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Declaration

I, Grenna Kaiya, 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..... *Grenna Kaiya*.....

Date..... *14 December 2015*.....

Dedication

In memory of my sister Rebecca Zion

Acknowledgments

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of my supervisors Øystein H. Rolandsen and Darley Jose Kjosavik. Their extensive knowledge and expertise on the topic amazed me. Thank you for asking tough questions to direct the focus for this paper. I benefited a lot from the constructive comments that I received.

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Abstract

Norway was part of the international cooperation that joined forces to contribute to the peace process in South Sudan. The objective of this study is to analyse Norway's contributions to the outcome of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the role of CPA was in shaping the peacebuilding process. With years of protracted conflict, peacebuilding is unquestionably needed in South Sudan and the importance of external actors in the process is certainly vital. Norway's engagements in South Sudan are analysed, specifically the actions that Norway took to contribute towards the CPA's peace process. This thesis argues that Norway's engagements in South Sudan stems from the Norwegian foreign policy, which has peace as its central point and the 'Norwegian Peace Model' that was applied in the case of South Sudan.

Also, the thesis presents views and perceptions of South Sudanese people regarding Norway's engagements. South Sudanese do acknowledge the important role that Norway played in the negotiations of the peace process that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the continuation of peacebuilding activities. More appreciated among South Sudanese, is the consistence and persistence of Norway's involvement in South Sudan throughout all the civil wars. The interviews correlate with the literature on Norway's role during negotiations and peacebuilding initiatives, even though Norway was not and is not the only player in the South Sudan's peace process. There are other prominent members like the IGAD, the US, UN and the World Bank.

By applying social constructivism theory, this thesis argues that Norway, in the case of South Sudan pursued the international goals that go beyond conventional International Relations (IR) theories of realism and liberalism. Norway continues to promote its image as a 'peaceful nation' in South Sudan and beyond. The perceptions that Norway is a peace advocate domestically and in the international politics, have given Norway a status and an image as a 'peaceful nation'. Norway's action confirms this peaceful image and is promoted in their continual effort in peace initiatives in South Sudan and beyond.

List of Acronyms

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPDS	Centre for Peace and Development Studies
DOP	Declaration of Principles
GOS	Government of Sudan
GOSS	Government of South Sudan
IGAD	International Governmental Authority on Development
MDTF	Multi-donor Trust Fund
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NCP	National Congress Party
NORHED	Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development project.
NOREF	Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OCG	Oil for Common Good
SPLM/A	Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army
UNMISS	United Nations Mission to the Republic of South Sudan

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Norway's engagements in South Sudan; contributions made to the outcome of the CPA and peacebuilding process

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in Kenya on 9th January, 2005 ending the longest civil war in Africa. The signing parties were the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). Different actors took part in the process that led to the signing of the CPA. Among these actors were regional players, especially the neighbouring countries of Kenya and Ethiopia which also contributed through the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Norway, USA and the UK were also part of the negotiation process and were known as the troika.

The troika supported the efforts of IGAD during negotiations between the GOS and the SPLM/A through funding and facilitation (Taulbee et al., 2014). Norway together with other international actors' involvement in South Sudan's peace process led to the landmark signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Peacebuilding and the implementation of the many aspects to the CPA were crucial after the signing of the peace agreement. The CPA included an Assessment and Evaluation Commission for implementation review. Representatives came from the Sudan's ruling party National Congress Party (NCP), SPLM, and the IGAD countries; (Ethiopia and Kenya), as well as Italy Netherland, Norway, United Kingdom and United States (Taulbee et al., 2014).

Taulbee et al., (2014) also note that the CPA called for collaborating development aid through the Multi-donor Trust Fund (MDTF). The World Bank was responsible for the administering of these funds, which were intended to support Southern Sudan along with the rest of Sudan. One year after the signing of the CPA, a donor office was established in Juba to coordinate the aid effort of some European countries: Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, and United Kingdom (Taulbee et al., 2014). As how effective was the donor office is unclear and according to Rolandsen (2011b) it was "ill-considered" because there was not delegation of authority and resources to carry out their mission (Rolandsen, 2011b).

This thesis looks at Norway's engagements in South Sudan and how they contributed to the peacebuilding process following the signing of the CPA in 2005. What were the contributions made that influenced the signing of the CPA? The perspectives of South Sudanese regarding Norway's activities in South Sudan will be analysed; what perceptions do South Sudanese

hold regarding Norway's engagements in general? What do they perceive as Norway's interests are in South Sudan? In light of social constructivism theory, I will give an explanation of the perceptions of the South Sudanese and Norway's involvement in South Sudan.

Social constructivists stress the importance of context and culture in understanding what occurs in society and creation of knowledge based on given meaning (McMahon, 1997). Collaborations with a group's social settings create a small culture of shared meanings. In a society, one is learning all the time about how to be a part of that culture on many levels. Even though social constructivism is not fundamentally an International Relations (IR) theory, it has gained popularity in the field and often used in IR studies.

Social constructivism gives a different perspective from that of other IR theories on how states operate. Comparatively, I will argue that Norway in the case of South Sudan pursued the international goals that go beyond realism and liberalists' reasoning. The theory of social constructivism will help to explain not only the findings but also provide clear connection of the literature already written on the topic. (See chapter 3.2)

1.1 South Sudan

South Sudan is one the newest country in the world. It seceded from Sudan and gained independence on 9th July 2011. South Sudan shares its main border with Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda. South Sudan has ten states namely; Upper Nile, Jonglei, Warrap, Unity, Northern Bahr El Ghazal, Western Bahr El Ghazal, Western Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, Central Equatoria and Lakes (Osland, 2014a). The capital city is Juba, located in the Central Equatoria state. However, recently the president of South Sudan Salva Kiir Mayardit decreed that South Sudan is to be divided into twenty eight states.¹

Although a new country, South Sudan has a long history of war and conflicts; experiencing one of the longest intra-state wars. The first war started in 1963 and ended in 1972, the second war broke out again in 1983 and ended in 2005 after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Rolandsen et al., 2015). Throughout the long history of war and conflict, there have been many efforts to bring peace. Norwegian organizations have had and continued to have engagements in South Sudan. For example, Norwegian Church Aid was among the first NGO's to have programs and activities in South Sudan. Currently, the

¹ <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article56581>

Norway’s operations in South Sudan include: humanitarian aid, development and diplomacy. As we shall see later in chapter 5. Norwegian organizations work closely with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in their engagements in South Sudan.

Figure 1 Map of South Sudan



Source: <http://www.geographicguide.com/pictures/south-sudan-map.jpg> -final status of the Abyei area in not yet determined.

1.2 Rationale for the thesis

Norway was part of the international cooperation that joined forces to contribute to the peace process in South Sudan. Norway engaged specific approaches and tactics during the negotiations between the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the Government of Sudan. (See chapter 5). But overall, Norway played an important role in the facilitation of the peace process through funding and active participation by holding separate talks with negotiating parties involved.

After the CPA, Norway has continued its activities in South Sudan; these engagements are in three major areas: 1) aid interventions, 2) the diplomatic intervention and 3) the academic cooperation.

The aid interventions involve short-term humanitarian assistance and long-term developments collaborations; among them peacekeeping, emergency relief, refugee integration etc. Chapter two illustrates in detail some of the work of Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) and Norwegian People's Aid (NPA). On diplomatic interventions, Norway also initiated and hosted the multi-donor conference on South Sudan in Oslo in April 2005. Also there are the partnerships between universities in Sudan, South Sudan and Norway. (See chapter 5.3).

My interest in Sudan region and the conflict began when I watched a film documentary on "Lost Boys of Sudan" (2003 film released on 24 April 2003, Directed by Megan Mylan, and Jon Shenk). One statement made in the documentary was "the government bombed our village". What kind of government bombs the villages of its people? I asked myself. Yes, I might have been so naïve, but regardless, my interest grew and then I started reading more about Sudan and South Sudan.

When I began a master program in International Relations, I saw an opportunity to write about South Sudan. The focus on Norway's part developed later in the process of writing the research proposal for this thesis, after finding out about Norway's long engagements in South Sudan. I wanted to know why Norway was interested in South Sudan. What motivated a small far-away country in northern Europe to become deeply involved in the peace process of South Sudan? Thus, the objective of this thesis was developed.

1.3 Objective

The overall objective of this study is to analyse Norway's contribution to the outcome of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the role of CPA was in shaping the peacebuilding process in South Sudan.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were developed to help answer the main objective of the thesis.

1. What was Norway's role during negotiations that led to the signing of the CPA and peacebuilding process in South Sudan?
2. How do the South Sudanese people perceive Norway's engagement in Sudan?

The purpose of the first research question is to describe and understand the approach employed by Norway in the peace process and the steps taken in peacebuilding initiatives.

In attempting the second research question, I focused on the views and perceptions of the people of South Sudan. Thus, this research question sheds further light on the understanding of Norway's engagements from the perspectives of South Sudanese people.

As aforementioned, I will use social constructivism theory to analyse this thesis. I have chosen social constructivism to explain the engagements of Norway in South Sudan because social constructivism "does not proceed from any definitive set of categories that require fitting data to narrow definitions... but [is] an approach that directs focus to the interaction between social identities and structures" (Taulbee et al., 2014:12) hence, giving a focus in understanding important factors of Norway's engagements in South Sudan.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters; the first chapter is the introduction to the thesis. The introduction contains five sections; the introduction, South Sudan, rationale, objectives, research questions and the structure of the thesis.

The second chapter provides the historical background of wars in Sudan and the relationship between Norway and South Sudan. This chapter focuses the beginning of the civil war; South Sudan struggle, SPLM/A and the second civil war, the historical relations between Norway and South Sudan, Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), Norwegian People's Aid (NCA).

Chapter three outlines the theoretical framework and concepts of the thesis. Rationale is also provided regarding the choice of social constructivism as theoretical perspective. Additionally, this chapter gives definitions and descriptions of the concepts for this thesis, these include; Social Constructivism, peacebuilding, the Norwegian Foreign Policy and negotiations

The fourth chapter is the methodology, and it is explaining the methods applied to come up with the thesis. The chapter includes; methodology, research strategy, the strategy used, data collection, interviews, sampling strategy, study context area, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations.

Chapter five consists of the findings and discussions of the study. Included in this chapter are Norway's contribution to the outcome of CPA, the components of the CPA, Norway's role

amid negotiations, the Norwegian Peace Model, Peacebuilding in South Sudan, South Sudanese perceptions on Norwegian engagements and December 2013 back to war.

Chapter six is the conclusion chapter. The chapter contains an introduction, the empirical findings-Norway's strategy, theoretical implications, challenges, future recommendations and the final remarks.

Chapter: 2 Historical Background

This chapter looks briefly at the history of war in the Sudan, for the purpose of aiding an understanding of the conflict between the South and the North. Also, the brief historical summary of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/A) and its development is presented. The historical relation between South Sudan and Norway is also highlighted.

2.1 The Beginning of Civil War; Southern Sudan Struggle

At the time of writing this thesis, South Sudan has, as an independent country, been in existence for four years (2011 – 2015). Before 2011, South Sudan was part of Sudan. Therefore to understand the struggle and the conflict in this region, it is necessary to include the history before the independence of South Sudan. Sudan received independence on 1 January 1956, when the Anglo-Egyptian colonial rule ended, making Sudan the first African country to gain independent after the WWII (Johnson, 2003).

On 18 August 1955, there was a mutiny that broke out in Torit. Soldiers from the South killed their officers who were from Northern Sudan as well as administrators, merchants together with their families (Johnson, 2003). The mutiny was a consequence of dissatisfaction among people from the Southern Sudan. Several issues led to discontentment among the Southern Sudanese, some of the reasons include; the rapid rise of people from Northern Sudan working as senior officers in the army and police, administrators, teachers in government schools and as merchants. This increased fear among Southern Sudanese of northern domination and colonization (Johnson, 2003).

The Torit mutiny is often referred to, by some Southern Sudanese as the beginning of their struggle against the Northern oppression (Johnson, 2003). But the colonial inheritance of state violence towards the Southern Sudanese continued in the Sudan government after independence (Rolandsen and Leonardi, 2014) . The Torit mutiny certainly triggered insecurities, but to a greater extent it encouraged northern administrators to follow the colonial description of the duty of the state. (Including state violence) and the perception of South Sudanese needing to be 'developed', 'modernised' and 'civilised' (Rolandsen and Leonardi, 2014).

In 1958, the civilian rule ended in Sudan bringing the military rule of General Abbud, who implemented an intensified policy of "Arabisation and Islamisation" of the South with the focus on education (Johnson, 2003). This military coup would be the first of several coups in Sudan. The military government started burning villages in the South, an action that increased

the opposition in the South. Between 1960 and 1962, some senior southern politicians fled to Uganda and there linked up with the few mutineers of Torit who were still hiding in the bush and they formed a guerrilla army in 1963 (Rolandsen, 2011a).

The guerrilla army became known as Anya Nya; a vernacular name of a type of poison, this was the beginning of the first Sudan civil war (Johnson, 2003). However, the South itself was not one united region; several factions broke out from Anya Nya. In 1971, Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) was founded under the leadership of Joseph Langu. It is also worthwhile pointing out that Southern Sudan's units of the social system did not have integration and complementarity among various groups (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). due to geographical, historical and economic reasons and cultural diversity (Tvedt, 1994).

