

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES





POURING OIL ON THE FIRE — NORWEGIAN PETROLEUM-RELATED ASSISTANCE



(TIME Magazine 2013)

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## Declaration

I, Johanne A.H. Asakskogen, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings.

Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

## Abstract

This thesis will explore the petroleum-related assistance by Norway. Based on Norway's own experience, aid is given to resource-rich, economically poor countries. The thesis will contribute to see Norway's bilateral cooperation, with Angola in particular, in a different light. Norway is often, especially by Norwegians themselves, glorified and has a high ethical reputation. Through three International Relations theories – soft power, center-periphery and nationalism – the research question is tested. Through readings and interviews, I have found reason to believe my perception of Norwegian petroleum aid is well-grounded. Based on findings from interviews, both from private and public sector, it can be argued that the results from public petroleum aid are of insignificant size compared to the effort, and that the concept in general is naïve. Possible other purposes for petroleum-related assistance are presented in the conclusion.

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Also, I would like to thank my interviewees who have replied to numerous emails and written long detailed answers, and showed great interest in my Master thesis.

## Abbreviations

B/D – Barrels per day

BP – British Petroleum

CCIA - Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Angola

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

IR – International Relations

INTSOK – Norwegian Oil and Gas Partners network

MINPET – Ministry of Petroleum in Angola.

NHO - The Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise (Næringslivets Hovedorganisasjon)

NOK – Norwegian Kroner

NPD – Norwegian Petroleum Directorate

OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OfD- Oil for Development

OPEC – Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

SADC – Southern African Development Community

USD – Unites States dollar

WMD – Weapons of mass destruction



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*Til mamma og pappa*

## 1.0. Introduction

### 1.1. Background

Norway has contributed with aid in the petroleum sector to poor, but resource rich countries for three decades, and the main idea behind this involvement is Norway's own experience. Norway benefits from petroleum-related aid and it can be claimed that the country gains soft power. By asking what the purpose of petroleum-related assistance is, the thesis will uncover different perspectives on motivation and intention. This is a highly current topic, as the evaluation of the Oil for Development Program was published in January 2013. The report, along with other sources, emphasizes the need to change the program and the need for this type of development assistance is highly debated. As Norway approach elections, it is increasingly important to understand of how and why the present government spends money like they do, not only in Norway but also beyond Norwegian borders.

Norway has gained substantial technical, economic, political and environmental knowledge with regards to oil extraction and revenue management since the oil adventure started with the successful findings in the late 1950's. The first findings were natural gas, and foreign investors showed their interest early on. Not only has Norway great attention on the importance of highly educated workforce, but also focus on the high degree of development and welfare the oil and gas has contributed with, and how important it is in this regard to not fall into Dutch disease<sup>1</sup>. With background in Norwegian aid budget and petroleum knowledge – petroleum related assistance has become a natural expansion in development aid to resource rich countries.

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<sup>1</sup> “The deindustrialization of an economy as a result of the discovery of a natural resource, as that which occurred in Holland with the exploitation of North Sea Oil, which raised the value of the Dutch currency, making its exports uncompetitive and causing its industry to decline”(Dutch disease 2013).

Norway's Oil for Development Program (OfD) was founded in 2005 as a specific formulation which aims at coordinating petroleum-related aid. OfD includes capacity for assistance with regards to revenue management, environmental challenges as well as other development issues such as gender issues, corruption, good governance and civil society (Norad Evaluation Department 2013). The political system is the hinder for economic growth, and even though the country has the capabilities to enjoy economic development, the resources become part of a hinder. One of the main objectives of OfD is to make natural resources such as oil, a blessing, not a curse.

Like Norway, Angola is known for its vast natural resources. The most valuable resources in Angola are diamonds and oil, and these are also the natural resources which are in modern times most disputed because of the high demand. The resources have not only contributed to conflicts, but in the case of Angola, prolonged and financed a civil war lasting for decades. When oil and gas was discovered on Norwegian shelf Norway shaped its legislative framework and made sure foreign investments only contributed to growth, and did not exploit the resources. Norway has indeed made mistakes such as extracting too fast and some relationships with foreign partners. However, Norway is recognized as the only country to secure national governance and control oil activities. Because of the time elapsed from the first finding, "the Norwegian oil history is rich in experiences which are universally valuable" (Ryggvik 2010: 8). Norwegian aid is continuously investigated – through evaluations – for its efficiency<sup>2</sup>, and there is currently an increase in general perception and accept for Norwegian private investments in development countries (Lund 2013). The reason for choosing Angola as a case is because the country has vast resources of high value, and the lacks the proper management for thoroughly economic growth. The problem lays specifically in the relationship to the government, and the lack of correlation between growth in GDP and GDP per capita. Angola's lack of fitness for receiving foreign aid, especially in the petroleum sector, and Norway's genuineness in motivation for contributing with aid, is what makes this case fascinating.

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<sup>2</sup> Efficiency refers to economic efficiency - minimum cost per set output.

Through my analysis my thesis implies that there are additional purposes behind Norway's petroleum aid. Contributing with aid is generally argued with good-will intentions, but with regards to the lack of results, it is worth looking at other reasons for this engagement. The concept of soft power refers to gaining power through agenda setting and attraction, which is illuminated through values, culture, policies and institutions.

This thesis will contribute to see Norway's bilateral cooperation, with Angola in particular, in a different light. Norway is often, especially by Norwegians themselves, glorified and has a high ethical reputation. This thesis will illuminate other purposes for implementing petroleum-related assistance in a poor country beyond idealistic and philanthropic ideas. To keep the thesis narrow, I will focus on social and economic dimensions of aid, and not the environmental dimensions.

## **1.2. Research Question**

This thesis seeks to answer one main research question, and to fully go in-depth in a case study, the thesis also seeks to answer a sub-question.

**What is the purpose of Norwegian petroleum-related assistance?**

**Are there any clear results in the case of Angola?**

### 1.3. Thesis structure

This thesis will follow a logical structure with the intention of answering the research questions. Firstly, it will be given a methodological description, explaining how and why I did my research. Since the thesis is based upon qualitative research, the methodological description will include research design, strategy for information gathering and processing as well as a chapter on weaknesses, limitations and ethical considerations.

Further, there is an account for my choice of literature as well as a description of the three theories I have chosen as my theoretical framework – Soft power by Joseph Nye, Center-Periphery by Johan Galtung, and Nationalism by Hans Morgenthau. The reason for choosing these theories is due to their three different positions, which each support my arguments. This chapter will also elaborate on why I chose the theories. To answer the research questions, important background, context and relationship evidence is provided, before the thesis reaches its most important and most intriguing part – analysis and conclusion.

