



The Relationship between Norwegian Media Coverage and Policy Changes: The War in Afghanistan.

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The Relationship between Norwegian Media Coverage and Policy Changes:
The War in Afghanistan.

Hanne Twedt Berli

A Thesis in the Field of International Relations
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

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Abstract

This thesis examines three online newspapers' coverage of the Norwegian involvement in the Afghan war during 2006 and 2007, and foreign and defense policy changes from 2006 to 2008. Three research questions were explored, where the overarching goal was to explore the relationship between the observed policy changes and the observed trends in news coverage.

The conceptual framework is derived from the CNN effect thesis, Entman's cascade model, the agenda-setting model and other theories about media effects. The research methods employed were qualitative and included the coding of a large sample of newspaper articles. The study found that the media mostly covered stories regarding ongoing and future Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan, and events on the ground in Afghanistan. The actor portrayed most often was "other" and the Ministry of Defense. Explicit criticism towards the Norwegian engagement was expressed in 21.2 percent of the articles, and 4.3 percent expressed explicit support. NATO obligations and decisions about troop deployments and expanding Norway's operational area in Afghanistan were among the most discussed topics, as were a shortage of military doctors and two Norwegian casualties during 2007.

Foreign aid to Afghanistan increased from \$66 million USD to \$108.8 million USD from 2006 to 2008. In the same period, defense expenditures increased from \$117 million USD to \$151.7 million USD. My overall conclusion is that media coverage

changed in response to policy change. The extent to which policy makers were responsive to media coverage was less clear from the evidence.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis director, professor Thomas E. Patterson of the Harvard Kennedy School for invaluable advise, useful feedback and continuous support. Prof. Patterson allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right direction and provided me with generous guidance along the way. I would also like to thank professor Matthew A. Baum of the Harvard Kennedy School for introducing me to the topic, as well as valuable information about coding schemes, instructions and code categories from his own work. This information provided me with new knowledge and a wider understanding the subject matter. A big thank you to Halvor Gunnar Døhlen, Lieutenant Colonel, Defence Staff Norway, who provided me with crucial information about the Ministry of Defense budget posts. I also want to express my sincere appreciation to fellow students, for encouragement and helpful insight, and to Kjell-Jostein Sivertsen for proofreading.

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Chapter I

Introduction

“The press is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of the darkness into vision.”

Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922)

This thesis explores the relationship between news coverage of the Afghan conflict in three major Norwegian online newspapers and the Afghanistan policies of the Norwegian government’s defense and foreign ministries. The relationship will be explored by examining newspaper coverage, governmental reports, and policy and budget proposals put forth by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense. The evidence will be interpreted in the context of research on media effects.

The study is limited to the Afghanistan War and specific time periods of that war. I have chosen the years 2006-2008 because large increases in bilateral aid to Afghanistan from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs budgets occurred during this time period. The Ministry of Defense also spent more heavily on the Afghanistan engagement in Afghanistan during these years.

The news data come from articles in three major Norwegian online newspapers—Aftenposten, Dagbladet and Verdens Gang (VG)—during 2006 and 2007. The news data will be compared with policy changes from 2006 to 2007 and from 2007 to 2008 to see if there is a relationship.

Research Questions

Research on the news media's influence on public policy is in its early stages and precise hypotheses have not yet emerged. Accordingly, I will be examining three research questions.

Question One: Policy Change

R1) What change occurred in Norwegian foreign and defense policy relative to Afghanistan conflict between 2006 to 2007 and between 2007 to 2008? Change will be determined in the context of state budgets, ministry reports and other policy material, as well as conclusions based on changes in budget allocations and ministry statements.

Question Two: Trends in Media Coverage

R2) What were the trends in news coverage during the period being studied? This question will be addressed through a content analysis of the news coverage in three online news outlets. The coding scheme used in this study is explained in the Chapter 4, Assessment of News Coverage of Afghanistan.

Question Three: The Relationship between Policy Change and News Trends

R3) What relationship exists between the observed policy changes (R1) and the observed trends in news coverage (R2)? A cautionary note is necessary in regard to R3. Causality is difficult to prove when examining policy change, given the many factors that

influence such change. Nevertheless, the relationship between policy change and news trends could provide insights on the interplay of news and policy.

The Thesis's Organization

In the next chapter, I will review relevant literature on media effects and foreign policy decision-making. That discussion is followed by one where I provide background information on the Norwegian presence in Afghanistan, along with information on Norway's media system. I will then assess the news coverage of Afghanistan, including the research methods applied. Immediately thereafter will start the analysis of Norway's Afghan policy, through foreign and defense policies and budget allocations. The conclusion focuses on the three research questions, concluding with suggestions for further research.

Throughout the thesis, when monetary values are mentioned, they will be first introduced in terms of Norwegian Krone (NOK), followed by their conversion to U.S. Dollars (USD/\$). The currency rate used is the rate on December 31, 2005, at which time $6.77 \text{ NOK} = \$1 \text{ USD}$ ¹. Using a constant rate will ensure that monetary values at different times are comparable.

¹ "Historiske valutakurser," ABC nyheter, accessed July 8, 2016, last modified April 27, 2012, <http://www.abcnyheter.no/nyheter/2011/01/08/123680/historiske-valutakurser>.

Chapter 2

Literature Review of Relevant Media Concepts and Theories

When it comes to foreign policy, there are three key actors: policy makers, public opinion and mass media. They are independent of each other and yet interact strategically. The distribution of information between these three actors is a crucial factor in their relative influence on foreign policy.² Policy elites have the most information, which can be used to influence news content, giving both the policy makers and the media a degree of influence over the public's perceptions. Nevertheless, each actor influences the others. According to Baum and Potter³, the media influence public opinion, public opinion influences the media, public opinion influences decision makers, decision makers influence public opinion, decision makers influence the media, foreign policy influences public opinion, decision makers influence events, and the media influence foreign policy. Foreign policy outcomes result from the equilibrium that develops between these competing forces.⁴

Mass media, according to Matthew Baum, mediate the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy leadership.⁵ The media is the primary link between

² Matthew A. Baum and Philip B. K. Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 42, accessed February 17, 2015, doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060406.214132.

³ Ibid., 41.

⁴ Ibid., 56.

⁵ Ibid., 49.

leaders and the public. They collect, frame and distribute information, which is a key market commodity, and they rely on an open government and leaders to access information. In each of the six stages of the policymaking process (problem formatting, agenda setting, policy, policy formulation, legitimation and adoption, implementation and administration and policy evaluation), the media influence is rooted in public opinion.⁶

Public Opinion

Scholars have long questioned the public's ability to develop informed, consistent opinions. But if citizens rely on information shortcuts, such as the opinion of trusted elites, this limitation can be overcome.⁷ Baum and Potter argue that public opinion can influence foreign policy, but that it's important to understand the limits to the public's informational capacity.⁸ In this respect, there is consensus on two key points: "(a) Citizens are typically at a significant informational disadvantage vis-à-vis leadership elites, and (b) citizens compensate by using heuristic cues that allow them to make reasoned judgments with small amounts of information."⁹ According to Baum, the general public does not typically insist on being informed about foreign policy but nonetheless uses cues to arrive at judgments about it.¹⁰

⁶ Matthew A. Baum, "GOVT E-1793," class lecture 9, Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, spring 2015.

⁷ Baum and Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy," 44.

⁸ Ibid., 55-56.

⁹ Ibid., 44.

¹⁰ Matthew A. Baum, "Soft News and Political Knowledge: Evidence of Absence or Absence of Evidence?" *Political Communication*, 20 (2003): 180, accessed March 5, 2015, doi: 10.1080/10584600390211181.

The CNN Effect

The term “CNN effect” originated during the 1991 Gulf War, the first war in which combat action was televised live to viewing publics.¹¹ The term has since evolved into a generic concept that is defined as the ability of the news media through communication technology to evoke a major response from policymakers.¹²

The CNN effect rests upon the media’s ability through the framing of its stories to get the public to react in certain ways to unfolding developments, creating pressure upon policymakers to respond in certain ways. The hypothetical effect is to shift market equilibrium toward public opinion and the media frame, thus weakening whatever frame policymakers are trying to impose on the situation. In extreme form, the hypothesis predicts that policymakers will have to act within the media frame, which is bolstered by its embrace by the public.

There are documented cases where the media have shaped elite opinion. In the 1950s, for example, Merrill Mueller, an NBC correspondent, shared information with an American president that shows the media at times “directly influence the information available to and hence opinion of leadership, even at the highest level.”¹³ The evidence comes from Mueller’s direct correspondence with President Eisenhower, where Mueller

¹¹ Piers Robinson, *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News, Foreign Policy and Intervention* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Baum and Potter, “The Relationship between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy,” 53.

provided notes from his interview with the British Foreign Secretary that then influenced the thinking of U.S. policymakers.¹⁴

Some scholars argue that the CNN effect was an overstated theory and, even if it was valid at the time, it no longer is - as a result of the proliferation of news sites and the fragmentation of the news audience.¹⁵ In their article “Moving media and conflict studies beyond the CNN effect,” Gilboa et al. argue that “Understanding the impact of media reporting on conflict requires a new framework that captures the multilevel and hybrid media environments of contemporary conflicts.”¹⁶

Piers Robinson has argued that early proponents of the CNN effect overstated the media’s influence. Nevertheless, Robinson claims that the ingredients for powerful media influence still exist in 1) the fact that a relatively small number of major mainstream news providers still set the news agenda; 2) the fact that many people continue to access news from these mainstream providers; and 3) the fact that national, cultural and language barriers keep most people attuned to their leading national media.¹⁷

Cascade Model

Robert Entman’s cascade model rests on the behavioral patterns of different actors and their power struggles, premised on a downward cascading flow of influence

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Eytan Gilboa, Maria Gabrielsen Jumbert, Jason Miklian and Piers Robinson, “Moving Media and Conflict Studies beyond the CNN Effect,” *Review of International Studies* (2016): 1, accessed July 3, 2016, doi:10.1017/S026021051600005X.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Piers Robinson, “The CNN Effect Reconsidered: Mapping a Research Agenda for the Future,” *Media, War & Conflict* 4 (2011): 9, accessed March 13, 2015, doi: 10.1177/1750635210397434.

that connects the actors.¹⁸ The model seeks to clarify how information passes from elites to the media, and thereafter to the public – with feedback occurring during the process.¹⁹

Entman's analysis of the wars in Grenada, Libya and Panama found a lack of criticism of the administration and restrictions on the press's access to information—pictures and stories that the administration saw fit were what the press provided to its audience. This finding supported his proposition that journalists were covering wars as the White House wanted them to, and that journalists and editors had norms and motivations that limited their willingness to apply counter frames. The norms included the principle of objectivity, which constrains and discourages journalists from imposing their own interpretation on most developments. Such influences, combined with the pressure of daily deadlines, support Entman's notion of a cascade of influence flowing from the top.

Framing

Framing refers to the lens through which an event is reported. Entman describes framing in these terms: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment

¹⁸ Robert M. Entman, "Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame after 9/11," *Political Communication* 20 (2003): 420, accessed February 22, 2015, doi: 10.1080/10584600390244176.

¹⁹ Baum and Potter, "The Relationship between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy," 54.

recommendation.”²⁰ Framing affects audience response. As Entman notes, “The more congruent the frame with schemas that dominate the political culture, the more success it will enjoy.”²¹

Media outlets often prefer episodic stories framed from a human-interest angle. Such stories are framed almost entirely in terms of the effect of a development on the individual or individuals directly involved, and not in terms of the broader implications of that development. This type of framing can result in interesting stories, although not ones that are likely to get audiences to consider the policy or societal implications of the development.

Bad news trumps good news as a news frame. If, for example, a Norwegian soldier is killed in Afghanistan, it will receive more coverage than if a Norwegian soldier saves a child’s life during a battle. Similarly, if a politician’s public approval rating goes down, it tends to get more coverage than if it goes up. As well, novelty trumps the ordinary as a news frame. Unusual or surprising developments tend to get more coverage than expected or routine ones. Accordingly, novel bad news is the best news from the perspective of traditional media.²²

²⁰ Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication* 43 (1993): 52, accessed February 23, 2015, doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.

²¹ Entman, “Contesting the White House’s Frame after 9/11,” 422.

²² Matthew A. Baum, “GOVT E-1793,” class lecture 6, Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, spring 2015.

The three newspapers examined in this thesis do not have an official political affiliation, but they have historical political ties.²³ Aftenposten was historically a conservative newspaper, while Dagbladet was perceived as liberal.²⁴ VG claims to be politically independent, but are observed to be more conservative than Dagbladet. Aftenposten and VG have the same owner, Schibsted Norge, while Aller Media AS owns Dagbladet. Despite these historic ties, I argue their framing is aimed towards attracting an audience rather than at promoting a political viewpoint, even though political leaders are a prominent part of their coverage.

A study of the Afghan conflict by Rune Ottosen in 2001 found that nearly 50 percent of all cited sources were politicians.²⁵ Ottosen found differences in framing in his study that included two of the newspapers in my study. VG was more U.S.-friendly in their framing, while Aftenposten were mostly neutral in their framing.²⁶

Agenda Setting and Priming

Agenda setting is the process through which increased media attention leads to increased public attention. Agenda setting “refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on

²³ Tonje Charlotte Storås, “Norsk presse – politisk forankret for alltid?” (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2013), 1.

²⁴ Øyvind Breivik Pettersen, “Pressen og partiene - partitilhørighet i 2005?” (Master thesis, University of Oslo, 2009), 6.

²⁵ Rune Ottosen, “The Norwegian Media Image of the War in Afghanistan Peacekeeping or Aggression?” *Nordicom Review* 1 (2005): 101, accessed April 28, 2016, <http://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/tidskrifter/nordicom-review-12005/norwegian-media-image-war-afghanistan-peacekeeping-or-aggression>.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).”²⁷

Priming is when the media’s portrayal of a situation serves to bring to the forefront a certain opinion that a citizen holds rather than another opinion. Episodic framing, for instance, tends to prime opinions about individuals whereas broader (“thematic”) framing may bring out opinions about the policy issue underlying the situation that’s being reported.²⁸

²⁷ Dietram A. Scheufele and David Tewksbury, “Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models,” *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007): 11, accessed April 4, 2015, doi: 10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x.

²⁸ Matthew A. Baum, “GOVT E-1793,” class lecture 3, Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, spring 2015.

Chapter 3

Background

Norway is a small but wealthy country in Scandinavia, populated by roughly 5.3 million inhabitants. It has been independent from Sweden since 1905 and from Denmark since 1814. Norway's form of government is a constitutional monarchy in which power is divided among three branches: a legislative branch, the Storting; an executive branch, the Government; and a judicial branch, the courts.²⁹ The country's electoral system is based on proportional representation, which allows a large number of parties to compete. Rarely does a single party have a parliamentary majority by itself with the result that control normally rests with a coalition of parties. The current government is a coalition government, led by the conservative party with Erna Solberg as the prime minister. During the years explored in this thesis, the then newly appointed left-wing coalition government consisted of Arbeiderpartiet (A), Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV) and Senterpartiet (SP), while the previous had been a center-right minority government with Kristelig Folkeparti (KRF), Høyre (H) and Venstre (V).

Policy responsibilities in Norway are divided among government ministries but the separation is not ironclad. The Foreign Minister can speak about military affairs although this is formally the responsibility of the Defense Ministry. By the same token,

²⁹ "How Is Norway Governed?" Government, accessed April 28, 2016, last modified September 12, 2014, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/the-government/the-government-at-work1/id85844/>.

the Minister of Defense can talk about humanitarian and foreign aid even though these assistance programs are financed through the Foreign Ministry's budgets.

Norway has a tradition of an apolitical foreign policy. It is characterized by a broad consensus. According to Halvard Leira, officials use their authority to exempt a large part of foreign policy from public scrutiny, and sometimes strive for consensus when foreign policy is discussed in public forums.³⁰ Foreign policy issues tend to be treated differently than other policy issues in the Storting. Typically, foreign policy considerations receive little public debate and are not accompanied by sharp political positioning.³¹ The primary objectives of Norwegian foreign policy are to provide assistance to Norwegian nationals abroad and promote Norway's interests internationally.³² Norway's interests are determined by its geographical location in a strategically important area, its extensive exports of oil and gas, its position as a coastal state and steward of substantial marine resources, and its open economy.³³ Norway ranks near the top on a per capita basis in terms of monetary contributions to multilateral funds and humanitarian organizations.³⁴

³⁰ Eggen, Øyvind, Halvard Leira and Katrine Ziesler, "Ekspertkilde eller politiker? - Medias bidrag til underskudd på utenrikspolitisk debatt," *Norsk medietidsskrift* 21 (2015): 2, accessed March 22, 2016, https://www.idunn.no/nmt/2015/02/ekspertkilde_eller_politiker_-_medias_bidrag_til_underskud.

³¹ Ibid., 3.

³² "Foreign Affairs," Government, accessed March 12, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/id919/>.

³³ "Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Government, accessed November 12, 2015, last modified August 2015, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/id833/>.

³⁴ "Utviklingssamarbeid," Store Norske Leksikon, accessed August 8 2016, <https://snl.no/utviklingssamarbeid>.

The primary objectives of Norwegian security policy are to safeguard Norway's sovereignty, political freedom of action and territorial integrity.³⁵ Norway reduced its defense budget after the cold war, as did many of the NATO members.³⁶ From 2000 to 2010, in response to a perceived increase in the threat level, the trend was reversed and the Norwegian defense budget increased by 25 percent. Norway also became involved in the Afghan war during this period. Although defense expenditures for most NATO-members were reduced after 2010 due to the economic challenges posed by the global financial crisis, Norway's defense budget continued to grow.³⁷

When it comes to a military conflict, leaders typically have a large information advantage over the public. Figure 1 shows Baum and Potter's estimate of that advantage in the American case.³⁸ As can be seen, leaders' advantage is greatest at the start of a conflict and then diminishes as the conflict continues. The news media play a key role in narrowing over time the leadership-public information gap. Factors such as rising casualty levels, elite discord, and a belief that leaders have not been candid about the goals and progress of the conflict can prompt the public to demand more information from officials and the media.³⁹

³⁵ "Defence," Government, accessed March 12, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/defence/id215/>.

³⁶ Ida Helene Berg and Sverre Nyhus Kvalvik, "Makroøkonomiske trender 2015 – utvikling i norsk og internasjonal forsvarsøkonomi," *Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt report* 2015/00322 (2015): 20-21, accessed June 8, 2016, ISBN 978-82-464-2500-9.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁸ Baum and Potter, "The Relationship between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy," 42.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

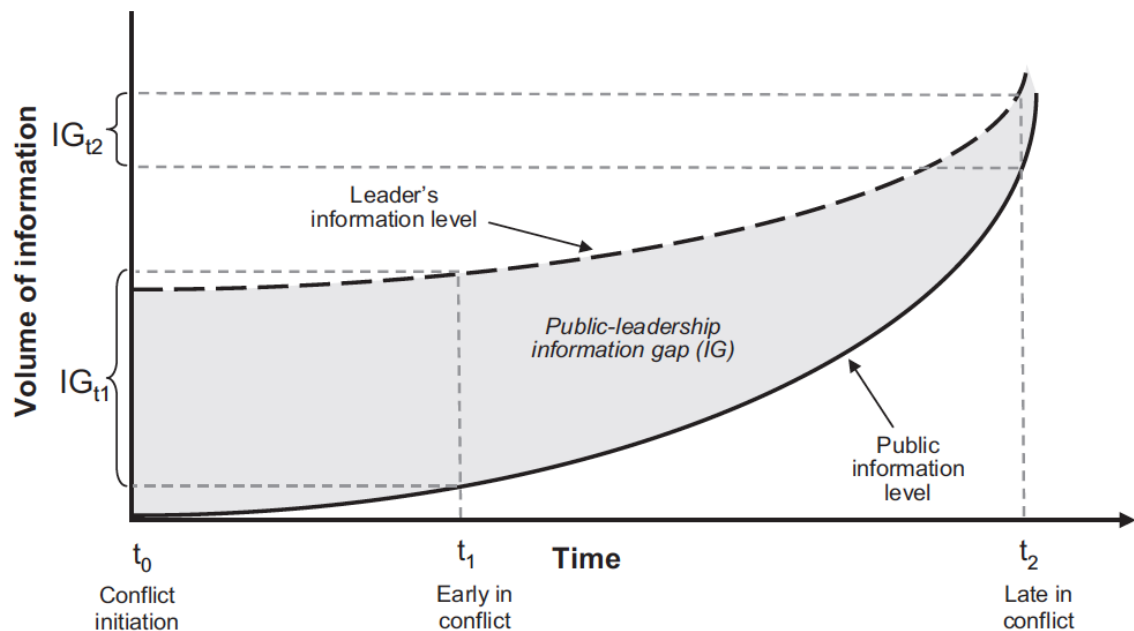


Figure 1. Information gap between leaders and the public, over time during a military conflict.⁴⁰

The leadership-public information gap shown in Figure 1 does not fit the Norwegian case as well as the American case. Even though the Norwegian foreign policy tradition is one of consensus and limited public debate, information is relatively open and accessible to the public – if they seek it. Norway exercises a policy of transparency where the public can access information without undue interference from government officials and can in some instances petition to have policy issues brought up for public debate.⁴¹

The Norwegian news media are also part of the information equation. When policy failures occur, the media can be expected to report the failure. Baum and Potter

⁴⁰ Ibid., 42.