The government of Sudan recognized SSLM as an equal negotiation partner (Johnson, 2003). In 1969 another military coup saw Jaafar Nimeir come to power. In February of 1972, the Addis Ababa Agreement was signed between the Government of Sudan and the SSLM, an agreement that brought peace to Sudan, at least for a decade. After ten years of peace, president of Sudan Jaafar Nimeiri abrogated the Addis Ababa Agreement. Then in 1983, a second civil war broke out and another Southern armed group had been formed; the Sudan People's Liberation Movement / Army (SPLM/A) and it received support from Ethiopia's Mengitsu Haile Mariam.

2.2 SPLM/A and the Second Civil War

John Garang became the political leader and Commander of the SPLM/A after he defected from the Sudanese Army (Johnson, 2003). One of SPLM/A's most memorable events was the National Convention in 1994 a decade after the formation of the SPLMA/A movement. The convention is regarded by most SPLMA/A members as the movement's greatest achievement (Rolandsen, 2005). The birth of "new Sudan" was announced at this convention, 516 delegates were in attendance, a list of resolutions concerning the restructuring of the movement was approved, and the convention became a symbol of the SPLM/A's reform (Rolandsen, 2005).

The revocation of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1983 forced the entire Southern Sudanese Army into rebellion. Initially, SPLM/A's goal was not separation from Sudan but a united and secular Sudan (Johnson, 2003). John Garang advocated for united Sudan, a position backed by Ethiopia, which was also battling against its separationists of Eritrea. Despite these efforts, the Government of Sudan was not ready for a secular united Sudan.

Grievances of under-development in the South when compared with other areas of Sudan were presented by the SPLM/S as the main reason for war while other academics from the north state that the colonial separation of the South caused its underdevelopment (Johnson, 2003). Still, other factions within the SPLM/A wanted an independent South Sudan, the position that brought divisions within the SPLM/A. It would be over 20 years before South Sudan became independent. The SPLM/A remained the largest rebel movement from South Sudan (Rolandsen, 2005).

At the beginning of the second civil war, the then president of Sudan Gaafar Nimairi received arms from the United States to help fight the rebellion in the South (Johnson, 2003). In 1985 a military coup happened again in Sudan ending Nimairi's rule. But the war continued with other successive leaders of Sudan government. The second civil war lasted for over twenty years and ended in 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement; a peace process that Norway was involved.

2.3 Historical Relation between South Sudan and Norway

Norway's presence in South Sudan did not start with the peace process that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Norway's engagements date back to the end of the first Sudanese civil war. What motivated Norway, a faraway country in northern Europe to conduct humanitarian activities in South Sudan? At this time, there were no other International Organizations working or probably concerned with the war in the Southern part of Sudan.

2.3.1 Norwegian Church Aid -NCA

The Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) initiated Norway's engagements in South Sudan immediately after the Addis Ababa peace agreement in 1972. NCA was the first Norwegian organization to have humanitarian and development programmes in South Sudan (Tvedt, 1994). The NCA administrative centre was just outside Torit in Hilieu (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). NCA's programme area covered 86,000km² from the East Bank of the Nile River in Equatorial Region. The programme catered to a population of about 500,000 with 20 diverse ethnic groups (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). NCA built some new roads, maintained and repaired other roads. Besides, there was an establishment of dispensaries and Primary Health Care locations. In addition, primary and secondary schools were built and hundreds of wells were drilled (Tvedt, 1994)

With active NCA support, the Torit District Cooperative Union was able to form 139 co-operatives at village level, NCA as an aid organization, was efficient (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). In the years that followed, NCA continued to expand their work in agriculture, education, health and construction of road and water supply. NCA's project became one of Norway's largest (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). According to Tvedt (1994), NCA wanted to have good relations with the state and state's administrative structures. They stressed the need for collaboration and mutual discussion and having formal agreements (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). At the same time, NCA developed more infrastructural power and more resources than the government; as illustrated in the quote below.

“It had excellent secretarial services, radio communication with Khartoum, Nairobi and most of the East Bank, a functioning mail service and flight services. (For comparison: the regional government in Juba did not at times have a functioning photo-copying machine.) Hilieu had three office blocks and the whole programme had approximately USD 600,000 for stationery and office equipment... Hilieu had a fleet of about 200 vehicles and with no felt fuel shortages. Most of the vehicles on the roads on the East Bank in the mid-1980s were NCA vehicles. NCA built 6 administrative centres, with administrators, logistic officers, researchers and secretarial staff and stationery and radio communication. NCA had, until evacuation in January 1985, about 50 – 60 expatriate personnel. The expatriate colony in Hilieu was comprised of about 200, including family members” (Ḥarīr et al., 1994)

In addition, NCA had other programmes going on in Loa district; they delivered public services more than the state and became the biggest employer in the East Bank of Nile (Ḥarīr et al., 1994) . The NCA strategy demonstrated the disposition to establish long-term and sustainable projects. Again, NCA with stronger infrastructural powers created their bureaucracy that according to (Tvedt, 1994) exhibited one of several centrifugal forces. “NCA had become not only a state within a state but the “state”.” (Ḥarīr et al., 1994). “While the programme area locally was called “Little Norway”, the Sudanese administrative staff were called, “Black Norwegians” (Ḥarīr et al., 1994).

2.3.2 Norwegian People's Aid - NPA

When the second civil war broke out, another Norwegian Organization; Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) came on board in 1986 and began providing humanitarian assistance in South Sudan (Shanmugaratnam, 2008). At the time of war, other parts of South Sudan were under the SPLM/A and were called liberated areas (Shanmugaratnam et al., 2002). It was in the liberated areas that the Norwegian People's Aid carried out most of their projects.

NPA worked in liberated areas in support of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (Rolandsen, 2005). NPA started working in South Sudan as a relief organization, providing food aid to those affected by war. Later on, it went beyond short-term to long-term

development (Shanmugaratnam et al., 2002). As a result of NPA's support of the SPLM/A, NPA was nicknamed 'Norwegian's People Army' (Copnall, 2014). NPA's programmes included health care, food security and education (Shanmugaratnam, 2008). NPA "assist in the development of a less vulnerable, more self-reliant population better prepared for the transition to peace" (Shanmugaratnam, 2008). NPA continues to work actively in South Sudan in the areas of development cooperation, humanitarian disarmament, preparedness and rescue services and refugees and integration.²

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) is another Norwegian organization that began its work in South Sudan in 2004. NRC offers responses for returnees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The returnees' needs are food security, shelter, livelihood, water, hygiene & sanitation needs, education, etc.

On academic initiatives; Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development project (NORHED) was launched in 2012. NORHED's aim is to increase academic capacities in Low to Medium-Income Countries (LMIC). South Sudan is one of the countries where NORHED has projects in partnership with the University of Juba. Also, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) has continuous research projects in South Sudan since 2005 with funding from MFA and the Research Council of Norway.

It shows here that the relations between Norway and South Sudan have a long history. A Norwegian official in Juba commented that "we have our arguments, but we also have a strong relationship that makes it possible to have that kind of arguments and disagreements" (interview 008 01 June, 20015).

The government of Norway through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also channels funds to South Sudan through Norwegian organizations and other international organization like Save the Children and Red Cross. In addition to other funds channelled through the Norwegian NGO's, a large share of Norway's funding for aid in South Sudan goes through United Nations and the World Bank.

All these engagements and efforts have been built over the years, a process that has given Norway a "special place" among the general public of South Sudanese. Social constructivism asserts that interactions between actors either on the international level or domestically are

² <http://www.npaid.org/Our-Work>

consolidated within one's values, beliefs and meanings. Thus, through the process of interaction individual create a new understanding of “self and other” (Wendt, 1992). With the Norwegians working in South Sudan for some years, Norway and South Sudanese have internalized the solidarity intentions concerning South Sudan starting from the initial years of engagements.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Issues

The theoretical and conceptual framework section seeks to aid understanding of the main issues covered in this thesis. In research, issues discussed in the theoretical framework and conceptual issues may include concepts, expectations, beliefs, assumptions and theories. In general, the conceptual framework explains and provides key ideas in the study. Equally important to the research are theories; a theory comprises of interconnected, logical set of ideas and models. A theory gives a general proposition that explain observations (Maxwell, 2012). Overall, the theoretical framework and conceptual issues do guide the research. The conceptual issues covered in this section include conventional theories of International Relations (IR), social constructivism theory, Norwegian Foreign Policy, peacebuilding and negotiations.

Social Constructivism theory will be used to give an explanation for the observations and findings of this research work. Other theories will also be mentioned to contrast them from social constructivism and to give an understanding to what social constructivism theory is.

3.1 Dominating Theories in International Relations

Realism and Liberalism are the conventional theories of International Relations (IR). For realists, the international politics or the international arena is considered anarchical where states struggle for power, competition in security including offensive military capabilities. Realism states that the state is the only actor and sovereign; there is no other authority above it, so they act as they wish. Therefore, states do act rationally for the intentions of other states are uncertainty. International institutions merely reflect the power distributions in the world and are “based on self-interested calculations of the greater powers, and they have no independent effect on state behaviour” (Mearsheimer, 1994).

In realism other players like International Organisation operate only under the auspice of a state, they are not sovereign and human nature is inherently selfish. Each state has interests, and the international politics is about the struggle for power. Realism asserts that states should not depend on the other for security, rather must depend on their own “Self-help” for protection. The emphasis is on the military capabilities. Also, realism accentuates the “balance of power” so to avoid one state from dominating (Baylis et al., 2013).

Conversely, liberalism is another rational theory; Jeremy Bentham and Immanuel Kant who are known to be “liberals of the Enlightenment”, claim that individuals are rational and capable of improving their condition; for example joining efforts for peace to avoid war and

promotion of democracy and free trade. Liberalism sees national interest and goal as dynamic, changing with time (Baylis et al., 2013).

Liberalism views world politics from a different angle than that of realists. In liberalism, human beings have the ability to improve their condition because they are rational. Also, there is no such a thing as the natural condition of world politics like war (anarchy). Liberalism recognizes that the state is an important actor. However, it is not the only important actor; others exist in the form of multinational corporations, the international organizations including even terror groups (Baylis et al., 2013). All other actors have a central part to play in different matters. There is a possibility for cooperation among states and other actors. National interest is not only power (military) rather economic, environmental, etc.

When I started to study Norway's engagement in South Sudan, I came to realize that conventional IR theories were inadequate because they limit the human agency. Also, they have presupposition understanding of how states ought to act. The issue of interests in power on the world politics cannot explain Norway's engagements in South Sudan. Norway is not considered to have hard power capabilities-military influence, which is the main focus of realism. Liberalism conceives the international system as less chaotic and that more cooperation may result in peace. However, both realism and liberalism are cognitive and rational theories and see the world politics as disordered and chaotic. In light of this, I turned to social constructivism.

3.2 Social Constructivism

Social constructivism is a social theory that is "broadly concerned with how to conceptualize the relationship between agents and structures" (Baylis et al., 2013). For example, how should we think about the relationship between Norwegian government and the South Sudan or Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A)?

As aforementioned, the theory of social constructivism in IR came about in response to the theories of cognitivism and rationalism. Cognitivism explains that the structure of international relations influences the state's action. However, social constructivism stresses that history and human society influence the state's action. In social constructivism, actors in international relations are states and non-states. The manner in which, these actors relate to each other is due to history and human society; it is through a process of interaction. Social constructivists would, therefore, say that international politics is socially created or constructed and "imbued with social values, norms and assumptions" (Fierke, 2015). "...the

collective subject of international relations may base on the "material of human nature" (Dunne et al., 2013).

Social Constructivism is more of an approach in a sense that "it directs focus to the interaction between social identities and structures" (Taulbee et al., 2014). In itself, social constructivism unlike other IR theories, "does not proceed from any definitive set of categories that require fitting data to narrow definitions" (Taulbee et al., 2014):12. Actors give meaning to objects they construct and their practices; Constructivists try to recover the meaning given thereof (Baylis et al., 2013). In international politics, according to constructivists, there are no timeless laws waiting to be discovered; however, laws are constructed by humans based on historical activities and can change (Baylis et al., 2013).

Wendt, (1992) argues that not a structure, but rather a process causes states to be "self-help". He continues that structures do not exist outside of the process; meaning there are no fundamental characteristics of anarchy, instead "self-help and power politics are institutions. "Anarchy is what states make of it" (Wendt, 1992). The view in social constructivism is that knowledge is a human product and so is the reality. Both knowledge and reality are culturally and socially constructed and are social inventions. Through the process of interaction within a specific environment, meanings are created. Therefore, states will act depending on the meaning they give to the system.³

The meaning that is understood comes from the process of interactions be it at national or international level. "It is collective meanings that constitute the structures, which organize our actions" (Wendt, 1992). Thus, norms and ideas in the international system are collective; this is essential for the purpose of understanding the state's actions. "Anarchy and the distribution of power only have meaning for state action in virtue of the understandings and expectations that constitute institutional identities and interest" (Wendt, 1992).

Wendt (1992) Continues that, the concept of "self and other" (security interests) can only come following a prior interaction. The collaboration of states does design the international political system. The idea of the chaotic system assumes the history of interaction in which state acquire the self-interests. Otherwise, there would not be a base to understand self and other because "Self-help is an institution, not a constitutive feature of anarchy" (Wendt, 1992).