In the last chapters I will put the theoretical framework in relation to the topic and research questions. It will be a thorough study of the relationship between Norway and selected partner countries for petroleum aid. It will be provided a clear and objective picture of the current situation and it will be analyzed in light of my chosen theories which underline the power intention and skewedness. The discussion chapter will sum up my main arguments and provide substantiation for the timeliness and the lack of attention around the topic. The conclusion will also in a concise manner answer my research questions, and suggesting future approaches to the issue.



## 2.0. Methodology

### 2.1. Research design

It is common to combine quantitative and qualitative research, but in the case of this thesis and with the intention of answering my research questions, I found it more suitable to have a solely qualitative research. I have chosen interviews and a result-oriented approach. Since the research did not include fieldwork, I have been focused on finding results by answering my research questions.

The data used is qualitative data, which means that the data collection follows what is natural for this type of information and sources. When collecting qualitative data, it is natural to collect some data, process it, and then collect more data based on what you have learned. Furthermore, one analyzes the entire body of data, and seeks to answer the research questions. “This is quite a demanding and difficult process, and is prone to uncertainties and doubts” (Walliman 2006: 129). The thesis will mainly consist of analysis of text and documents in combination with analysis of interview results. In other words; it will be a collection and interpretation of written sources combined with a interview-based approach to examine how versions of reality are created (Walliman 2006). The intention of this type of data analysis is make use of the triangular relationship between perceptions, cognition and society.

For the first chapter, containing theoretical framework and background; scholarly books, articles and journals are the main source. For the next part, which contains study of the concept Norwegian petroleum aid, and the application of this in Angola, the main source of information is collected through interviews with people with key knowledge and different positions and viewpoints, as well as examining new articles. The interviews are collected with the purpose of getting an unbiased understanding, as the different actor may have very different objectives and engagement. The use of the different sources – written and interviews – are in the analysis and conclusion chapters pulled together to support the arguments.

## 2.2. Semi-structured interviews

I have conducted semi-structured interviews and structured interviews in person, over the phone and via emails. Semi-structured interviews “contains structured and unstructured sections with standardized and open-format questions” (Walliman 2006: 214). The reason for this type of interview is because I have interviewed different people with different relationship to Norway in Angola, and therefore it is difficult to predict the potential change in direction the interview takes along the way. Before each interview, questions and supportive sub-questions was prepared. The purpose of the sub-questions was to have prepared potential follow up questions if the interviewee answered in a way which I assumed before the interview. Most of the sub-questions were not used because the interviewees gave very detailed answers and asked if I wanted to know more about the answer provided. The participant gave consent<sup>3</sup> and they were given the opportunity to be anonymous (Bryman 2004: 136, 142-143).

Respondents were chosen with regards to their knowledge and experience, and what relevance their answers would have. The respondents with different relations to the topic and their responses also reflect this. However, it is possible that respondents provide answers in terms of promoting their own point of view, as they represent various institutions and companies. The questions provided are based on just this, and some of the answers are taken away, if the answers do not seem relevant, objective or sincere. To some of the questions were also given follow-up questions, to cross-check against other respondents and sources, as well as some of the answers were as follows omitted.

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<sup>3</sup> Informed consent: “Consent given by participant taking part in a research project based on having sufficient information about the purposes and nature of the research and involvement required” (Walliman 2006: 208).

### **2.3. Secondary sources**

The reason for using secondary sources is to strengthen information found in interviews and to verify views, and most importantly to ensure credibility and relevance of theoretical framework. Secondary sources – in this thesis: journals, articles and books – has been interpreted and recorded. To include information to this thesis, the quality of the secondary source has been evaluated. To ensure a critical view on quality, I have reviewed the evidence that has been presented in the arguments and considered the background of the authors (Walliman 2006). Books and articles used as curriculum at Graduate level have been used frequently as a support throughout the thesis.

### **2.4. Weaknesses, limitations and ethical considerations**

I had to take ethical consideration with regards to the interviewees' wish to be anonymous. They are connected to research institutes, public sector or private companies with guidelines on loyalty and confidentiality. The ethical consideration was to ask questions without stepping on their toes and putting them in uncomfortable positions, and in addition comply with their desire to be completely anonymous or give anonymous answers to any question.

Bryman (2008) emphasizes some limitations with regards to qualitative methods and its nature – he stresses the weaknesses of biases and the validity of the research because of procedures the researchers use. He claims that “it is almost impossible to conduct a true replication, since there are hardly any standard procedures to be followed” (Bryman 2008: 391). The combination of qualitative research, secondary data and oblivious influence of epistemological standpoint can impact the results. Further weaknesses are in the choice of theoretical framework: the epistemology. My epistemological stance has influenced the methodological scope and approach. Even though one seeks objectivity, variations such as

attitudes, values and experiences may shape the way one sees the issue. To enhance the validity of the thesis, it is important for the researcher to be aware of his/her standpoint and examine which disadvantages this standpoint may create and make sure to avoid it as far as possible, and also convey the weaknesses to the reader (Walliman 2006). The researcher's attitudes help shape the study and can be interesting with regards to reading different theses with the same topic, but with different epistemological, and perhaps ethical, stances.

Awareness of this issue, triangulation of information and a critical eye will ensure high quality. Also, qualitative research has its limitations as well. Qualitative research is common in social sciences, but allows some methods which can influence the direction of the research; for example one can have more than one interview with one interviewee, and one can choose the interviewee who one thinks gives the most interesting information, or the most suitable information. The interviewee can also provide subjective perspectives. When doing this research I was very aware of the common pitfalls mentioned above, and I have made conscious choices and sought support to ensure objectivity and trustworthiness. A wider range of interviewees' backgrounds, and also more interviewees, could have strengthened the method.

### 3.0. Theoretical framework

#### 3.1. Literature review

In investigating the purposes of Norwegian petroleum aid, it has been made thorough investigations of reports and articles covering the topic. Furthermore, it has been found grounds which strengthen the claim that there are other reasons to participate with aid. To implement the arguments in an International Relations (IR) context, it has been examined what kind of theories that are suitable and not, and been concluded that soft power and center-periphery are concepts that can explain the situation to a satisfactory degree. The literature used for this Master thesis are books provided for – at least – graduate level curriculum, reports in the aid sector, and journals regarding international relations. All sources are well thought through and many have been left out on the basis that they lack legitimacy.