⁴¹ “Deltakelse og påvirkning,” Stortinget, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Undervisning/deltakelse-og-pavirkning/>.

argue in the American context that “a free press narrows the information gap between leaders and the public,”⁴² and that claim applies also to Norway.

The War in Afghanistan

Alliance with NATO and the United States prompted the Norwegian government's involvement in Afghanistan after the terrorist attack on American on September 11, 2001.⁴³ The war in Afghanistan was long lasting and Norway engaged in multiple operations both as a part of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and through NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). According to the then Foreign Minister, Jonas Gahr Støre, “Norway's engagement in Afghanistan is one of the most important and most special foreign missions we have ever undertaken.”⁴⁴ Over 9000 Norwegians participated in the war since 2001, and 10 Norwegians were killed.⁴⁵ Public support for Norway's involvement was fairly strong, even though the public was divided over the wisdom of the conflict. Support in Parliament for the ruling governments' Afghan policy was more solid than was public support for that policy.⁴⁶

Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) was an American-led multinational military combat mission that lasted thirteen years. The mission began on October 7, 2001, and

⁴² Baum and Potter, “The Relationship between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy,” 57.

⁴³ “NOU 2016: 8. En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014,” Regjeringen (2016): 180, published and accessed June 6, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/nou-2016-8/id2503028/?q=&ch=2>.

⁴⁴ Jonas Gahr Støre, *Å gjøre en forskjell* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2008), 257.

⁴⁵ “Norges bidrag i Faryab i Afghanistan,” Regjeringen, accessed May 18, 2016, last modified December 15, 2012, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/bidrag_faryab/id715299/.

⁴⁶ “NOU 2016: 8. En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014,” 178.

ended officially on December 28, 2014. The initial goal was to stop the Taliban from providing a safe haven to Al-Qaeda, and then to prevent Afghanistan from becoming a base of operations for terrorist activities.⁴⁷

Beginning in 2001, Norway had extensive involvement in Afghanistan, on both the civilian and the military side. Backed by the endorsement of a parliamentary majority, the Norwegian Government offered resources and military personnel, including Special Forces. This development was historic event—the first time Norway had deployed military forces outside Europe except for peacekeeping operations. Despite this, the public debate around the involvement was limited.⁴⁸

In 2003, Norway wrapped up its direct participation in OEF, although expressing support for the operation's continuation.⁴⁹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that Norway preferred to channel its international military involvement through formal multilateral organizations such as the UN, EU and NATO rather than through the informal "coalition of the willing."⁵⁰ Given that Norway had withdrawn all its personnel from OEF by the beginning of 2006, which is prior to the policy changes explored in this thesis, OEF will not be examined as part of my analysis.

⁴⁷ "Operation Enduring Freedom Fast Facts," CNN, accessed February 12, 2016, last modified April 21, 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/28/world/operation-enduring-freedom-fast-facts/>.

⁴⁸ Astri Suhrke, Kristian Berg Harpviken and Arne Strand, "Conflictual peacebuilding: Afghanistan two years after Bonn," *CMI Report R* (2004): 55, accessed May 4, 2016, <http://www.cmi.no/publications/1763-conflictual-peacebuilding>.

⁴⁹ Suhrke, Harpviken and Strand, "Conflictual Peacebuilding: Afghanistan Two Years after Bonn," 55.

⁵⁰ "Ny regjering — ny sikkerhets- og forsvarspolitik?" Regjeringen, accessed June 2, 2016, last modified December 16, 2005, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/ny-regjering--ny-sikkerhets--og-forsvars/id113169/>.

The two operations (OEF and ISAF) had different policy goals. OEF was focused on countering terrorism, while ISAF aimed to secure the new government in Kabul and assist in the reconstruction of the Afghan state. Many NATO allies participated simultaneously in both operations, and the two operations through 2006 were run in parallel, violating two principles of warfare – to have a clear goal and to have a unified commando.⁵¹ Problems resulted. OEF brokered agreements with local warlords in Afghanistan, which complicated ISAF's effort in 2004 to establish a national authority in Afghanistan.⁵² According to Astri Suhrke, the immediate need for help from the warlords in the war effort made it more difficult to build a functioning Afghan state.⁵³

NATO and ISAF's Mission in Afghanistan

ISAF was instituted in 2001 on the basis of a United Nations mandate. The primary objective was to enable the government in Afghanistan to provide security in the country. The force was also in charge of developing a new Afghan security team that would prevent the country from again becoming a safe haven for terrorists.⁵⁴ The mission

⁵¹ "Operasjonene i Afghanistan 2001–2014," NUPI, accessed May 3, 2016, last modified February 22, 2015, <http://www.nupi.no/Skole/HHD-Artikler/2015/Operasjonene-i-Afghanistan-2001-2014>.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Kari M. Osland and Stina Torjesen, "Afghanistan: Hva kan vi lære?" *Internasjonal Politikk* 73 (2015): 83.

⁵⁴ "ISAF's Mission in Afghanistan," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed June 2 2016, last updated September 1, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69366.htm.

was central to the international community's commitment to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan.⁵⁵

ISAF would first provide security in Kabul and then extend the area of operations. Meanwhile, OEF's mission was to defeat the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and destroy their infrastructure in the country. ISAF's presence expanded, and by late 2006, covered the whole country. With the expansion, troops became engaged in battles and fights against a renewed insurgency in 2007 and 2008, all the while trying to rebuild the country.⁵⁶ The territorial expansion and rising combat level became a challenge for NATO and its members and, though the mission continued and some progress was made, the ISAF mission was brought to a close at the end of 2014.

Norwegian Foreign Policy and Afghanistan

From 2006 to 2008, Afghanistan was among the Foreign Ministry's largest recipients of aid. The assistance largely consisted of humanitarian aid and assistance to long-term development, peace, and reconciliation.⁵⁷ Table 1 shows the level of Norwegian aid to Afghanistan during the last 14 years.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ "ISAF - International Security Assistance Force," GlobalSecurity, accessed August 8, 2015, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/isaf-intro.htm>.

⁵⁶ "ISAF's mission in Afghanistan."

⁵⁷ "Norsk bistand i 2008 – satsingsområder," Regjeringen, accessed March 2, 2016, last updated May 31, 2009, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utenrikssaker/utviklingssamarbeid/slettemappe/norsk-bistand-i-2008---satsingsomrader/id493308/>.

⁵⁸ "Norsk bistand i tall," NORAD, accessed January 2, 2016, last modified August 2015, <http://www.norad.no/om-bistand/norsk-bistand-i-tall/>.

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Aid given (millions NOK)	110.5	357.1	493.5	486.9	456.4	386.2	447.0	553.1
Percentage change from previous year		223.2%	38.2%	-1.3%	-6.3%	-15.4%	15.7%	23.7%

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total 00-14
Aid given (millions NOK)	736.5	727.8	726.2	775.5	730.4	744.4	757.8	8489.3
Percentage change from previous year	33.2%	-1.2%	-0.2%	6.8%	-5.8%	1.9%	1.8%	

Table 1. Aid given to Afghanistan from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, million NOK.⁵⁹

The total amount of financial assistance during the 14 years was 8,489,300,000 NOK (\$1,253,958,641 USD). As one can see in Table 1, there was a large increase in financial aid from 2006 to 2007 and from 2007 to 2008. Much of the Norwegian assistance for Afghanistan was channeled through the UN, the World Bank and through Norwegian and international NGOs.⁶⁰ The leading partner in channeling aid to the country was the World Bank through its multi-donor Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust

⁵⁹ “Norsk bistand i tall,” NORAD, accessed January 2, 2016, last modified August 2015, <http://www.norad.no/om-bistand/norsk-bistand-i-tall/>. Note: Unless otherwise noted, all tables are translated by the author.

⁶⁰ “Prop. 1 S (2009–2010),” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet, accessed March 6, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/prop-1-s-20092010/id581229/>.

Fund (ARTF).⁶¹ Between 2002 and 2012, more than half of the Norwegian assistance to Afghanistan went through multilateral organizations.

Starting in 2008, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spent roughly 750 million NOK (\$111 million) on humanitarian and development efforts during each of the following five years. The spending was focused on strengthening the police and justice system, education and development of the countryside, health, refugees, and human rights.⁶²

Norwegian Defense Policy and Afghanistan

Norway was involved in the ISAF mission since the mission began. The aim was to strengthen Afghan government structures and increase the country's social and economic progress.⁶³ According to the Foreign, Defense, and Justice departments, "the main goal for the Norwegian engagement in the country was to assist Afghan government in their responsibility to secure stability, security and development."⁶⁴ After an attack against the Norwegian Quick Reaction Force (QRF) in Meymaneh in February 2006, the Norwegian government sought to increase security for the Norwegian personnel in Afghanistan, which required an increase in spending.

⁶¹ "Bistand til Afghanistan," NORAD, accessed January 2, 2016, last modified February 16, 2015, <https://www.norad.no/om-bistand/tallenes-tale/bistand-til-afghanistan/>.

⁶² "Prop. 1 S (2009–2010)."

⁶³ "Hvorfor er Norge i Afghanistan?" Regjeringen, accessed June 13, 2016, last modified February 7, 2012, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utenrikssaker/utviklingssamarbeid/innsikt_afghanistan/situasjonen/id573476/.

⁶⁴ "Strategi for helheltlig norsk sivil og militær innsats i Faryab-provinsen i Afghanistan," Regjeringen (2009): 3, accessed March 10, 2016, last modified June 12, 2009, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/faryab_strategi/id566387/. Note: Unless otherwise noted, all translations in the text are by the author.

Norwegian Media Landscape and Afghanistan Coverage

Freedom of expression is anchored in Article 100 of the Norwegian Constitution of 1814. The Article states that freedom of expression should take place and state authorities are required to facilitate an open and enlightened public debate.⁶⁵

A free and independent press is a key component of a democratic society. The press theoretically has a duty to protect freedom of speech and freedom of information, hold officials accountable and foster public debate, contribute to a free flow of information, and ensure that a diverse range of views are heard. However, the press does not always behave as its duty prescribes. Daniel Hallin's study of the American media coverage of the war in Vietnam found that the press did not act independently but instead followed the line of thought expressed by government authorities and key politicians.⁶⁶

The Norwegian media system includes traditional media, such as print media, radio, television, cinema and telecommunications, as well as online and digital media.⁶⁷

A 2014 study found that 75 percent of the Norwegian population read a newspaper in either the paper edition or online,⁶⁸ with the online readership surpassing the print readership in 2013.⁶⁹ Table 2 shows the newspaper readership for selected years.

⁶⁵ "Kongeriket Norges Grunnlov," Lovdata, accessed July 17, 2016, <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1814-05-17>.

⁶⁶ Daniel C. Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," *Journal of Politics* 46 (1984): 19-20. doi: 10.2307/2130432.

⁶⁷ "Norway," European Journalism Centre, accessed June 29, 2016, http://ejc.net/media_landscapes/norway.

⁶⁸ "Norwegian Media Barometer 2014," Statistics Norway, accessed April 15, 2016, last modified April 14, 2015, <http://ssb.no/223832/norsk-mediebarometer-2014>.

⁶⁹ "Lesing av papiravis og nettavis en gjennomsnittsdag," medienorge, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://medienorge.uib.no/statistikk/medium/avis/360>.

Type	All	2001	2006	2007	2015
Readership	All (9-79 years)	79	82	81	72
Print	All (9-79 years)	78	74	72	42
Online	All (9-79 years)	10	31	34	51

Table 2. Newspaper readership, print and online, for selected years during 2001 – 2015, distributed by all (%).⁷⁰

The Norwegian press receives subsidies from the government, introduced in 1969. Administered by the Norwegian Media Authority, these subsidies are intended to support a diverse newspaper system based mainly on local competition.⁷¹ The total production subsidies for 2006 and 2007 (the years being examined in this thesis) were 251,767,000 NOK per year (\$37,188,626). The key subsidy is production grants, which are given in proportion to a newspaper's market position and circulation. Recipients of these grants include the newspapers examined in the thesis, which were the three most widely read online newspapers during the period scrutinized.

Norway's first online newspaper Dusken.no was launched in May 1994, and Aftenposten.no, Dagbladet.no and VG.no followed in 1995.⁷² In a 2009 TNS Gallup survey, all three of the online papers studied in this thesis were in Norway's top 10 most visited websites (see Table 3 for their readership levels during the period being studied).

⁷⁰ Ibid. Note: The categories print and online are non-exclusive.

⁷¹ "Press Subsidies – Result," medianorway, accessed June 29, 2016, <http://medienorge.uib.no/english/?cat=statistikk&page=avis&queryID=193>.

⁷² "Norske aviser," Store Norske Leksikon, accessed May 16, 2016, <https://snl.no/.taxonomy/2940>.

Their prominence is unusual. In most countries, newspaper sites are not among the most heavily trafficked sites.

	2006	2007
VG	1,115,000	1,316,000
Dagbladet	809,000	879,000
Aftenposten	363,000	441,000

Table 3. Number of readers, 2006 – 2007, online newspapers.⁷³

News Coverage of Afghanistan

A search in the ATEKST database shows nearly 20,000 press reports mentioning Afghanistan in 2001. The highest period of press coverage of Afghanistan is during 2007, 2008 and 2009, with over 60,000 reports each year, before gradually falling to 22,500 in 2014.⁷⁴ Many Norwegian journalists spent short periods in Afghanistan, often accompanying political delegations or visiting the Norwegian forces.

Despite the policy of transparency, the media were not always able to obtain accurate information.⁷⁵ In 2001, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the public they would only help the U.S. and OEF by sending Air Force troops, but it was later discovered that the Norwegian armed forces also had Special Forces operating under American command from the fall of 2001 to the late spring of 2002. In addition, the security situation in Afghanistan made it difficult for foreign journalists to travel the

⁷³ “Top 10 Online Newspapers – Result,” medianorway, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://medienorge.uib.no/english/?cat=statistikk&page=avis&queryID=395>. Note: Readership data apply to individuals 12 years and older.

⁷⁴ “NOU 2016 : 8: En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014,” 178.

⁷⁵ Rune Ottosen, “Mediebildet av krigføringen i Afghanistan: verdige eller uverdige ofre,” *Internasjonal politikk* 1 (2007): 25, accessed April 7, 2016, https://www.idunn.no/ip/2007/01/mediebildet_av_krigfoeringen_i_afghanistan_verdige_eller_uv.

country. Further, the Taliban did not want Western journalists present in Afghanistan and were not open to interviews, which left their story largely untold. Finally, journalists were heavily dependent on elite sources, politicians and experts, for their information. Rune Ottosen's study found that, depending on the news outlet, 50 to 70 percent of the news sources were Norwegian and American elites.⁷⁶ In the Norwegian newspaper coverage of Afghanistan in 2001, civilian victims of the conflict were found not to be a subject of coverage. The study found that the coverage centered on support for U.S. policy.⁷⁷ Although the Norwegian media coverage of the start of the war in 2001 was mostly neutral in tone⁷⁸, the reporting was dominated by the voices of elite sources, politicians and experts.⁷⁹

News coverage of the Afghan situation was based primarily on reporting from the ground in Afghanistan and on reporting of Norwegian controversies at home. According to a government report, the most important of these controversies was the entry of Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV) into government in 2005, which caused a visible shift in the political debate.⁸⁰ SV were against Norwegian participation in the war if its area of engagement shifted from the more peaceful north to the less peaceful south in Afghanistan.⁸¹ The biography of then leader of the party, Kristin Halvorsen, describes SVs policy this way: "The vast majority wanted to support peacekeeping operations

⁷⁶ Ibid., 33.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 35.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 33.

⁸⁰ "NOU 2016 : 8: En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014," 176.

⁸¹ Ibid.

abroad, while they were peacekeeping and had a clear UN mandate. What NATO and the Americans had started in South-Afghanistan was something different.”⁸² The party's traditional US-skepticism and NATO-resistance was put a damper on while in government, but the debate around war involvement was still present in the political sphere. During the fall of 2007, when Norwegian forces started to operate in the Ghormach district, the public perception that Norwegian soldiers were involved in more hazardous operations increased. Critical questions were asked about the reasons for the shift in operations.⁸³

⁸² Lilla Sølhusvik, *Kristin Halvorsen, Gjennomslag* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2012), 156.

⁸³ “NOU 2016 : 8: En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014,” 177.

Chapter 4

Assessment of News Coverage of Afghanistan

The original research for this thesis includes a systematic content analysis of hundreds of news articles during 2006 and 2007 in three online Norwegian newspapers—Aftenposten, Dagbladet and VG. Although this period covers only a portion of Norway’s commitment in Afghanistan, it allows for analysis of the research questions at the core of the thesis.

Using a coding scheme I developed, I randomly selected and coded approximately 400 news articles from the three Norwegian newspapers. As described by Johnny Saldana, “a code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute.”⁸⁴ The coded data allow for the examination of such things as the frequency with which various subjects were reported and trends in the pattern of news coverage.

The unit of analysis was the story. Thirty separate codes were applied to each article, describing content such as subject, actor, tone, critique, support and other dimensions of the story. In the coding scheme, the articles were identified by date of article, title and newspaper outlet. The code categories and their definitions are provided in Appendix 4: Coding scheme.

⁸⁴ Johnny Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage publication, 2013), 3.

Selecting Articles for Coding

In choosing the articles to be coded, I first searched the ATEKST digital archive (through Retriever⁸⁵) for every story in the three newspapers during the two-year period that had the word “Afghanistan” in it. There were 4,041 such articles. I then screened these articles for those that had “Afghanistan” in the heading or lead paragraph, using that as an indicator of whether Afghanistan was a substantial part of the story. A total of 1,812 articles met the criteria. Table 4 shows the distribution of these stories across the three news outlets being studied, while Figure 2 shows the distribution of these stories over the time period being studied.

Newspaper	Number of articles	Percent of total
Aftenposten.no	675	37.23%
Dagbladet.no	332	18.32%
VG.no	805	44.42%
Total	1812	99.97%

Table 4. Distribution of selected articles among online newspapers that mentioned “Afghanistan” in heading and/or in the lead, 01.01.2006 – 12.31.2007.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ “Følg trendene i sosiale medier,” Retriever, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://www.retriever-info.com/no/>. Note: ATEKST is Scandinavia’s largest digital news archive.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

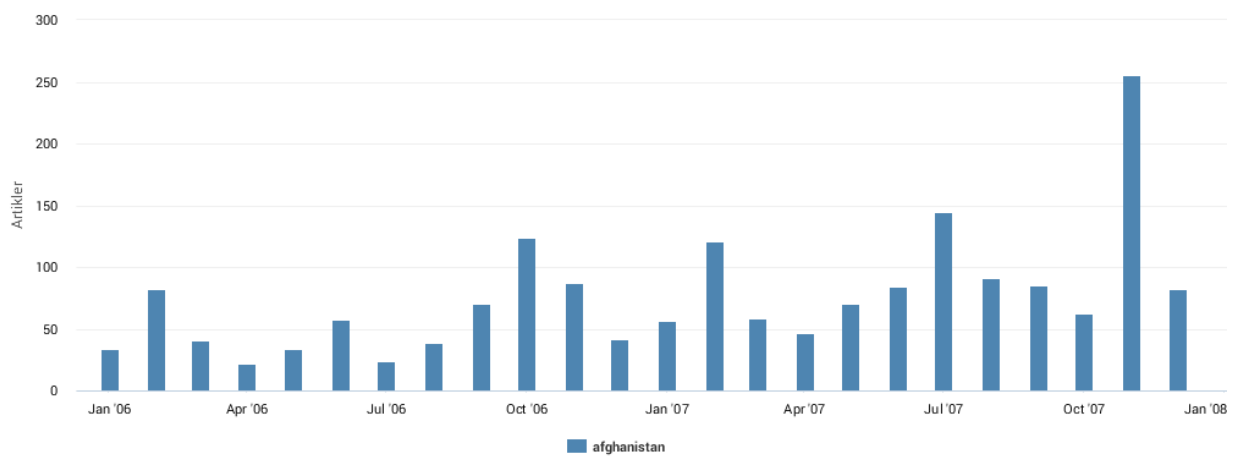


Figure 2. Coverage over time, “Afghanistan,” 2006-2007, in selected online newspapers, in heading and/or lead.⁸⁷

Of the 1,812 articles, 99 percent—a total of 1,796—were downloadable to paper and thereby available for a detailed content analysis. To reduce this number to a manageable level, I randomly selected half of them using the skip and roll-method with a skip interval of two. By random selection, I picked “1” as my starting number (1 or 2 were the options), which eliminated all even numbered articles.