³ <http://cmapsconverted.ihmc.us/rid=1N5QXBJZF-20SG67F-32D4/Kim%20Social%20constructivism.pdf>

Also, social constructivism differs from realism and liberalism in the way that world politics is not external; but through interactions, individuals continuously make the structure of international politics, and this structure can be changed. Through the application of social constructivism, I will analyse South Sudan – Norway relations in the following way: how the emergency of Norway's engagements has influenced South Sudanese' perceptions on Norway? Also, exploring the historical relations and how Norway's foreign policy has set Norway on peace engagements in South Sudan and other countries (See table 1). The foreign policy and peace engagements will be explained in detail below, also in the analysis section.

In Social constructivism actors relate to each other based on the history and human society. In the analysis section (chapter 5) I will discuss how interactions between Norway and South Sudan have built a specific understanding of Norway and Norwegian organizations in South Sudan and among South Sudanese.

Social constructivism is chosen in this thesis because it does not generalize the actions of states or organizations; here the theory will give a unique understanding of Norway's role and identity regarding peace engagements in South Sudan. Applying social constructivism supports the understanding of how social agents recreate and redefine the fundamental principles and structures in which they operate (Steans et al., 2005).

By applying social constructivism, I will get a space to analyse the actions of Norway as a small state, in South Sudan and on the world politics, in a way that neither realism nor liberalism may permit due to the focus they give to powerful states. As mentioned above, realism and liberalism traditionally are concerned with the greater powers putting the small states in the periphery. Apparently, there is no agreed definition as to what makes up a "small state". The perception of Norway, in general, is that of a small state, this was more so during the cold war in the discourse of Norway's foreign policy within Norway "small and vulnerable" Leira (2007) as quoted by (Stokke, 2012).

The smallness of Norway can be based on the country's population, geographical size, influence on the world politics, etc. Others may argue that today Norway does not fit into a "small state" because of its economic strength. However, this study does not seek to debate whether Norway is a small state or not, rather Norway's smallness here is what (Hey, 2003) defines as "based on the idea of perception". "That is, if a state's people and institutions generally perceive themselves to be small, or if other states' peoples and institutions perceive that state as small, it shall be so considered" (Hey, 2003).

In line with social constructivism, individuals do not see the world in the same way; the circumstances surrounding individuals will affect how they perceive the world and the choices they make. In every society, there are cultural norms; things that are considered appropriate and normal. One may choose to obey the laws because that is what is appropriate and expected.

3.3 Foreign Policy

A foreign policy is a “plan of action adopted by one nation in regards to its diplomatic dealing with other countries”.⁴ A foreign policy is set up systematically to deal with matters that are likely to rise with other states. In this section, I will give a brief account of the Norwegian foreign policy and its development encompassing of peace.

3.3.1 Norwegian Foreign Policy

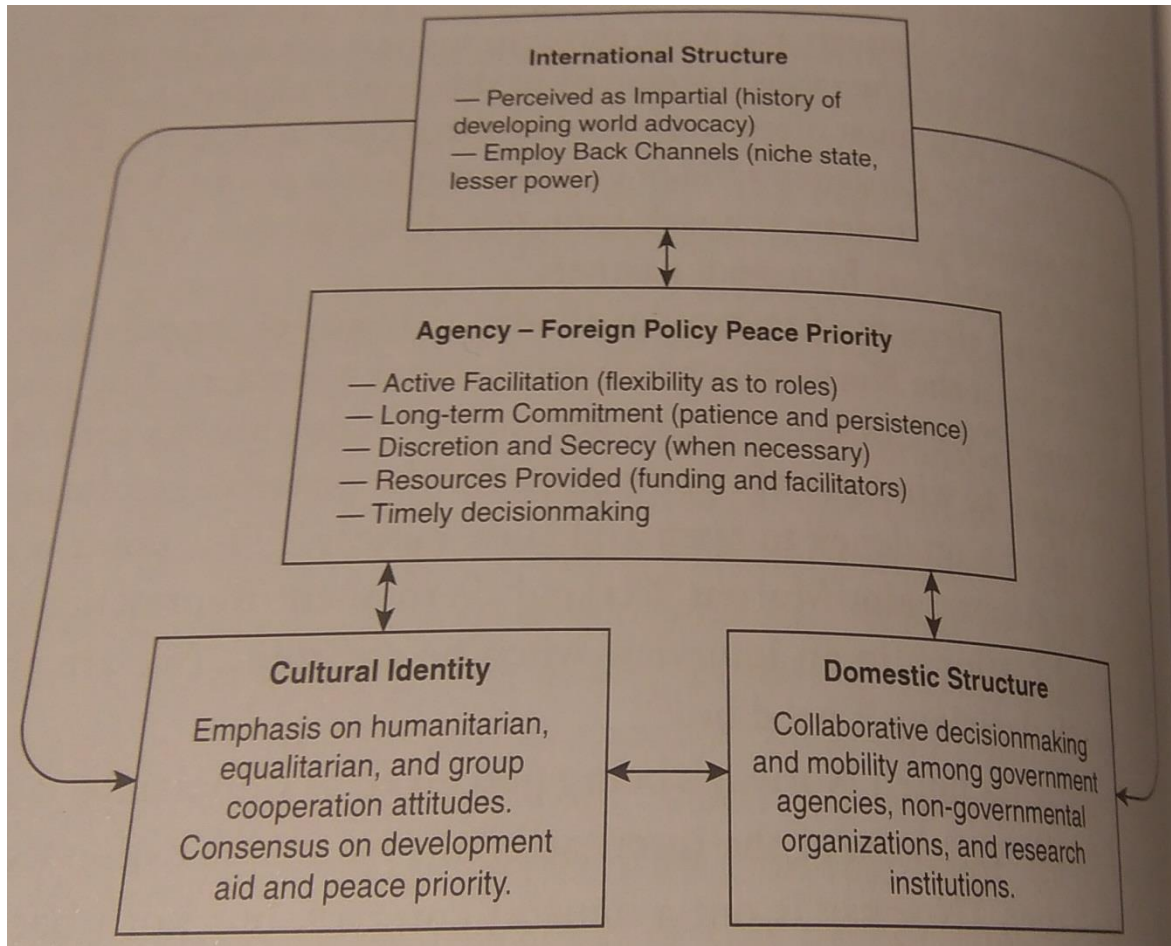
Peace characterizes the Norwegian foreign policy. A historical look at how the peace policy developed in Norway shows that the peace policy within Norway was established way before the Norwegians could engage in foreign relations and diplomacy (Leira, 2013). Only after the mid-19th century, did Norway start thinking of diplomatic engagements. Earlier on, emphasis was put on the role of common people in bringing peace and not on the interest of power politics. According to Leira (2013) having abolished the nobility system in 1821, being ruled by the Danish and later Sweden, there was largely no Norwegian officers to engage in foreign issues. Much effort was put into building the Norwegian nation, thus ‘peaceful people’ became the Norwegian identity that was constructed through the discourse of Norway’s politics, and society (Leira, 2013).

In the eighteen hundred, the war in Europe brought with it foreign issues to Norway's front position (Leira, 2013). The Norwegian identity developed into the national-liberal ideology of the left, "the people" were closely connected to peace identity “the people” but not the state (Leira, 2013) ...the national identity focused on the specific agency of people and exposed to the international liberal discourse on peace that also put greater emphasis on the agency of the peoples as opposed to the states. The joint Nobel Peace Laureates of 1908 (Fredrik Baer and K.P. Arnoldson) were an inspiration to Norwegians; they positioned the Norwegian liberals to connect with the broader European peace movements, turning Norway questing for peace (Leira, 2007). The international peace and solidarity emphasised international cooperation, neutrality, arbitration, free-trade and benefits of closer interaction among the peoples of the

⁴ Foreign policy. BusinessDictionary.com. WebFinance, Inc.
<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/foreign-policy.html> (accessed: December 03, 2015).

world and these liberal ideas of international peace and international solidarity influenced Norwegians (Leira, 2013). The figure below shows Norway’s agency in the context of its identity, domestic structure, and the structure of the international system⁵

Figure 2: Diagram of Norway’s agency



Source: Taulbee et al., 2014:62

The leading liberal Norwegian poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson as quoted by Leira (2013) saw the agency of people in peacemaking. Another known Norwegian peace activist Halvdan Koht, who later became the foreign affairs minister stated that “A sensible foreign policy is, in our opinion, an open and honest and fully realised peace policy” (Leira, 2013). In their rhetoric, both Bjørnson and Koht considered it a duty for small states to change the world and that they had the possibility to do so. “If we Norwegians join ranks and work for the great goal of peace under the banner: Justice for the people and among the peoples! – it will be our honour to have partaken in creating a new age and an era of peace among men” (Leira, 2013).

⁵ Source: Taulbee, James Larry, Ann Kelleher, and Peter C. Grosvenor. *Norway's Peace Policy: Soft Power in a Turbulent World*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

The Norwegian foreign policy discourses are essentially liberal; thus, the Norwegian foreign policy became centred on peace in contrast to the ‘traditional foreign policy’ of other European countries (Leira, 2013) “Norwegian foreign policy was first pronounced as “a liberal policy of peace”, stressing the role of people, arbitration, neutrality and free trade; this was in direct contradiction of what was commonly perceived as ‘foreign policy’. For example, alliances, aristocracy, and wars of diplomats” (Leira, 2013).

“The identity of the Norwegian people as peaceful was both a cause and an effect of the peaceful policy that would be pursued by a government of foreign policy by the people” (Leira, 2013). According to Kjølberg, (2007); Riste, (2001) The perception of Norway's smallness and vulnerability, made it both possible and necessary to maintain political consensus on foreign policy, particularly on questions of security and alliance politics (Stokke, 2012). The fundamentality of the peace policy is within the liberal belief shared by many Norwegians that their influence will "make the world a better place" (Leira, 2013).

“Geostrategic position, wealth from North Sea oil production, and a sea change in the structure of the international system after the Cold War afforded myriad opportunities for a broad Norwegian commitment to peace-making and peacebuilding based upon important elements that underlie Norwegian perceptions of their identity (self-image)” (Taulbee et al.,:163)

Reiste (2001) as quoted by Taulbee et al., (2014) states that, historically, Norwegian foreign relations reflected three elements: neutrality, moralism, and internationalism (Taulbee et al., 2014).

This historical understanding of Norwegian peace foreign policy, explains Norway’s engagement in peace efforts, not only in South Sudan, but different places around the world (see the table 1 below). The implementation of this foreign policy encompasses a strong link with Norwegian organization, where the state is indirectly involved.

Leira (2013) argues that status-seeking and interest-gain are considered supplementary issues. In their foreign policy, Norway will likely continue in the pursuit of peace "not because it gives us what we want, but because it confirms us as being who we are.” (Leira, 2013).

Norway’s peacemaking interventions have often drawn on the field experience and local connections to Norwegian NGOs or/and research institutions. The long-term work of NGOs has often provided an entry point for Norwegian peace efforts. The assumption is that the Norwegian NGO's have enough networks and knowledge that is essential for peace efforts.

Again, Norwegian organizations by the virtue of being non-state actors, it is easier for the Norwegian government to maintain secrecy and confidentiality and the government preserves ‘deniability’ (Goodhand et al., 2011). Chapter five discussed this connection of the government and the NGO’s, and how this was implemented in the case of South Sudan’s peace process.

Table 1: Norwegian peace efforts worldwide⁶

Peace process	Lead facilitator	Norwegian role
Aceh	Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (NGO, Geneva)	Financial support
Burma	UN	Support through humanitarian assistance
Burundi	Different agencies	Financial support
Colombia	UN	Member, group of friends
Ethiopia-Eritrea	UN	Member, group of friends
Philippines	Norway	Facilitator
Guatemala	Norway, UN and other countries	Facilitator
Haiti/Dominican Republic	Norway	Facilitator of dialogue project
Cyprus	UN/EU (until 2003)	Financial support
Israel/Palestine	USA/EU/Russia/UN	Different supportive roles, including chair of the Ad-Hoc Liaison Committee, ex-sponsor of back channel
Mali	Norwegian Church Aid, UNDP	Financial support
Burundi	UN and others	Financial support
Somalia	Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD)	Member of friends group
Sri Lanka	Norway	Facilitator
Sudan	Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD)	Member of friends group
Timor-Leste	Norway	Facilitator

Source: Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

⁶ Source: Pawns of Peace: Evaluation of Norwegian peace efforts in Sri Lanka, 1997-2009 – Evaluation Report 5/11

3.4 Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is another concept that I will discuss in this thesis. After the peace agreement of 2005, peacebuilding became important for South Sudan to strengthen and support the social capacity to end violent conflicts. The repetitive nature of conflict after cessation of fire is a result of common aspects of protracted conflicts that are socially divided along ethnic, class and religion (Jeong, 2002). The existing divisions make it difficult to end violence completely immediately following the signing of a peace agreement. The example is the current conflict in South Sudan, which began in 2013. Mediators and parties involved in the conflict reached and signed several peace agreements, but the violent conflict is yet to end.

Defining peacebuilding can be a challenge; the term is explained differently by various organizations. Over the years, the term peacebuilding has expanded not only to academics but also to different interested parties including those in development, security & peace, diplomacy, etc. The United Nations (UN) defines peacebuilding as “a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development” (McCaskie, 2007).