There are several scholars who ask similar questions as I do in this thesis. The research questions for this thesis, however, are created to fill the hole in the debate and provide arguments with a new angle. Most of the journal articles I have found on the topic, debates Norway's self-image in relation to Norway's foreign policy. Halvard Leira (2007) argues that there often are great differences between what is said should be done by the government, and what is actually done and what the results are. The Norwegian government has on several occasions blamed receiving countries' corrupt leadership for the lack of results in the aid sector (Bolle 2013). Leira argues that the altruistic self-image is driven more by the desire to do the right thing than the results on the ground around the world. He also claims that there is often a significant deviation between foreigners view on a country and the country's own inhabitants' views. Similarly, Joseph Nye articulates the difficulties with having a government which say one thing, and do another. Nye (2004) stress the need for coherence between articulated values and actions through foreign policy. To express domestic values can be a powerful source of attraction, however perceived hypocrisy can be particularly destructive. With basis in the research questions, the thesis implies that there are additional purposes behind Norway's petroleum aid.

Contributing with aid is generally argued with good-will intentions, but with regards to the lack of results, it is worth looking at other reasons for this engagement. From a power and popularity perspective, above sources are relevant to support my claim on additional purposes for petroleum aid.

To support the notion that there is a sort of exploitative relationship and there is a north-south relation, I have incorporated the center-periphery theory by Johan Galtung. Galtung's writing from respectively 1974 and 1978 about the social position and behavior and the structure of imperialism, explains in detail how these relationship emerge, evolve and either dissolve or transform the center and the periphery, in a center-beneficial way. Put in other words, how Angola is open for bilateral aid projects and open to rich countries' engagement, perhaps could be put in a post-imperial context, relating the openness to Angola's relationship with former colonial power Portugal. Also, the theory entangles the idea that the north-south, center-periphery, relationship between Norway and Angola, can be explained as a harmony-and-disharmony of interest relationship, see chapter 3.3.

Consistently throughout the thesis is given that aid is a concept which shows relatively little results. The book *Dead Aid* provides a clear and well-argued side of the perspective on aid as a negative mechanism. Dambisa Moyo (2009) presents in an unconstrained way her views and experience on the good intentions but absent results of aid. Moyo untangles the myth of aid and pries out the evidence about governance, inflation and other indicators that have not had the improvement *aid* promised.

These perspectives together provide a varied approach, multiple perspectives, and yet a common thread to support the research questions. For the discussion and conclusion chapters, additional perspectives by the interviewees are provided, but the above builds the theoretical foundation in the thesis. The most important purpose of the theoretical

framework is to give a scholarly account for the relationships and mechanisms, as well as strengthen the validity of the arguments.

### 3.2. Soft power

Providing aid in the petroleum sector for nearly three decades with meager results to show for made me interested in additional intentions of these projects. Perhaps the reason to continue is without specific value, but an eternal quest to help – to be a helper. Maybe someone actually wants to continue until the results come ... or perhaps some think we should engage in petroleum assistance for entirely different reasons than the results we create or do not create. To argue in the courts that aid is about something completely different than what we are told, can be quite the provocative down by itself. Far more provocative for some it can be if one completes the argument by saying that aid's intention is to create popularity, to increase Norway's commercial value – in other words – to gain soft power.

A reason for choosing soft power as theoretical framework is because the theory helps emphasize the critical research question and will contribute to the discussion section, the soft power by states gained from providing aid. The following section will explain why the theory is relevant, how it strengthens my argumentative position and in what way it is a good, but not perfect theory to substantiate my perspective.

Power can be explained in three perspectives: firstly one can have power by threatening people to do what one wants. Secondly, one can bribe people to make them do what you want, and lastly, one can influence people to make them want the same things that one wants. Soft power is the latter. “This soft power – getting others to want the outcomes that you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them. Soft power rests on the ability to

shape the preferences of others” (Nye 2004: 5). Nye claims one cannot use hard and soft power separately, but combining them is powerful – also known as smart power.

Nye exemplifies to stress his view. The need for soft power is especially visible in the case of the U.S. Nye describes three types of power: military power, economic power and soft power. Military relations are among states, and the U.S. holds the hegemonic power, and can therefore be considered as independent in this power-relation. Economic relations among countries demand a balance of power and hence create dependency. The U.S. needs to balance power with others. When it comes to soft power, there is not worth mentioning U.S., but rather transnational relations, outside the control of government, nobody is in charge. The soft power is more with regards to agenda setting and attraction, which is illuminated through values, culture, policies and institutions. Soft power is gained through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, as well as public diplomacy. A greater focus on and understanding of soft power can help a country avoid acting arrogant. (Nye 2004: 30-32)

Soft power is also gained by the values shown through foreign policy. Soft power is about attraction, and gaining soft power through national interests abroad is all about how one frames the objectives. For example, the U.S. was interested in international order to withhold its power and ability to forecast changes which influenced themselves. The basis for this interest was to decrease the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), terrorism, drugs and un-regulated trade. International order is something which easily can be displayed as not only U.S. interest, but something of global interest. To display national interest through foreign policy – as global interest – gains soft power. Foreign policies with regards to values broadly shared such as human rights and democracy also promotes soft power. (Nye 2011: 21)



Joseph Nye made his soft power theory based upon the United States' relationship to other countries; how to sustain, improve and manage these relationships. The core of the theory can be translated to all countries, and the important aspect for this thesis is the idea that soft power can be gained through public diplomacy, good-natured foreign policies and actions based on values and attitudes shared with similar countries. In the aid division of Norway's foreign policy, there are many examples how Norway portrays its aid as value-based and altruistic. By portraying this one perceives the actions as kind, bridging north and south, and not only appears to be generous, but also contribute to a global desire for international order by strengthening diplomatic relationships.

The research questions are formulated with the notion that there are other reasons for Norway's petroleum aid programmes, and soft power's backdrop appears. If actions are executed with the purpose and intention of being seen in a special way, to increase the popularity and reputation, it is no longer soft power something positive but an insidious feature.

The soft power theory comes to short in this context because Joseph Nye specifically created the theory to describe and predict phenomena from the U.S. Nye tailored the different aspects of the theory to suit relationships and strategies by the United States, and he articulated this in 2004 which needs to be taken into consideration. As one can hardly compare 2004 United States to 2013 Norway because of factors such as size and governance, some of the features of the theory are not suitable. However, with disregard to the features that are highly tailored and look towards the more generally applicable, the theory that fits well to my argument.