I then examined the 898 articles that remained to select those who met a set of predetermined standards. To be coded, an article had to meet the following criteria: 1) Norway had to be a substantial part of the article. An article discussing, for example, NATO or other allies was not sufficient by itself, nor, as another example, was one about the Red Cross by itself, even though Norway is part of the organization; 2) Stories about Norwegian NGOs and private actors in Afghanistan were excluded, as were stories about

⁸⁷ Ibid. Note: Selected online newspapers are the ones chosen in this thesis; VG, Dagbladet and Aftenposten.

Norwegian immigration reform or stories about Afghan refugees in Norway, in that these subjects are not issues of foreign or defense policy. More than half of the 898 articles were excluded using these criteria. The remaining articles, nearly 400 in total, were coded. A sample of this size has a margin of error of approximately ± 5 percent at the 95 percent confidence level, which is precise enough for the subject under study.

Trends in Media Coverage

Each of the selected articles was coded on a number of dimensions. This section will describe the main findings that resulted from the coding. The full coding distribution is provided in Appendix 5: Coding results, by numbers and percentage.

A total of 397 articles met the pre-established criteria and were coded. In terms of news outlet, 45 percent of the coded articles were from Aftenposten.no, 20 percent from Dagbladet.no and 35 percent from VG.no. Afghanistan was mentioned in the both the heading and/or the lead 28.2 percent of the time, in the heading alone 5.3 percent of the time, and in the lead alone 66.5 percent of the time. When it came to type of story, most were basic news stories (71 percent). Seven percent were news analysis or background stories, 5.8 percent were editorials, 6.3 percent were opinion columns by the public, and 4 percent were columns by a Norwegian politician. There were 3 interviews and 19 texts I was unable to categorize since neither author nor source was mentioned. Out of the 397 articles coded, 39.8 percent were accompanied by one or more photographs.

Roughly 62 percent of the articles had a Norwegian geographical focus, while 26 percent had an Afghan focus. Most of the stories with a Norwegian geopolitical focus addressed engagement in the war, while most of those with an Afghan focus addressed

events taking place there. The remaining stories were coded as “other”, and were for the most part stories that covered NATO meetings or otherwise had an international context. Most articles had a Norwegian frame (86.7 percent), while the rest were identified as “other” (12.3 percent) or foreign (one percent).

The tone of the articles was based on how I, as a reader, experienced the articles. This coding was subjective but, in that I did all the coding, the judgments at least were consistent. I judged 55 percent of the articles as neutral in tone. Examples are stories containing factual information about military incidents and battles in Afghanistan or stories that are essentially fact-based descriptions of an activity. Seven percent of the articles were judged positive, containing a tone that in most cases supported Norwegian engagement in Afghanistan. Sixteen percent were negative, and many of them focused on discussions, debates or criticisms of the Norwegian military involvement in Afghanistan. Twenty-two percent had a mixed tone—for example, articles where politicians from different parties offered opposing views of a policy.

In terms of actors portrayed in the story, the most frequent category was “other” with 29 percent. This code was used mainly in stories where the government as a whole was being portrayed or where multiple actors were portrayed. The Norwegian Ministry of Defense was the second most frequently portrayed actor (23.9 percent), while Norwegian military personnel deployed in Afghanistan were third (20.4 percent). NATO was the main actor in 11.6 percent of the articles. For articles where the main actor was a political party/politician, it was most often one from SV (6 percent) or from AP (2 percent). SV

was strongly against sending additional troops to the South of Afghanistan during the two years explored in this study.⁸⁸ AP was the party of the Prime Minister.

The dominant subject in the coded articles was discussion about ongoing and future Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan (35.3 percent). This was followed by stories regarding past and current Norwegian military involvements and events on the ground in Afghanistan (21.9 percent), and then by political stories that didn't fit into the preset subject codes (20.7 percent). NATO and ISAF-operations were the main subject in 13.4 percent of the articles. Budget negotiations or proposals were the main subject in just two articles. A third of the articles did not have a secondary subject but, for those that did, the dominant subjects were ongoing and future Norwegian military presence (19.1 percent) and NATO and ISAF-operations (17.6 percent).

To assess the articles' policy focus, I had a code that indicated how central Norwegian foreign and/or defense policy was to the story. Thirty-five percent of the articles had policy as the main subject, while 31.2 percent had it as a secondary subject. A secondary subject in this regard is a mention of policy (such as security issues or sending more troops to increase stability) in response to a particular situation or event. Twenty-three percent of the articles did not mention policy. Although I tried to capture the essence of Norway's relationship to NATO in a code, it proved ineffective in that, although many articles contained the word "NATO," it was rarely in a substantial context.

Another code indicated whether deployed military personnel in Afghanistan were given voice. In 7.3 percent of the articles they were quoted or paraphrased, but in 92.7 percent they were not. When Norway's primary role in the articles was coded, that of a

⁸⁸ "NOU 2016 : 8. En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014," 196.

policy maker (49.9 percent) was most common while that of military personnel in Afghanistan (24.7 percent) was second.

The coding scheme included ten variables aimed at identifying whether a particular subject or actor was mentioned or not mentioned in an article. Ninety-four percent of the articles mentioned some aspect of Norwegian military involvement in Afghanistan. A representative from the Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was mentioned in 44.6 percent of the stories. Other politicians in the government appeared in 9.8 percent of the stories. Opposing political figures were in eight percent of the articles. Humanitarian aid was mentioned in only ten percent of the articles, which is not surprising in that military engagement was more often the subject of the coded articles. Budgets are only mentioned in 4.8 percent of the articles, which fits well with the findings about the subject of the articles. NATO and/or ISAF (or any name signifying the same) were mentioned in the majority of the articles (67.3 percent).

One coding category aimed to discover whether general support for or opposition to Norway's Afghan policy was expressly stated in an article's statements. Of the statements, 4.3 percent expressed general support while 21.2 percent expressed general criticism of Norwegian involvement in the Afghan war. Another category aimed to capture support for or criticism of Afghan spending only, both foreign and defense. Spending criticism appeared in only two articles with both statements expressing the view that Norway was not spending enough money. Yet a third support-criticism code sought to capture the specific reference of a statement. Given that more than one such statement could occur in an article, this code allowed for multiple entries. The categories included, for example, statements in reference to the number of military personnel on the

ground in Afghanistan, troop safety, and failure to keep past promises. In 94.7 percent of the articles, no support-criticism was detected.

A final code category identified the source of criticism. There are 127 critics in the articles, the large majority of whom were politicians from one party or another. Three percent were newspaper editors or editorial/opinion columnists, and humanitarian activist (1.5 percent) and NATO members (1.8 percent) were also among the critics.

Chapter 5

Assessment of Norway's Afghan Policy

The second original research component of this thesis is a qualitative analysis of Norway's Afghanistan foreign and defense policies and budgets in the period from 2006 to 2008.

In late 2005, Foreign Minister Jonas G. Støre said, with the ending of OEF support, it was important for Norway to stay engaged in Afghanistan by working with the international community to support the Afghan government in rebuilding and stabilizing the country.⁸⁹ He also made it clear that the new government (Stoltenberg 2) supported the previous budget proposal to meet NATO's request to supply three F-16 airplanes in 2006 and that Norway would continue to be a credible and reliable NATO ally.⁹⁰

Norwegian Foreign Policy changes

During the two years this thesis is exploring, starting in 2006, Afghanistan was among the top four recipients of Norwegian bilateral assistance.⁹¹ Most of the aid in the foreign budget for Afghanistan was channeled towards budget chapters regarding

⁸⁹ "Redegjørelse om Norges engasjement i Afghanistan og Irak," Regjeringen, accessed March 7, 2016, last edited November 9, 2005, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/redegjorelse-om-norges-engasjement-i-afg/id273193/>.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ "Norwegian Development Assistance in 2008 - Priority Areas," Government, accessed August 2, 2015, last modified March 7, 2008, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/development-cooperation/slettemappe/norwegian-development-assistance-in-2008/id493308/>.

humanitarian aid and emergencies. The total bilateral assistance in 2006 was 446,971,000 NOK (\$66,026,588). Table 5 shows the different chapters for the aid.⁹² (See Appendix 1 for complete version of the 2006 budget posts and chapters.)

Chapter		
Total 151	Aid to Asia	150 000
Total 160	Civil society and democracy development	18 342
Total 162	Transitional aid	102 794
Total 163	Emergency assistance, human rights, hum. aid	102 094
Total 164	Peace, reconciliation, democracy	40 671
Total 165	Research, increase of competence, and evaluation	536
Total 167	Refugee projects in Norway	31 508
Total 170	UN agencies	1 024
Total Afghanistan		446 971

Table 5. Simplified table of bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, divided by chapters, for 2006 (NOK 1000).⁹³

In 2007, the total bilateral assistance to Afghanistan was channeled through predominantly the same chapters and channels as the year before. As Table 6 indicates, the total assistance came to 553,122,000 NOK (\$78,747,711), which increased the aid given in 2006 by 19.26 percent.⁹⁴ (See Appendix number 2 for complete version of the 2007 budget posts and chapters.)

⁹² “St.prp. nr. 1 2007 – 2008,” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet, accessed March 6, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-2007-2008-/id484382/?q=&ch=7>.

⁹³ Ibid., Appendix 2: Hovedsamarbeidsland 2006.

⁹⁴ “St.prp. nr. 1 (2008 – 2009),” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet, accessed March 6, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-2008-2009-/id530900/>.

Chapter		
Total 151	Aid to Asia	170 000
Total 160	Civil society and democracy development	18 692
Total 161	Industry development	387
Total 162	Transitional aid	123 300
Total 163	Emergency assistance, humanitarian aid, and human rights	138 670
Total 164	Peace, reconciliation, democracy	70 235
Total 165	Research, increase of competence, and evaluation	4 521
Total 167	Refugee projects in Norway, approved as Official Development Assistance (ODA)	11 146
Total 168	Women and Equality	15 068
Total 170	UN agencies	1 103
Grand Total		553 122

Table 6. Simplified table of bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, divided by chapters for 2007 (NOK 1000).⁹⁵

In 2008, the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan in 2008 changed from bad to worse, resulting in a large increase in Norwegian humanitarian assistance. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs allocated 25 percent of this aid towards refugees, 21 percent to the UNAMA/food supply crisis, 8 percent towards health and the Red Cross, 8 percent to humanitarian disarmament, 4 percent to human rights through Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), and 34 percent to other efforts.⁹⁶ As Table 7 shows, the total assistance came to 736,543,000 NOK (\$108,795,126), which resulted in an increase in aid given with 38.15 percent from 2007 (see Appendix 3 f for complete version of the 2008 budget posts and chapters). This was a considerable increase in bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, and it can partially be explained as the result of the humanitarian aid given to the United Nations humanitarian appeals. According to then

⁹⁵ Ibid., Vedlegg 3: Figur 3.2 Bilateral bistand til utvalgte land i Asia etter kapittel og post i 2007 (NOK 1000).

⁹⁶ “Afghanistan 2008 – Humanitær rapport for 2008,” accessed August 8, 2015, last modified March 16, 2009, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/afghanistan_rapport08/id548666/.

Foreign Minister Jonas G. Støre, “This budget increase secures necessary flexibility and gives room to include new priority areas in Norway’s long term plan for the civilian efforts in Afghanistan”.⁹⁷

Despite decreasing transitional aid (used when a need cannot be covered by humanitarian aid, and where the long-term assistance is not sufficiently established), most of the assistance went to the same chapters and channels as in the two previous years. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Norway was by far the largest donor and force behind the humanitarian coordination through the UN, which gradually promoted a more effective effort.”⁹⁸

Chapter		
Total 151	Aid to Asia	300 000
Total 160	Civil society and democracy development	17 328
Total 161	Industry development	350
Total 162	Transitional aid	-364
Total 163	Emergency assistance, humanitarian aid, and human rights	308 806
Total 164	Peace, reconciliation, democracy	83 267
Total 165	Research, increase of competence, and evaluation	7 255
Total 167	Refugee projects in Norway, approved ODA	4 219
Total 168	Women and Equality	15 000
Total 170	UN agencies	683
Grand Total		736 543

Table 7. Simplified table of bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, divided by chapters for 2008 (NOK 1000).⁹⁹

⁹⁷ “Svar på spørsmål om bevilgninger i forbindelse med Norges engasjement i Afghanistan,” Regjeringen, accessed March 21, 2016, last modified February 1, 2010, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/engasjement_afghanistan/id592582/.

⁹⁸ “Prop. 1 S (2009–2010),” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet.

⁹⁹ Ibid., Figur 3.2 Bilateral bistand til største mottakerland i Asia etter kapittel og post, 2008 (NOK 1000).

The budget allocation towards “other efforts” was particularly large in 2008 because of a transfer of 100 mill NOK (\$14.8 million) to the Norwegian embassy in Kabul as a supplement to reach the goal of 750 million NOK (\$110.8 million) in total assistance to Afghanistan.¹⁰⁰ According to Arne Opprud and Astri Suhrke, a lot of the Norwegian aid went to the Afghan government, which made it difficult to measure the impact of the funding, though the assistance was modest considering the challenge of Afghan state building and democratic development.¹⁰¹ From 2002 to 2012, according to NORAD, Afghanistan received approximately 6.5 billion NOK (slightly less than \$1 billion) in Norwegian bilateral assistance.¹⁰² Opprud found that Norway’s contribution made the largest difference in the area of strengthening the Afghan police and army.¹⁰³

Norwegian Defense Policy Changes

Over 9000 Norwegian military personnel were involved in the ISAF operation.¹⁰⁴ At peak, there were 600 Norwegian military personnel serving in Afghanistan at the same time, and all four traditional branches of the military (Army, Air Force, Navy and National Guard) were involved.¹⁰⁵ Norwegian ground forces were continually present in

¹⁰⁰ “Svar på spørsmål om bevilgninger i forbindelse med Norges engasjement i Afghanistan.”

¹⁰¹ Osland and Torjesen, “Afghanistan: Hva kan vi lære?” 81.

¹⁰² “Bistand til Afghanistan.”

¹⁰³ Osland and Torjesen, “Afghanistan: Hva kan vi lære?” 81.

¹⁰⁴ “Norges bidrag i Faryab i Afghanistan.”

¹⁰⁵ “Afghanistan,” Forsvaret, accessed July 3, 2016, <https://forsvaret.no/fakta/aktivitet/internasjonale-operasjoner/Afghanistan>.

Afghanistan while the country was involved in ISAF, and the Air Force participated periodically with fighter aircrafts and helicopters.¹⁰⁶

Between 2002 and 2012, there was a large increase in Norway's military expenditures to NATO operations. “A total of transfers from the defense budget to the Norwegian military forces in Afghanistan came to 8.6 billion NOK (\$1.3 billion) during this period.”¹⁰⁷ See Figure 3 for an overview of the assistance and expenditures towards Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan from 2002 to 2012.

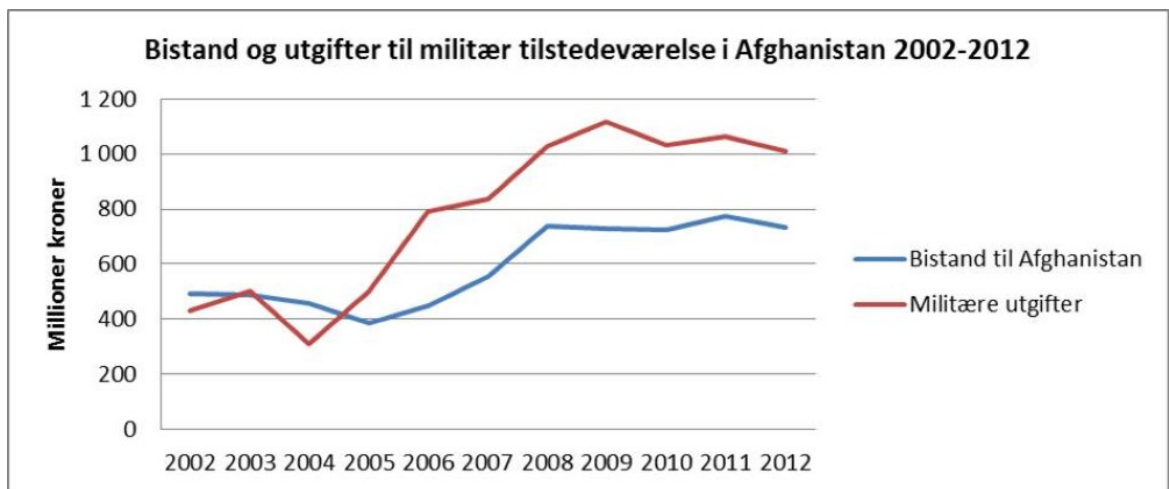


Figure 3. Aid and spending on military presence in Afghanistan 2002-2012.¹⁰⁸

The National Budget for 2004-2005 noted that due to the security challenges in Afghanistan and an ISAF expansion, Norway's NATO engagement would be extensive and prolonged. The increased Norwegian military engagement in relation to NATO's

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ "Bistand til Afghanistan."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Note: The blue line is assistance to Afghanistan, and the red line refers to military expenditures.

operational needs was evident in extended involvement with the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT).¹⁰⁹

Developments in 2006

During 2006, Norway largely continued its participation in military operations. The aim was to maintain a commitment equivalent to the 2005 level of involvement.¹¹⁰ Norway was the leading nation for the regional stabilizing team in Meymaneh and supported NATO's mission by expanding its presence.¹¹¹ In March of 2006, Norway became responsible for the Quick Reaction Force (QRF) in Mazar-e-Sharif,¹¹² a position it held until the middle of 2008.¹¹³ The Regional Command North was established with 15 Norwegian staff officers, and for the first time, Norway contributed personnel to the Operational Mentor and Liaison Team (OMLT), which had the goal of helping the Afghan army gain control of the country's security.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2004-2005)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-2004-2005-/id297065/>.

¹¹⁰ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2005-2006)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-2005-2006-/id297546/>.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "Norges militære engasjement i Afghanistan (Redegjørelse for Stortinget 24. oktober 2006)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 17, 2016, last modified October 24, 2006, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/norges-militare-engasjement-i-afghanista-2/id270524/>.

¹¹³ "Kronologisk utvikling av det norske styrkebidraget i Afghanistan," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed May 1, 2016, last modified March 15 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/forsvar/internasjonale-operasjoner/innsikt-intops/kronologisk-utvikling-av-det-norske-bidr/id632365/>.

¹¹⁴ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2007-2008)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-2007-2008-/id484147/>.

At the beginning of 2006, Norwegian forces completely withdrew from the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The priority area would be ISAF.¹¹⁵ The Stoltenberg 2-government increased Norway's total military involvement compared with when they took over power, and by October 2006, 550 Norwegian soldiers were present in Afghanistan, all in the ISAF force. The previous government had sent 470 soldiers, 390 of which participated in ISAF.¹¹⁶

The Norwegian Air Force provided four F-16 fighter aircrafts during a three-month period from February to May. The aircraft provided support for Norwegian personnel and allied forces operating over the expanded areas. Norway also participated in NATO's operating unit at Kabul International Airport (KAIA). The government decided to step up the civilian effort in Farayab province, where the PRTs were located. The Minister of Defense declared the cost of the new Norwegian military camp, Camp Nidaros, to exceed 100 million NOK (\$14.8 million).¹¹⁷

The security situation in Afghanistan proved demanding, and was deteriorating in the northern parts of the country. An attack on the Norwegian camp in Meymaneh on February 7, 2006 led politicians back home to react. The Taliban was strengthening its position in the north, increasing the importance of the efforts of Norwegian forces.¹¹⁸ Norway continued to have responsibility for the PRT in Meymaneh, and by the end of

¹¹⁵ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2007-2008)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹¹⁶ "Norges militære engasjement i Afghanistan."

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

2006 the number of Norwegian personnel in the PRT stood at 100.¹¹⁹ The PRT was a stabilization team that provided security to NGOs working in the area. The PRT camp was moved from inside Meymaneh to the city's outskirts to improve the safety of the Norwegian personnel. A Norwegian Deployable Hospital was sent to Mazar-e Sharif, which was present until May of 2007.