The above definition allows me to analyse the case of South Sudan by looking at peacebuilding undertakings carried out by Norway in the aftermath of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (post-CPA) period of 2005. The analysis on peacebuilding is within the context of post-CPA and the war that broke out in 2013. With the war going on in South Sudan, the peacebuilding concept necessitates mentioning of issues surrounding the persistence fighting. Peacebuilding according to Bercovitch & Jackson, (2009) is as “an attempt to reduce the sources of present and ongoing antagonism and build local capacities for conflict resolution in divided societies often in the face of open hostilities and raw trauma.”

In 1992, the UN former Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his report to the Security Council supplemented the term peacebuilding. Putting peacebuilding alongside preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peacekeeping to the broad UN method to peace and security in intra-conflict as well as inter-conflict (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Following the end of the cold war, and the emergence of intra-state conflicts in Angola, Bosnia, Cambodia, Rwanda and Somalia there was a new awareness among the international community that peacebuilding was neither a straightforward nor an easy task (Taulbee et al., 2014). Hampson, (1996, pp 9-

10) as quoted by Jeong (2002) states that establishment of institutions and support structures are important to discourage contending parties from taking up arms again (Jeong, 2002).

Peacebuilding is the overwhelming task of rebuilding societies that have long-term conflicts, but it remains a challenge. This task becomes, even more, formidable when both or either of the conflicting parties is not willing to follow the peace agreements (Jeong, 2002). When the peace agreement is signed, and guns are put down, the expectation is immediate peace following of peace agreement and cessation of fire. Unfortunately, this is not the case in the real situation. The mistrust among and between the warring parties continues; and, in reality, some form of conflict and violence continue and at times increase even after the peace agreement is signed (Suhrke and Berdal, 2013). For example, Torres (2008) talks about violence increase in Guatemala between 2006 and 2007 where 40% of those living in the city were victims of violent crimes, this was within six months of declaring peace (Suhrke and Berdal, 2013).

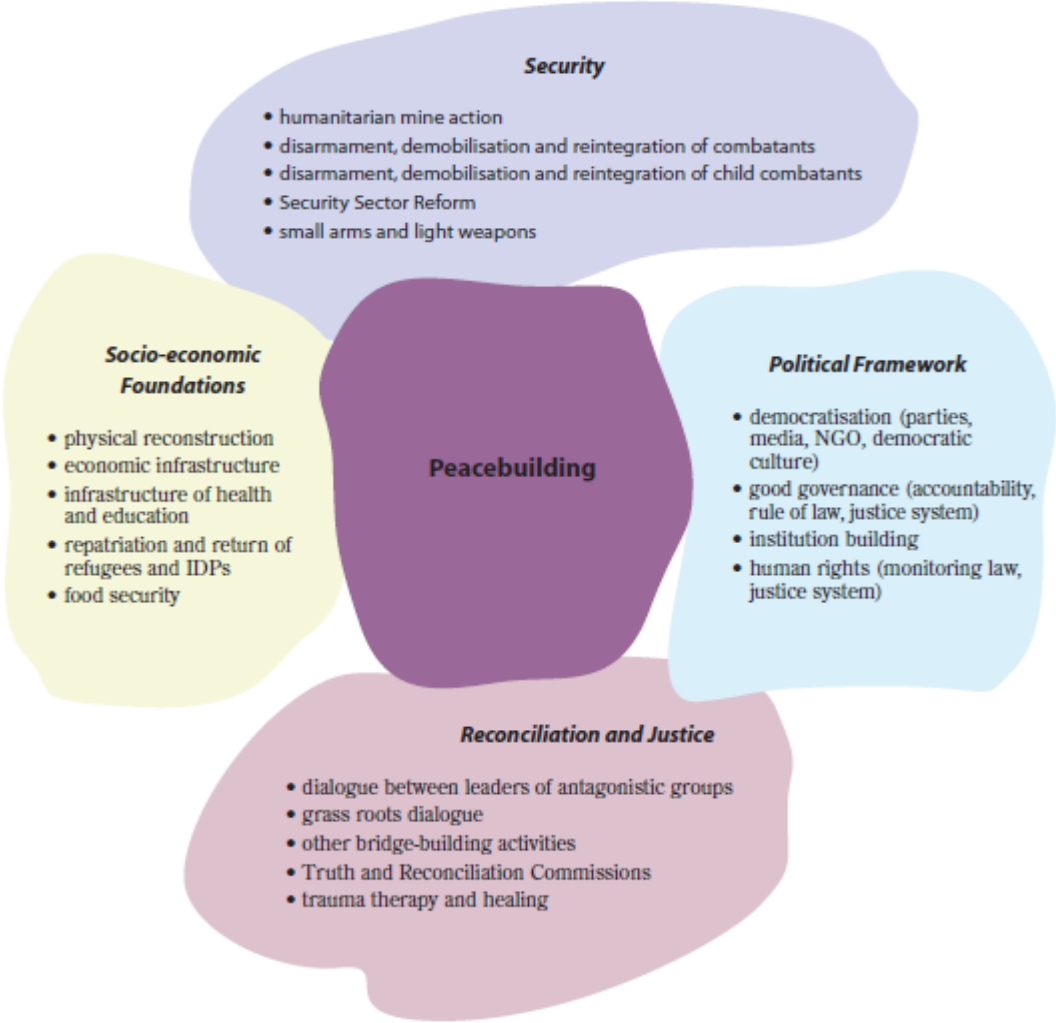
In the case of South Sudan, the independence on 9 July 2011 did not end widespread violence and insecurity across the country. There were some violence as a result of the combination of armed rebellions against the regime in Juba, also, the growing violence at different local levels in the countryside and related counter-insurgency operations by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Young men, especially from rural areas, are thought to have played an ample role in the violence (ROLANDSEN and BREIDLID, 2012).

Peacebuilding is not a static, one-time activity, but rather it is a process that incorporates the implementation of a peace agreement. Peacebuilding is correspondingly linked to the establishment of measures that support social harmony and encourage cooperation and accord among warring communities. In peacebuilding, there is a need to establish social, economic and political structures to maintain peace and avoid future conflicts (Jeong, 2002).

Peacebuilding is commonly characterized by a huge demand to rebuild societies destroyed in protracted conflicts. The task of ensuring that the warring sides keep their commitment by abiding by the outlines of the peace agreement is another challenge (Jeong, 2002). According to Young (2007), the main weakness of the comprehensive peace agreement in Sudan was its reliance on the relationship between Ali Osman Taha, who was the first vice president of Sudan and the then president of the SPLM/A John Garang. Their leadership was critical for peacebuilding and the implementation of the CPA agreement (Rolandsen, 2011b). When Garang died in a helicopter accident, Taha's influence in the Sudan government weakened,

and it hampered the CPA implementation. Chapter five (see 5.3) tackles more of peacebuilding initiatives and the challenges of implementing the CPA. According to Smith (2004), peacebuilding has broad range of policy “instruments” some of include security, political framework, reconciliation & justice and social-economic (Smith, 2004) as shown below.

Figure 3: Peacebuilding Palette



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs ‘Evaluation Report 1/22004

<https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde/ud/rap/2004/0044/ddd/pdfv/210673-rapp104.pdf>

After the signing of CPA, Norway assured of its continual support of peace efforts “Norway will work intensively to ensure that the positive development in Sudan maintains its current

strong momentum, so that peace can be established in all parts of the country” Ms F. Johnson – at the time she was Norway’s minister of international development.⁷

3.5 Negotiations

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines negotiations as “Discussions aimed at reaching an agreement” (Hornby, 2015). When it comes to negotiations, there has to be willingness from the negotiating sides. Given that the political will is there, and the warring parties see to it that they can defend or promote their interest, they may choose to negotiate their differences for the purpose of resolving the conflict (Jeong, 2002).

According to Jeong (2002), there are dynamics to negotiations with the concept that is emulated from the military readiness, where the emphasis is on the capacity and willingness to act or respond to a situation. The dynamics of ‘negotiation readiness’ are important in negotiations, these include: motivation to negotiate, willingness to negotiate and capacity to negotiate (Jeong, 2002).

In the negotiations, to raise the possibility of arriving at an agreement, it is essential that there is ‘readiness’ from all concerned sides to negotiate. Civil society organizations are a crucial part of developing the ‘negotiations readiness’, therefore strengthening them can be important. Lack of capacity and skill creates the discrepancy in power between the negotiating sides, a situation that is likely to deter negotiation (Jeong, 2002) In the case of Sudan/South Sudan negotiations, the discrepancy in power between the parties and lack of capacity was reduced with the assistance of the international community, Norway included.

As mentioned in (chapter 2.4), Norway's role in South Sudan must be seen in the light of other countries’ participation in the peace process. Norway’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norwegians in the NGO community liaised and assumed their accustomed role in support of prominent mediators, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the United States (Kelleher, 2006). Coordination is important in negotiations; a single mediator, whether an individual, a country or an organization rarely can achieve peace negotiations alone (Hauge and Hybertsen, 1998).

Taulbee et al. (2014) agree on the need and importance of coordination in negotiations “The Norwegians fully understand that they are not a world power. Norway brings reputation, moral commitment, and willingness to apply what resources they can muster to the table, but

⁷ https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/sudans_first_vice_president/id234823/

acknowledges that successful outcomes of engagement will require the coordinated efforts, influence, and resources of many others or commitments by the major powers or both.” Taulbee (2014:15)

According to (Taulbee et al., 2014) the interviews conducted “Both NPA and NCA did valuable work, including advocacy and public awareness work. They were critical in positioning the US and the Norwegian governments about the Sudan”. Taulbee et al., (2014:88)

In negotiations, diplomatic communication between the contending sides is essential. In efforts to resolve conflicts, different types of diplomacy exist. According to Mapendere (2006), Track-one diplomacy refers to “formal diplomacy”, which is at the highest political level involving government and military leaders and other non-state actors. Included in the Track-one actors are Regional groupings such as African Union (AU), Arab League, the Organization of American States (OAS) and European Union (EU). Also, among Track one actors are the United Nations and the Vatican, etc. (Mapendere, 2006).

Another channel for diplomacy is what Montville (1991) calls “Track Two Diplomacy.” Track two diplomacy consists of non-official people, yet with direct influence on the parties (Chigas, 2003). Often the mediators in track two are scholars or practitioners who are knowledgeable, with the expertise to facilitate dialogue and problem-solving between the warring parties (Chigas, 2003). Examples include Non-governmental organizations, religious institutions, civil societies, academics, former political leaders, etc. (Chigas, 2003). According to Montville (1991) Track two diplomacy is not a replacement for Track one diplomacy, rather it should “compensate for the constraints imposed on leaders by their people’s psychological expectations” (Mapendere, 2006).

Track three diplomacy is mediation among private groups, individuals “people-to-people” from warring sides aimed at understanding and encouraging interaction. Track three diplomacy often focusses on the grassroots level (Snodderly, 2011). For example, in the case of South Sudan, Norwegian Church Aid implemented, funded and organized a “series of peace conferences” in what was called people-to-people process (Kelleher, 2006). See (chapter 5:3).

Besides other diplomatic channels of communication and interaction, there is the “multi-track diplomacy”. The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD) defines Multi-Track

Diplomacy as “a conceptual way to view the process of international peace-making as a living system. It looks at the web of interconnected activities, individuals, institutions, and communities that operate together for a common goal: a world at peace” (Notter and Diamond, 1996). Various actors like governments, professional organizations, businesses, churches, media, private citizens, training and educational institutes, activists, and funders can be part of the peace efforts in the multi-track diplomacy (Snodderly, 2011).

For the peace process in South Sudan, as I shall expound in (chapter 5) and also noted earlier in (chapter 2.4), the Norwegians used their network to link all levels of collaboration. When Track one diplomacy was absent the Norwegians both in the Ministry of foreign affairs and NGO’s joined forces and cooperated with other actors to exploit different tracks of diplomacy during the peace process. Dean Pruitt (1994) as quoted by Mapendere (2006) asserts that mediators create a link “communication chains” between factional leaders and government when they are not talking. These communication chains offer important contacts for sending messages; they also assist in building confidence between Track one leaders to the point that Track one mediators have a channel for communication (Mapendere, 2006).

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

The methodology chapter outlines the process undertaken to gather data and information for the thesis. The strategy used for this study is qualitative. This chapter describes the design of research, strategy and methodology undertaken to complete the thesis. The process includes: data collection, interviews, sampling strategy, study context, data analysis, ethical consideration and limitations to the study.

4.1 Research Strategies

In research, there are qualitative and quantitative research strategies. Researchers may have different reasons for choosing one method over the other. Some see the two methods as separate and maintain that each method must be carried out independently of the other. However, there are also those who advocate for combining both methods during research (Bryman, 2008).

In this thesis, I have used qualitative research strategy. I chose qualitative research because my topic required an understanding of events, processes, relationships in the context of the cultural and social situation. In general qualitative research is used to give an in-depth description of procedures, beliefs and knowledge associated with a particular issue. For example, health issues, exploring reasons for certain behaviours and opinions of participants on a particular issue.⁸

The qualitative approach in this study is designed to giving a descriptive experience as it appears in Norwegian and South Sudanese people's lives (Bryman, 2008). In qualitative research, data are largely collected in the form of verbal or written language; interviews were used as a way of collecting information. Other sources of data may include but not limited to; document, observations and artefacts. I transcribed data from audio to text to make the analysis of data easier (Polkinghorne, 2005).