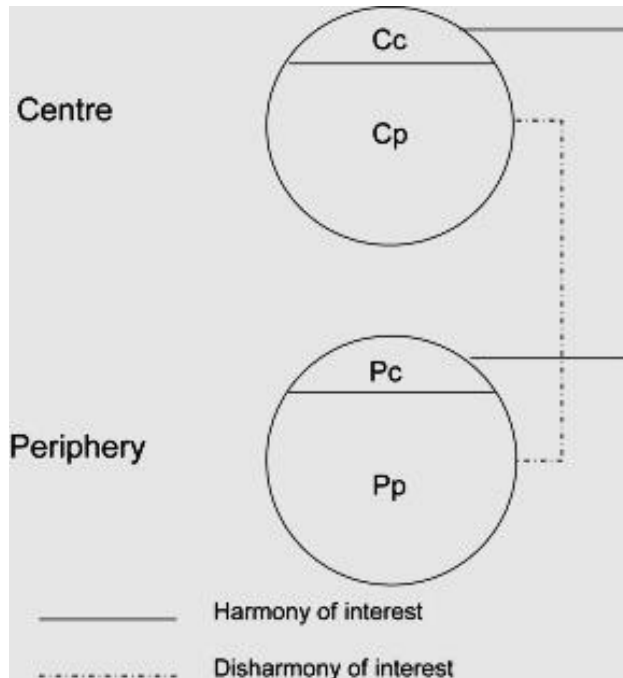
### 3.3. Center-periphery idea

To answer the research question in a thorough manner, a second theory is examined. Based on the same reasons as for choosing the soft power theory, the center-periphery idea by Johan Galtung is found to be suitable. The idea is based on the assumption that nations are divided into center-nations and periphery-nations. The center exploits the periphery. Within the center-nations and the periphery-nations, there is also a division between the center – which is the powerful minority – and, the periphery – the rest. There is also little interaction between the peripheral provinces to ensure that it can't be a risk of threat of the centralized power. The main idea is that the center exploits the periphery, and “if a relation can be defined as exploitative it should be possible to locate the exploiter and the exploited, identify them as actors, and we would immediately have the basic element of Center-periphery theory” (Galtung 1977: 4).

Galtung's theory assumes there are two levels of states – the center and the periphery – further, he assumes there are two levels within these two. Galtung (1972) explains the concept as following: within the center, we find the center-center (Cc) and the center-periphery (Cp), and within the periphery we find the periphery-center (Pc) and the periphery-periphery (Pp). The center-center and the periphery-center have a harmony of interest, and the center-periphery and periphery-periphery has a disharmony of interest.

“The bourgeoisie [Cc and Pc] in either country exploits its proletariat [Cp and Pp], but in a such way that the net benefit is in favor of the imperialist power [Cc]” (Galtung 1977: 16). Galtung explains the center-periphery theory in an imperialistic way, where there is a one-way power and there is a relationship regarding interests. For the theory to be applicable, the interaction structure must be not in interest of the weaker party. The approach is based on the structuralist approach which assumes that social structures are constituted by more than one system – rather, a set of systems, the total structure. Galtung explains that there are three distinctions that must be made, which are among actors, systems and structures.

The structure ties the actor and the system together. Galtung explains his perspective as an extension of Marxism and Marxist thinking – but acknowledge the fact that Marxist themselves might not agree with this.



Figur 1: Structure of Imperialism (Galtung 1972)

In the center-periphery perspective, it is important to mention their interdependence, as the periphery produces goods in the primary industry in which the center is dependent of. Likewise, the periphery's production is dependent on the center, for demand and the market access.

In aid projects, the center helps the periphery, but for the purpose of this thesis, the argument is that the aid has hidden intentions and perhaps the center exploits the periphery. The theory is not only applicable with regards to the center exploiting the periphery, but also with regards to how the periphery-center and the center-center has a consensus on strategy and processes, but the results are in favor of the center-center. Also, the periphery-periphery is completely shut out of decision processes, and the center-

periphery desires do not harmonize with those of the periphery-periphery. For example, the Pp wants aid and may be under the understanding that aid in the petroleum sector will get them good. However, the Cp is under the impression that this thinking is outdated and that it disappears lot of resources in the wrong part of the processes. Neither the Cp nor the Pp is in position to tackle the situation, and the harmony of interest between Cc and Pc is dominating.

The above mentioned is set in the context of the research questions, it is possible to see that the thesis is a critical approach to the topic, especially seen in relation with soft power theory.

### **3.4. Nationalism**

By now, what lays behind the research questions should be clear– namely, the notion that there are other purposes for petroleum aid than those articulated by the state. Also, two theories have explained two respective, but also jointly, the purposes of Norwegian petroleum aid. The third and last theory to explain the hypothesis, can both be applied alone and together with the two former theories, and adds a sturdy ground for my ideas, the development of my research questions and the explanations in the following chapters. Realism is claimed to be one of the main pillars in International Relations, and many of the key branches of realism can be used to explain changes and moves by actors of the international society (Smith et al. 2011). For realists, the states operate in an anarchical system and every state need to take care of itself. This last chapter will focus on the opposing interests of nations, and Hans J. Morgenthau’s view on nationalism.

Hans Morgenthau reduces classical realism to a condition of human nature. He claims that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. These laws are competition, fear and that the power-seeking behavior is

rooted in the biological drives of human beings (Morgenthau 1949) (Smith et al. 2011: 88-91). According to Morgenthau, politics is based on human nature, and the laws of politics have not changed in the past millennia. “The character of foreign policy can be ascertained only through the political acts performed and of the foreseeable consequences of those acts” (Morgenthau et al. 2006: 4). And through the foreseeable consequences, we can find out what the statesmen have done and what their objectives might have been. However, he claims that to search for objectives and motives behind statesmen’s action is both futile and deceptive. Motives are often of psychological data, and distorted by interest, recognition and emotions of both actor and observer. Morgenthau also emphasis the fact that statesmen have often been motivated by making the world better and having good intentions, but their actions have failed and ended up making things worse. He also emphasizes the possibility of other outcomes that expected and originally aimed for. (Morgenthau et al. 2006: 3-8)

The mechanism we use to understand international politics is the concept of interest, defined in terms of power. Morgenthau, like other mid-twentieth century classical realist, meant that anarchy could be mitigated by wise leadership and the pursuit of the national interest in ways that are compatible with international order. Basing their ideas on the former classical realists, they included ethical and moral conduct to their principles. Morgenthau claims that as a statesman, one could portray their actions as in thread with their philosophic and political sympathies, however offensive the actions are. Further, he emphasized the moral and ethical ‘intentions’ of statesmen, which can have the opposite outcome. “Good motives give assurance against deliberately bad policies; they do not guarantee the moral goodness and political success of the policies they inspire” (Morgenthau & Thompson 1993: 6).

