructed created memories that became completely different to those composed through the terrorist act (2013b: 148).

Stories may function as creative tools, in allowing for the parties to submit their narratives in an indirect way, and because of the way that subjective stories as personal narratives reflect on experiences distinct from other stories and narratives. Finding creative ways of communicating can make stories function as narrative tools. Narratives and storytelling may promote dialogue as a creative form of communication. Encouraging the listeners' empathy, new stories may emerge, while still maintaining traditions of old stories (LeBaron 2002: 34, 225, 232-234). This must be linked to the characteristic of commemoration tools in preserving continuity and encouraging change. Looking at stories as "containers of meaning", and as constantly evolving and linked to culture, identities and worldviews, LeBaron explains that stories may favorably be regarded as "...windows into our ways of situating ourselves in our worlds rather than vehicles for triumph in a contest over competing realities" (2002: 222-223).

As a result of dialogue and enhanced relationship between the parties, changing stories and narratives may encourage conflict transformation (LeBaron2002: 237). Storytelling through art and aesthetics may also contribute to evolvement of conflict. Without the use of words, non-verbal stories gather fragmented bits and pieces into one picture that provides context and meaning to events that it would be difficult to comprehend in any other way, and ultimately aiding in reconciliation processes (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 28).

However, the use of narratives could also pose problems for healing and reconciliation, as stories can, either deliberately or not, depict images that counters cooperation and conflict resolution, as were slightly mentioned in 8.1.3. The following part will turn to look towards some of these images that were visible in the narratives after September 11.

8.3 Symbolic and Performative Dimensions of Terrorism

Having discussed the role of reconciliation in the two case studies, the following and concluding reflections of the chapter will take a look at how these efforts of reconciliation can be related to the symbolic and performative dimensions of terrorism. Reflecting upon the possibility for speaking of reconciliation after terrorism, the following paragraphs looks to the performative dimensions of the political counterresponse in the two case studies, before concluding with an overall discussion of the reconciliation paradigm.

8.3.1 POLITICAL RESPONSE AND PERFORMATIVE ASPECTS

Even though the contexts are different, it becomes visible that from the political stance, the immediate response of state officials differed in the two case studies. President George W. Bush promoted a different message as response to the attacks than did Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg. Bush responded by stating at first that "These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation in chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation" (Blais and Rasic 2011:63). He also declared a war on terror when he proclaimed "we are going to smoke them out", speaking of the Afghan terrorists (Hoffman 2006: 20; Knowlton 2001; Jordheim 2012: 220-221). Stoltenberg, on the other hand, responded to the attacks of July 22 by proclaiming that a response to the attacks should concern the inclusion of "more democracy, more openness and more humanity" (Stoltenberg, 2011).

Looking at the differing messages communicated by the state officials, it becomes visible that the effect of the message of president Bush in any instance made the possibility or room for reconciliation—at least on the political level—very remote and distant. Stoltenberg's statement resounded with the message communicated from the streets of Oslo and other Norwegian cities, contributing in an atmosphere of reconciliation instead of vengeance. It can therefore be argued that the climate on the political level to a greater extent corresponded to that on the societal level in the case of July 22. On the societal level, however, reactions were not that different in the two case studies, as shown in the discussion of 8.1.

In wondering whether the situation would have been different in the case of Norway if Islamic terrorists had executed the attacks of July 22, it is probable to imagine that the

governmental response may have been different. One could envision a response that would contribute to increased military actions against terrorist groups in Islamic countries. Regardless of this speculation, the fact was that the perpetrator was "one of our own". Due to the fact that Breivik had previously been a member of the Norwegian Progress Party, one could also imagine that Stoltenberg would respond to the attacks by raising his voice against the conservative right in Norwegian politics, and against political groups or individuals affiliated with the Progress Party in specific. He could have contributed in creating discord in the Norwegian political landscape on basis of this, and he could in this manner have used the event to the advantage of his own leftwing Labour Party. Instead, he spoke a message that led to a sense of community rather than discord in the Norwegian public sphere, and this promoted a sense of unity between different political parties in the days and weeks following the attacks.

Alexander argues that when to analyze the response of the event of September 11, one must look at both how it was understood, at the counterreading- and on the actions of response, the counterperformance (2006:104). He claims that the American counterperformance that arose after the attacks continues to structure American national and international politics (2006: 91).