Qualitative research "is mainly concerned with data that can be observed but not easily quantified" (Bryman, 2008). For example; appearance, smells, texture, taste, colours, perceptions, meanings, characteristics etc., qualitative asks what, why, where and how.

Also, qualitative research is interpretative, and case focused. Qualitative research is often inductive, bottom-up and the hypothesis emerges from the data (Silverman, 2006). One of the strengths of qualitative research is its ability to study phenomena that are not easy to quantify.

⁸ http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/tropej/online/ce_ch14.pdf

Also, qualitative research is context sensitive in such a way that the researcher can look and observe how the seemingly stable phenomenon like a nation, tribe, a family or an organization works, as perceived by the people living within these social structures (Silverman, 2006).

Qualitative strategy “embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individual’s creation” (Bryman, 2008). This research work will test the theory of social constructivism, which I explain in detail in the theoretical chapter (3.2). Other International Relation (IR) theories are also discussed.

Contrary to natural science where there is “preconstituted world of phenomena for investigation” social sciences ought to examine the process and construction of the social world (Bryman, 2008). Social constructivism denotes that social reality is not out there and externally position that it can only be discovered, it is a process that is created by social actors. Even the categories that are employed by individual to understand the phenomena are social products (Bryman, 2008). As sources of data for my research, I have used text, talks, and existing literature on the topic, documents, reports and interviews.

4.2 Research Context and Field Work

The field work for this thesis was conducted in Juba, South Sudan for the period of three weeks in May and June, 2015. My point of entry was the University of Juba where I had my first contacts and respondents. Participants’ selection was done using the snowballing technique (See 4.4) (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). In the research proposal I developed a list of informants that were to participate in the study. The assumption was that the respondents knew about Norway’s contribution to peacebuilding in South Sudan.

Being a capital city, Juba is the centre in a sense that all government ministries are located there. Most of the organizations operating in South Sudan have their headquarters in Juba. It would have been useful to have opinions and perspectives of people in other parts of South Sudan on the topic. However, security constraints did not allow me to travel to other parts of the country, considering that there was an on-going fighting at the time of the field work. Furthermore, the rain season had started making travelling outside of Juba even more difficult.

Therefore, it was decided earlier on that the field work was going to be conducted only in Juba. Some of the respondents in Juba were considered key informants; a key informant is an expert source of information (Marshall, 1996). Other respondents were directly involved in

projects implemented by Norway, while others had at some point had worked with Norwegian projects. For example, Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development project (NORHED) has some projects at university of Juba and some of my informants are directly involved in NORHED project. Another group that was chosen on the same assumption of being key informants were the officials at the ministry of foreign affairs. Most of them are members of the ruling party SPLM/A and some were also former ambassadors. Also students who were studying peace and development and diplomatic studies were also chosen to participate in the interviews.

I recorded my interviews using a small recorder that proved to be effective because it had to be placed down on the table without any disruptions. I conducted the interviews in English, so I did not need an interpreter. The interviews were conducted either in the participants' offices or in empty classrooms for students. There was no third party present, giving my respondents freedom to talk. My first contacts at university of Juba assisted me in identifying the individuals that I interviewed; at one point when I went to the ministry of foreign affairs, they needed extra information from me before they could let me conduct any interview. My contacts from the University of Juba were very helpful in this area; they wrote a letter addressing the ministry of foreign affairs, which provided me with access to conduct interviews.

4.3 Data collection

To answer the research questions, (see 1.4 Research Questions) data was collected through interviews and other sources included existing literature on the topic, books, articles, reports and theses.

The existing literature on South Sudan and peacebuilding has not addressed much regarding the perspectives of South Sudanese on the peacebuilding initiatives employed by external actors. Based on this, as aforementioned in (see 1.2) I wanted to study the contributions that Norway made in the peace process why Norway is involved in South Sudan. The theory of social constructivism suits well in this study because it stresses the individual roles and identities rather than generalizing what is suitable to all actors (Taulbee et al., 2014).

4.3.1 Interviews

An interview is an effective method to capture shared cultural understandings and presentations of the social world (Silverman, 2006). According to Pokker (1996) an interview is a method of gathering data from people by asking of questions and getting them to react

verbally (Polkinghorne, 2005). The interviewing technique was chosen because generally interviews are considered time effective (Silverman, 2006) compared to observations that require spending long period of time with participants. In interviews, the language used by participants is important in attaining perceptions and values face to face (Bryman, 2008). That is why it was considered important for the researcher to go to South Sudan and conduct the interviews in person.

The interviews were mainly the combination of semi-structured and open-ended interviews. Open-ended are the questions that do not have an answer of yes or no. Semi-structured interviews require a list of broad questions prepared before the interview and good rapport with the participant and probing (Silverman, 2006). I did establish the rapport through a self-introduction explaining the aims of my research. Open ended interviews require probing, flexibility and rapport with the participants (Silverman, 2006). In the interviews, I was actively listening to encourage the respondent to talk. Focus Group Discussion (FGD's) is another kind of interview that I planned to do, but it was difficult to find the available group of people at the same time and willing to do the interviews. As a result, no FGD's were conducted.

In total thirteen interviews were conducted within three different categories of respondent: Academics, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Non-governmental Organisation (NPA-Norway). The participants included; four Students of diplomatic studies at the University of Juba, three Lectures at the University of Juba, three former diplomats at the ministry of foreign affairs, one from SUDD research institute in Juba and two from Norwegian People's Aid in Oslo.

Conducting interviews at the University of Juba felt safe even though there were a few external noises. After the first two interviews, I learnt that I had to avoid asking emotionally provoking question for many of my participants expressed raw feelings particularly in regard to the war that was going on at the time.

Former diplomats at the ministry of foreign affairs were busy and took a couple of days to get an appointment with them. Also the protocol had to be observed; for example, the ministry of foreign affairs requested that I get a particular letter from the University of Juba in order to allow me to conduct interviews. The letter was written and presented at the ministry of foreign affairs.

4.3.2 Literature from other Sources

This thesis also draws from the work of others. I used the published sources to compare with the findings in my research work. As a source of evidence mainly scholarly articles were used together with books. The sources were found online search with google scholar, Oria.no and from the library at NMBU. Other documents used were obtained from the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).

4.4 Sampling of participants

In selection of the participants, snowballing technique was used. Snowballing sampling is a technique of finding research participant or subjects. In this case, a participant suggests a name to the researcher, the second subject provides a third name, and the process goes on. Snowballing is grouped within a wider set of linking and tracing methodologies (Atkinson and Flint, 2001).

The snowballing technique seeks to utilize the social networks of identified respondents. This method provides wider and growing potential contacts to participate in the research. Snowball sampling is respondent-driven; it is based on the assumption that there is a link between the first respondent and the following respondents. In addition, snowballing technique assumes that those participating are relevant informants to the study. This sampling technique is used most frequently to conduct qualitative research, primarily through interviews (Atkinson and Flint, 2001).

During the field work, my first contact was at the University of Juba with lectures at the Centre for Peace and Development Studies (CPDS). Through them I was referred to a number of students.

The director of NORHED project at the University of Juba gave me contact at the South Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I first interviewed the acting director who then gave me two other individuals to interview. Another lecture referred me to SUDD Institute- a policy research and analysis institution that writes policies and engages the government and other stakeholders on important policy issues.

Another tool that I employed in selecting the informants for this research is purposive sampling. This strategic choice of units is perceived as most relevant in qualitative research, and those participating are looked upon as knowledgeable (Devers and Frankel, 1999). What is crucial to purposive sampling is the quality of data gathered because of the competence and reliability of the informants (Tongco, 2007). Among those that were interviewed in this

research are government officials, (specifically those in ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy), Academics (Students and professors) from University of Juba at the Centre for Peace and Development Studies. Other individuals from other institutes were requested to take part in this study because they are deemed relevant for this research work. For example, a participant from a research institute in Juba was selected to take part in the interview.

4.5 Qualitative Content Data Analysis

The qualitative content data analysis was used as a method of data analysis. Qualitative content data analysis is a “method of textual investigation” (Silverman, 2006) it is a method that can be used inductively or deductively for qualitative and quantitative research respectively (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). In addition, qualitative content analysis minimizes the complexity of collected texts and it is a technique that deduce from a focal text to its social context in an objective way (Atkinson et al., 2000).

In qualitative content data analysis, one explores the meanings underlying physical messages. Coding method was used to identify themes in this study. When coding text in qualitative content analysis, it is common to use data themselves to generate codes (Morgan, 1997). This was done using a software atlas.ti, Atlas.ti is a tool that was developed to support qualitative research analysis. Interviews were transcribed word for word from audio to text. Then interview transcripts texts were uploaded to atlas.ti software and themes and topics inferences were drawn from the grounded data. The codes that were selected reflected the main purpose of the thesis (see 1.3 Objective). This corresponds with what Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) mentions that purposely selected texts inform the research questions that are being studied. For example, I paid attention to words often used by the respondents and also looked at different words that were used yet have the same meaning. Synonymous words were considered as well to make sure that the concept is not missed (Stemler, 2001).

Qualitative content data analysis produces descriptions and typologies, as well as expressions from subjects reflecting how they view the social world (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). According to Bauer and Gaskell (2000), content analysis in general enables the creation of indicators of world views, values, attitudes, opinions, prejudices and stereotypes, it is a method that can be viewed as a way of public opinion research (Bauer and Gaskell, 2000). That is why it was thought important to employ qualitative content data analysis to identify the perspectives of the respondents (See 1.4 Research Questions).

In data analysis, I focused on the relation between signs and their common-sense meaning. The challenge came in when determining “what exactly is being said in this text?” However, the meanings were understood through the classification of sentences, words, and paragraphs as patterns of predefined themes and topics. Frequent co-occurrence of words within the same sentence or paragraph is then taken to indicate associative meanings. Content analysis like this one is basically a descriptive study. In content analysis, the views, values, opinions etc. may be compared across different communities. In the case of this thesis, the findings were compared to the literature on the topic, to establish validity.

4.6 Ethical Consideration

Conducting research work is more than just getting right methodology and correctly analysing data. Researchers are connected to human issues of ethics and values (Silverman, 2006). “...the researcher enters a relationship with those she or he studies. The ethics of social research have to do with the nature of the researcher’s responsibility in this relationship, or the things that should or should not be done regarding the people being observed and written about” (Marvasti, 2003).

There are four aspects of ethics: do no harm, informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception (Bryman, 2008).

Harm to participants: if not careful there are chances that a researcher might expose the participants to harm. These include: physical harm, stress and loss of self-esteem (Silverman, 2006). It is also important to protect individual’s anonymity and data (Bryman, 2008). The second is lack of informed consent; it is the right of participants to decide whether they want to take part in the study or not. Therefore it is essential that respondents are informed correctly about the purpose of research; who is sponsoring the study if any and how data will be used. It helps to remember that one is asking someone to give their time and share their thoughts on a given topic.

Ethical issues were carefully considered during the field work, particularly at the time of data collection when conducting the interviews. Consent was asked from all the participants of this research. A written consent and verbal consent was presented to participants in order for them to understand what they were taking part in. Most participants gave the verbal consent and were unwilling to sign up the written one; the verbal consent did not have any implication on the thesis because consent can be either written or verbal. Verbal consent just like written

consent contains all components needed. However, the respondent is verbally read all the elements and verbally agrees to participate (Campbell et al., 2004)

Another aspect is the invasion of privacy; anonymity of identity is included here (if there is going to be an identification, it must be done by consent), confidentiality, freedom for participants to withdraw anytime they feel like doing so. During the interview, they had the freedom not to answer any question if they do not like to answer (Bryman, 2008). In the interviews, this was stressed particularly to students who were selected to participate by their lecture to ensure that they did this of their own free will and to avoid a chance that they participated because their lecture told them to do so.

The fourth aspect is deception; “Deception in research is most likely to be a problem when it causes the subjects to unknowingly expose themselves to harm” (Silverman, 2006). Honesty and integrity are important; not “cooking up” data by fabricating data, falsification of methods & results and by presenting what you are not (Bryman, 2008). Before every interview, I introduced myself, country of origin and which university I was doing my master thesis. It was important for my participants to understand that I was an individual student, even though I got some of the funding for this research through the NORHED project.

4.7 Limitations

There were several limitations to this study. As already pointed out, there was on going violence and conflict in South Sudan at the time of field work. Although Juba, the capital city was relatively calm with no active fighting, there was tension that could be felt with heavy presence of military everywhere. It would have been useful to interview people on the streets and markets. This would have assisted my research in collecting information from the ordinary people too and not just the key informants. However, it was not possible under the existing circumstances due to security concerns. Instead, I focused on my scheduled appointments with individual at the University of Juba, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the research institute. (See section 4.4).

There were a couple of participants who struggled to communicate in English, but this was dealt with through repetition of questions and listening carefully to what they said. Although the technic was snowballing, the power and legitimacy issue between the lecturer and students might not have given the students a choice to say no. According to (Silverman, 2006) people may be willing to obey orders if it comes from ‘legitimate’ source. This was a challenge to determine their willingness to participate in the study, but I combated this problem by

presenting a separate consent to the student. The Centre for Peace and Development Studies (CPDS) is sponsored by the Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development project (NORHED), and so was my research. But I made sure that my respondents understood the aims of my study that I was an independent student and the research was part of my master thesis project.