Morgenthau’s classical realism nationalist approach fits well with the assumption which this thesis’ research questions are based upon. To connect this clearer to the topic of this thesis, some key points can sum it up. Norway operates on the basis of national interests, even when cooperating with foreign countries. One can assume that Norway’s national

interest is to gain power, resources and accumulate wealth. The purpose of petroleum aid can hence be interpreted to being based on Norwegian, nationalist ideas in thread with realist ideas, and including the ethical and moral with the aid aspect or cover. The following chapters will incorporate the theories explained above to the information gathered in interviews and readings.

## **4.0. Norwegian branding**

### **4.1. Petroleum aid**

*Deep in every liberal sensibility is a profound sense that in a world of moral uncertainty one idea is sacred, one belief cannot be compromised: the rich should help the poor, and the form of this help should be aid (Moyo 2009: xviii).*

Norway's Oil for Development program was evaluated in 2012 and in the report is important findings on the degree of success of Norwegian petroleum-related aid. From a table from 2006 assessing petroleum sector partner countries, it is put forward some of the main issues with petroleum aid in Angola. The assistance in Angola has focused on relevant elements, but falls short when it comes to the holistic picture. The legal and regulative framework has been adjusted, but to compare with for instance same mission in Mozambique, where it has been assured a well-functioning institutional and legal framework as well as feasible gas production, the progression in Angola is slow. In Angola, only a minor part of the planned activities has been completed. Much of the obstacle in Angola is not only the lack of effectiveness, but rather the efficiency. A substantial problem is the over-spending on administration and under-spending on implementation. Some of the sustainability of assistance to Angola is difficult to assess because of the dependency of several other institutions and also the dependency of voluntary contributions (Norad Evaluation Department 2013).

Because of the lack of results in the petroleum aid sector, the claims by Morgenthau manifest itself. Morgenthau emphasize the fact that many statesmen either operate with the intention of, in one way or another, promoting his own country – or – with goodwill-intentions fails, especially in the long term. Similarly, Nye argues the soft power objective of bilateral cooperation, and the importance for countries to gain popularity. Extensive criticism to the concept of aid in general have been provided by scholars and others, much because of the lack of relation between amount of money spent and results achieved. Criticism has been rightfully directed at those who keep the myth of functioning aid with prescription. “The evidence against aid is so strong and compelling that even the IMF – a leading provider of aid – has warned aid supporters about placing more hope in aid as an instrument of development than it is capable of delivering. The IMF also cautioned governments, donors and campaigners to be more modest in their claims that increased aid will solve Africa’s problems” (Moyo 2009: 47).

Issue	Mozambique	Angola, Bangladesh, Timor-Leste
<b>Relevance</b>	Needs-driven, stepwise approach developed a holistic and complete institutional set up for petroleum management	Angola has focussed on relevant but no holistic elements. Timor-Leste has built up according to needs – very relevant. Bangladesh: the scope for BPI was too narrow and relevant intentions with HCU never materialised.
<b>Impact</b>	The long-ranging and relatively large support to Mozambique ensured a well-functioning institutional and legal framework and feasible gas production	Angola had the legal and regulatory framework adjusted. Timor-Leste has had six production sharing agreements signed and a substantial petroleum fund established. Bangladesh had minor technical impacts (resource assessment)
<b>Effectiveness</b>	The overall aim of developing all the regulatory elements of institutional petroleum management capacity has been achieved	Angola only completed a minor part of the planned activities. Timor-Leste is a new program, but first steps have been successfully completed. Bangladesh program has had little effectiveness, missing the institution-building.
<b>Efficiency</b>	The support has been well timed to local needs and development, but work plans and budgets have been neglected. NPD administration costs have been high.	Angola had over-spending on administration and under-spending on implementation. Timor-Leste has so far been cost-effective, but lack of continuity of advisers form a threat to the future efficiency. Bangladesh has seen little efficiency and high administration costs.

Figure 2: Findings, DAC criteria, petroleum sector partner countries, 2006 Evaluation. (Norad Evaluation Department 2013: 16)

The main purpose of Norwegian petroleum related aid is to contribute to the development in a country, with expertise on a field that Norwegians know. It is natural to contribute in sectors where one has experience. In 2011 there were 8 core and 11 non-core countries in the OfD program. To improve the program it was decided to have some focus countries, and although more countries asked to join, the OfD reached its limits and needed to be more selective. Like other development projects, it was decided that evaluation of the OfD should take place after six years. One of the main findings in the first evaluation is that the program does not address governance sufficiently. Looked at through Galtung's glasses, the periphery-center and the center-center has a consensus on strategy and processes, but the results are in favor of the center-center. Furthermore, the periphery-periphery is completely shut out of decision processes, and the center-periphery desires do not harmonize with those of the periphery-periphery. Another fact found, was that the program should strengthen strategic partnership for petroleum sector governance. The OfD program explicitly says that one of the main reasons for choosing this form of aid is to have a good basis for bilateral cooperation with other oil nations. However, the strategic relationships have proven to be difficult to strengthen because of the corruption and bureaucracy level of involved parties.

OfD is the best funded petroleum sector program globally and is highly sought after. The intention is to not apply the 'Norwegian model' but to incorporate the 'international best practices'. OfD seeks to strengthen regional collaboration and apply south-south experiences and learning. The program should be demand-driven and there should be clearer criteria for exiting the program (Norad Evaluation Department 2013). However, through interviews it is found that it is not only south-south experiences applied, which supports the application of Galtung's Center-Periphery theory. Galtung's main argument is that the center exploits the periphery, and even though the OfD seek to be an aid provider and being an organization with philanthropic values, tangible results are on hold.

The objectives of petroleum aid are continuously changing because of the adaptive nature of aid (Norad Evaluation Department 2013). Since the political and local adaptations to



the aid projects are difficult to predict, the forecasts are often vague and the goals are changed after implementing the project (Sætre 2009). Effects of this are shown in the adjusted budgets, the expanding time schedule and the lacking results. Evaluation reports underline the deviation from the plan in many projects (Norad Evaluation Department 2013). The evaluation report from 2012 in this sector states that Norway should have fewer recipient countries, more specific goals within each country as well as more restricted budgets to be able to achieve tangible results (Norad Evaluation Department 2013).

Furthermore, aid is an economically inefficient way of contributing to development, compared to – for example – expanding the private sector (Zhovtobryukh et. al. 2013). Aid projects often leak money or allocate money in areas that do not contribute to the main goal. As opposed to aid, investments and establishment of business is proven to be a more economically efficient way to promote economic growth and would have better developmental effects (Fjeldstad 2008). Investments by foreign companies in the petroleum sector both stimulate the market and generate tax revenues. Many companies have well-tailored social responsibility programs which often address infrastructure, education and health for locals (Næringslivets Hovedorganisasjon NHO 2013) (Gisler et. al. 2012). Moyo (2009) argue that as many as thirty developing aid-dependent countries, mainly sub-Saharan, have failed to generate consistent economic growth. “Study [...] after study (many of them, the donors’ own) have shown that, after many decades and many millions of dollars, aid has had no appreciable impact on development” (Moyo 2009: 46).