From the angle of performance theory, the response of both Bush and Stoltenberg to the attacks can be observed as some sort of counterperformance. It can be argued that the performance of George W. Bush promoted a clear conception of 'Us' versus 'the Other' through the message he performed and communicated in the wake of the attacks, while Stoltenberg together with other Norwegian politicians and public figures performed a message that promoted unity instead of ruptures within the Norwegian society. This shows that looking to the performative dimension of both the terrorism and its response is helpful for acknowledging the importance of the symbolic dimensions of such attacks.

The findings in the analysis do not suggest that government officials were unaware of the presence of a symbolic dimension. In the case of September 11, the symbolic dimensions of the attacks were visible, - striking the World Trade Center representing business and enterprise, and the Pentagon representing the American national security and defence. In both instances the presence of such a symbolic dimension alongside a material one has been vivid. However, the inclusion of the performative dimensions necessitates awareness with regards to the relationship between the symbolic and the

rational, as meaning should not be disconnected from action. This is confirmed through Alexander and Mast's theory of cultural pragmatics (see 3.5.2). This also corresponds with the Figure 2 in Chapter 3, maintaining the inclusion of both strategic and symbolical dimensions when analyzing terrorist acts.

8.3.2 RECONCILIATION AS RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

None of the researchers presented in Chapter 4 relate the subject of reconciliation to terrorism, and consequently the following reflections from Renner and Spencer give thoughts to the challenges of connecting the two, in discussing the question of whether reconciliation can be a proper response in dealing with conflicts caused by terrorism or if such conflicts should be left out from this picture.

The paradigm of reconciliation maintains as mentioned in 4.1.1 the necessity of reconciliation as response after state terror. However, Renner and Spencer point to how reconciliation have not appeared to be the norm and the main policy when it comes to terrorism on a sub-state level (2012: 6). In wondering why this is the case, as conflicts on both state and sub-state levels represent societal ruptures potentially responded to by the aid of reconciliation, Renner and Spencer mentions several possible reasons for terrorism as conflict being excluded from the reconciliation paradigm (2012: 6-7).

From a pragmatic viewpoint, reconciliation after state conflicts has been seen as the only possible way for solving such conflicts. And normatively speaking, reconciliation can be wieved as "an instrinsically valuable goal" (Renner and Spencer 2012: 6). Several challenges can be pointed to when assessing the possibilities for speaking of reconciliation after terrorism. Firstly, dealing with a weak terrorist group of insignificant size, the easiest and pragmatic way to terminate the problem seems to be by combating them. However, defeating the group by armed combat will not put end to the problem of 'terrorists', as small terrorist organizations are often part of a substantial network of supporters. And secondly, the cycles of violence produced from the performance and counterperformance of terrorist attacks and their response, makes reconciliation difficult, as processes of restauration and healing calls for "...a minimum degree of conflict settlement..." to enable the unfolding of a reconciliation process (Renner and Spencer 2012: 6-7).

From a normative point of view, the value-laden labeling of terrorists makes it out of the question to consider reconciliatory measures with such groups, as they appear as criminals, and are understood as "evil" and "uncivilized". Reconciliation with terrorists becomes unattractive, with regards to the thought of "a reconciled society that includes the former 'terrorists' among its members" (Renner and Spencer 2012: 7-8). This is related this to the aspect of othering, see 3.2 (2012: 8). These abovementioned challenges may hinder reconciliation processes to come to place after terrorism.

As mentioned in 1.2 and 1.4, the theoretical contribution of the volume of Renner and Spencer is primarily centered around questions related to reconciliation between the parties after terrorism, the terrorists and their victims, and this falls outside of the scope of this thesis. This thesis has rather focused on reconciliation as processes of healing and restoration. However, the contribution of Renner and Spencer are found valuable in the manner that they request a debate concerning the role of reconciliation related to terrorism, and in the way that they put words to potential challenges for entering into a discussion around this subject.

When looking at the theory of Reinhold Niebuhr on human nature and the limited capacity of human beings to deal with and eradicate conflict, especially when interacting in collectives, it becomes visible that reconciliation of any kind may be impossible on societal, national and international levels. His theory can therefore be observed as a contrast to the theories of Clegg, Schreiter and Forrester, as seen in 4.4.