Another major limitation I found was that all of my participants were male. It was difficult to achieve representability in terms of gender distribution. For instance, I did not find any female lecturer at the CPDS who I could interview. The same applies to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the research institute. I should have put much effort to ask for female participants; but generally because of formalities in place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was not easy to get participants to participate, instead I had to work with those that I could find.

Chapter 5: Norway's input in the CPA peace process and South Sudanese Perceptions

This chapter analyses Norway's role and contribution to the outcome of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the views of South Sudanese on Norway's engagements in South Sudan. The chapter is divided in six sections; the components of the CPA are stated first, followed by Norway's role during the negotiations, the Norwegian peace model, peacebuilding in South Sudan, South Sudanese' perspectives on Norway's engagements and December 2013: Back to war.

5.1 Components of Comprehensive Peace Agreement

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) is an important feature in the history of modern Sudan. The CPA was a historic moment for the government of Sudan (GOS) and the Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A (Rolandsen, 2011b). It is important to note that the CPA was not as a result of one time negotiation talks; the CPA consisted of rounds of talks and accumulated agreements between 2003 and 2004 (Taulbee et al., 2014). The CPA has four protocols, two framework agreements and two annexes concerning their implementation procedures (Shanmugaratnam, 2008). The first one is the Machakos protocol where two issues were priority during the talks; the status of religion and state and South Sudan's self-determination (Rolandsen, 2011b). In the Machakos protocol, the Islamic sharia law remained in the North and a referendum would be held for the South to determine their independence (Shanmugaratnam, 2008).

The security agreement on 25 September 2003 was signed and a cease fire was to take effect at the signing of the agreement. The security agreement would allow the presence of UN peacekeeping personnel. The agreement was on disarmament of warring parties, demobilisation and reintegration programmes (Shanmugaratnam, 2008).

Already in 1994, the International Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) laid down the Declaration of Principles (DOP), which laid the foundation for the CPA. The DOP included wealth sharing, a democratic and secular Sudan and a transition period followed by the referendum for South Sudanese to choose between self-determination or a unified Sudan (Kelleher, 2006).

On 7th January 2004 a wealth sharing agreement was reached where it was agreed to form a wealth-sharing mechanism and arrangements (Shanmugaratnam:2008; Rolandsen:2011). The method combined capacity enhancement for the South's other areas affected by war. On the

wealth sharing, two issues were of concern; management of existing oil production and future contracts on oil exploitation, secondly the division of the oil production income (Tellnes 2006; Rolandsen 2011b). The Government of Sudan (GOS) was permitted to continue with the production and that the future Government of South Sudan (GOSS) was going to receive 50% of the oil production income (Rolandsen, 2011b).

In like manner, the power sharing agreement of 26 May 2004 resulted in a compromise on the Government of National Unity (Shanmugaratnam, 2008). However, the SPLM/A paid a high price (Rolandsen, 2011b) as they gave in to secular capital and the “three contested areas” of Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile and Abyei (Shanmugaratnam, 2008). “The result was an elaborate and fateful compromise...they failed their allies in the Southern Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains” (Rolandsen, 2011b). Parties signed a separate agreement on the 'three contested areas'. In the Resolution of Conflict (26 May 2004), regarding Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile States, parties agreed on how to administer the areas. They put consultation and division of seats in the regional assembly between GOS and SPLM/A, the two sides appointed governors in both places for periods of equal length (Shanmugaratnam, 2008).

On Abyei, mediators planned a referendum to decide whether Abyei belongs to the North or the South Johnson (2008). In the colonial period, Abyei was attached to the North; but people in the South regard this connection as a flaw because the majority of the population in this area belong to the Ngok Dinka people. Therefore, SPLM/A demanded that there should be a chance for people in Abyei to join the South Johnson (2008) as quoted by (Rolandsen, 2011b). Also, the power sharing requested for active international community's involvement in development programmes (Shanmugaratnam, 2008).

An appendix outlining the details of the cease fire agreement was signed on 31st December 2004, which included provisions for joint military teams, Ceasefire Political Committee and formation of several entities to help with the implementation process. All these rounds of talks and agreements led to the closing round of peace negotiations that concluded with the signing of the CPA on 9 January 2005.

A “peaceful” Sudan was perceived differently by both parties SPLM/A and National Congress Party (NCP). The government in Khartoum hoped for the South Sudanese to eventually accept the sharia as the foundation for governance; this was true among the Khartoum elites who thought with time the South would inevitably adopt Islam and Arabic

(Rolandsen, 2011b). The SPLM/A and South Sudanese insisted on referendum, although initially the SPLM/A leader John Garang advocated for united secular Sudan, which was the reason that SPLM/A gave as initial reason for war (Rolandsen, 2011b). It is important to note that in Sudan, the fighting was not only between the South and the North, there were and still are multiple fighting fronts involved in violent conflict; for example Darfur, Eastern Beja region and Nuba Mountains.

5.2 Norway's Role amid Negotiations

Different forces were behind the successful signing of the CPA. However Norway's contribution to the signing of the peace agreement is considered influential because of its long active mediation (Kelleher, 2006). Norway's enduring presence and engagements in South Sudan capacitated Norway to work "behind-the-scenes"(Kelleher, 2006). Norway demonstrated commitment through extended engagements in South Sudan, during which they created networks within South Sudan. As some of my correspondents expressed about the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) organization

"...they have been here for such a long time. So they know the country well, they know the people well, they have a wide network, they know people in high and low places and they have shown a consistency line in staying here" (Interview 008 01 June 2015).

"Since I was a child soldier, I have seen Norway working [through] Norwegian People's Aid like the Norwegian Church Aid was there during the war time, they were working, and they have continued up to now". (Interview 005 29 May 2015).

"NPA and NCA they know the country well, they know the people well, they have a wide network, they know people in high and low places and they have shown a consistency line in staying here, you know" (Interview 008 June 2015).

Kelleher (2006) describes that during the peace process, Norway maintained its position on Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)'s role to serve as the multilateral mediator and other international partners were to support the work of IGAD. Conversely, other countries debated on this issue notwithstanding; the IGAD led the negotiations with support from the international community. Moreover, friends of IGAD partner forum included the Troika and other countries like the Netherlands, Canada, and Italy (Katete, 2010).

"Well, IGAD was the only body that was able to define the problem of the Sudan at that time, through what they called the declaration of principles. The declaration of principles were the key principles that they thought were important to the resolution of the conflict, so they were able to define those principles and get the parties to agree to those principles and it was on that basis that the comprehensive peace agreement was negotiated. So the principles that were declared then formed the basis on which

negotiation happened. And so ah they understood the actors very well and with the support of the troika they were able to manage to (inaudible). So IGAD is important because it's a regional player" (Interview 006 29 May, 2015).

The formation of the Troika resulted in a substantial support for IGAD. The two powers (US and UK) provided their international credibility. Norway as a small state provided a reputation of disinterest mediation (Taulbee et al., 2014). Hence, the three countries became the "core group" that was engaged in the IGAD peace process. Norway showed commitment to provide both material and human resources during the peace process. The formation of the troika and their formal involvement in the negotiation process, served as a catalyst for Kenya's energetic new commitment to peace and considerable support to IGAD's efforts (Kelleher, 2006). The participants also expressed in the field during data collection.

"You see Kenya was vital during the CPA, Ethiopia was vital during the struggle, Uganda was very vital during the struggle, Sudan was one but after it separated then it became also another vital. The same to Congo, the same to DRC so these are the strategic neighbours who have direct access to South Sudan through the borders so all of them are very important and they play a role. Their role can never be neglected in whatever. You may neglect some of them but at least you should gain the support of the majority of the neighbours if you want anything to succeed." (Interview 010 3 June, 2015).

"...they are directly affected by any instability or any conflict that takes place in South Sudan. Number one effect that they face is the refugees; refugees going to Ethiopia crossing the border from South Sudan, crossing the border to Kenya Takuma camps you may have heard that, crossing the borders to Ugandan refugee camps to So whether they like it or not they are affected. So the first impact was the flow of refugees into those countries of IGAD from South Sudan." (Interview 07 1 June, 2015).

Here we see that South Sudanese agree with Norway regarding the importance of IGAD leading the role during the negotiations. Eventually, there was close collaboration among mediators. Norway together with Italy, the United States and other European countries co-chaired the Partners Forum, particularly at critical point in the late 90, 's when there was a momentum among parties (Smock, 1999).

"By the way, facilitation is the most important in negotiations. Because negotiations without facilitation ah it doesn't. Especially when it comes to logistics part of it, if there is no side that is funding facilitation of the venue, the transportation, the environment itself, making it conducive for the negotiates to seat and then that negotiation goes on, Norway was really a facilitator" (Interview 10, May 2015).

Norway provided the needed logistics and funds for the negotiations to take place. With a long history of war, the South Sudanese lacked not only the financial capacity to support the negotiations but also lacked specialized expertise and logistics required in the negotiations.

5.3 “The Norwegian Peace Model”

Norway’s ability to handle facilitation in this way flows from the ‘Norwegian Peace Model’ (Taulbee et al., 2014). The Norwegian peace model is based on the identity of Norwegians, which is in line with the social system where the focus is on egalitarian, humanitarian, collaboration approaches and accordance. Consequently, this impacts the development aid and peace priority. Equally important for ‘Norwegian Peace Model’; are carefully coordinated effort between the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norwegian NGO’s. Because of the Norwegian internal structure where there is a flexible mobility among NGO’s, government agencies and research institutions, the 'Norwegian Peace Model' is possible (Taulbee et al., 2014). There is a close decision-making collaboration, and many of the actors are well-informed and have experience on Sudan issues.

Constructivists understand a state’s agency, foreign policy and associated actions, as operating in and shaped by national and international system structures. The constructivists’ explanation calls for constant evaluation of the context (Taulbee et al., 2014). According to Taulbee et al., (2014), the agency/structure approach provides the basis for five characteristics that can summarize Norway’s role in Sudan’s North-South civil war. (1) Domestic Consensus, (2) Multilateralism, (3) Reputation for Even-handedness and Discretion, (4) Field Experience, and (5) Parallel Peace Processes.

“As Norway’s internal policy networking indicates, for constructive engagement mediators must remain in close consultation with each other” (Kelleher, 2006). Peace efforts were continually carried out from time to time by creating forums whereby the opposing forces could interact with each other. That is Norway kept other diplomatic channels (track two and three) open (see 3.5) One of these forums was the Ecumenical Forum that included the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC), New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) and other international Catholic and Protestant aid agencies (Taulbee et al., 2014). South Sudan has Christian majority and working with church groups, and leaders proved vital in the peace process. One interviewee mentioned how important the role of the churches was in the peace efforts among warring parties “for peace to take place; there is a need for reconciliation considering that as

sinner, God has made peace with us and reconciled us to himself” (Interview 004 25 May 2015).

Social constructivism plays out between the logic of consequences and appropriateness (March and Olsen, 2004). The Norwegian public and the international community expect that Norway engages in peace efforts in countries with protracted conflicts. It is important to note that the Sudan peace process is not the only one that Norway has engaged in (see table 1). For Norway, it has become a norm and appropriate thing to get involved in the various peace processes of different countries; there are cases of Sri Lanka, Guatemala, Colombia and Palestine/Israel conflict etc. Through all these involvements, Norway has built an ‘image of peaceful country’.

Ironically Norway’s engagements internationally are not only on peace efforts. In 2011, Norway participated in the bombing of Libya against Muammar Gaddafi (Applebaum, 2011), an action that calls into question the Norwegian peace policy. Social constructivist asserts that social factors and context explain the actions of actors, in the case of Libya bombing, Norway’s peace policy was challenged by the existing social factors.

5.4 Peacebuilding in South Sudan

Peacebuilding process consists of various tasks and roles; peacebuilding involves a broad range of activities; short-term as well as long-term activities (Jeong, 2002). “An attempt to reduce the sources of present and ongoing antagonism and build local capacities for conflict resolution in divided societies often in face of open hostilities and raw trauma” (Bercovitch and Jackson, 2009).

In the theoretical chapter I mentioned about peace policy being at the centre of Norwegian foreign policy (See 3.3 Foreign Policy). As a result, there are peace initiatives that are carried out on different levels in South Sudan. In peacebuilding, concerned actors must be willing and put efforts together in building a country with the intention of providing public services (Mawlawi, 1993). South Sudan is a state-building in the process; local actors are to lead in state-building projects. However, in South Sudan local capacity is inadequate. The involvement of external actors is necessary for all sectors of the state-building process (Osland, 2014b).

Bertram (2005) asserts that “At root, full-scale peacebuilding efforts are nothing short of attempts at nation building; they seek to remake a state’s political institutions, security forces,

and economic arrangements” (Seaman, 2014):95). The NPA worked with the SPLM/A to help build the SPLM/A from being the liberation movement into a political government, focussing on the power structure for civilian based leadership, by strengthening and supporting the women’s and youth’s rights. Further to these efforts, the Norwegian Labour Party assisted the SPLM/A with the party’s content and documentation (policy issues, constitution and the code of conduct (Interview 013 December, 2015).⁹ The main method of operation in this case, is support democratic system through ‘twinning between like-minded parties’ in Cooperation country and Norway’s parties - Norwegian Labour Party and the SPLM (Tvedt, 1998). The assumption is that a Norwegian party has organizational know-how, which can be transferred to a party in the South through cooperation projects.¹⁰

Rolandsen (2005) agrees on the role of NPA “NPA has sided with the SPLM/A and taken a keen interest in political processes within the Movement” (Rolandsen, 2005).