However, poor countries often need help to re-build the institutional framework and legislative system to avoid corruption when extracting valuable natural resources, and aid contributes with this type of assistance (Obi 2010). Aid is a sustainable way to interfere with a country’s development if the governance is poor. Corruption is often at such level, that involving business instead of aid can contribute to growing corruption. Examples of this can be seen in n many different industries, and is often prevalent in connection with resources of high value. Embezzlement and skewed distribution is in some institutional

framework very easy to implement. Aid is a viable solution because it seeks to tackle the resource curse; when natural resources contributes to more bad than good because of the poor governance (Fjeldstad 2008). By not implementing aid in the petroleum sector, other aid projects can be better planned and executed. Norwegian businesses can be appropriated money to strengthen social responsibility projects. Foreign investment can generate jobs, encourage economic growth and social responsibility projects – which can influence more aspects than aid. (Brandt 2012)

The changing objectives are perhaps the most visible disadvantages of the petroleum aid. The petroleum sector is not suitable for aid, because of the nature of development aid projects –it is difficult to predict the outcomes, the objectives are changed during the project. Development aid, especially in the petroleum sector, drains unnecessary amounts of money. To ensure results that are in line with Norway’s philanthropic ideas, it should be useful to look for other ways to contribute, through economic durable solutions such as private sector investments.

Bilateral assistance to Angola is multifaceted, and although there are much money put into aid, there are greater contributions from other partners such as NGOs and private companies. Figure 3 shows distribution of Norwegian partners of assistance to Angola in 2012.

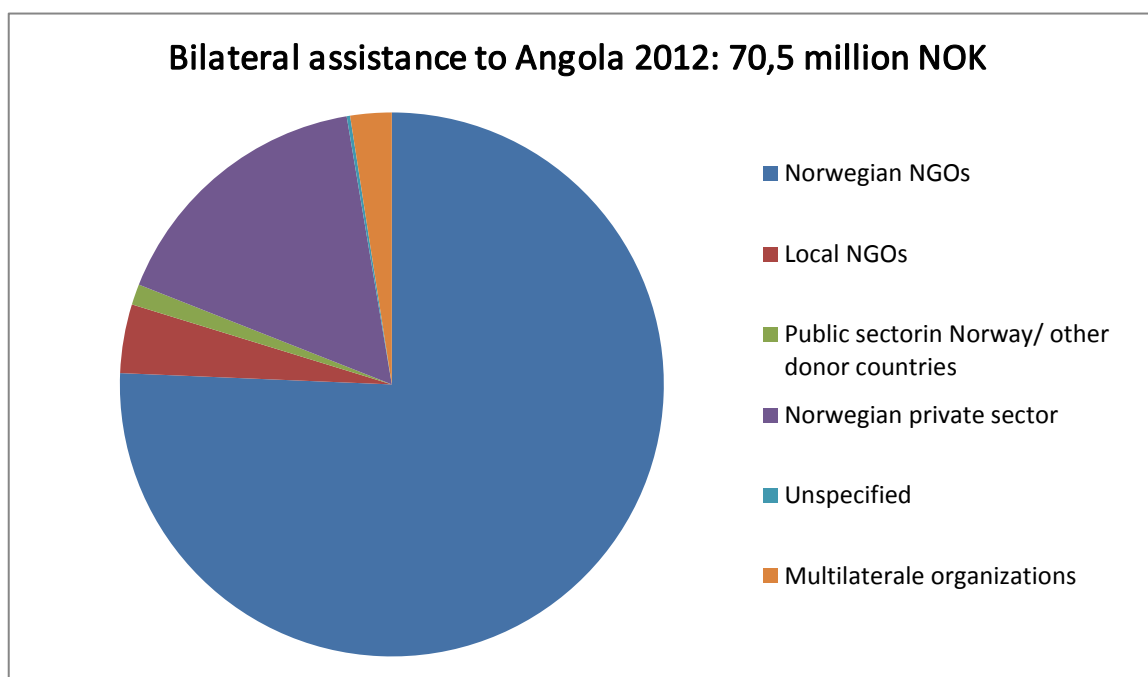


Figure 3: Bilateral assistance to Angola 2012: distributed by partner (Norad 2013).

#### 4.2. Building petroleum relationship with Angola

According to my interviewees, the Norwegian petroleum-related aid should be seen in relation to private petroleum and petroleum service companies. The relevant companies often contribute with knowledge or assets. From interviews with people with first-hand experience and in-depth knowledge, I have retrieved information on relationships between different actors and the sense of responsibility different Norwegian actors' claim and hold.

To substantiate my view, that the purpose of petroleum related assistance is to gain soft power, my interviewees have answered some questions about Norway's involvement in Angola. Angola has a long history as an oil producer – already during colonial times under Portugal. It was then the privately owned Norwegian oil company Saga who first became involved in Angola by Norwegian stakeholders. Norwegian Hydro became a part of the Norwegian stakeholders in Angola when they merged with Saga. Statoil had from the early 1990s through its partnership with British Petroleum (BP) also interests in some

blocks. After Statoil acquired Hydro's oil division, around 2005, all Norwegian interests upstream activities in Angola by Statoil (Vea 2013). Norway has for a long time been actively present in Angola's oil adventure, and has had key companies involved in processes early on. This has strengthened the strategic relationship between Norway and Angola, and it has also set Norway in a favorable position in relation to further bilateral cooperation. By 2013, there are many different Norwegian actors in the West African oil nation, and in relation to the development of petroleum aid it is relevant to study the relationship between the Norwegian actors in Angola.

My second interviewee claims that the strategic relationship between Norway and Angola are also influenced by competition between the Norwegian parties in Angola. The relationship between Norwegian companies can be described as a combination of cooperation and competition. Because of the competitive situation, the Norwegian employees in the respective companies are rarely socially interacting. The Embassy does, however, host gatherings for Norwegian employees of the different companies to get the opportunity to share ideas and experiences. The Norwegian government in collaboration with stakeholders such as NHO and Innovation Norway seek cooperation and exchange of experience between Norwegian companies abroad. It is argued that networking will strengthen Norwegian actors abroad rather than jeopardizing their market position by giving away ideas to competitors (Zhovtobryukh et. al. 2013: 23-24)

Norwegian Oil and Gas Partners (INTSOK) is a Norwegian network-based organization seeking to build relations between clients and governments, assess market opportunities and seek interaction and coordination between oil and gas companies abroad. INTSOK have been very active in Angola to promote Norwegian export in the oil business. Aker Solutions used INTSOK's services in connection with the delegation traveling with Norwegian authorities to Angola and Angolan to Norway. Some petroleum service companies argue that organizations such as INTSOK might be destructive in terms of competitiveness. However, an example of cooperation between competitors was a tutorial for Subsea engineers, Aker Solutions, FMC and Vetco, developed in collaboration with

Rogaland Research sponsored of NORAD. This was the training program for students with Angolan teachers and textbooks prepared and paid for by us and sponsored by the Petroleum Institute in Sumbe. Furthermore, it has been a long collaboration between Petroleum Directorate and the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy in Norway and Ministry of Petroleum in Angola (MINPET).