The contributions of Clegg and Screiter have been regarded as suitable in approaching the subject of reconciliation in this thesis, and this implies an acceptance of the reconciliation paradigm. The strength of the scholarly theories within the field of reconciliation, such as the theories of Clegg, Schreiter and Forrester lies in how their contributions are more up to date than that of Niebuhr, building on a more recent empirical and theoretical material. Schreiter maintains the importance of holding on to hope, and believing in the possibility of reconciliation, when he states

Hope is required in the long, difficult, and often ultimately incomplete work of reconciliation. Most efforts at reconciliation undergo setbacks, roadblocks, and dissapointment. Without hope that reconciliation is possible, we will not be able to continue (Schreiter 2008: 17).

The acceptance of the paradigm does not neglect an awareness of the challenges connected to the potential for reconciliation, and this arguably strengthens the contributions of these scholars. Clinging to the reconciliation paradigm must be held as the most suitable alternative to Niebuhr's description of the cynicism of the 'children of darkness' or the naivety of the 'children of light'.

Even so, Niebuhr's contribution is useful in order to allow for a critical assessment of the prevailing reconciliation paradigm. In addition, Niebuhr's theory has been a source of inspiration for several thinkers within the Classical Realist tradition of International Relations in the early twentieth century, among them political thinker Hans Morgenthau (Rice 2012: 147, Korab-Karpowicz 2013). Niebuhr's thoughts have also been of arguably great influence on American politicians up until today, and U.S. President Barack Obama has appraised his philosophy (Brooks, 2007). This shows that Niebuhr's thoughts are still of relevance, even though some of his most influential books were written several decades ago. Furthermore, a general academic acceptance of the reconciliation paradigm may be challenged by such a prevailing realpolitik, - giving shape to national and international decision-making processes.

In this chapter, the theoretical material has been utilized to shed light on the empirical descriptions from two case studies. The findings throughout the analysis show that the empirical material was equally useful for shedding light on the theorietical assumptions. The presence of creative tools and its implications have been discussed, as well as the potential function of such tools as part of reconciliation processes. Additionally, this discussion has been connected to the symbolic and performative dimensions of terrorism, investigating the possibility for speaking of reconciliation after terrorism. The conclusion that follows will summarize the most important findings of this thesis, in order to show how these findings answer the thesis' research question.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Summary

The main focus of this thesis has been to discuss the role of creative expressions in a societal response after terrorism. Many aspects related to the subject of the thesis have been discussed, and all of the findings cannot be repeated in this part. However, the use of document analysis have allowed for some themes and patterns to be highlighted, and to stand out as crucial with regards to answering the sub questions as well as the research question: *How can creative tools be utilized to facilitate processes of societal reconciliation after terrorism?* These occurring themes and patterns will be delineated in the following.

One of the starting points of this thesis concerned the inclusion of a symbolic dimension alongside with strategic or rational concerns in the understanding of terrorism as phenomenon (see Chapter 2). The commemorative response to terrorist attacks as seen in both case studies could not undo the dreadful results of the terrorist attacks in any manner, and hence the significance of such a response could not be found on a practical level (Aagedal, Botvar & Høeg 2013: 11-12). It has become fruitful to look at various creative expressions characterizing the response to such attacks as primarily symbolic. Even so, the findings in the analysis suggest that it appears crucial not only to assess these symbolic dimensions as important alongside strategic ones, but also with its performative nature. Observing the nature of spontaneous memorials as performative as well as symbolic—not only expressing grief but also communicating values and statements—adds a political dimension to such forms of commemoration, as expressed by Santino (2006:13), see 8.1.1. This serves to expand our view on the role of the symbolic dimensions that were present in the response after the terrorist attacks from the case studies.

The thesis also suggests that this finding does not only apply to commemoration tools, but to narrative and symbolic tools as well, in what can be communicated through stories and metaphors. Consequently, this performative and political dimension can be related to creative tools in general. This observation makes it difficult to exclude or separate the rational from the symbolic, as they through creative tools appear to be intertwined. From this angle, including the performative dimension when looking at

creative tools encourage a symbiosis of the rational and the symbolic, so that neither one can be excluded when assessing the role of creative tools in reconciliation after terrorism. This corresponds to the theory of cultural pragmatics developed by Alexander and Mast (see 3.5.2), emphasizing the important connection between action and meaning, and hence the analogy of performance becomes useful for understanding both terrorism and its response.