In a statement, Minister of Defense Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen said there had been considerations regarding the need for additional Norwegian efforts, but the government chose to not make any changes or alterations to the troop contributions at the time.¹²⁰ The government was not opposed in principle to redeploying its troops to southern Afghanistan.¹²¹ This pronouncement created discussion in the media and in political circles, given that missions in the south were considered more dangerous than those in the northern sections.

The Ministry of Defense spent approximately 500 million NOK (\$73.9 million) in 2005 and approximately 792 million NOK (\$117 million) in additional expenses during 2006 on Afghanistan.¹²² The amounts are nominal expenses and include only the added expense of having the troops in Afghanistan rather than the full cost of maintaining them—for example, the salaries of permanent personnel are not included. The numbers also excludes costs associated with infrastructure and building new camps (which falls under the Norwegian Defence Estates Agency's (NDEA) budget), and material

¹¹⁹ “Kronologisk utvikling av det norske styrkebidraget i Afghanistan.”

¹²⁰ “Norges militære engasjement i Afghanistan.”

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Halvor Gunnar Døhlen, Lieutenant Colonel, Defence Staff Norway, e-mail message to author, June 23, 2016.

investments such as vehicles purchased specifically for use in Afghanistan (which falls under the Norwegian Defence Materiel Agency's (NDMA) budget).¹²³

The proposed defense budget for 2006 (see Table 8) called for 570 million NOK (\$84.2 million) for Norwegian involvement in ISAF operations in Afghanistan and 10 million NOK (\$1.5 million) for Norwegian involvement in OEF, a total of 580 million NOK (\$85.7 million). The low OEF figure results from Norwegian forces being completely withdrawn from OEF by January 2006. Actual expenditures on Afghanistan exceeded the proposed budget for 2006 by a significant amount. When using the numbers received from Lt. Colonel Døhlen of the Defence Staff (2005: \$73,855,144 and 2006: \$116,986,706), I find that the increase in Ministry of Defense expenses towards Afghanistan from 2005 to 2006 was 58.4%.¹²⁴

Operation		Budget (million NOK)	Notes
Afghanistan/ISAF	Provincial Reconstruction Team Reaction Force Staff members Surgical unit	570	We will provide F-16 fighter aircrafts and an aircraft navigation system (TACAN)
Afghanistan/OEF	Special Forces	10	Limited period of time in 2005, phased out during January 2006

Table 8. Defense budget towards operations in Afghanistan in 2006.¹²⁵

¹²³ Note: All additional expenses/budget numbers for the Ministry of Defense in this thesis provided by Lt. Colonel Døhlen exludes these costs.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2005-2006)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

Developments in 2007

Norway's participation in multinational operations abroad was somewhat higher in 2007 than in 2006.¹²⁶ Afghanistan was still the main deployment and priority area for Norwegian military engagement abroad,¹²⁷ and Norway was still contributing roughly 500 military personnel to the ISAF-operation. An operational expansion to the east had been predicted in the 2006 National Defense Budget.¹²⁸ Additional spending was based on the idea that further improvements in Afghanistan would reduce the likelihood that destabilizing forces would gain strength.¹²⁹

Norway had two military advisers to the United Nations Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and Norwegian Special Forces were sent to Afghanistan, this time under ISAF's new Special Forces Command, Crisis Response Unit (CRU). The deployment of Norwegian Special Forces in Kabul lasted from March until September 2007. Norway was also the lead nation for the operation of KAIA, providing 50 personnel.¹³⁰ The Ministry of Defense support for civil authorities in Afghanistan through PRT in Meymaneh was continued, as was the QRF in the north region, based in Mazar-e-Sharif. The Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice and Public

¹²⁶ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2008–2009)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-20082009-/id530537/?ch=1>.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2006-2007)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stprp-nr-1-2006-2007-/id298194/>.

¹²⁹ "Statsbudsjettet 2007," Finansdepartementet, accessed April 13, 2016, <http://www.statsbudsjettet.no/Statsbudsjettet-2007/Statsbudsjettet-fra-A-til-A/Afghanistan/>.

¹³⁰ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2008–2009)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

Security decided to work together in the coordination of Norway's efforts in Afghanistan, using a comprehensive approach that meshed security and development.¹³¹

In 2007, roughly 835 million NOK (\$123.3 million) was spent on Afghanistan.¹³²

As in the previous section, the listed amounts are nominal figures and include only the additional expenses of having troops in Afghanistan. When using the numbers received from Lt. Colonel Døhlen (2006: \$116,986,706 and 2007: \$123,333,257),¹³³ I find the increase in Ministry of Defense expenses in Afghanistan from 2006 to 2007 was 5.4 percent, a small increase compared to the year before.

Developments in 2008

As in the previous two years, Norwegian Defense contributions to multinational operations were high in 2008, with Afghanistan and ISAF as the main priority area.¹³⁴ The military engagement continued with approximately 500 military personnel in ISAF-operations. The war against drugs was, and still is, present in the Afghanistan, where opium and heroin is produced in large amounts, and efforts to help the Afghan population promote development and security in the country was prioritized.¹³⁵ One of the main

¹³¹ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2006-2007)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹³² Halvor Gunnar Døhlen, Lieutenant Colonel, Defence Staff Norway, e-mail message to author, June 23, 2016.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2007-2008)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹³⁵ "Statsbudsjettet 2008," Finansdepartementet, accessed April 13, 2016, <http://www.statsbudsjettet.no/Statsbudsjettet-2008/Statsbudsjettet-fra-A-til-A/Afghanistan/>.

goals, stated in the 2008 National Defense Budget, was to reduce the opportunities for destabilizing forces to mobilize in Afghanistan.¹³⁶

In 2008, and for the first time, three medical evacuation helicopters were deployed to Meymaneh (they remained there until the PRT was abolished in the fall of 2012). In March, Norwegian Special Forces were dispatched to oversee the Afghan Special Police Force, a mission that would last until October 2009. The Norwegian responsibility for the QRF in the north region was completed during the summer, and a large part of the force there was transferred to the PRT in Meymaneh, which nearly doubled PRT's size. It now had roughly 280 Norwegian and 110 Latvian soldiers.¹³⁷ The Ministry of Defense was aiming to bolster the training of Afghan security forces. Norwegian involvement in two of NATO's mentoring and training programs (OMLT) was continued.¹³⁸

Changes in the security situation in Afghanistan led to the acquisition of light armored vehicles, resulting in additional financial expenditures by the Norwegian Defense Ministry.¹³⁹ These expenses were covered under the NDMA's budget and are not reflected in the budget figures presented later in this section. With support from the

¹³⁶ "Statsbudsjettet 2008."

¹³⁷ "Kronologisk utvikling av det norske styrkebidraget i Afghanistan."

¹³⁸ "St.prp. nr. 1 (2007-2008)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹³⁹ "Prop. 1 S (2009–2010)," Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/prop-1-s-20092010/id580886/?q=afghanistan&ch=1>.

Ministry, research was commissioned to strengthen knowledge management in the Norwegian Armed Forces and coordinate sector efforts in Afghanistan.¹⁴⁰

“Additional expenses directly related to Norway's participation in military operations abroad in 2008 were approximately 1315 million NOK (\$194.2 million). This was an increase of approximately 117 million NOK (\$17.3 million) from 2007.”¹⁴¹ Of this funding, approximately 1027 million NOK (\$151.7 million) was spent on Afghanistan.¹⁴² As previously, the listed amounts are nominal figures and show the additional expenses of having troops in Afghanistan. The increased spending in 2008 included 180 million NOK (\$26.6 million) related to the cost of the Norwegian Special Forces unit that was sent to Afghanistan in March 2008.¹⁴³ When using the numbers received from Lt. Colonel Døhlen (2007: \$123,333,257 and 2008: \$151,698,671), I find that the increase in Ministry of Defense expenses in Afghanistan from 2007 to 2008 was 23 percent.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ “Prop. 1 S (2009–2010),” Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹⁴¹ “Prop. 1 S (2009–2010),” Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹⁴² Halvor Gunnar Døhlen, Lieutenant Colonel, Defence Staff Norway, e-mail message to author, July 29, 2016.

¹⁴³ “Prop. 1 S (2009–2010),” Regjeringen: Forsvarsdepartementet.

¹⁴⁴ Halvor Gunnar Døhlen, Lieutenant Colonel, Defence Staff Norway, e-mail message to author, July 29, 2016.

Chapter 6

Analysis and Conclusion

The conclusion will look at the three research questions outlined at the beginning of the thesis. Examined will be, first, the trends in policy and, second, the trends in media coverage during the two years encompassed by this study. Then, the discussion will turn to the relationship between the two trends.

It is, of course, difficult to estimate the influence of media coverage on policy change, or of policy change on news coverage. Each type of change is the result of many factors, so an attempt to isolate the impact of any one of them lacks certainty. Nevertheless, it is instructive to examine the interplay of policy and media to see if they fit with alternative models of media influence.

Research Question One (R1): Policy Change

This question asked, “What change occurred in Norwegian foreign and defense policy relative to Afghanistan conflict between 2006 to 2007 and between 2007 to 2008?” Both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense increased their budget allocations to Afghanistan during the three years studied for this thesis. From 2006 to 2008, the bilateral assistance given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Afghanistan increased from 447 million NOK (\$66 million) to 736.5 million NOK (\$108.8 million). The largest increase was for the chapters covering Assistance to Asia, Aid towards Emergencies, Humanitarian Aid and Human Rights initiatives, and Peace and Reconciliation. Aid given to the United Nations humanitarian appeals also

contributed towards the increase. The only area that experienced decreased funding during this period was Transitional Aid, which is directed at reconstruction and peace-building in countries that are in a transition and seeking to work themselves out of violent conflict or natural disasters.¹⁴⁵ In 2008, the Foreign Ministry made it clear Norway wanted to “continue its high commitment to assist vulnerable, weak states emerging from conflict, and contribute with extensive humanitarian aid and assistance to prevent suffering, provide protection and create opportunities for a better and safer future for vulnerable groups.”¹⁴⁶

During the period studied, between 500 and 600 Norwegian military personnel contributed in Afghanistan at the same time. Based on the data I received from Halvor Døhlen, the additional expenses spent on Afghanistan went from 500 million NOK (\$73.9 million) in 2005, to 792 million NOK (\$117 million) in 2006, then to 835 million NOK (\$123.3 million) in 2007, and then to 1027 million NOK (\$151.7 million) in 2008. These data do not show the increases by budget area. Based on the information in governmental documents and reports, it appears as if there were only minor changes in personnel expenditures, with some of the increased spending owing to deployment of Special Forces and expanded security measures to meet the rising threat level in Afghanistan. The expenses towards infrastructure, material and building of new campsites are covered under other numbers listed above; they are covered under NDEA

¹⁴⁵ “Retningslinjer for Kapittel 162 Overgangsbistand,” Regjeringen, accessed July 3, 2016, last modified July 22, 2009, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/retningslinjer-for-kapittel-162-overgang/id571989/>.

¹⁴⁶ “Norsk bistand i 2008 – satsingsområder,” Regjeringen, accessed March 2, 2016, last modified May 31, 2009, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utenrikssaker/utviklingssamarbeid/slettemappe/norsk-bistand-i-2008---satsingsomrader/id493308/>.

and NDMA budgets. Norway contributed in different areas and sections in Afghanistan; the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Meymaneh, the Quick Reaction Force in Mazar-e-Sharif, the Crisis Response Unit, Special Forces, fighter aircrafts, a deployable hospital, an operating unit at KAIA and contribution towards the Operational Mentor and Liaison Team. One of the policy goals for the Ministry of Defense was to reduce the opportunities for destabilizing forces to mobilize in Afghanistan.

Research Question Two (R2): Trends in Media Coverage

This question asked, “What were the trends in news coverage during the period being studied?” My coding revealed that the main subjects in news articles were discussions about ongoing and future Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan and descriptions of past and current Norwegian military involvements and events on the ground in Afghanistan.

The actor portrayed most often in the news was “other” and the Ministry of Defense, which was presented in the role of policy maker. The tone of the articles was mostly neutral; with 4.3 percent expressing support, and 21.2 percent expressing criticism towards Norwegian involvement in the Afghan war. The criticism divided 13.6 percent from “other”, 6.8 percent from one or more members of the current government or their political party, and 4.5 percent from political challengers.

Stories about defense policy were the easiest to distinguish in that most of these included reference to deployed soldiers on the ground in Afghanistan or political discussions about current and future military engagement. The most talked about subject relative to the Ministry of Defense was the question of whether Norway should send

troops to the more dangerous south of Afghanistan. As a NATO member, Norway was under pressure when they turned down a request for sending more troops in 2006, but turned around and decided to send Special Forces and additional troops during the beginning of 2007. These decisions provoked debate among those in the sitting government as well as reactions from the opposition, but no extreme action was taken.

Foreign policies did not get as much news coverage as defense policies. Humanitarian aid was the main subject in only two stories and was mentioned in only 10 percent of the articles. The Foreign Minister was frequently mentioned in articles that also mentioned the Defense Ministry, as in the case of stories about increased military participation. NATO membership and obligations were discussed from the perspective of both ministries.

Viewed on a year-by-year basis, most of the stories in 2006 focused on the Ministry of Defense. The main subjects involved NATO and Norway's decision to reject a request to send more troops to Afghanistan. The critics were mostly of the opposition, who thought Norway was not properly fulfilling its NATO obligations. Parliamentary discussions and debates focused as much on process issues as on the question of involvement, with critics suggesting that Norway's reputation and standing in NATO were being put at risk. The two ministries handling of the situation was criticized, because the media learned about Norway's decision to not send special forces to southern Afghanistan as NATO had requested before the Extended Foreign Affairs Committee.¹⁴⁷ Other NATO members also criticized Norway's policy decision, but the Minister of

¹⁴⁷ Anne Vinding and Camilla Ryste, "Siv skjelte ut Jonas foran pressen," *VG*, October 18, 2006, accessed July 18, 2016, <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/stoltenberg-regjeringen/siv-skjelte-ut-jonas-foran-pressen/a/134574/>.

Defense declined to change the policy, arguing that Norway's contribution was already a substantial one.

As regards 2007, most of the articles again focused on the Ministry of Defense. Norway's decision to send Special Forces to Afghanistan was the most discussed topic. In addition to this, the shortage of Norwegian doctors in the military camps was discussed and debated following the Ministry of Defense's response after the head of the Norwegian Armed Forces Joint Medical Services, Major General Leif Sverre Rosén, went to the media and said he would not send his own son to the war due to the shortage of doctors.¹⁴⁸ The major source of criticism in 2007 was SV, a member of the sitting government, who opposed an increased military presence. This coverage included speculation that SV might leave the government, and coverage of internal battles within the party to find a collective, unified policy.

After two Norwegian soldiers were killed in 2007, opinion columns increased, and addressed the question of whether the war involvement was worth it. On the other hand, according to Osland and Torjesen, public debate did not go into "depth in regards to national and international strategy and implementation in relation to the prevailing political situation."¹⁴⁹ This finding corresponds with my data showing that only a few opinion columns were written by individuals who were not part of the political and governing elite. Humanitarian aid was rarely mentioned in the news, nor were budget negotiations or increased expenses for both the defense and foreign ministries.

¹⁴⁸ Sveinung Berg Bentzrød and Heidi Ertzeid, "Ord mot ord om avtalen," *Aftenposten*, November 20, 2007, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.aftenposten.no/norge/politikk/Ord-mot-ord-om-avtalen-325730b.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Osland and Torjesen, "Afghanistan: Hva kan vi lære?," 86.

Research Question Three (R3): The Relationship between Policy Change and News Trends

This research question asked: “What relationship exists between the observed policy changes (R1) and the observed trends in news coverage (R2)? It is clear from the evidence that media coverage does change in response to policy change. When the Norwegian government announced a new policy, it was invariably reported by the media. In 2006, after the government announced its rejection to NATO’s request for additional troops to the South of Afghanistan, the coverage changed focus from internal processes within the government to covering topics such as NATO obligations, other alliance members’ thoughts in regards to Norway’s decision and political disagreements within the government and its political parties. The increased threat level in Afghanistan made the Ministry of Defense expand their expenditures towards safety measures, which gained elevated media coverage. The Ministry of Defense was portrayed as the main actor in 23.9 percent of the articles, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the main actor in only 5.3 percent. The media coverage of foreign policy changes was limited, and the policy changes towards increased budget allocations towards assistance to Asia, emergencies, humanitarian aid, human rights, peace and reconciliation did not lead to any increased media coverage or shift of focus in the news. The decrease in transitional aid was never mentioned in the news articles coded.

In February 2007, a new defense policy change occurred. The government decided to send Special Forces to Afghanistan and the media coverage shifted towards a more in-depth coverage of the discussions among politicians in government regarding why this was the right decision now and not the year before and internal disagreements in

SV (who strongly opposed this increase in troop contribution). For articles where a political party was the main actor, SV was expressing a viewpoint for the most part. During the year, stories from the Norwegian camps in Afghanistan became more visible. Deployed personnel in Afghanistan were given a voice in 7.3 percent of the articles during the years researched, and the quotes from deployed personnel increased gradually during 2006 and 2007. This focus continued after the death of two Norwegian soldiers later that year, which resulted in heightened discussion about the human cost of the Norwegian war involvement. The discussions were mostly negative in tone, with 21.2 percent of articles expressed criticism of the involvement, and only 4.3 percent expressed support during the two years studied. No policy change was made after the deaths of the two young men; the Norwegian troops continued their involvement in Afghanistan as planned.

The extent to which policy makers were responsive to media coverage is not clear from the evidence. The clearest case of possible media influence was the Ministry of Defense's decision to send Special Forces and additional troops to Afghanistan in 2007 after saying no to NATO in 2006. The decision to say no received substantial media attention that included criticism from opposition parties and interests. The rising threat level in Afghanistan was another subject that got substantial press coverage, which was followed by increased spending from the Ministry of Defense. One cannot say with certainty that the coverage had an impact and there is no evidence anywhere in the data to support a CNN effect, whereby officials were compelled against their desires to act in a particular way. But the press coverage of the changing situation in Afghanistan is something that officials would have noticed. Another case of note is press coverage of the

death of two soldiers in 2007, which caused a visible rise in public discussion of the human costs of Norway's Afghan engagement from the public. Yet, it is hard to find policy change as a response, a refutation of the CNN effect model.

Foreign and security policy is rarely particularly high up on the Norwegian voters agenda.¹⁵⁰ A recent Norwegian study concluded that the media help perpetuate a lack of foreign policy debate in Norway. According to Eggen et al., "Foreign ministers face less critique than other ministers in the media, and are allowed to claim a role as experts and sages, thus elevated above politics."¹⁵¹ They hypothesize that the media differentiates foreign policy from other policy fields, giving it less scrutiny despite the Foreign ministry's recent policy of greater transparency.¹⁵² My study lacks a comparison with other policy areas, so a relative judgment cannot be made. But my study does suggest, in absolute terms, that the media did not act aggressively as a watchdog. The media gave voice primarily to government officials and political elites supportive of government policy—a pattern that suggests part of the Cascade model describes coverage in the foreign policy area. The pattern also lends some support for the agenda-setting model, with the media and government having substantial influence over what the public is thinking and talking about.

Afghanistanutvalget found in a 2016 report that the level of public debate over Afghan policy was limited when compared with the scale of Norway's engagement in

¹⁵⁰ "NOU 2016: 8. En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014," 180.

¹⁵¹ Eggen, Leira and Ziesler, "Ekspertkilde eller politiker? - Medias bidrag til underskudd på utenrikspolitisk debatt," 1.

¹⁵² "Utlysning av tilskuddsordning tilknyttet Utenriksdepartementets Refleksprosjekt – utenrikspolitisk ordsifte," Regjeringen, accessed April 8, 2016, last modified April 2, 2012, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dep/ud/tilskuddsmidler/utlyste_tilskudd/tilskudd_refleks/id670476/.

Afghanistan.¹⁵³ My evidence supports the conclusion, with only 25 of the 397 articles being an opinion column from the public—many of which were written by representatives from the Ministry of Defense. The low level of public involvement in the Afghan case is likely to be due to the relatively high level of public support for Norway’s Afghan policy. Most Norwegians accepted the idea that the Afghan conflict was a worthy NATO effort to strengthen Afghanistan.¹⁵⁴ Fundamentally, neither the media nor public opinion challenged official policy.

Further Research

Despite what has just been noted about public opinion, it was not systematically included in the research design for this thesis. Its inclusion would strengthen any similar future study that is backed by more resources than were available to me. Similarly, the inclusion of other policy areas, which would allow a comparison of whether the media handle foreign/defense policy differently than other policy areas, would advance our understanding of media practices and effects. And certainly, research that covered a longer time span and a larger number of media outlets could improve our understanding of the media’s political role and serve to test competing models of media impact.