All Norwegian actors in Angola operate with either CSR and local content, or both. The companies have different perspectives on the success of these programmes. Norway has supported Angola since the mid-1980s and this has contributed significantly in the petroleum sector, and in other sectors the results are on hold. The Angolan Petroleum Act is based on the Norwegian model, and derived from previous audit by the Angolan Petroleum Act which was in accordance with Portuguese law. The new petroleum law, the Norwegian model, put a much higher tax burden on operators and emphasizes safety and resource maximization, which poses further demands for 'local content', that is, local labor. This is good for the Angolan society which receives tax revenues and jobs; however, it is not the Angolan society that controls this development.

The skewedness of the income distribution is detrimental for Angola, and despite Norway's support, the country is still highly characterized by corruption. Norway has supported regional energy cooperation between the countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. SADC has given Angola an international and regional cooperation that has been positively for Angola, and given Norway a strong foothold in the oil sector, i.e. surplus for Norway. The effect of internal governance and democracy in Angola is positive but marginally compared to costs. And there is an existing optimism among Norwegians in Angola.

NORAD's financial assets used in the health sector have had zero value; the same applies to a number other development projects by NORAD. Norway's and Sweden's

contributions, particularly for democratic processes and changing regulatory structure have worked against its purpose. When politicians engage in seminars, the international community facilitates access and cash flows can calmly be sent into the wrong pockets in parallel channels aided of foreign funds for ongoing crisis. They have only postponed the grip Angola must take itself. This is especially true in countries with abundant natural resources.

One of the interviewees claims that there is less and less corruption, but corruption has also been a problem for western companies and institutions in more than one way. On one side it is corruption that generates corruption, and western companies answer local corruption with corruption. To moderate this, it is important to emphasize that not all western companies engage in corruption. But one of the issues is that when one western company engages in corruption, this destroys potential business cooperation with other companies, and then profit is lost to the company and tax returns are lost to the country. The degree of successful CSR and local content also relies on company's relationships to each other in Angola. Companies get deals by having a good CRS or local content program, and hence also loose deals if reputation says business is corrupt.

NORAD and the Norwegian People's Aid paint a very different picture officially, compare to the results. NORAD's projects are very difficult, very high risk and many projects fail. It's hard for NORAD to get the best project managers, as large private companies pay more than NORAD for economists and engineers. This means that Norway should spend more money and resources to achieve success – not less. But focus must be through education and industrialization, not naive measures through aid exclusively. There are very many measures against corruption in all global companies today, but with the emergence of China in Africa corruption is growing in many connections. China, Russia and India use completely other means than the West to gain access to markets and resources in Africa (Smestad 2013). My interviewees claim that foreign investments by China and India contribute greatly to strengthening the culture of corruption

### 4.3. Value of Corporate Social Responsibility

Both motivated by Norwegian legislative framework and by the commercial value CSR; the Norwegian companies in the oil sector provide exhaustive CSR programmes. CSR programmes have contributed to make Norwegian companies in the petroleum sector in Angola more attractive for the Angolan government to cooperate with. An organization's contribution to society and to its impact on the environment has become an important part of measuring performance and ability to operate effectively. This is partly a reflection of the growing recognition of the need to ensure healthy ecosystems, social equity and good organizational governance. It is clearly stated that CSR programmes increases the competitive advantages, strengthens reputation as well as the company will be more attractive to clients, customers and users. Even greater economic gains may come from the strengthening relationship to governments, suppliers, investors and market, as the perception of the company may be more important than before. (Standard Norge 2010)

It is important to draw the connection to the benefits Norway has from the aid projects, and compare them with the benefits the companies receive from their CSR programs. Millions of kroner are spent on CSR projects, but is it not often compared to the billions in income. Between the small contributions of CSR and aid, it is an uphill battle against corruption, poor governance and skewed distribution.

#### 4.4. The role of oil in Angola

At the beginning of the 1900s, the Portuguese had complete control over Angola, and in 1951 the country was incorporated as a province of Portugal. In the seventies several rebel groups began fighting for independence, and in 1975 the country became independent. Shortly after independence civil war broke out between the three main rebel groups. The communist group MPLA seized power and Angola became a single-party republic ruled by traditional Soviet pattern. One-party state was abolished in 1990/91. The civil war lasted until 2002 when the parties signed a peace agreement. MPLA still have power in the country (FN-Sambandet Globalis 2011). Deeply socially and politically divided, Angola has through decades struggled with natural resources that has financed and driven the civil war. By 2013, there is no war, but the political system and foreign interest makes development slow. The governance is characterized by highly centralized political and economic power, and power through contacts and kinship. Foreign companies' investments are secured through involvement of government Officials, or friends of the President, and this again contributes to economic concentration and government focused politics. Wealth is gained through political power.

The oil prices increased roughly by 125 USD between 1999 and 2008 because of increased global demand and not more supply. Natural resources play an important role in structural changes in the region (Rughani 2012). Oil producing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest GDP growth on the continent. On the top of the list are Nigeria, Angola and Chad. One of the greatest threats for oil-dependent countries is high inflation, and this is further triggered by high oil prices. There are policy measures made to combat monetary risks, and these often are in terms of taxation and tax revenue, with a goal to increase economic growth and help population out of poverty. The oil sector contributes to increase GDP, but does not contribute with many job opportunities for locals. Unemployment is a huge problem, and the Angolan government is investing in development of infrastructure to create labor (Brandt 2012).