This has necessitated potential processes of healing and reconciliation after terrorism to include such a symbolic dimension, and the thesis has emphasized the potential of creative tools to bring about transformation of ruptured space, while at the same time preserving continuity and maintaining the values that were present before the attacks. Creative tools expressed through stories, metaphors and rituals were part of the significant societal response in the two case studies.

Including creativity and creative tools into reconciliation processes, may aid in changing old assumptions. As a result, it can be argued that the use of rituals, storytelling, metaphors, arts and flowers may serve as expressions of beauty and creativity, providing unity instead of discord and form instead of chaos.

A closer look is needed in order to conclude what served as creative tools after the two terrorist attacks of the case studies. This thesis can only indicate findings, as has been the effort of the first part of the analysis, as this part has asserted the presence of narratives, metaphors and rituals in the aftermath of the attacks. LeBaron states how creative tools are important elements in conflict resolution processes, as "...they have currency in the places where meaning is made and where expression is symbolic-levels not easily accessible through analysis" (2002: 181). An inclusion of creative tools has been regarded as valuable in providing meaning related to the symbolic dimensions of a conflict caused by terrorism, and in this manner, such tools may form the foundation for approaching dialogue and problem solving of issues, as seen in 5.3. Various expressions of creative tools that were present in the two case studies must be observed as promoting transformation, and at the same time unity and stability. In this manner creative tools arguably functioned as facilitators in processes of healing and reconciliation.

The discussion related to creative tools have shown how such tools may not only serve as tools facilitating and enabling reconciliation, as the use of metaphors, narratives and commemoration can also be used to create new conflicts or sustain existing conflicts. This necessitates a critical approach to the subject, related to the manner that the communication of meanings and values through commemoration tools may contribute in steering the response of a civil society, as well as political outcomes of dramatic events. It can also be connected to the ambiguous nature of metaphors and symbolic tools, as to how metaphors may be utilized to strengthen images of 'the other' and promote political objectives (seen 8.1.2), and to the potential of narrative tools to preserve or create conflict (see 8.1.3).

Creative tools become useful with regards to emphasizing the symbolic and non-rational dimensions of reconciliation. However, as argued above, one of the findings concern the difficulty in separating the symbolic from the rational. As the symbolic is not completely distinct from the rational, this is a difficult conclusion, expressed by LeBaron "We are challenged to bring the heart back into our discourse" (2002: 301). Including creativity in such processes will, as stated by May, threaten existing rational notions and premises (1975: 76). Such an inclusion may challenge our conceptions of phenomena such as terrorism and reconciliation, requiring new perspectives to enter the debate. This asserts the importance of creative tools, while at the same time points to how such tools must be regarded not as replacing, but supplementing traditional approaches.

9.1.1 EVALUATING THIS CONTRIBUTION

The aim of this thesis has been to focus on the presence and function of creative expressions in the two empirical cases, and to confirm the presence and acknowledge the function of such expressions as creative tools. However, my aim has not been to devaluate the importance of judicial processes, but rather to suggest that an inclusion of creative tools allows for understanding the processes of reconstruction, healing and reconciliation more comprehensively, with regards to the kinds of ruptures in need of healing and restoration. An awareness related to this can inspire initiatives on various dimensions of society, making room for and acknowledging the presence and function of such tools in facilitating reconciliation. Such an awareness should in a similar way be concerned with how creative tools may create new conflicts or sustain existing conflicts.

The use of document analysis has allowed for a *contextual understanding* of patterns and themes that were found to be relevant. The presence of creative tools after terrorism in the two case studies has confirmed the significance of such tools. The thesis has focused on main themes relevant to the subject, but at the same time, the use of case studies has allowed for attention to details, pointing to the relation between important theoretical themes and the empirical material. This, can be argued, is a strength of the study. In this manner, the thesis has contributed in showing how such tools were present through the spontaneous ritual expressions in the streets as well as inside of Oslo Cathedral and St. Paul's chapel, and in the debates and processes concerning the construction of permanent memorials.

However, there are limits to the findings of this thesis, in the manner that the themes and patterns that stood out as important throughout the analysis only surface these complex phenomena. As a result, the themes discussed in the analysis must be regarded as a mere introduction, useful for highlighting main themes and challenges connected to the role of creative tools in reconciliation after terrorism.