¹⁵³ “NOU 2016: 8. En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014,” 180.

¹⁵⁴ “NOU 2016: 8. En god alliert – Norge i Afghanistan 2001–2014,” 176.

Appendices

Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3 are translated from Norwegian to English by the author.

Appendix 1

Total bilateral assistance to Afghanistan in 2006

“Bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, divided by chapters and posts, 2006 (NOK 1000).”¹⁵⁵

Chapter	Name of Chapter	Post	Name of Post	
151	Aid to Asia	78	Region appropriation for Asia	150 000
Total 151				150 000
160	Civil society and democracy development	50	Peace Corps	629
		70	Civil society	17 214
		73	Culture	500
Total 160				18 342
162	Transitional aid	70	Transitional aid	102 794
Total 162				102 794
163	Emergency assistance, human rights, hum. aid	70	Natural disasters	25 720
		71	Humanitarian aid and human rights	76 376
Total 163				102 094
164	Peace, reconciliation, democracy	70	Peace, reconciliation, democracy	38 171
		72	Development and disarmament	2 500
Total 164				40 671
165	Research, increase of	1	Operating expenses	536

¹⁵⁵ “St.prp. nr. 1 2007 – 2008,” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet.

	competence and evaluation			
Total 165				536
167	Refugee projects in Norway	21	Special operating expenses	31 508
Total 167				31 508
170	UN agencies	79	Experts, Junior Professional Officers and the UN Peace Corps	1 024
Total 170				1 024
Total Afghanistan				446 971

Appendix 2

Total bilateral assistance to Afghanistan in 2007

“Bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, divided by chapters and posts, 2007 (NOK 1000).”¹⁵⁶

Chapter	Post Afghanistan	
151 - Aid to Asia	70 – Assistance to main partner countries in Asia	
	78 - Region appropriations for Asia	170 000
151 - Aid to Asia Total		170 000
160 - Civil society and democracy development	50 - Peace Corps	1 178
	70 - Civil society	16 514
	72 - Democracy support/parties	
	73 - Culture	1 000
	75 - International organizations and networks	
160 - Civil society and democracy development Total		18 692
161 - Industry development	70 - Industry and trade measures	
	72 - Financing arrangement for development measures	
	73 - Institutional development in developing countries	
	95 - NORFUND - primary capital for investments in developing countries	387
161 - Industry development Total		387
162 - Transitional aid	70 - Transitional aid	123 300
162 - Transitional aid Total		123 300
163 - Emergency assistance, humanitarian aid and human rights	70 - Natural disasters	10 236
	71 - Humanitarian aid and human rights	128 434
163 - Emergency assistance, humanitarian aid and human rights Total		138 670
164 - Peace,	70 - Peace, reconciliation, democracy	70 235

¹⁵⁶ “St.prp. nr. 1 2008 – 2009,” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet.

reconciliation, democracy	72 - Development and disarmament	
	73 - Other Official Development Assistance (ODA)-approved OSCE countries	
164 - Peace, reconciliation, democracy Total		70 235
165 - Research, increase of competence and evaluation	1 - Operating expenses	1 234
	70 - Research and higher education	
	71 – Academic cooperation	3 287
165 - Research, increase of competence and evaluation Total		4 521
166 - Assorted grants	71 - International processes and conventions	
166 - Assorted grants Total		
167 - Refugee projects in Norway, approved as ODA	21 - Special operating expenses	11 146
167 - Refugee projects in Norway, approved as ODA Total		11 146
168 - Women and	70 - Women and Equality	15 068
168 - Women and Equality Total		15 068
170 - UN agencies	76 - Additional funds through the UN system	
	79 - Experts, Junior Professional Officers and the UN Peace Corps	1 103
170 - UN agencies Total		1 103
171 - Multilateral financial institutions	72 – Co-financing through financial institutions	
171 - Multilateral financial institutions Total		
172 - Debt relief and debt-related measures	70 - Debt relief, balance of payments support and capacity building	
172 - Debt relief and debt-related measures Total		
51 - Office of the Auditor General of	1 - Operating expenses	
51 - Office of the Auditor General of Norway Total		
Grand Total		553 122

Appendix 3

Total bilateral assistance to Afghanistan in 2008

“Bilateral aid given to Afghanistan, divided by chapters and posts, 2008 (NOK 1000).”¹⁵⁷

Chapter	Post Afghanistan	
151 - Aid to Asia	72 - Assistance to Afghanistan, transferrable	300 000
	78 - Region appropriations for Asia	
151 - Aid to Asia Total		300 000
160 - Civil society and democracy development	1 - Operating expenses	
	50 - Peace Corps	679
	70 - Civil society	14 149
	73 - Culture	2 500
	75 - International organizations and networks	
160 - Civil society and democracy development Total		17 328
161 - Industry development	70 - Industry and trade measures	350
	95 - NORFUND - primary capital for investments in developing countries	
161 - Industry development Total		350
162 - Transitional aid	70 - Transitional aid (GAP)	-364
162 - Transitional aid Total		-364
163 - Emergency assistance, humanitarian aid and human rights	70 - Natural disasters	16 993
	71 - Humanitarian aid and human rights	291 813
163 - Emergency assistance, humanitarian aid and human rights Total		308 806
164 - Peace, reconciliation, democracy	70 - Peace, reconciliation, democracy measures	83 267
	71 - Official Development Assistance (ODA)-approved countries in the	

¹⁵⁷ “Prop. 1 S (2009–2010),” Regjeringen: Utenriksdepartementet.

	Balkans	
	72 - Development and disarmament	
	73 - Other ODA-approved OSCE countries	
164 - Peace, reconciliation, democracy Total		83 267
165 - Research, increase of competence and evaluation	1 - Operating expenses	5 268
	70 - Research and higher education	
	71 - Academic cooperation	1 987
165 - Research, increase of competence and evaluation		7 255
166 - Assorted grants	71 - International processes and conventions	
	72 - International environmental processes and sustainable development, transferrable	
166 - Assorted grants Total		
167 - Refugee projects in Norway, approved as ODA	21 - Special operating expenses	4 219
167 - Refugee projects in Norway, approved as ODA Total		4 219
168 - Women and Equality	70 - Women and Equality	15 000
168 - Women and Equality Total		15 000
169 - Global health and vaccine initiative	70 - Vaccination and health, transferrable	
169 - Global health and vaccine initiative Total		
170 - UN agencies	76 - Additional funds through the UN system	
	79 - Experts, Junior Professional Officers and the UN Peace Corps	683
170 - UN agencies Total		683
171 - Multilateral financial institutions	72 – Co-financing through financial institutions	
171 - Multilateral financial institutions Total		
172 - Debt relief and debt-related measures	70 - Debt relief, balance of payments support and capacity building	
172 - Debt relief and debt-related measures Total		
51 - Office of the Auditor General of Norway	1 - Office of the Auditor General of Norway	
51 - Office of the Auditor		

General of Norway Total		
Grand Total		736 543

Appendix 4

Coding scheme

Identifiers

Entry date	dd.mm.yy
Article number	xxx
Title (story id)	xxx
Date of article	dd.mm.yy

1 Outlet

Def.: Which online newspaper is the article from?

1.1	Aftenposten.no
1.2	Dagbladet.no
1.3	VG.no

2 Mention of “Afghanistan” in

Def.: Where the name “Afghanistan” is mentioned. Cities and areas in Afghanistan, e.g.

Kabul or Meymaneh, are not included.

2.1	Headline
2.2	Lead
2.3	In both headline and lead

3 Type of story

Def.: If hard to define, code 3.1 when less than 500 words and 3.2 when more than 500 words. 3.6 is written by anyone who is not a Norwegian politician. Note that a representative from the ministry does not have to be a politician, and is thus coded as 3.6 if 3.7 do not apply. 3.7 include all Norwegian political parties, both governmental representatives and opposition.

3.1	Basic news story
3.2	News analysis or background story
3.3	Feature story
3.4	Press-release
3.5	Editorial
3.6	Opinion column by a member of the public
3.7	Letter, article or column written by a Norwegian politician
3.8	Interview

4 Photo

Def.: Do one or more photos accompany the article? If picture is not mentioned in article text collected from Retriever, code as 4.9 (missing info).

4.1	Yes
4.9	No

5 Geographical focus of article

Def.: This is the focus of the story. Code 5.1 is applied when Norway is the focus of the story, e.g. if there are internal battles in the political parties and/ or the government regarding political standpoint on increasing military involvement or budget proposals, or if the article implies something about Norwegian foreign or defense policy (even if Afghanistan is mentioned in the discussion). Apply code 5.2 if the story focuses on/ is written about Afghanistan and events that are going on there. For example, a story about

a current Norwegian military engagement in Afghanistan, battles on the ground or humanitarian aid given to the country.

5.1	Norway
5.2	Afghanistan
5.8	Other
5.9	No clear geographical focus

6 Frame

Def.: Code in order to identify the main geopolitical frame. 6.1 Domestic includes when Norway is portrayed on its own or as an ally to NATO, addressing something as an internal issue within Norway (“us/we/our”). 6.2 Foreign is applied when story is portraying something as an issue internally in/ to Afghanistan: “they/them”.

6.1	Domestic (“us/we/our”)
6.2	Foreign (“they/them”)
6.8	Other
6.9	None/ no clear frame

7 Tone of the article

Def.: The tone of the article is the general tone. This will be coded after how I as a reader experience the article, and how I believe other readers will experience it. If it is a general news report, just stating facts, e.g. about a shooting or an accident involving Norwegian forces on Afghan ground, this is seen as neutral. Explicit criticism or support will be indicators of the tone. If the article is criticizing the security on a Norwegian base, or the writer is negative towards the foreign and/ or defense policy that is applied to Afghanistan, code 7.2 would be applied. 7.1 Positive articles are describing Norway’s involvement in a positive way, seeing increase in military involvement as a positive thing and helping more people by giving more money to humanitarian projects in Afghanistan.

If an article is a mix of the two, it will be seen as 7.3. 7.9 Neutral is when the story is just a fact-based report, with no sentiment or specific tone to it.

7.1	Positive
7.2	Negative
7.3	Mixed
7.9	Neutral / no specific tone

8 Actor portrayed

Def.: The definition of portray is to describe or depict. Actor portrayed is thus the person who is described in the article. Code 8.1 Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the ministry itself and its members. This also includes embassies and their staff. 8.2 Norwegian Ministry of Defense is the ministry itself and its members, Defense Staff Norway and the Norwegian Armed Forces, but this variable does not include the Norwegian military personnel deployed in Afghanistan. The deployed military personnel in Afghanistan are part of the Armed Forces (8.2), but since they are mentioned multiple times on their own/by themselves, I wanted the military personnel in Afghanistan to have their own code (8.3). So if the Norwegian Armed Forces sends out a press release that is covered in the news or the Defense minister speaks out on something, it will be coded as actor 8.2, while if it is a story about a military accident at a Norwegian base in Afghanistan it will be coded as 8.3. 8.4 Other Norwegian governmental party members are those not representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Defense, but who are part of the sitting governmental political party. Both sitting members of government and members of sitting governmental parties (local and regional representatives from AP, SV and SP) are included here. 8.5 is code for members of FRP, H, KRF and V who are not a part of the Stoltenberg-government and who challenges the

sitting government. 8.7 is used when NATO is portrayed. This does not include when Norwegian military personnel on a NATO-mission are portrayed (these will be coded as 8.3), but when NATO (either with certain specific members or as an alliance) is the actor portrayed. 8.8 is code for aid workers outside of the government/ ministries. Some might be given some amounts of governmental funding of some sort (usually channeled through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), but that is not relevant in this variable.

8.1	Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including representatives, embassies and their personnel
8.2	Norwegian Ministry of Defense, including Defense Staff Norway, large parts (all except 8.3) of the Norwegian Armed Forces and other ministry representatives
8.3	Norwegian military personnel deployed in Afghanistan
8.4	Other Norwegian governmental party members, including Prime Minister
8.5	The opposition/ a political challenger
8.6	Afghan authorities
8.7	NATO
8.8	Aid workers (e.g. Norwegian Red Cross, Norwegian Church Aid, Norwegian Refugee Council)
8.9	Other

9 If 8.4 or 8.5 are applied, what political party is expressing a viewpoint?

Def.: The codes are self-explanatory. When one specific party, choose code 9.1 – 9.7.

The Prime Minister represents 9.1, Arbeiderpartiet. When two or more parties of the opposition are expressing a viewpoint, use code 9.8.

9.1	Arbeiderpartiet (AP or A)
9.2	Fremskrittspartiet (Frp)
9.3	Høyre (H)
9.4	Kristelig Folkeparti (KrF)
9.5	Senterpartiet (SP)
9.6	Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV)
9.7	Venstre (V)
9.8	The opposition combined (FRP, H, KRF, V)
9.9	Not applicable

10 Main subject

Def.: The main subject is the one that seems to be the overall subject of the story. If hard to define what is the main and what is a secondary subject, look at the title and lead. 10.1 is self-explanatory. 10.2 can be discussions or debates regarding the presence and foreign and defense policy, e.g. military involvement in Afghanistan, coming from either the public and/ or politicians. If there are talks about supporting or rejecting the military presence, hearings regarding foreign and/ or defense policies and use of power, as well as criticism to the ministries and/ or ministers will be included here. The stories coded here will be seen from the perspective of Norway. 10.3 are stories that report from Afghanistan, and the Norwegian military involvement. Included are articles that describe events the military is involved in, battles, riots, disputes or stories where governmental officials visit the camps, interviews with deployed military personnel etc. If it is a story regarding discussions about sending more troops to Afghanistan, these will be included in 10.2 since this is not a story that is reporting directly on the activities going on in Afghanistan. 10.4 is reports or stories about employees/ personnel at Norwegian embassies, issues with embassies or representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs comes visit Afghanistan. 10.5 is used when NATO is the main subject of the story, not if there is a report of a battle where Norway is involved as part of the ISAF-operation. That will be coded 10.3. This code (10.5) is for articles where ISAF and NATO are the main focus, and it will mostly occur when there are talk about future involvement and discussions about sending more troops/ being a good ally as part of our foreign and defense policy. 10.6 are for stories where the US and/or their OEF operation are the main

subject. If there is a story about Norway's choice to leave the operation, it will be coded 10.6 (and not coded as 10.2) since OEF is the main subject of the story. 10.7 include humanitarian aid, both personnel and funding, either by private actors such as Red Cross and Norwegian Church Aid, or funding given under the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Military support (the Ministry of Defense) is not included here. 10.8 are Security issues (in battles against demonstrators and/ or rebels, security for Norwegian personnel representing both ministries) in Afghanistan. This can often be a subject if talks about attacks or unrest in the country. Often seen as either a main or secondary subject together with code 10.3 or 10.4/ 11.3 or 11.4. 10.9 include both foreign and defense budgets and assistance.

10.1	Story not about politics
10.2	Discussions about ongoing and future Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan
10.3	Stories regarding past and current Norwegian military involvements and events on Afghan ground
10.4	Reports about Ministry of Foreign Affairs present in Afghanistan, including the Norwegian embassy in Kabul and/ or personnel, and governmental representatives from the ministry visiting
10.5	NATO , including ISAF operations
10.6	USA , including OEF operations
10.7	Norwegian humanitarian aid to Afghanistan, both in regards to personnel and funding
10.8	Security issues (in battles against demonstrators and/ or rebels, security for Norwegian personnel representing both ministries)
10.9	Budget negotiations or proposals
10.10	Story clearly about politics (but doesn't fit #2 to #9)
10.11	Other

11 Secondary subject

Def.: Same as above (10). Code 11.12 is applied when the article only contains one major subject.

11.1	Story not about politics
11.2	Discussions about ongoing and future Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan
11.3	Stories regarding past and current Norwegian military involvements and events on Afghan ground
11.4	Reports about Ministry of Foreign Affairs present in Afghanistan, including the Norwegian embassy in Kabul and/ or personnel, and governmental representatives from the ministry visiting
11.5	NATO , including ISAF operations
11.6	USA , including OEF operations
11.7	Norwegian humanitarian aid to Afghanistan, both in regards to personnel and funding
11.8	Security issues (in battles against demonstrators and/ or rebels, security for Norwegian personnel representing both ministries)
11.9	Budget negotiations or proposals
11.10	Story clearly about politics (but doesn't fit #2 to #9)
11.11	Other
11.12	No secondary subject

12 How central is Norwegian foreign and/or defense policy in the story

Def.: if it is an article regarding foreign and/ or defense policy, including military involvement, humanitarian aid given and discussions regarding Norway's NATO membership, policy will be coded as the main subject. All aspects of the policies are counted (financial, military, humanitarian etc.). If an article mentions military intervention as part of an ISAF-operation, this is coded as 12.1, since this is a part of our defense policy. If the story reports a military accident or someone attacked a Norwegian military base, the policy will be coded as 12.9 not mentioned since those events are happening independently from the policies applied. This is despite military presence

being an issue of policy, since the story is centralized around the actual event in Afghanistan and not the policies behind that engagement. Articles regarding issues within the Defense Ministry, e.g. lack of military doctors in Afghanistan, are also coded as 12.9. If foreign or defense policy (e.g. security issues, sending more troops to increase stability) is mentioned in the article as a response to why these things occurred, or discussed as a result of the event, it will be a 12.2 secondary subject.

12.1	The main subject
12.2	A secondary subject
12.3	Only mentioned briefly
12.9	Not mentioned

13 What does the article primarily indicate about Norway's relationship to NATO?

Def.: These codes will be applied in regards to Norway's relationship to NATO. A main goal for Norway's foreign and defense policy is to fulfill their role as a NATO ally. For code 13.3 to apply, it must be stated in the article that Norway's role is not affected. If it doesn't indicate anything particular (the story seems neutral), apply code 13.9. The rest of the codes are self-explanatory.

13.1	Norway's involvement in the ISAF-operation will benefit their relationship to NATO
13.2	Norway's reputation within the alliance will strengthen due to ISAF involvement
13.3	Norway's role in NATO is not affected by the Norwegian contributions to ISAF-operations
13.4	Norway's involvement in the ISAF-operations is necessary to maintain a good relationship with NATO
13.5	The alliance will suffer if Norway does not contribute to ISAF-operations in Afghanistan
13.8	Other
13.9	No mention of relationship

14 Is Norwegian deployed military personnel discussing Afghan involvement?

Def.: Deployed Norwegian military personnel discussing current events or future involvement in Afghanistan.

14.1	Yes
14.9	No

15 Norway's primary role in the article

Def.: 15.1 is applied in stories regarding Norwegian military personnel currently on the ground in Afghanistan. When the deployed personnel are the main focus of the article, e.g. in stories about battles or security, this will be applied. 15.2 is coded when the Norwegian embassy and/ or its staff is the main subject and focus in the article, and when the role of Norway is Ministry of Foreign Affairs personnel. Security issues for the embassy is a typical topic for articles with Norway's primary role coded as 15.2. 15.3 is applied when Norway is portrayed purely as a NATO member, or when it is talk about the alliance. 15.3 will *not* be applied when articles portray military battles, despite them being part of a ISAF/ NATO operation, because the role in those articles is first and foremost 15.1 military involvement. 15.4 is a code for the role as humanitarian aid provider, where Norway offers assistance. Funding usually comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 15.5 Policy maker will be coded when the article focuses on foreign and/or defense policy that is in the making, being discussed or being altered. Example of story coded 15.5 will be one regarding budget proposals, change of focus areas or increased funding. If story is about sending more/ less troops, this will be coded as 15.5, but if it is about troops already in Afghanistan and their presence there, it will be coded 15.1.

15.1	Military personnel in Afghanistan
15.2	Ministry of Foreign Affairs personnel in Afghanistan
15.3	NATO alliance member
15.4	Humanitarian aid provider
15.5	Policy maker
15.8	Other role
15.9	No clear role

16 How is the Norwegian involvement in Afghanistan portrayed?

Def.: Involvement here is mostly seen as military engagement, but also through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs if it is mentioned. To make sure the coding is consistent, the number of codes to this variable is limited. The article needs to express explicit support to be coded as successful (16.1). 16.8 Other can include positive and negative portrayals if none of the other codes apply. If no clear portrayal, just a basic fact-based report/ article regarding Norwegian forces and their accomplishments, code as 16.9.

16.1	Successful
16.2	Moderate
16.3	Lacking capabilities
16.8	Other
16.9	Not portrayed in article

17 How are the Norwegian government and its politicians portrayed in the article?

Def.: The codes are self-explanatory. This code applies to governmental officials (one or more ministers and representatives) and/ or the government as a whole. To make sure the coding is consistent, the number of codes to this variable is limited.