*“[Angola’s] GDP growth slightly increased from 3.4% in 2010 to an estimated 3.5% in 2011, driven mainly by rising oil prices and strong non-oil sector growth of 7.7% which helped to offset production problems in the oil sector. The country is expected to record GDP growth rates of 8.2% and 7.1% in 2012 and 2013 respectively. This will be driven mainly by the start of the USD 9 billion liquefied natural gas project and the expected increase of oil production to over 2 million bpd. Inflationary pressures remained high at 14.5% in 2010 and an estimated rate of 13.5% in 2011 mainly as a result of strong growth in domestic demand. However, this is projected to fall to 10.0% and 9.4% in 2012 and 2013 respectively” (PwC 2013: 6)*

In 1973 Angola produced approximate 162.000 barrels per day. This was the smallest production of the OPEC countries with the second bottom of the same list is Ecuador with 209.000 barrels per day. Topping the list in 1973 is Saudi Arabia with 7.596.000 B/D. Noticeable in global petroleum statistics such as those from OPEC Annual Statistical Bulletin, is that the production in Angola is the least documented, or is the country with most NA’s (not available numbers). By 2011, Angola had 22 active rigs and produced 1.828.000 B/D in 2012. With more than 200 percent growth in production since the early seventies, Angola is considered a fast growing oil economy. A *fast* growing economy in Africa is not necessarily a good thing. This is with regards to the governance, the options for foreign investors and the growth of GDP versus the GDP per capita. (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries 2012)

#### 4.5. Are there any clear results?

Looking at the OfD program as a whole and concludes on the basis of evaluation of all the focus countries, the results are not convincing and lacks a lot compared to the input. Neither of Ghana, Bolivia, Mozambique, Uganda or Timor-Leste have compelling track record as a result of OfD. Some of the main issues pointed out in the conclusion by Norad are; that the program is consistent in terms of content across the involved countries; “improvements in organizational and institutional solidity, competence and self-confidence”; not all of the involved countries have carried out the planned activities for improving institutional and organizational development; and, there have been delays because of the number of parties involved (Norad Evaluation Department 2013: 41-43). It has also been concluded that there in general was focused too little on one of the main pillars – good governance. However, it is claim that the petroleum governance in Angola is strengthened (Norad 2010), and transfer of knowledge give tangible results (Norad 2012).

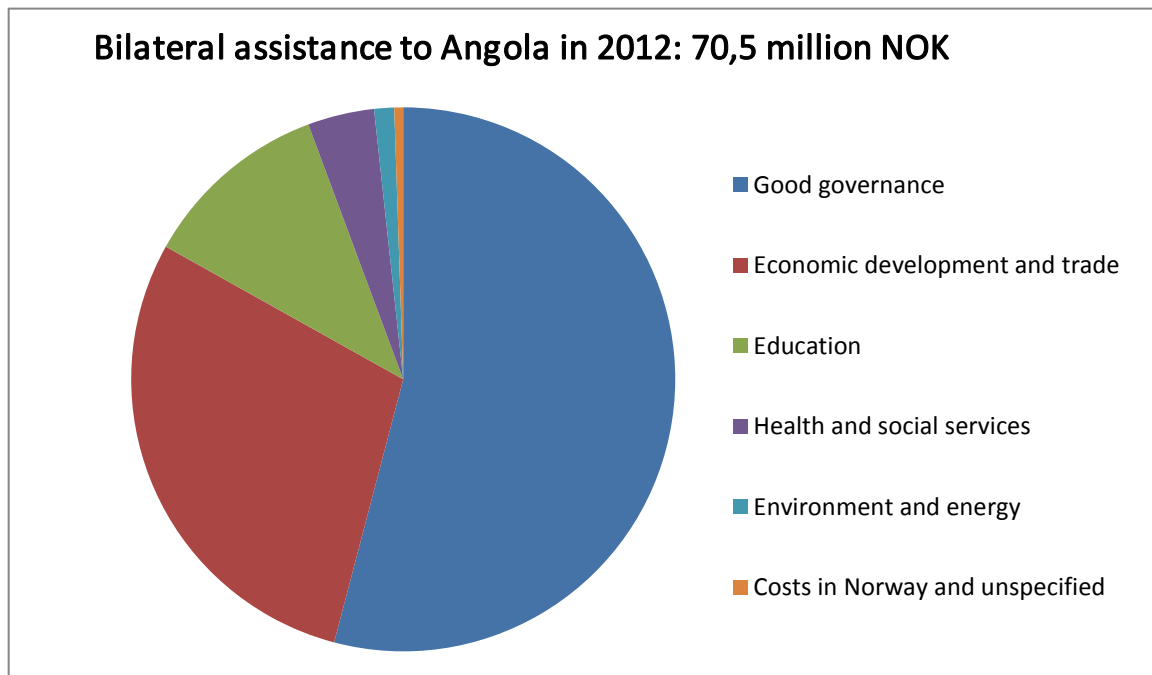


Figure 4: Bilateral assistance to Angola in 2012: distributed on sector (Norad 2013).

## 5.0. Conclusion

The entire thesis and research questions are based upon my epistemological standpoint and through the readings and my interviewees; I have found reason to believe my perception of Norwegian petroleum aid is well-grounded. Firstly, my idea rested on numerous articles debating Norwegian aid for its efficiency in general. Furthermore, by participating at conferences and fairs with people from both private and public sector, I got firsthand experience on the skewedness of opinion. Secondly, when there are such differences in opinion, it is often the case that one of the sides is denying or does not acknowledge the truth. Based on foreign policy and foreign relations by government in and previous coalition government, my hypothesis took shape quickly. Finally, by investigating the topic through readings and dialogues, the research questions were created for further exploration.

My findings support the idea that there are other purposes for petroleum-related assistance than those articulated as philanthropic values. I have found interviewees both from private and public sector who claim that the results from public petroleum aid are of insignificant size compared to the effort, and that the concept in general is naïve. People with firsthand, on-site experience do not support aid in the petroleum sector – but – some who view the idea from Norway are positive to it.

However, I have learned how small the aid contribution is compared to all other Norwegian engagement in Angola. Norway views Angola as the most important petroleum partner country, and there are many institutions, organization and more engaged in all sectors of the country. Nevertheless, Angola does not consider Norway to be the most important petroleum partner country, as China is the most significant investor in Angola.

After doing this research, I have several ideas to what the purpose of petroleum-related assistance might be. Through my theories – soft power, center-periphery and nationalism – one can see that the state institution, its intentions and actions, does not always correspond. One of my suggestions is that Norway contributes with aid in general, not because of its effects and efficiency, but rather to have super-powers such as the United States to see Norway as a facilitator, contributor and friend. Is the purpose to strengthen NATO alliances? Moreover, I did also argue the appropriateness of nationalism. Maybe the purpose is strengthening the Norwegian brand as harmless, rich and willing to distribute money? If Norway is viewed as such, Norway poses no threat.

The topic could be further investigated in a quantitative manner, to understand the actual amounts spent, measure the development in Angola and compare the numbers with other petroleum aid receiver countries. Furthermore, an on-site case study could also be of significance, to balance with the possible subjective interview results.

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