As aforementioned, the diverse programmes that Norway has in South Sudan that are tailored towards peacebuilding include: humanitarian interventions, the diplomatic intervention and the academic cooperation. Under the humanitarian intervention, there is development work that includes peace-keeping for short-term development programs and long-term development (see 2.3).

The values attached to peace, solidarity and altruism actions do influence the Norwegian government and NGO's. Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA) is not a stand-alone entity in their efforts in peace-building; they work in cooperation with other stakeholders and International Organizations. There are also different measures like improving the economy, for example, Oil for the Common Good (OCG) project, also issues of human rights, social and political structures. The cooperation is done to encourage peace in conflicted areas. Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) Experts from Norway advised Juba to capitalize on its oil reserves (Copnall, 2014).

Norway has a long history of academic collaboration with Sudan. Before the secession of South Sudan, Since 1965, the University of Bergen and the University of Khartoum has had cooperation in some disciplines and staff in Norway and Sudan (Hauge and Hybertsen, 1998). During the war, the University of Juba was moved to Khartoum, but after the peace

⁹ My interviewee worked in South Sudan for 3years with NPA on the structure of the SPLM.

¹⁰ <http://www.norad.no/globalassets/import-2162015-80434-am/www.norad.no-ny/filarkiv/3.-sivsa-2012---/review-of-norwegian-democracy-support-via-political-parties.pdf>

agreement, Juba University was moved back to South Sudan. In 2005, the Norwegian University of Life Sciences and the Oslo Akershus University College of Applied Sciences have started partnership with the University of Juba.

There are several projects at the University of Juba that are funded through the Norwegian government initiatives. The Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development project (NORHED)¹¹ supports the Centre for Peace and Development Studies.

“We have internet, as the university we access internet through NORHED...so with the Norwegian project, we are going to have lecture hall, our own office where we can stay in our own environment, our own centre. So it is the work of Norwegian team” (Interview 005, May 2015).

Also, the NORHED project has funded infrastructure at the department of law Juba University. Also, the University of Bahr-El-Ghazal¹² is the partner in the NORHED programme. Individual South Sudanese students get sponsorship to study abroad. In other regions of South Sudan, NPA supports education for minors (Shanmugaratnam, 2008).

Statistics Norway is engaged in international development cooperation and is in partnership with South Sudan’s National Bureau of Statistics and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. Furthermore with funds from Norad’s Oil for Development programme, the NPA has been implementing Oil for the Common Good (OCG) project with the aim “to contribute to strengthening democratic control and participation in decision-making processes in petroleum producing countries”.¹³ A Norwegian official explained how they assist in capacity building. “...started working immediately, contributing to capacity building and oil and petrol sector, for South Sudan to be able to manage the resources and revenue from those resources in a sustainable way” (Interview 008 01 June, 2015).

In peacebuilding, it is important to have a long-term perspective. Signing a peace agreement is one step of many steps that are needed in achieving peace, especially more so in protracted conflict (Jeong, 2002). “The implementation of a peace treaty is often riddled with uncertainty, and may include demobilisation, demining, repatriation of refugees, economic

¹¹<http://www.norad.no/en/front/funding/norhed/projects/norhed-project-in-south-sudan-and-uganda/>

¹² <http://www.norad.no/en/front/funding/norhed/projects/norhed-project-in-uganda-and-zambia/>

¹³ <http://www.ssb.no/en/omssb/om-oss/vaar-virksomhet/planer-og-meldinger/attachment/143079?ts=141a6b0ddd8>

reconstruction and elections - each of them critical phases in de-escalation” (Hauge and Hybertsen, 1998).

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF), which NCA is part of, initiated workshops for Women’s Peace Groups. The women's group's objective is to inform people about sexually transmitted diseases, to promote peace at the household level and to promote education for girls and women (Shanmugaratnam et al., 2002). Similarly NCA organized, promoted and supported a series of local peace conferences called People-to-People Process in collaboration with other international faith NGO’s (Kelleher, 2006) again NCA using the multitrack diplomatic channel, in the absence of Track One channel. The long history that NCA had in South and North Sudan; working with local church leaders gained Norway credibility among South Sudanese of whom the majority consider themselves Christians. Such links have also given rise to various initiatives related to political developments in the Sudan.

Amidst the interactions between South Sudanese and Norwegians through these activities, learning process takes place. Norwegian officials and NGO practitioners participate in relevant conversation deep within Sudanese society (Taulbee et al., 2014) which produces a particular understanding of Norway and Norwegians among South Sudanese. Diplomatically, the two countries have established embassies in each other’s country.

In the theoretical chapter on peacebuilding (see 3.4) I mentioned of how the youth in rural areas are often part of the violent conflict in South Sudan. The NCA has a particular programme that engages young people in sports for peacebuilding. They gather for a week, every year in Moshi, Tanzania for the East African Cup (EAC). The project is tailored towards encouraging the youth to be part of peacebuilding, to promote unity and peace among South Sudanese youth. The NPA engages young people from different ethnic groups (Interview 012 December 2015) to participate in sports for them to be organized and united as part of peacebuilding process (NPA Program Coordinator, Boboya James).¹⁴

Finally, the readiness to be fast and flexible is combined with patience. Political support for this role and economic capability mean that often Norway is committed to relatively high-risk ventures for the long haul and will not be put off by short-term failures (Kelleher and Taulbee, 2006). Norway has shown that it is willing to invest in long-term efforts to promote peace both on its own behalf and in support of other bodies including the UN, regional and

¹⁴ <http://www.npaid.org/News/News-archive/2014/NPA-Engages-Youth-on-Sports-for-Peace-Building>

non-governmental organizations (Whitfield, 2010). The foreign policy consensus across the party lines within Norway, enables the implementation of peace engagements.

5.5 South Sudanese's Perspectives on Norway's Engagements

Talking to South Sudanese about Norway's engagements in South Sudanese showed a sense of trust and friendship towards Norway and Norwegian NGO's, participants used many words to describe the Norway. A sense of solidarity and altruism is felt among South Sudanese when it comes to Norway. When asked why he thinks Norway has engagements in South Sudan, one informant said. "Maybe it is really purely out of good intentions, out of altruistic sort of, we are supporting you not expecting anything in return, the generosity of Norwegian people to a long-suffering people coming out of war" (Interview 011, June 2015)

Internationally Norway is perceived as disinterested actor in their peace endeavours, this is in regard to their track history in world peace advocacy (Taulbee et al., 2014). The role of sponsoring donor peace conferences is an example of efforts to bring the international community to work together for peace in countries destroyed by conflicts and violence. The people interviewed expressed that they perceive Norway as with no specific interests in South Sudan.

However, some respondents expressed concern about the conditions on aid and Norwegian projects. For example, not having a choice to develop their own curriculum for donor funded courses. The curriculum development is to be done in consultation with partner institutions in Norway. Another requirement is the development of gender related courses and mainstreaming gender in the curriculum (Interview 005 29 May 2015). Most Sudanese also stated about being left out in the job market, the international organizations, including the Norwegian organizations, are likely to bring 'their people' to work in the projects. However there is a contrast in what Ḥarīr et al., (1994) said about the NCA being the biggest employer (See 2.3.1). According to my observations, the difference in opinions could be as a result of the difference in time; with South Sudan becoming an independent country, changes have occurred, with the forest of aid organizations in Juba. The implementation of programmes is likely to require technical skills that many of South Sudanese do not possess due to many years of war. According to one informant, over 90% of NPA's employees in Juba are South Sudanese (Interview 13 December 2015). When I visited NPA's office in Juba I too, observed that this is the case.

Social constructivism opens us to the importance of culture and norms; Norwegian officials and those working in NGO's come from a social setting that informs them of what is important. The social conditions that South Sudanese find themselves in, have led them to see Norway's long engagements as altruistic because Norway was there during the "struggle". With the experience of protracted war, South Sudanese have seen and experienced the work of many countries and organizations that currently have engagements in South Sudan, but were not there during the "struggle". The consistency of Norwegian organization throughout the war is something constantly mentioned. "Norwegians never pulled out during the struggle, they stayed with us" is the phrase I heard over and over again from South Sudanese. "Norwegians are our friends" "Norway is a friend of South Sudan" "We can trust Norwegians".

Norms and ideas within Norway and among Norwegian policy makers (government officials, academics, NGO's) combined with the international perceptions have influenced Norway's action in peace engagements. Norway is considered a rich country and peace engagements are seen as "responsibility" of the rich countries; they have the capacity to do so. It is almost the norm for Norway to engage in peace efforts. Former Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Jonas Gahr Støre in his 2006 speech at the Nobel Peace Centre said, "Norway has everything it takes to be a peace nation...it is crystal clear that we have a responsibility to be a nation that promotes peace" (Støre, 2006). So it no longer comes as a surprise when the Norwegian government offers to host a peace conference like the Oslo donor conference for South Sudan. Norwegians have been able to convey their peace identity among South Sudanese to the point that they are considered as friends by South Sudanese.

As pointed out in the case with SPLM/A (See 2.3.2) NPA has a policy of taking sides in conflicts, a position that NPA regard as open and effective when it comes to development and relief (Rolandsen, 2005). This position created trust among South Sudanese towards Norway. "Norway is a friend of South Sudan", "This position created confidence among South Sudanese towards Norway. "Norway is a friend of South Sudan", "They were with us throughout the struggle, and they did not leave". At the same time, Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)'s policy was to work with both sides of conflicting groups, in the case of Sudan they worked both in the South and the North.

Thus, Norway, specifically through the work of their organizations created trust and credibility not only with the people in South Sudan but with the SPLM/A leadership and

advocated for peace (Taulbee et al., 2014). The environment in which Norwegians worked in South Sudan, and the various levels of interaction correspond with social constructivism wherein groups construct knowledge for one another, collaboratively creating a small culture of shared artefacts with shared meanings.

By the same token Lee (2006) explains that, as a matter of fact, domestic factors do influence the behaviour of small states, and also the exterior environment in which they are also situated affects them. Norway considers itself as a peace advocate, a view that is shared domestically and promoted in the international politics. That is the perceptions of Norway by Norwegians, and subsequently perceptions of 'others' regarding Norway has constructed the identity of Norway as a peaceful state. Keohane, (1969) Agrees that "if a state's people and its institutions perceive themselves to be small, or if other states' peoples and institutions perceive that state as small, it shall be so considered" (Lee, 2006). As consequences of social interactions either domestically or internationally, there is a construction of the 'Norwegian peace identity'. The peace identity is reinforced through engagements in peace efforts process.

Norway has built an international status as a small state yet with an influence when it comes to peace engagements. The people of South Sudan, through their interactions with Norwegians and their experiences in those interactions, have constructed their definition of Norway and Norwegians.

South Sudanese' perceptions regarding Norway's activities have been built over the years of interaction and work South Sudan. Norway has continuously, culturally and institutionally constructed the peace image and they make sure to maintain that status. Peace has to some extent become a Norwegian cultural value to Norwegian government, and that is demonstrated in the way they deal with mediations in conflict. Most of the tactics used are done "behind-the-scenes", sometimes even secretly. As someone who has observed the Norwegian culture, it is a social norm not to have open confrontational conversations. One interviewee mentioned "modesty" as one character of Norwegian organizations. "They do not tell the whole world and news of how they are helping". The close working relation between the Norwegian government and the Norwegian NGO's has enabled them to work consistently and remain in South Sudan. Norway is considered "key partner" "patient" "reliable" and "solidarity."

South Sudanese recognise the role that Norway played during the peace process negotiations. Another thing is the position that Norway took during the war of siding with the SPLM/A has

created a feeling among South Sudanese that Norway is in solidarity with South Sudan. “For me, I can see what Norwegian organisations do things which can be seen even you can experience them you see them working yah but you know some organizations are here within South Sudan, but you cannot easily know what they are doing” (Interview 002 May 2015).

5.6 December, 2013 back to war

Within two years of independence, South Sudan experienced a breakdown and receded to war. The power struggle within the leadership of SPLM/A brought the youngest country under the grip of another violent conflict. Mediator's peace initiatives have not produced the lasting results. In the meantime, violence and human suffering rages on South Sudan.

An official at the ministry of foreign affairs in Juba mentioned how complex the on-going conflict will become, if a solution is not found sooner “The longer it takes, the harder it becomes especially for people who keep on holding on to grudges. We can sit with you, but I will know back in my mind that you killed my brother I will not be able to sit with you face to face something will always be wrong. So again, peaceful table sitting like this may finally resolve the problem but not the guns” (Interview 009 June 2015).

The United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) was established to combine peace & security and assist in establishing conditions for development. With the new civil war in South Sudan, the mandate of UNMISS is reinforced.¹⁵ When the war broke out news outlets reported that the Government of South Sudan blamed the UNMISS operations and the leadership of Hilde Johnson (the former Norway’s minister of foreign aid) for taking sides against the Government of South Sudan.¹⁶ In the interviews, the informants expressed that it was not about the leader of the UN taking position, rather the conflict and division within the SPLM/A party complicated working relations.

“...because part of it was that Hilde Johnson ah, she was a major actor here. During the CPA she became close to a lot of politicians so when the conflict happened, she could not be possibly objective she had friends from all over some of them were jailed some were in the rebellion and then some of them were in the government so it was awkward it was tough. (Interview 006 May 2015).