17.1	Determined
17.2	Moderate
17.3	Hesitant
17.8	Other
17.9	Not portrayed in article

18 Any mention in story related to any aspect of Norwegian military involvement in Afghanistan

Def.: Any mention of Norwegian forces and military involvement in Afghanistan (not only combats, but also stories about accidents on Norwegian camps, military doctor shortage, security issues etc.).

18.1	Mentioned
18.9	No mention

19 A representative from the Ministry of Defense or Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussing Afghan involvement

Def.: Any representative from The Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs commenting in the story, including the Defense Staff Norway and large parts of the Norwegian Armed Forces. Deployed Norwegian military personnel in Afghanistan are not included here.

19.1	Yes
19.9	No

20 Any other Norwegian politician in government discussing involvement in the Afghan war

Def.: Any discussion about the war and Norway's involvement there from a governmental representative (2006-2007), from any one of the ministries, including State Secretaries. If the text is just fact-based, it will be coded as 19.9. If the article describes a politician, who is a governmental representative (A, SP, SV), discussing or taking a stand on the involvement (security issues included), the code applied will be 19.1. Note that is has to be a member of the sitting government, not only a member of a governmentally

represented political party (e.g. members of SV are often in conflict in NATO questions, here it will only be counted as 20.1 Yes if it's a member of the sitting government discussing). If a representative from The Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs comments, including the Minister of Defense and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which will be coded under 19 and not here since this code is about any other governmental politicians.

20.1	Yes
20.9	No

21 Any political challenger discussing the Afghan war involvement

Def.: Any discussion about the war and Norway's involvement there from one or more political challenger. If the text is just fact-based, it will be coded as 21.9. If the article describes a politician, who is a part of the opposition (FRP, KRF, H, V), discussing or taking a stand on the involvement: the code applied will be 21.1.

21.1	Yes
21.9	No

22 Any mention in story related to any aspect of Norwegian humanitarian aid given to Afghanistan

Def.: Only humanitarian aid included (foreign ministry), all military aid and support (defense ministry) is noted under code 18.

22.1	Mentioned
22.9	No mention

23 Any mention in story related to any aspect of defense and/or foreign budgets

Def.: Any mention of the Foreign Ministry's budget or the Defense Ministry's budget.

23.1	Mentioned
23.9	No mention

24 Any mention in story related to any aspect of NATO or ISAF operations

Def.: Any direct mention of NATO, ISAF, and/or any of their operations or teams (PRT, QRF, OMLT). Also code 24.1 if NATO and/or ISAF is just referenced to in the text. If NATO or ISAF is not mentioned, but the story is about a Norwegian soldier on a NATO-mission, code 24.9 will be applied since none of the two names are mentioned in text.

24.1	Mentioned
24.9	No mention

25 Any mention in story related to any aspect of OEF

Def.: Any mention of or reference to Operation Enduring Freedom.

25.1	Mentioned
25.9	No mention

26 Any support towards the Norwegian involvement in the Afghan war

Def.: Any mention of support towards the Norwegian involvement, coming from either the public or a governmental official. Future involvement and policies are included. Support needs to be explicit, if not, code as 26.9 (a governmental representative saying troops will remain does not equal support). If support is not applicable or mentioned in the story, code as 26.9 no mention (typically in fact-based stories).

26.1	Mentioned
26.9	No mention

27 Any critique towards the Norwegian involvement in the Afghan war

Def.: Any mention of critique towards the Norwegian involvement, coming from either the public or a governmental official. Criticism also includes future involvement and policies. Critique needs to be explicit, if not, code as 27.9 (a governmental representative saying troops will be drawn back does not equal critique, nor does stating “disappointment”). If critique is not applicable in the story, code as 27.9 no mention (typically in fact-based stories).

27.1	Mentioned
27.9	No mention

28 Criticism of the Norwegian governments spending on the war in Afghanistan

Def.: Any critique of the Norwegian governments spending on the war in Afghanistan

28.1	Not spending enough money
28.2	Spending too much money
28.3	Using budget funding ineffectively or lacking accomplishments
28.8	Other critiques in regards to Norwegian spending on the Afghan war
28.9	No mention/critique on spending

29 Criticism towards other areas of the Norwegian involvement in Afghanistan

Def.: Code any critique of other areas in relation to Norwegian involvement in the war in Afghanistan. The codes are in addition to 27, and apply if there are multiple criticisms towards the involvement. The codes are self-explanatory. If multiple critiques occur in the same article with no prominent dominant failure, code as 29.8. 29.1 and 29.2 includes all types of military personnel, e.g. military doctors and nurses. 29.7 can be critiques towards security issues for the employees at the embassy or channeling governmental funding through the wrong channels. 29.8 can involve criticism towards what they

managed to do/ did not do (actions such as leaving mines behind, being irresponsible or making the wrong choices on the battlefield). The rest of the codes are self-explanatory.

29.1	Not having enough military personnel available in Afghanistan
29.2	Deploying too many military personnel to Afghanistan
29.3	Safety for the Afghan civilians
29.4	Weak security at the military bases for the Norwegian forces deployed in Afghanistan
29.5	Failure to keep past promises
29.6	Other critiques in regards to Norwegian <u>foreign</u> involvement in Afghanistan, including embassy and channeling of humanitarian aid
29.7	Other critiques in regards to Norwegian <u>military</u> involvement in Afghanistan
29.8	Various failures (no dominant failure)
29.9	No (other) criticism

30 The critic was

Def.: Code the person criticizing the government and/or its policy in regards to Norwegian involvement in the war in Afghanistan in the article. If more than one, use the one that is raising their voice. The political opponents (30.1) are FRP, KRF, H and/ or V. The military as a critic is coded here as a part of the Ministry of Defense, which is included in 30.2 a current member of the sitting government (30.2). This code is also used for any member of AP, SP or SV.

30.1	One or more political challenger(s)
30.2	One or more current member(s) of the sitting government and/ or one or more member(s) of their political party (AP, SP or SV)
30.3	Newspaper editor, editorial or opinion columnist
30.4	Humanitarian activist or interest group leader
30.5	A NATO member or representative (not including Norway and/ or Norwegian representatives)
30.6	Various critics (with no critic dominant)
30.8	Other
30.9	Not applicable/no critique

Appendix 5

Coding results, by numbers and percentage

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Code 1	179	79	139										397
%	45,09	19,90	35,01										100,00
Code 2	21	264	112										397
%	5,29	66,50	28,21										100,00
Code 3	283	28			23	25	16	3	19				397
%	71,28	7,05			5,79	6,30	4,03	0,76	4,79				100,00
Code 4	158								239				397
%	39,80								60,20				100,00
Code 5	249	105						42	1				397,00
%	62,72	26,45						10,58	0,25				100,00
Code 6	344	4						49					397
%	86,65	1,01						12,34					100,00
Code 7	27	64	87						219				397
%	6,80	16,12	21,91						55,16				100,00
Code 8	21	95	81	32	8	1	46	3	110				397
%	5,29	23,93	20,40	8,06	2,02	0,25	11,59	0,76	27,71				100,00
Code 9	8	2	3			25		3	356				397
%	2,02	0,50	0,76			6,30		0,76	89,67				100
Code 10		140	87	5	53	2	2	6	2	82	18		397
%		35,26	21,91	1,26	13,35	0,50	0,50	1,51	0,50	20,65	4,53		100,00
Code 11		76	34	2	70		3	9	1	36	28	138	397
%		19,14	8,56	0,50	17,63		0,76	2,27	0,25	9,07	7,05	34,76	100,00
Code 12	139	124	41						93				397
%	35,01	31,23	10,33						23,43				100,00
Code 13	1							25	371				397
%	0,25							6,30	93,45				100,00
Code 14	29								368				397
%	7,30								92,70				100,00
Code 15	98	2	36	4	198			49	10				397
%	24,69	0,50	9,07	1,01	49,87			12,34	2,52				100,00
Code 16	18	4	5				1	114	255				397
%	4,53	1,01	1,26				0,25	28,72	64,23				100,00
Code 17	17	1	6					91	282				397
%	4,28	0,25	1,51					22,92	71,03				100,00
Code 18	372								25				397
%	93,70								6,30				100,00
Code 19	177								220				397
%	44,58								55,42				100,00
Code 20	39								358				397
%	9,82								90,18				100,00
Code 21	32								365				397
%	8,06								91,94				100,00
Code 22	40								357				397
%	10,08								89,92				100,00
Code 23	19								378				397
%	4,79								95,21				100,00
Code 24	267								130				397
%	67,25								32,75				100,00
Code 25	23								374				397
%	5,79								94,21				100,00
Code 26	17								380				397
%	4,28								95,72				100,00
Code 27	84								313				397
%	21,16								78,84				100,00
Code 28	2								395				397
%	0,50								99,50				100,00
Code 29	2						9	10	376				397
%	0,50						2,27	2,52	94,71				100,00
Code 30	18	27	12	6	7	3		54	270				397
%	4,53	6,80	3,02	1,51	1,76	0,76		13,60	68,01				100,00

Appendix 6

Articles from which the sample was drawn

Title	Newspaper	dd.mm.yy + time	Art. nr.
Al-Jazeera-journalister løslatt i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	01.01.2006 17:06	1
Selvmondsbombe mot canadiske soldater	VG Nett	02.01.2006 10:21	3
En skamplett	Dagbladet	03.01.2006 08:09	5
Ti drept av selvmordsbomber i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	05.01.2006 15:02	7
Tom Hanks med krigsplaner i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	12.01.2006 13:44	9
Jordskred krevde 13 menneskeliv i Afghanistan	VG Nett	14.01.2006 23:44	11
Bilbombe tok tre liv	Dagbladet	15.01.2006 16:51	13
Fem drept i selvmordsangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	16.01.2006 14:24	15
Selvmondsbomber drepte 20	Aftenposten	16.01.2006 20:40	17
Afghanske kvinner bak rattet blir TV-underholdning	VG Nett	23.01.2006 14:01	19
Lover ikke økt norsk innsats	Aftenposten	24.01.2006 00:10	21
Norsk offiser angrepet i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	25.01.2006 13:01	23
Norsk offiser beskytt i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	25.01.2006 13:48	25
Sikkerhetspolitisk sandwich	Aftenposten	26.01.2006 02:18	27
Bombeangrep mot internasjonale styrker	Aftenposten	28.01.2006 13:39	29
Håndrekning til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	01.02.2006 00:27	31
12 omkom og åtte savnet i snøskred	Dagbladet	01.02.2006 10:28	33
Tre drept i selvmordsangrep i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	02.02.2006 08:03	35
Norske mineryddere lot miner ligge	VG Nett	03.02.2006 07:01	37
Norske mineryddere lot miner ligge i Afghanistan	VG Nett	03.02.2006 08:51	39
TIL i kongens klær	Aftenposten	03.02.2006 12:22	41
- Angrepene kommer til å spre seg	Dagbladet	05.02.2006 12:01	43
Drept i protestaksjon	Aftenposten	06.02.2006 08:50	45
Norske styrker frykter nye angrep	Dagbladet	06.02.2006 18:11	47
Gikk i dekning i Afghanistan	VG Nett	07.02.2006 06:31	49
Norske soldater angrepet i Afghanistan	VG Nett	07.02.2006 09:01	51
Norske soldater angrepet i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	07.02.2006 09:01	53
Demonstrators attack Norwegian-led military	Aftenposten	07.02.2006 11:05	55

base in Afghanistan				
Hjelpearbeidere evakueres fra Afghanistan	VG Nett	07.02.2006 15:51	57	
Danmark utvider reiseråd	VG Nett	07.02.2006 17:01	59	
Evakuerer norske hjelpearbeidere	Aftenposten	07.02.2006 17:10	61	
- Uaktuelt å trekke ut	Dagbladet	07.02.2006 18:49	63	
Nordmenn i skjul etter Muhammed-opptøyer	VG Nett	07.02.2006 20:51	65	
Stor skepsis i SV	Aftenposten	08.02.2006 00:21	67	
Soldatene mangler kirurg	Aftenposten	08.02.2006 06:53	69	
Fire drept i protester	Aftenposten	08.02.2006 10:14	71	
- Vi gir ikke etter for press	Dagbladet	08.02.2006 12:52	73	
- Håpløst av forsvarsledelsen	Dagbladet	08.02.2006 15:32	75	
Betaler for drap på nordmenn	VG Nett	08.02.2006 19:01	77	
Angrepet gjennomført med tyngre våpen	Aftenposten	08.02.2006 20:25	79	
Rødgrønt rally til 23 mill.	Aftenposten	09.02.2006 00:17	81	
Gulldusør for drap på nordmenn	VG Nett	09.02.2006 06:31	83	
Norske soldater skjøt med skarpt	Aftenposten	09.02.2006 15:28	85	
Jenteskole brent ned i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	09.02.2006 17:16	87	
Forsvarssjefen avviser kritikk	VG Nett	09.02.2006 21:11	89	
Afghanistan-uro toppet NATO-møte	VG Nett	09.02.2006 21:37	91	
Norskledet styrke avfyrt 400 skarpe skudd	Aftenposten	11.02.2006 13:29	93	
Kjempet for livet i fem timer	Aftenposten	12.02.2006 02:10	95	
Infosvikt granskes av Forsvaret	VG Nett	12.02.2006 17:31	97	
Mer penger til krig	Aftenposten	17.02.2006 06:50	99	
Betaler 250 mill. for smartere bomber	Dagbladet	21.02.2006 17:05	101	
- 100 har mistet livet i USAs varetekt	Aftenposten	22.02.2006 07:04	103	
En drept i angrep på ISAF-soldater i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.02.2006 14:17	105	
- Fanger gjør opprør i afghansk fengsel	VG Nett	26.02.2006 07:31	107	
Tidligere Taliban-medlemmer overga seg	VG Nett	26.02.2006 23:23	109	
Pakistanske styrker angriper opprørere	Aftenposten	01.03.2006 06:49	111	
Bush er i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	01.03.2006 10:26	113	
Økende trussel fra Taliban	Aftenposten	02.03.2006 00:16	115	
Fire drept av bombe i Afghanistan	VG Nett	04.03.2006 13:51	117	
50 geriljasoldater drept	Aftenposten	04.03.2006 21:26	119	
Etterforsker Pats død som drap	VG Nett	05.03.2006 13:31	121	
Norske irakere hjem for å skyte amerikanere	Dagbladet	06.03.2006 22:02	123	
Fortsatt like lovløst i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	11.03.2006 00:47	125	
Fugleinfluenta truer Burma og Afghanistan	VG Nett	13.03.2006 18:02	127	
Norske soldater reddet livet i siste liten	VG Nett	14.03.2006 06:31	129	
Kom rett fra Afghanistan	Dagbladet	17.03.2006 09:57	131	

Likene etter albanske gisler funnet i Afghanistan	VG Nett	17.03.2006 16:11	133
Reagerer som en far	Aftenposten	18.03.2006 00:28	135
«Bygda vår har gjennomgått nok»	Dagbladet	18.03.2006 08:43	137
Sudan farligere enn Afghanistan?	Dagbladet	20.03.2006 06:08	139
Truer med å henrette kristen	VG Nett	22.03.2006 08:34	141
Afghaner som vil konvertere, for syk for rettssak	VG Nett	23.03.2006 09:22	143
Trefningen i Meymaneh	Dagbladet	24.03.2006 05:45	145
Minst 20 drept i luftangrep i Pakistan	VG Nett	24.03.2006 08:52	147
Utsetter saken mot kristen afghaner	Dagbladet	26.03.2006 16:19	149
Afghanistan-soldater slått ut av magesyke	VG Nett	02.04.2006 22:03	151
Fangene fra Guantánamo	Aftenposten	10.04.2006 11:02	153
Barn drept i rakettangrep	Aftenposten	11.04.2006 17:59	155
Ettersøkt al-Qaida-medlem drept i Pakistan	Aftenposten	13.04.2006 19:27	157
Verden rundt i boksirkel	Aftenposten	14.04.2006 23:40	159
47 drept i harde kamper i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	15.04.2006 11:48	161
Amerikanske soldater skjøt nyfødt baby i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.04.2006 18:53	163
«Suksess- pakkiser»	VG Nett	19.04.2006 06:20	165
Fire soldater drept i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.04.2006 16:15	167
Fem døde etter flykrasj i Afghanistan	VG Nett	24.04.2006 15:37	169
- Norge bør bli i Afghanistan i lang tid	Dagbladet	02.05.2006 08:26	171
Klår linje frå SV	Dagbladet	05.05.2006 05:52	173
Ti omkom i amerikansk helikopterstyrt i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	06.05.2006 11:34	175
FN-stridig retur til Afghanistan	Dagbladet	09.05.2006 06:04	177
Dødelig angrep mot UNICEF i Afghanistan	VG Nett	13.05.2006 13:32	179
25 drept i kamper i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.05.2006 07:44	181
Taliban med voldsomt blodbad	Aftenposten	18.05.2006 21:50	183
Norge satser sterkere på sivile tiltak	Aftenposten	19.05.2006 08:35	185
Mulla Dadullah tatt i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	19.05.2006 16:43	187
Taliban-leder avviser at han er tatt	VG Nett	20.05.2006 09:22	189
- Jeg er ikke tatt	Aftenposten	20.05.2006 10:55	191
50 drept i luftangrep	Dagbladet	22.05.2006 09:46	193
Telemark Bataljon skaffer vann	Aftenposten	24.05.2006 11:17	195
USA mener Taliban er blitt sterkere	VG Nett	24.05.2006 18:11	197
Voldsom uro i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	29.05.2006 21:16	199
Rejected refugees continue hunger strike	Aftenposten	30.05.2006 11:30	201
Heller dø av sult	Aftenposten	30.05.2006 17:09	203

- Norge i strid med FN	VG Nett	07.06.2006 15:58	205
Tre afghanere har avbrutt sultestreiken	VG Nett	09.06.2006 12:39	207
15-20 opprørere drept i pakistansk angrep	VG Nett	10.06.2006 07:37	209
Ti Taliban-opprørere drept	Aftenposten	10.06.2006 18:50	211
Stort raid mot heroinfabrikker i Pakistan	Aftenposten	12.06.2006 09:20	213
Retur til Afghanistan	Dagbladet	13.06.2006 06:12	215
Ola soldat i helvetes forgård	VG Nett	14.06.2006 06:31	217
USA med storoffensiv i Afghanistan	VG Nett	14.06.2006 10:09	219
- Jeg velger å dø her i Norge i stedet for i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	14.06.2006 22:22	221
Minst ti drept i eksplosjon	Aftenposten	15.06.2006 06:44	223
NATO i Talibans hengemyr?	Aftenposten	16.06.2006 01:12	225
45 afghanske opprørere drept i offensiv	VG Nett	16.06.2006 23:07	227
Eneste måte å bli hørt	Aftenposten	17.06.2006 00:26	229
30 drept og 10 bortført i Afghanistan	VG Nett	19.06.2006 14:34	231
En fred vi ikke kan vinne?	Dagbladet	20.06.2006 05:45	233
Trener på Afghanistan	VG Nett	20.06.2006 20:57	235
50 drept i kamper og angrep i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.06.2006 00:36	237
Dramatisk for dansk forsvarssjef i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	23.06.2006 17:46	239
Minst 25 mistenkte opprørere drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	24.06.2006 11:31	241
150 Taliban-soldater drept	Dagbladet	24.06.2006 16:41	243
Gaven fra Afghanistan	Dagbladet	25.06.2006 06:03	245
Millioner har vendt tilbake	Aftenposten	26.06.2006 04:07	247
Norske asylsøkere arrestert i Afghanistan	VG Nett	26.06.2006 21:43	249
To norsk-turkmenere arrestert i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	27.06.2006 00:44	251
Norsk-turkmenerne løslatt	VG Nett	27.06.2006 08:55	253
Arrestert for kristen-DVD	VG Nett	27.06.2006 13:21	255
- Vi vil angripe soldater i Afghanistan	VG Nett	30.06.2006 06:52	257
- Afghanistan ikke trygt for alle	Dagbladet	30.06.2006 16:47	259
Britiske generaler ber om økt støtte til bakkestyrkene i Afg	VG Nett	01.07.2006 07:45	261
Taliban angrep militærleir i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	02.07.2006 09:26	263
To britiske soldater drept	VG Nett	02.07.2006 10:44	265
Fem afghanere drept på vei hjem fra jobb	VG Nett	04.07.2006 13:21	267
35 Taliban-opprørere drept i Kabul	VG Nett	05.07.2006 16:43	269
Hevder nynazister infiltrerer USAs forsvar	VG Nett	08.07.2006 08:39	271
Trøbbelistan	Dagbladet	09.07.2006 05:50	273
- For sju år siden var det masse vann her	Dagbladet	11.07.2006 14:00	275
Bokhandlerens kone vil ha asyl	Dagbladet	15.07.2006 07:12	277