The contribution must be placed within a larger frame of similar studies and contributions, with the objective of enhancing the contextual understanding of the subject, and with regards to assessing the reliability of the findings of this contribution related to other studies. This might prove to further confirm or reject the findings of this thesis with regards to its external validity, pointing to how these findings would prove to be reliable or tentative.

9.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Stepping out of classical approaches looking at counter-terrorism has turned the attention towards new theoretical perspectives. Within this thesis, creative tools has been defined, - however not in an exhaustive manner. One might turn to ask whether a tool that is creative automatically can be distinguished as a *creative tool*. The extent of the thesis does not allow for such a discussion, but future research could possibly point to the need for a more overall definition of creative tools than the one presented in this thesis. Based on the findings of the thesis, it appears as if various forms of creative tools are not only symbolic, but also performative in nature.

One finding of this thesis suggests that a public debate with regards to the planned national memorials is needed. The debate should reflect on the implications of the distance between the painfulness and sorrow experienced at Sørbråten, and the democratical dialogue meant to take place in the Government Quarter. The necessity of making room for processes of healing and reconciliation after the attacks may aid in bridging the gap between grief and democratic dialogue. With regards to further studies, it could be relevant to connect an analysis of the role of aesthetics and creativity to a more in depth investigation of the transfer of symbolic heritage from spontaneous memorialization to permanent memorials. The role of religious institutions or other actors in facilitating creative tools could also be a subject for further studies.

Looking forward, such tools could apply in meeting with not only terrorism, but also with other kinds of conflicts. This would require additional empirical research, as a case study is first and foremost suited to say something about the particular case in focus. With regards to this, approaching this subject related to two familiar cases and to societies with established structures- there might be some level of ease connected to the analysis. But how then should we approach different kinds of societies in lack of such well-established structures and dimensions? What role would creative tools play in for instance a complex reconstruction process of war torn Afghanistan? This does not need to imply that a presence of such tools presupposes a clear societal structure, but however, it appears as if facilitating the presence of such tools may be less demanding in developed states.

10 Literature

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Appendix 1

Interview guide utilized when interviewing Reverend Daniel J. Simons and volunteer J. Chester Johnson.

St. Paul's Chapel, New York, September 11 and September 12, 2013.

- 1) In which ways would you say that St. Paul's Chapel was affected by the 9/11 attacks and its aftermath?
- 2) Which efforts and initiatives, organized by your church, would you consider were important in the period after September 11?
- 3) I read on your website that the chapel was transformed into a place of peace, rest, and reconciliation in the period after 9/11. Were there specific elements or rituals that contributed in creating such a space for the families of the victims, together with the rescue and recovery workers? What would you say gave rise to this atmosphere of peace and reconciliation?
- 4) Did the 9/11 attacks and its aftermath serve to alter your view on the importance of reconciliation after such traumatic events?
- 5) After the attacks of July 22, 2011 on Utøya and in Oslo, Norway, the Norwegian people by civil initiative gathered in the streets of Oslo, and ultimately in other towns and cities of Norway, in order to peacefully demonstrate against the hatred and crimes committed by the man responsible for the attacks, Anders Behring Breivik. The rose parades were first initiated by a private person, but grew to become a massive response. On every corner, the streets of Oslo were filled with roses. Especially the area in front of Oslo Cathedral was filled with a "sea of flowers", and also of letters, drawings, gifts and things to commemorate the loss of dear ones.
- Were there any examples of similar civil society initiatives in New York after the 9/11 attacks? Were there any specific symbols or rituals that became important in the process of national healing and reconciliation?
- 6) In my thesis, I look at reconciliation after terrorism, which is not an easy subject. Most often when speaking of reconciliation in a social science perspective, it is assumed to concern reconciliation between the victims and the perpetrators. However, when looking at cases such as 9/11 it is not evident that something can be done to alter the relationship between the parties in a spirit of reconciliation. But perhaps, it could still be important to look at what struck, and how the persons performing the attacks managed to attack the freedoms and values of their victims, and how this can be restored. One might think that the attacks on 9/11 could contribute in weakening the relations between Christians and Muslims in New York's civil society. Would you say that the attacks of September 11 altered the relationship between Christians and Muslims in New York in general and in your church in particular? Have your church been involved in interreligious dialogue or other kinds of communication or reconciliation efforts between Christians and Muslims after 9/11?