“When war erupted, this is where things went wrong and Hilda couldn’t make it anymore, because her mandate changed totally. And she was not ready for the new mandate and that is what took her away. And she got surprised that even the very SPLM that she nurtured and built, is the very SPLM is divided among itself and fighting and destroying the very country again so made her very upset, totally. And

¹⁵ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/>

¹⁶ <http://www.newsenglish.no/2014/07/16/johnson-quits-as-uns-south-sudan-boss/>

then her relation with the government deteriorated as a result of war, but otherwise she had a very good relation before the war with the government in South Sudan. She didn't have to have any appointment, she can bang any door and it was okay. She was considered as a great friend. But after the war, more complications came in.” (Interview 010 June 2015)

NPA has coupled some of their peace-building projects with the humanitarian aid to address the crisis created by the war. Food security is the major issues for people in impacted areas of The Lakes States and Greater Upper Nile Region - (Interview 012 December 2015). In addition to food security and livelihood, NPA is working in partnership with local organizations in areas of land rights, media, women and youth empowerment (Interview 012 December 2015).

5.6.1 South Sudan a failed State

Foreign media has continued to condemn ‘tribalism’ and irrational politicians as the cause for new civil war. Other commentators have gone to the extent of suggesting that sovereignty for South Sudan should be temporarily suspended, and the International administration take over the mandate (Rolandsen et al., 2015). Whereas the immediate cause of the South Sudan conflict that broke out in 2013 was due to the power struggle within the SPLM/A leadership, the reasons for accelerated breakdown run deep (Sørnbø, 2014). The main one being the integration of the different militia rebel groups into one national army. Sørnbø (2014) the coalition was done without addressing the issues that differentiated the militia rebels in the first place. While the army formed a coalition, the militias were loyal to different commanders (Sørnbø, 2014). When violence started in Juba, it was easy for the ‘coalition’ army to split and follow where their loyalties lied (Rolandsen et al., 2015). The weakness of the central government, a system of high patronage, contributed to the dissatisfaction of people in different parts of the country.

Reverting to war is a disappointment to South Sudanese people and the government is incapable of providing public services. During the interviews, participants expressed how the conflict is “imposed” on them and that after gaining independence war is the last thing they expected. Most of the people interviewed expressed that finding a solution soon is urgent.

“If the people who are fighting ended it yesterday, they would celebrate, if they ended it today, they would celebrate but of course not tomorrow like I said. They wanted it yesterday not even today or tomorrow that is how urgent it is. The conflict is a political misunderstanding okay, Or political power struggle between key leaders of one party, which is the ruling party...so this war is forced on the people of this country by a handful of people who are just fighting in their own, for their own internal party problem, and now it has

become a national problem more or less but it is not. And the sooner they get to their senses, the better for the people of this country” (Interview 007 June 2015).

Peace talk efforts by external interventions are yet to produce lasting solutions in South Sudan. “The rapid and uncontrolled escalation of violence in today’s conflicts rooted in legacies of the previous war and the 2005 – 2011 interim period” (Rolandsen et al., 2015):88. Some participants took the position that threats of sanctions by international community have not helped in reaching a peace agreement rather contributed to the failed peace process.

“The international community all of that have direct influence; for example, there was a deadline that was set, March 5th to reach a final agreement. The parties have agreed, on almost 80% of the issues already; those things are documented, and there were few things that were left for them to agree on. Now while they were sitting there negotiating and trying to meet the deadline, UN Security Council went and met and passed a resolution, threatening sanctions. So to me, I can argue that those threats of sanctions failed the peace process” (Interview 006 May, 2015).

The sanctions issue corresponds with the Security Council report where the Security Council agreed to impose sanctions on certain individuals in South Sudan. Some members of the Security Council supported the move in the hope that the pressure of sanctions would lead the rival leaders to sign a ceasefire. Other members of the Security Council cautioned that such developments could hinder IGAD's efforts to reach a deal on the set date of 5 March 2015¹⁷.

The facilitators of the negotiations are partly to blame for the slow pace of the peace process, but most of all, the warring parties have caused the delay in the peace process because of their “belief that victory can be obtained on the battlefield” (Rolandsen et al., 2015). It was clear during the interviews that South Sudanese see a political solution as the only way out of this crisis. “Ah! I still by and enlarge in support that the way forward is to put guns down, and talk. Talk really as brothers and sisters who wronged each other. In all the wars, guns are not the only solution or conflict is not the only solution” (Interview 009 June 2015).

While the conflict continues and the peace deal is yet to be reached, South Sudanese people continue to suffer but with the hope of living in peace someday.

¹⁷ Security Council, Adopting Resolution 2206 (2015), Lays Groundwork for Targeted Sanctions in South Sudan Should Peace Deal Fail <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc11805.doc.htm>

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I have analysed Norway's contributions towards the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and Norway's engagements and peace efforts in South Sudan. I have also explored perceptions of South Sudanese regarding the Norwegian engagements. To put the case of South Sudan into a larger academic context I employed the theory of social constructivism.

The signing of the CPA was an important juncture in the peacebuilding process in South Sudan. The first chapter of the thesis addressed the overall objective, which was to analyse Norway's engagements and contributions to the outcome of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the role of the CPA in shaping the peace-building processes in South Sudan. The more specific research questions were:

1. What was Norway's role during negotiations that led to the signing of the CPA and peacebuilding process in South Sudan?
2. How do the South Sudanese people perceive Norway's engagement in Sudan?

6.2 Norway's strategy and how Norway's role is perceived by South Sudanese people

Even though the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the SPLM/A were the ones to negotiate a peace deal, they needed external assistance. Different actors took part in the peace process; the member countries of the International Government Authority on Development (IGAD) served as multilateral mediator. The Troika countries (US, UK and Norway) supported the work of IGAD. Norway's persistence and patience in continuing to dispense funds for negotiation process contributed to the signing the CPA.

As we have seen that, Norway provided support to prominent mediators in the negotiations, IGAD and the United States. The support was through funding and provision of logistical expertise. Through the 'Norwegian Peace Model', that emphasises the collaboration approach. In the collaboration approach within the 'Norwegian Peace Model', there is a link and coordinated initiatives amidst the Norwegian ministry of foreign affairs and Norwegian NGO's. The model is realized through the Norwegian domestic structure where there is a flexible mobility among NGO's, government agencies, research institutions and academics

(Taulbee et al., 2014). The decision-making process is closely collaborated; also, many of the individuals involved are well-informed and have experience on Sudanese issues.

Also, the Norwegian peace model focusses on keeping channels of communication open. Norwegians held separate talks with both leaderships in the GOS and the SPLM/A. As a result of a broad network that Norway has through the Norwegian organizations, Norway was able to keep the lines of communication between the adversaries. The Norwegian organizations were important in this regard because they worked closely with the South Sudanese, starting from the grass-root level, up to the highest political level. The working relations between the Norwegian in the NGO's and South Sudanese developed over the years of working together. Through the NGO's Norwegians had the opportunity to act as mediators in the peace process, also when the South and the North were not communicating through the regular diplomatic channels.

Without the external assistance, it is likely that the negotiations would not have taken place. The fact that the international community cooperated in their work and Norway encouraged the support of IGAD's mediation role; the initiatives encouraged the two parties to come to the negotiating table and sign a peace agreement. To many South Sudanese, the CPA brought them an autonomous government that they had always wanted and fought for through many years of war.

In this thesis, I have also incorporated South Sudanese's perceptions of Norway's engagements. The findings showed that South Sudanese do acknowledge Norway's role in the peace process. Mostly acknowledged is Norway's consistency in working in South Sudan on humanitarian aid and development both during the war and after the war. In general, South Sudanese perceive Norway as a friend of South Sudan. Most of my interviewees mentioned how Norway has always been there. The understanding among South Sudanese is that Norway's politics and involvement in South Sudan is out of altruistic and not driven by self-interest.

Although this is a common feeling among South Sudanese, there were some who seemed sceptical regarding Norway's engagements. They believe that the only reason Norway continues to engage in South Sudan is to protect their image of the peaceful nation. Chapter five has addressed this issue that the image of Norway as a peaceful country has become a status symbol for Norway. Because of Norway's status of peace, Norway uses this status to gain a place in the international politics. Beyond South Sudan, the Norwegian government

continues to promote the peaceful image to other parts of the world that are shattered by conflicts. Leira (2013) concede that “Peace activism has also been seen as something which benefitted Norway, by increasing the status of the country and ensuring access to decision-makers, which might otherwise not have been interested in Norway; peace as a niche-product allowing Norway to accrue political capital” (Leira, 2013). Tune & Larsen (2000), state that, considering that during the cold war, Norway was less central geopolitically, the “peace activism is one issue, which might allow Norway to remain relevant” (Leira, 2013).

Even other external actors recognized Norway’s knowledge and capability in advocating for peace. During the peace conference, the Protestant agencies chose the NCA peace personnel to represent them in Sudan. Also, the international community had chosen a Norwegian practitioner to represent them (Taulbee et al., 2014). The first head of the UNMISS, as aforementioned was a Norwegian with long experience in working in South Sudan. The selection indicates acknowledgement of Norwegian practitioners in South Sudan and Norway’s role in peace efforts, which is central to Norwegian foreign policy.

6.3 Theoretical Implications

Seen through the lens of social constructivism, I have expounded on behaviours that are embedded within Norwegian's attitudes, beliefs and values regarding their contribution to achieving peace in South Sudan. Norway’s long-time involvements in peace efforts have optimized Norway’s image as a peaceful nation not only within Norway but also on the international arena. In the same way, the South Sudanese’ understanding of themselves and Norwegians “self and other” has developed over years of interaction creating a specific understanding of Norway. The consistency of Norway’s work and engagements in South Sudan has constructed a sense of solidarity for both Norway and South Sudan.

South Sudanese comments of Norway and Norwegians as “friends” indicates that over the years, an image of what Norway wants to promote is built. However, as we have seen, in social constructivism beliefs and meanings do change over time of social interactions. Therefore, it would be in the interest of Norway to continue promoting peace. As mentioned, Norway engages in various peace initiatives in countries incapacitated in long protracted wars. In correspondence with the ideas of social constructivism, the relationship between the state’s agency, state’s foreign policy and its actions are influenced by domestic and international system structures (Taulbee et al., 2014), that is why Norway employs these peace initiatives as one way of promoting peacebuilding, which is in-line with its foreign

policy. Considering social constructivism understanding, peacebuilding process calls for continuous analysis of the contexts and social factors both domestically and on the international structures in which the state is operation/acting.

Studying the role that Norway played in South Sudan's peace process demonstrates the importance of small state's contribution in the peace negotiations, especially in areas with complicated conflicts. Social constructivism recognizes the place for small states in the world politics comparing to other IR theories.

6.4 Challenges

Barely a decade since the signing of the CPA, South Sudan has found itself in another civil war. The challenge is to find ways to bring lasting peace to the people of South Sudan; it is clear that South Sudanese themselves are the core players if peace is going to come to their country. At the same time, it is important to note that the international actors, especially the same players that took part in the peace process that led to the CPA, are key players in the peace process.

The importance of IGAD countries cannot be stressed enough; this stems from the very fact that they have experience from the previous peace process in South Sudan, and they understand better the complex structures of South Sudan. However, the fear is that because of changing context in their countries, international actors' commitment to assist peace negotiations are likely to diminish as the war continues. So far two years have passed with no lasting peace agreement.

The new war is an obstacle to the implementation of peacebuilding activities and other development projects. The focus now for Norway and that of other International Organizations is on the so much needed humanitarian aid; pushing the country back rather than moving forward in the new South Sudan.

6.5 Future Research

For future research, it would be of interest to explore more on the dynamics of the on-going conflict in South Sudan. To analyse the peace efforts that are employed, in light of the shortcomings of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Also, there is a need for constant context analysis of South Sudan, to find possible peace solutions to the war. The continual analysis will build on the theory of social constructivism, which mentions of change in perceptions and meanings as individuals continue to interact.

6.6 Final Remarks

With so many intractable conflicts emerging in the world, it is important to analyse and reflect on the misstep and success of past peace negotiations. The continual analysis provides an opportunity for practitioners, policy makers and all interested parties to recommend different approaches whenever engaged in new peace efforts and the negotiations. It is important to look at Norway's approach to peace negotiations in South Sudan and the perspectives of South Sudanese, to understand the approaches undertaken that led to the peace agreement. This study has added to the knowledge and literature that explain through the lens of social constructivism the action of state and that of non-governmental organizations.

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Appendix

List of Interviews

<u>Interview N</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Who</u>	<u>Date</u>
001	Juba University	Student	19 May 2015
002	Juba University	Student	21 May 2015
003	Juba University	Student	25 May 2015
004	Juba University	Student	25 May 2015
005	Juba University	Lecturer	29 May 2015
006	SUDD Institute - Juba	Staff	29 May 2015
007	SS Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Staff	01 June 2015
008	Royal Norwegian Embassy -Juba	staff	01 June 2015
009	SS Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Ambassador	02 June 2015
010	SS Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Former Ambassador	03 June 2015
011	Juba University	Lecturer	03 June 2015
012	NPA – Oslo	Staff	09 December 2015
013	NPA- Oslo	Staff	10 December 2015



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