Ti sivile drept av koalisjonsstyrkene i Afghanistan	VG Nett	20.07.2006 22:22	279
600 Taliban-soldater drept	Dagbladet	25.07.2006 12:45	281
Seks drept av bilbombe i Afghanistan	VG Nett	31.07.2006 10:23	283
To NATO-soldater drept i Sør-Afghanistan	Aftenposten	01.08.2006 09:59	285
Sivile og soldater drept i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	03.08.2006 21:48	287
NATO-soldater drept i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	04.08.2006 01:21	289
ISAF mål for angrep sør i Afghanistan	VG Nett	04.08.2006 14:20	291
Britisk soldat drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	06.08.2006 18:53	293
Selmordsbomber angrep NATO-konvoi	VG Nett	11.08.2006 15:33	295
Fem afghanske soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	13.08.2006 21:46	297
12 politifolk bombet av USA i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	17.08.2006 18:54	299
- London-terrorist i skjul i Afghanistan	VG Nett	18.08.2006 13:26	301
Ikke så farlig for de norske	Aftenposten	19.08.2006 00:03	303
- Hardeste krig på 50 år	Aftenposten	19.08.2006 00:24	305
Over 70 Taliban-krigere drept i kamp i Afghanistan	VG Nett	20.08.2006 10:35	307
Farligere i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.08.2006 00:28	309
Bush må tvangsutskrive soldater til Irak	VG Nett	24.08.2006 17:21	311
To franske soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	26.08.2006 07:20	313
Minst 17 drept i selvmordsangrep	Aftenposten	28.08.2006 11:37	315
Sprengte minibuss	Aftenposten	29.08.2006 07:00	317
Forsvarsministeren: Noen må også gjøre jobben i nord	Dagbladet	29.08.2006 16:06	319
Når sivile blir våpen	Aftenposten	31.08.2006 00:05	321
Trapper opp kampen mot opium	Aftenposten	01.09.2006 07:00	323
EU for alvor inn i Midtøsten	Aftenposten	02.09.2006 00:26	325
NATO-fly styrtet i Sør-Afghanistan	Dagbladet	02.09.2006 17:24	327
Offensiv fortsetter i Afghanistan	VG Nett	03.09.2006 10:40	329
Tre canadiske soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	03.09.2006 17:11	331
Press mot Norge	VG Nett	04.09.2006 06:33	333
NATO-soldat drept av egne i Afghanistan	VG Nett	04.09.2006 09:54	335
NATO hamrer løs på Taliban	Aftenposten	05.09.2006 00:16	337
- Derfor er Danmark terrormål	Dagbladet	06.09.2006 13:21	339
Uventet kraftig motstanden i Afghanistan	VG Nett	07.09.2006 11:40	341
Norge sender offiserer til Sør-Afghanistan	VG Nett	07.09.2006 22:36	343
Press på Norge for å sende styrker	Aftenposten	08.09.2006 00:19	345
Taliban slår hardt fra seg	Aftenposten	09.09.2006 00:17	347
Krigen verst i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	10.09.2006 00:11	349
- Nærmere 100 Taliban-krigere drept i	VG Nett	10.09.2006 11:23	351

Afghanistan				
- Jakten på bin Laden fortsetter	Aftenposten	10.09.2006 19:09	353	
Svenske soldater angrepet i Afghanistan	VG Nett	12.09.2006 14:41	355	
Vi sa nei da NATO spurte	Aftenposten	13.09.2006 00:34	357	
- Norge bør gjøre mer i Afghanistan	VG Nett	13.09.2006 14:23	359	
På uviss og dristig kurs	Aftenposten	14.09.2006 00:22	361	
Fra burka til Medusa	Dagbladet	14.09.2006 05:45	363	
Polen sender 1000 soldater til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	14.09.2006 09:15	365	
Støre utelukker ikke flere soldater til Afghanistan	VG Nett	14.09.2006 20:33	367	
Bekymret over sivile tap i Afghanistan	VG Nett	15.09.2006 05:43	369	
More soldiers may head for Afghanistan after all	Aftenposten	15.09.2006 11:59	371	
USA starter «Operation Mountain Fury»	Dagbladet	16.09.2006 19:56	373	
Flere såret i angrep mot NATO-patrulje	VG Nett	18.09.2006 11:12	375	
Selvmordsangrep i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.09.2006 19:41	377	
Norske styrker er klare	Aftenposten	20.09.2006 00:07	379	
Ikke flere norske styrker til Afghanistan	VG Nett	21.09.2006 23:27	381	
Den indre terror	VG Nett	24.09.2006 09:09	383	
- Bra for verden om Bin Laden er død	VG Nett	24.09.2006 17:34	385	
En vanskelig krig	Dagbladet	28.09.2006 05:45	387	
NATO vil ha nordmenn	Aftenposten	29.09.2006 00:09	389	
Norge pusser opp moské i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	02.10.2006 00:34	391	
NATO tar over i hele Afghanistan fra torsdag	VG Nett	03.10.2006 10:40	393	
Millioner sult-truet i Afghanistan	VG Nett	03.10.2006 23:48	395	
Badstu-krigere i Afghanistan	VG Nett	04.10.2006 11:09	397	
- Hjelpen til Afghanistan må økes	VG Nett	05.10.2006 16:39	399	
To tyske journalister drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	07.10.2006 15:12	401	
Nektes tjeneste i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	08.10.2006 14:36	403	
Fakta Afghanistan	VG Nett	10.10.2006 15:46	405	
Ni drept i selvmordsangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	13.10.2006 17:17	407	
To sivile drept i bombeeksplosjon	VG Nett	15.10.2006 09:32	409	
Fant cannabis-skog	Aftenposten	16.10.2006 14:41	411	
Steilt mot spesialstyrker til Afghanistan	VG Nett	17.10.2006 06:22	413	
Stone lager film om bin Laden	Dagbladet	17.10.2006 16:35	415	
Setter krav for å løslate italiensk gissel	VG Nett	17.10.2006 23:51	417	
SV varsler ny demonstrasjon	Aftenposten	18.10.2006 09:03	419	
SU i full krig mot Haga	VG Nett	18.10.2006 12:17	421	
Norge sier nei til NATO	VG Nett	18.10.2006 14:42	423	
- Sender ikke styrker til Afghanistan	Dagbladet	18.10.2006 14:54	425	

Opptil 14 opprørere drept nordøst i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	18.10.2006 15:16	427
- Norge burde sagt ja til NATO	VG Nett	18.10.2006 15:42	429
- Åtte sivile afghanere drept i NATO-angrep	VG Nett	18.10.2006 15:52	431
- Burde sagt ja til NATO	Aftenposten	18.10.2006 16:34	433
SV triumferer ikke	Aftenposten	18.10.2006 17:41	435
Slakter regjeringens NATO-vedtak	VG Nett	18.10.2006 18:47	437
Stoltenberg: Ga ikke etter for SV	Aftenposten	18.10.2006 21:33	439
USA kritiserer ikke Afghanistan-beslutningen	VG Nett	18.10.2006 23:40	441
Skuffet over Norge	Aftenposten	19.10.2006 00:15	443
Snudde fra NATO-ja	VG Nett	19.10.2006 06:16	445
Flere drept i selvmordsangrep mot NATO-kolonne	VG Nett	19.10.2006 09:19	447
NATO-soldater drept i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	19.10.2006 10:36	449
Brenner skoler i Afghanistan	VG Nett	19.10.2006 12:21	451
- Må helt ut av Afghanistan	Dagbladet	19.10.2006 14:33	453
- Måtte stanse spekulasjonene	VG Nett	19.10.2006 15:17	455
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Vurderer å tvinge frem avstemning	Aftenposten	20.10.2006 00:21	459
Tilsløring av sannheten	Aftenposten	20.10.2006 00:26	461
Karzai ber NATO-styrken vise større hensyn	VG Nett	20.10.2006 07:34	463
Fem drept i flyangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	21.10.2006 11:50	465
- Typisk norsk å overlate drittjobbene til andre	VG Nett	22.10.2006 11:58	467
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- Taliban vil angripe Europa	VG Nett	23.10.2006 07:54	471
NATO-kamp på ny	Aftenposten	24.10.2006 00:23	473
Opposisjonen dropper Afghanistan-forslag	Dagbladet	24.10.2006 02:53	475
Opposisjonen dropper Afghanistan-forslag	VG Nett	24.10.2006 06:27	477
- Ap gir etter for SV	Dagbladet	24.10.2006 12:11	479
- Uklart hva regjeringen mener om Afghanistan	VG Nett	24.10.2006 12:44	481
Støre la seg flat nok	Aftenposten	24.10.2006 21:31	483
Dobbelt historisk	Dagbladet	25.10.2006 05:45	485
Vil sende gamle stridsvogner til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	25.10.2006 07:14	487
NATO-soldater beskyldes for likskjending	VG Nett	25.10.2006 10:45	489
NATO-styrker drepte 38 afghanske opprørere	Aftenposten	25.10.2006 11:26	491
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Seks soldater innblandet	Aftenposten	26.10.2006 09:23	495
Behov for ny strategi	VG Nett	27.10.2006 08:02	497
Soldater sparket etter skandalebilder	Dagbladet	27.10.2006 12:21	499
Publiserer nye sjokkbilder fra Afghanistan	Aftenposten	28.10.2006 16:18	501

55 drept i NATO-angrep i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	29.10.2006 10:06	503
Mislykket strategi	Aftenposten	30.10.2006 00:13	505
Voldsomme kamper i Sør-Afghanistan	VG Nett	30.10.2006 20:00	507
- Økt Taliban-aktivitet	Aftenposten	31.10.2006 06:37	509
Norske soldater i «hendelse» i Afghanistan	VG Nett	31.10.2006 15:44	511
Norske soldater i 'hendelse' i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	31.10.2006 17:23	513
Norwegians under fire	Aftenposten	01.11.2006 11:36	515
Norske soldater i intens skuddveksling	Dagbladet	01.11.2006 12:20	517
Afghanistan-krigen «norsk forsvarsstrategi»?	Dagbladet	03.11.2006 05:45	519
Si ja, Jens!	VG Nett	04.11.2006 09:40	521
Utenriksminister Støre refser NATO	VG Nett	05.11.2006 07:54	523
«Hva skal man med Taliban når man har slike som dere?»	Dagbladet	07.11.2006 18:26	525
Minst 34 drept av NATO-styrker i Afghanistan	VG Nett	09.11.2006 11:26	527
Spørsmålet er om vi går med i krigen	Dagbladet	10.11.2006 05:45	529
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Tysker fryktes bortført i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	04.07.2007 15:01	1075
Seks NATO-soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	04.07.2007 18:48	1077
To NATO-soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	06.07.2007 07:37	1079
10-åring drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	09.07.2007 08:56	1081
- Skolebarn drept av selvmordsbombe	Aftenposten	10.07.2007 13:40	1083
13 skolebarn drept	Aftenposten	10.07.2007 20:11	1085
- Al-Qaida har gjenvunnet sin styrke	Dagbladet	12.07.2007 07:26	1087
Asylvedtak berører flere enn afghanere	VG Nett	13.07.2007 22:19	1089
Leter etter kidnappede tyskere i Afghanistan	VG Nett	19.07.2007 08:11	1091
Opprørsleder i Afghanistan benekter våpenhvile	Dagbladet	19.07.2007 20:16	1093
- Rundt 20 sørkoreanere kidnappet i	Aftenposten	20.07.2007 09:03	1095

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Truer med å drepe 18 sørkoreanske gisler	VG Nett	21.07.2007 00:21	1097	
- Kan vente nye angrep på ISAF	VG Nett	21.07.2007 07:35	1099	
Taliban truer med å drepe tyske gisler	VG Nett	21.07.2007 08:04	1101	
Taliban hevder å ha drept tysk gissel	Aftenposten	21.07.2007 10:17	1103	
NATO-artilleri rammet sivile i Afghanistan	VG Nett	22.07.2007 07:57	1105	
Truer med å drepe disse menneskene	VG Nett	22.07.2007 10:50	1107	
Soldater klare til å aksjonere mot Taliban	VG Nett	22.07.2007 15:27	1109	
Afghanistan-kongen er død	Dagbladet	23.07.2007 08:01	1111	
Påstår at sørkoreanske gisler er i god form	Aftenposten	23.07.2007 08:13	1113	
Norsk soldatt skutt og drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	23.07.2007 14:33	1115	
Special forces soldier killed in Afghanistan	Aftenposten	23.07.2007 15:16	1117	
Frp: - Dette endrer ikke vår holdning	VG Nett	23.07.2007 15:44	1119	
Regjeringen uttrykker medfølelse med soldatfamilien	Dagbladet	23.07.2007 16:04	1121	
- Endrer ikke vårt oppdrag	Aftenposten	23.07.2007 17:19	1123	
-Må forberede oss på flere dødsfall	Dagbladet	23.07.2007 17:47	1125	
- Vi har gått inn i dette med åpne øyne	Aftenposten	23.07.2007 19:25	1127	
Minnegudstjeneste i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	23.07.2007 21:08	1129	
Elitesoldatene samles til minnegudstjeneste i Kabul	VG Nett	23.07.2007 21:57	1131	
- De visste at dette måtte skje	Aftenposten	24.07.2007 00:04	1133	
Forskere tror nordmenn kan bli gisselmål	VG Nett	24.07.2007 06:10	1135	
- Kidnappet tysker alvorlig syk	VG Nett	24.07.2007 08:47	1137	
- Kidnappet tysker alvorlig syk	Aftenposten	24.07.2007 09:00	1139	
Talibanleder drept i Pakistan	Dagbladet	24.07.2007 11:21	1141	
Norsk offiser: - Taliban er sterkt svekket	VG Nett	24.07.2007 13:17	1143	
- Kidnappingen strider mot islam	Dagbladet	24.07.2007 14:18	1145	
Krigens pris	Aftenposten	24.07.2007 17:11	1147	
Forhandlingene om sørkoreanske gisler fortsetter	VG Nett	24.07.2007 23:39	1149	
Forhandler fremdeles om sørkoreanske gisler	Dagbladet	25.07.2007 00:05	1151	
Ny strategi i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	25.07.2007 06:05	1153	
- Utelukker ikke norske offiserer i Sør-Afghanistan	VG Nett	25.07.2007 06:30	1155	
Tysk journalist fryktes bortført i Afghanistan	VG Nett	25.07.2007 09:22	1157	
Tysk journalist fryktes bortført i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	25.07.2007 10:56	1159	
Bortført tysk journalist satt fri i Afghanistan	VG Nett	25.07.2007 15:32	1161	
Fallen soldat tilbake kom hjem til Norge	Aftenposten	25.07.2007 22:47	1163	
Tre like intervjuer fra tre forskjellige offiserer	Aftenposten	26.07.2007 06:26	1165	

- Skremmes ikke fra å dra til Afghanistan	VG Nett	26.07.2007 07:05	1167
- Sørkoreanske gisler er fortsatt i live	Aftenposten	26.07.2007 09:18	1169
Taliban utsetter igjen fristen i gisselforhandlinger	VG Nett	26.07.2007 18:35	1171
Afghanistan torturerer fanger de får fra ISAF	Dagbladet	27.07.2007 05:56	1173
Sivile drept i flyangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	27.07.2007 11:14	1175
- Vedvarende okkupasjon betyr flere drepte	VG Nett	27.07.2007 14:37	1177
Utsatt fristen på ubestemt tid.	Dagbladet	27.07.2007 16:16	1179
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Ved båren til en død soldat	Aftenposten	28.07.2007 17:06	1187
Gissel: - Vi er slitne og trenger hjelp.	Dagbladet	28.07.2007 17:42	1189
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Minsterens sønn får ikke dra til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	29.07.2007 22:23	1193
Kunnskap er vårt nye våpen	Aftenposten	30.07.2007 00:06	1195
- NATO vil bruke mindre bomber i Afghanistan	VG Nett	30.07.2007 07:57	1197
Ti sikkerhetsansatte drept av Taliban	Aftenposten	30.07.2007 15:44	1199
Taliban: - Sørkoreansk gissel skutt	Dagbladet	30.07.2007 18:58	1201
Al Jazeera viser opptak av koreanske gisler	VG Nett	31.07.2007 01:27	1203
Øker presset på myndighetene	Dagbladet	31.07.2007 09:15	1205
Al Jazeera viser video av tysk gissel i Afghanistan	VG Nett	01.08.2007 01:32	1207
Holdt den virkelige dødsårsaken skjult	Aftenposten	01.08.2007 14:55	1209
Blant verdens fredløse	Aftenposten	01.08.2007 17:01	1211
Svensk soldat skadd i trafikkulykke i Afghanistan	VG Nett	01.08.2007 21:07	1213
Sør-Korea ber USA om hjelp i gisselsaken	Aftenposten	02.08.2007 15:22	1215
USA avviser ikke gisselaksjon i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	02.08.2007 19:29	1217
Sørkoreanere til gisselforhandlinger i Afghanistan	VG Nett	02.08.2007 20:14	1219
- NATO-soldater hjelper heroinprodusentene	Aftenposten	04.08.2007 00:08	1221
- Ikke styrkenes feil	Aftenposten	04.08.2007 00:08	1223
Tjenestemann bortført i Sør-Afghanistan	VG Nett	05.08.2007 19:09	1225
Fanget i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	06.08.2007 06:08	1227
Fikk snakke med gissel i Afghanistan	VG Nett	06.08.2007 10:21	1229
USA vil ikke gi etter for Taliban i gisselsak	VG Nett	06.08.2007 19:04	1231
Taliban-angrep mot amerikansk base	VG Nett	07.08.2007 20:39	1233
Ny strategi i kampen mot afghansk heroin	VG Nett	09.08.2007 06:58	1235
Taliban: - Har løslatt to gisler	VG Nett	11.08.2007 19:41	1237

- Taliban slipper ikke fri gisler	VG Nett	12.08.2007 07:49	1239
Musharraf på fredsråd i Kabul	VG Nett	12.08.2007 10:38	1241
- Vi vil løslate to syke gisler i dag	Aftenposten	13.08.2007 11:52	1243
Kidnappet soldat halshogd	VG Nett	14.08.2007 11:09	1245
Tre tyskere drept i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	15.08.2007 12:13	1247
Forsvaret ber om mer bistand i Afghanistan	VG Nett	16.08.2007 21:48	1249
Frykter Internett gir nye terror-angrep	VG Nett	17.08.2007 08:11	1251
- Lei for at vi har bidratt til så mye bekymring	Dagbladet	17.08.2007 11:59	1253
- Tysk kvinne bortført i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.08.2007 13:51	1255
15 drept av bilbombe i Kandahar	Dagbladet	18.08.2007 23:38	1257
Taliban nekter å ha bortført tysk kvinne	Aftenposten	19.08.2007 09:36	1259
Bortført tysk kvinne satt fri i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	19.08.2007 23:27	1261
Norske soldater roses etter gisseldrama	VG Nett	20.08.2007 13:07	1263
Norske styrker deltok i redningsaksjon for tysk gissel	Aftenposten	20.08.2007 13:33	1265
USA i hemmelige forhandlinger med Taliban	VG Nett	21.08.2007 08:02	1267
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Afghansk guvernør unnslopp selvmordsangrep	VG Nett	22.08.2007 13:56	1271
Afghansk guvernør overlevde angrep	Aftenposten	22.08.2007 13:59	1273
Tysk gissel trygler om hjelp i Afghanistan	VG Nett	23.08.2007 07:03	1275
Tysk gissel trygler om hjelp i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	23.08.2007 07:24	1277
Canadiske soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	23.08.2007 07:35	1279
Minst tre drept i eksplosjon i Afghanistan	VG Nett	23.08.2007 10:48	1281
Tre briter trolig drept av allierte i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	24.08.2007 13:44	1283
Tre briter trolig drept av allierte i Afghanistan	VG Nett	24.08.2007 16:46	1285
Gissel ga friheten til to kvinner	VG Nett	25.08.2007 07:52	1287
Sikkerhetsvakter drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	25.08.2007 11:57	1289
- Amerikanerne var nær ved å fange bin Laden	VG Nett	26.08.2007 21:54	1291
- Var nær ved å fange bin Laden	Aftenposten	26.08.2007 22:47	1293
Nye forhandlinger om gisler i Afghanistan	VG Nett	27.08.2007 19:41	1295
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Sørkoreanske gisler settes fri	Dagbladet	28.08.2007 13:46	1299
Mer enn 100 drept i Afghanistan-kamper	VG Nett	28.08.2007 22:14	1301
Vurderer å sende nordmenn til Sør-Afghanistan	VG Nett	29.08.2007 06:08	1303
Ber om norske soldater i Sør-Afghanistan	Aftenposten	29.08.2007 07:02	1305
Norske styrker kan bli sendt til Sør-Afghanistan	Dagbladet	29.08.2007 07:58	1307
Government split after Dutch request for troops	Aftenposten	29.08.2007 09:23	1309
Ingen planer om norske styrker i Sør-Afghanistan	Aftenposten	29.08.2007 15:36	1311
Frp og RV: - SV må ut av regjeringen	VG Nett	29.08.2007 16:31	1313

Håper de siste gislene settes fri snart	VG Nett	30.08.2007 08:47	1315
Håper de siste gislene settes fri snart	VG Nett	30.08.2007 08:47	1317
Ettersøkt Taliban-leder drept	VG Nett	30.08.2007 12:11	1319
Afghansk gisseldrama over	VG Nett	30.08.2007 20:48	1321
Gisler visste ikke at to venner var drept	Aftenposten	31.08.2007 08:39	1323
Taliban varsler flere kidnappinger	VG Nett	31.08.2007 09:18	1325
Hemmelig agent kan ha løst gisseldramaet	VG Nett	31.08.2007 12:02	1327
Taliban: - Fikk løsepenger fra Sør-Korea	Dagbladet	01.09.2007 09:04	1329
Taliban: - Fikk 100 millioner for gislene	Aftenposten	01.09.2007 09:57	1331
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Hva nå, Taliban?	Dagbladet	03.09.2007 06:01	1335
Flyktninger fra Ghazni-provinsen får bli	VG Nett	03.09.2007 22:54	1337
Selvmondsangrep mot politiet nord i Afghanistan	VG Nett	04.09.2007 16:10	1339
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- Opprørere og sivile drept sør i Afghanistan	VG Nett	05.09.2007 16:10	1343
Mer enn 40 afghanske opprørere drep	VG Nett	06.09.2007 09:12	1345
Opprørere og NATO-soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	06.09.2007 22:02	1347
E-tjenesten sender flerkulturelle som hysj-agenter	VG Nett	08.09.2007 08:33	1349
- Forsøk på rakettangrep mot norsk soldater	VG Nett	08.09.2007 14:50	1351
Norsk soldater strandet i Kabul	VG Nett	09.09.2007 00:08	1353
30 opprørere drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	09.09.2007 09:14	1355
Gisler satt fri i Afghanistan	VG Nett	10.09.2007 13:35	1357
- Forsøkte å få gisler til å konvertere	Dagbladet	12.09.2007 13:25	1359
Norsk soldat skutt i foten i Afghanistan	VG Nett	15.09.2007 13:12	1361
Åtte drept i selvmordsangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	17.09.2007 12:39	1363
Fra vondt til verre	VG Nett	18.09.2007 08:50	1365
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HV-soldater kan bli sendt til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.09.2007 15:32	1369
National Guard soldiers may be sent overseas	Aftenposten	18.09.2007 17:52	1371
To danske soldater skadet i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	19.09.2007 15:31	1373
Al-Qaidas nestleder håner USA i ny video	Dagbladet	20.09.2007 08:36	1375
Henlegger anmeldelse av Aker Kværner	Dagbladet	20.09.2007 15:28	1377
To NATO-soldater mistet livet sør i Afghanistan	VG Nett	20.09.2007 19:04	1379
Nederlandsk soldat drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	21.09.2007 00:24	1381
NATO-fly drepte sivile i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	21.09.2007 07:40	1383
Afghanistandebatt på villspor	Aftenposten	21.09.2007 17:03	1385

Nederlandsk soldat drept i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.09.2007 00:14	1387
To italienske soldater savnet i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	23.09.2007 15:16	1389
Støre fikk FN-ros for Afghanistan-initiativ	VG Nett	24.09.2007 07:52	1391
Italienske soldater frigitt i Afghanistan	VG Nett	24.09.2007 08:53	1393
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- Drikkepress blant offiserene i Kabul	Aftenposten	24.09.2007 16:24	1397
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Minst ni drept i ny vold i Afghanistan	VG Nett	25.09.2007 18:22	1401
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Talibans talsmann arrestert	VG Nett	27.09.2007 08:04	1405
Norske spesialstyrker hjemme igjen	VG Nett	28.09.2007 09:07	1407
Gisler løslatt i Afghanistan	VG Nett	29.09.2007 16:06	1409
Dansker kan ha blitt beskyttet av medsoldater i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	30.09.2007 19:28	1411
Bombeangrep mot norske styrker	VG Nett	02.10.2007 13:47	1413
Norske soldater rammet av veibomber	Dagbladet	02.10.2007 13:54	1415
Minst 14 drept i Pakistan	VG Nett	03.10.2007 16:03	1417
Vil ha flere fly ute	Aftenposten	04.10.2007 14:16	1419
Prins Williams troppssjef drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	06.10.2007 20:27	1421
80 drept i harde kamper i Pakistan	VG Nett	08.10.2007 16:13	1423
15 henrettet i Afghanistan	VG Nett	08.10.2007 20:07	1425
- Mulla Krekar driver islamistisk nettside	VG Nett	09.10.2007 07:53	1427
Norske styrker tar fortsatt fanger i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	09.10.2007 11:55	1429
- Fem gisler løslatt i Afghanistan	VG Nett	10.10.2007 16:38	1431
Afghanistan ber Iran vente med å sende hjem flyktninger	VG Nett	11.10.2007 11:17	1433
Fire politimenn drept i bombeangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	13.10.2007 08:44	1435
Veibombe skulle drepe den norske Maimana-sjefen	VG Nett	15.10.2007 12:34	1437
Tolv NATO-soldater skadet i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	15.10.2007 19:50	1439
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NATO-soldater drepte to år gammel jente	Aftenposten	21.10.2007 00:53	1443
Antropologer i krigens frontlinje	Dagbladet	23.10.2007 06:05	1445
Dette skal NATO-ministerne snakke om i Noordwijk	Aftenposten	23.10.2007 16:13	1447
Samarbeidspartnere i NATO trygler Norge	VG Nett	24.10.2007 07:57	1449
Will not spread Afghanistan forces	Aftenposten	24.10.2007 12:11	1451
Presset mot Norge	VG Nett	25.10.2007 07:23	1453
Ekstremtulist i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	25.10.2007 10:34	1455

Karzai vil ha færre flyangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	26.10.2007 06:41	1457
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General: Altfor få NATO-soldater i Afghanistan	VG Nett	27.10.2007 19:12	1461
NATOs og Norges dilemma	Aftenposten	28.10.2007 17:01	1463
- 50 talibansoldater drept og såret i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	29.10.2007 09:23	1465
Ny splid om Afghanistan	Aftenposten	31.10.2007 00:15	1467
Slik skal amerikanerne unngå å ødelegge historiske skatter	VG Nett	31.10.2007 20:58	1469
To barn drept i Afghanistan-aksjon	VG Nett	01.11.2007 14:13	1471
Japan ut av Afghanistan-krigen	VG Nett	01.11.2007 18:01	1473
Norge kriger i Nord-Afghanistan	Aftenposten	02.11.2007 00:06	1475
Skal kvele Talibans etablering	Aftenposten	02.11.2007 00:06	1477
Warfare in Afghanistan	Aftenposten	02.11.2007 12:30	1479
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Norske soldater i skuddveksling	VG Nett	03.11.2007 17:09	1483
Norske soldater i skuddveksling i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	03.11.2007 17:26	1485
En blankpusset løgn	Dagbladet	05.11.2007 06:12	1487
FN: 400.000 flyktninger skal hjem til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	05.11.2007 12:30	1489
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- Tror ikke man kan bombe seg til fred	VG Nett	05.11.2007 23:10	1493
Spesialstyrkene til Afghanistan på nyåret	VG Nett	06.11.2007 06:27	1495
150 nye soldater til Afghanistan	Dagbladet	06.11.2007 10:33	1497
Ti drept eller skadet - operasjonen fortsetter	Aftenposten	06.11.2007 11:07	1499
- Utrolig vanskelig for de norske soldatene	Aftenposten	06.11.2007 13:19	1501
20 drept av selvmordsbomber i Nord-Afghanistan	Dagbladet	06.11.2007 13:25	1503
- Overstiger smertegrensen	Aftenposten	06.11.2007 15:15	1505
- Debatten er ikke over	Aftenposten	06.11.2007 22:13	1507
19-åringer under tysk kommando	Aftenposten	07.11.2007 00:28	1509
Venter på at sønnen skal ringe	Aftenposten	07.11.2007 00:28	1511
SV vil ha omkamp om ISAF	VG Nett	07.11.2007 07:40	1513
- Reflekterte, unge mennesker	Aftenposten	07.11.2007 16:52	1515
- Plukker ut dem som er best skikket	Aftenposten	07.11.2007 17:31	1517
NATO uenig i kritikk	Aftenposten	08.11.2007 00:13	1519
Tror slaget er vunnet	Aftenposten	08.11.2007 00:13	1521
En av ti soldater kan få psykiske senskader	VG Nett	08.11.2007 06:51	1523
Norske soldater har drept i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	08.11.2007 07:56	1525
- Norske spesialsoldater har drept 25 Taliban-soldater	VG Nett	08.11.2007 13:21	1527

Norsk soldat drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	08.11.2007 18:38	1529
- En stor tragedie	Aftenposten	08.11.2007 20:10	1531
- Sivilebefolkningens tillit til NATO tynnslett	Aftenposten	08.11.2007 21:48	1533
- Må definere situasjonen i Afghanistan som krig	VG Nett	09.11.2007 00:10	1535
Fikk ikke informasjon	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 00:13	1537
Bruken av veibomber øker	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 01:55	1539
Skadd soldat flyttes	Dagbladet	09.11.2007 07:55	1541
Tøft for de norske soldatene	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 08:36	1543
59 skolebarn drept i selvmordsangrep	VG Nett	09.11.2007 09:12	1545
Afghanistan: Eksperter håper å finne svar i vrakrestene	VG Nett	09.11.2007 10:40	1547
Skattejakt blant det vi ikke vil ha	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 11:24	1549
Kristoffer (22) fra Stange ble drept i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	09.11.2007 12:10	1551
- Tragisk at unge soldater blir drept	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 12:15	1553
Drepte norske soldater hedres på Facebook	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 13:08	1555
Var hjemme for få dager siden	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 15:21	1557
Seek better military equipment	Aftenposten	09.11.2007 15:44	1559
Veibombe hadde trykkplateutløser	Dagbladet	09.11.2007 19:09	1561
Definisjonen av krig er utdatert	Aftenposten	10.11.2007 00:17	1563
Krig om ord	Dagbladet	10.11.2007 06:04	1565
Såret soldat tilbake i Norge	VG Nett	10.11.2007 08:35	1567
Seks NATO-soldater drept øst i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	10.11.2007 08:52	1569
Såret soldat tilbake i Norge	Dagbladet	10.11.2007 09:23	1571
- Flaks at soldat fikk behandling og reddet livet	VG Nett	10.11.2007 14:25	1573
NATOs knipe i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	10.11.2007 17:17	1575
Voldeligste år i Afghanistan siden invasjonen	Dagbladet	10.11.2007 17:58	1577
Alvorlig for skadet soldat	Aftenposten	10.11.2007 23:10	1579
Når krig blir normalt	Dagbladet	11.11.2007 06:06	1581
Bekymret for legemangel hos den norske styrken	Aftenposten	11.11.2007 09:01	1583
Kven sin krig skal vi delta i?	Aftenposten	11.11.2007 17:10	1585
VIL GÅ TAPT - Flere norske liv	VG Nett	12.11.2007 06:51	1587
- Utleverer fanger til tortur i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	12.11.2007 10:09	1589
To NATO-soldater drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	12.11.2007 11:52	1591
Er Norge i krig?	Aftenposten	12.11.2007 17:38	1593
- Norge medansvarlig for tortur i Afghanistan	VG Nett	12.11.2007 18:34	1595
Den dagen...	Aftenposten	12.11.2007 20:59	1597
Utleveres tross misnøye	Aftenposten	13.11.2007 00:39	1599

- Krigene i Irak og Afghanistan dobbelt så dyre	VG Nett	13.11.2007 10:04	1601
Feil fokus?	Aftenposten	13.11.2007 17:40	1603
- Forsvarstopp varslet om legemangel - måtte gå	Aftenposten	13.11.2007 19:14	1605
Skjulte kostnader dobler prisen på USAs kriger	Aftenposten	13.11.2007 21:19	1607
Polske soldater pågrepet for overgrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	14.11.2007 06:27	1609
Er du så dum at du drar i internasjonale operasjoner, må du ta støyten sjøl	Dagbladet	14.11.2007 10:37	1611
KrF vil ha redegjørelse om legedekning	Aftenposten	14.11.2007 12:12	1613
Må svare i Stortinget om legedekninga i Afghanistan	VG Nett	14.11.2007 13:39	1615
Farlig legemangel	Aftenposten	14.11.2007 17:41	1617
- Ingen bevis for systematisk tortur i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	14.11.2007 23:18	1619
Britisk soldat drept i Afghanistan	VG Nett	15.11.2007 06:41	1621
Jagland tar feil om FN-mandat	Aftenposten	15.11.2007 17:47	1623
SV og krigens etiske krav	Dagbladet	16.11.2007 09:35	1625
Feil kurs i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	16.11.2007 17:02	1627
Afghanske barn	Aftenposten	16.11.2007 17:48	1629
Norske leger står i kø for Afghanistan	Aftenposten	17.11.2007 00:10	1631
Annenhver nordmann vil hente hjem soldatene	VG Nett	17.11.2007 08:05	1633
Uavklart med leger til Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.11.2007 00:11	1635
Tolv Taliban-krigere drept i Sør-Afghanistan	Aftenposten	18.11.2007 11:04	1637
Avtale om Afghanistan-leger i boks	VG Nett	18.11.2007 18:49	1639
Beholder jobben etter krangel med forsvarssjefen	Dagbladet	18.11.2007 19:32	1641
En lege på vakt koster 105 000 i uken	VG Nett	19.11.2007 07:34	1643
Stortinget kan være ført bak lyset	Aftenposten	19.11.2007 14:28	1645
- Har tillit til Diesen	Aftenposten	19.11.2007 23:29	1647
Hjelpeorganisasjoner vil ha soldatene i Afghanistan	VG Nett	20.11.2007 06:35	1649
Avviser at Rosén ble presset til å gå av	VG Nett	20.11.2007 10:37	1651
Avviser at Rosén ble presset	Aftenposten	20.11.2007 13:31	1653
Garanterer for legedekning	Aftenposten	20.11.2007 23:56	1655
Statsråd i spagat	VG Nett	21.11.2007 07:19	1657
Defense squabble deepens	Aftenposten	21.11.2007 13:15	1659
Harde kamper i Sør-Afghanistan	VG Nett	21.11.2007 13:36	1661
- Taliban nærmer seg Kabul	Aftenposten	21.11.2007 15:39	1663
Sliten Rosén ser frem til høringen	Aftenposten	21.11.2007 18:11	1665
Derfor er Norge i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.11.2007 00:28	1667

- Det er en utfordrende situasjon	VG Nett	22.11.2007 10:11	1669
Legemangel stanset norske oppdrag	VG Nett	22.11.2007 11:18	1671
- Skulle ønske vi handlet før	Dagbladet	22.11.2007 12:46	1673
Parliament satisfied	Aftenposten	22.11.2007 17:00	1675
`Kjakan` peppet opp spesialsoldater	Aftenposten	23.11.2007 00:08	1677
- Afghanistan-lege sa opp i protest	VG Nett	23.11.2007 07:50	1679
Leger til Afghanistan	VG Nett	23.11.2007 08:15	1681
Soldaten kommer ikke til å få varige men	VG Nett	23.11.2007 16:18	1683
Her er Kristoffers egne bilder fra Afghanistan	VG Nett	23.11.2007 17:55	1685
Flere barn drept av selvmordsbomber	Aftenposten	24.11.2007 10:25	1687
Hører ikke forskjell på Bush og Stoltenberg	VG Nett	24.11.2007 15:09	1689
NATOs nasjonale begrensninger	Aftenposten	24.11.2007 18:02	1691
Haaland Matlary og krigen mot terror	Dagbladet	25.11.2007 06:13	1693
Briter drepte dansker i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	25.11.2007 20:43	1695
Danske soldater drept av briter i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	26.11.2007 07:40	1697
Afghansk opiumskrig	Aftenposten	26.11.2007 17:06	1699
SVs dobbeltkommunikasjon	Aftenposten	26.11.2007 17:46	1701
Britene beklager drap på danske soldater	Aftenposten	26.11.2007 19:46	1703
Når venner blir fiender	VG Nett	27.11.2007 06:54	1705
En konsekvens av Stoltenberg	Aftenposten	28.11.2007 17:00	1707
Frivillighet?	Dagbladet	29.11.2007 06:09	1709
Danske soldater drept	VG Nett	29.11.2007 18:22	1711
Bin Laden: - USA taper krigen i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	29.11.2007 19:43	1713
- Afghanistan åpner for ny rettssak mot drapsmenn	VG Nett	30.11.2007 01:13	1715
Har ikke misbrukt embetet	Aftenposten	30.11.2007 17:01	1717
Hets mot fredsaktivister	Dagbladet	01.12.2007 06:00	1719
Måtte amputere benet etter Afghanistan-angrep	VG Nett	01.12.2007 12:28	1721
Realistisk fred	Dagbladet	04.12.2007 06:08	1723
USA vurderer å væpne afghansk milits	VG Nett	04.12.2007 10:32	1725
- Økende bruk av selvmordsangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	05.12.2007 14:47	1727
Taliban på Tinet	Dagbladet	07.12.2007 06:03	1729
President eller kannestøper?	Aftenposten	07.12.2007 17:04	1731
NATO frykter krig i Kosovo	Aftenposten	08.12.2007 00:06	1733
Hjelpearbeider satt fri etter tre måneder i fangenskap	Aftenposten	08.12.2007 12:33	1735
Krig redder kvinnene?	Aftenposten	08.12.2007 17:10	1737
De kan jakte spesielt på nordmenn	Aftenposten	09.12.2007 00:27	1739
Forsvaret etterlyser Afghanistan-støtte	VG Nett	09.12.2007 08:05	1741

Taliban på Tingen	Dagbladet	10.12.2007 06:04	1743
Vårt nye fengsel	Dagbladet	11.12.2007 06:10	1745
15 drept i talibanangrep i Afghanistan	VG Nett	11.12.2007 16:20	1747
Feil medisin	Dagbladet	12.12.2007 06:11	1749
Albania tilbyr ammunisjon til Afghanistan og Irak	VG Nett	13.12.2007 00:32	1751
Skadet Afghanistan-soldat fikk medalje	VG Nett	13.12.2007 17:12	1753
Hva gjør vi egentlig i Afghanistan?	Dagbladet	14.12.2007 14:06	1755
Australia advarer mot tap i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	17.12.2007 08:20	1757
6 300 mennesker drept i Afghanistan i år	Dagbladet	17.12.2007 09:59	1759
Senatet bevilger nær 400 milliarder til Irak-krigen	VG Nett	19.12.2007 06:54	1761
Diesen: - Rosén prioriterte ikke akutte behov nok	VG Nett	19.12.2007 15:10	1763
Rosén: - Skivebom, for jeg er ganske kjapp	VG Nett	19.12.2007 17:26	1765
Reddet livet til kamerat i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	20.12.2007 00:02	1767
UTEN TITTEL	Dagbladet	20.12.2007 09:52	1769
Krigsnaivisme	Dagbladet	21.12.2007 06:25	1771
Ofret livet for fred	VG Nett	21.12.2007 16:25	1773
Sarkozy: Må ikke tape i Afghanistan	Aftenposten	22.12.2007 21:07	1775
Hundene på Guantanamo	Dagbladet	24.12.2007 06:28	1777
Politimann drept av veibombe i Afghanistan	VG Nett	24.12.2007 08:20	1779
- To europeiske tjenestemenn arrestert i Afghanistan	VG Nett	25.12.2007 08:51	1781
Her er den norske julenissen i Meymaneh	VG Nett	25.12.2007 20:34	1783
Avis legger seg flat etter dyppe løken-glipp	VG Nett	26.12.2007 12:47	1785
Europeiske diplomater utvist fra Afghanistan	Dagbladet	27.12.2007 09:07	1787
Varsler ny kamp	Aftenposten	29.12.2007 00:34	1789
NATO-debatt med fallgruver	Aftenposten	29.12.2007 17:10	1791
Det andre Afghanistan	Aftenposten	30.12.2007 00:13	1793
NATO-soldat drept i Afghanistan	Dagbladet	31.12.2007 06:45	1795

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