



Peace and human rights

*A comparative analysis on the role of human rights in
Norwegian peace processes in Sudan*

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Abstract

This paper studies the issue of the role of human rights in Norwegian peace processes in the conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan. It is a comparative analysis between the Norwegian actors – the government on one side and two NGOs on the other. The aim is to see how the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights when they are building peace in Sudan, and if there are any clear differences between the government and the NGOs.

The long civil war between Northern and Southern Sudan came to an end in 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Norwegian actors, both state and NGOs have played an important part before, during and after the signing of the agreement. Several scholars argue that human rights are important and necessary in a society in order for peace to be long lasting and sustainable. It is therefore interesting to see how the focus on human rights is for the Norwegian actors in Sudan.

Human rights are important for all the actors when they are working towards creating peace in Sudan. The differences are mainly in how *much* they focus on these rights, and *how* they focus on them. The two actors from the government focus more on the state-level, whereas the two NGOs focus more on the ground- and grassroots-level. The main explanation for this is that the different Norwegian actors have different roles and therefore different focus. In Norway there is a close collaboration between state and NGOs and this can explain why the different actors are set out to perform different task and have different roles.

Key words: Sudan, Norway, human rights, peace, positive peace, state, NGO, democracy

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Abbreviations and acronyms

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
GNU	Government of National Unity
GoS	Government of Sudan
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority of Development
MD	Ministry of Defense
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
NUPI	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
SPLA/M	Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan

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1. Introduction

“Peace is not to be measured by the absence of conventional war, but constructed upon foundations of justice. Where there is injustice, there is the seed of conflict. Where human rights are violated, there are threats to peace...” (Soysal, 1977: 48)

1.1 Aims and goals for choosing the topic

Ever since my social science teacher at secondary school gave me an assignment on human rights, I have found the subject very interesting. The knowledge of and respect for human rights can neither be neglected nor talked too much about. In a world where many people suffer under conditions of abuses of their basic human rights, it is crucial that human rights are promoted, protected and worked with. The theme of this master thesis therefore came quite easy to me. Human rights are important and a serious issue and the concern about these rights have been growing in recent years. Still, there seems to be several people in the world living under conditions where human rights are violated. Several scholars claim that to achieve peace, human rights must be respected and acknowledged. These two concepts are connected. A country that suffers from a series of human rights violations will never truly achieve peace until this problem is solved.

Another subject that I also find very interesting is Norway’s engagement in conflicts around the world. In Norway, independent of which parties that are in government, there seem to be a great and genuine interest in engaging and trying to solve conflicts in other countries. There are some countries and conflicts that Norway is more involved and engaged in than others, but overall Norway is contributing with some sort of support to most of the peace processes in the world (Wright, 2007). Due to this interest I will in my thesis take a close look at peace processes in Sudan, where Norwegian actors have been involved. My interest falls on which focus the different actors have on human rights when working for peace. The respect of human rights is crucial to achieve peace, and if human rights are violated or oppressed, conflict is likely to emerge. This is important to bear in mind in peace processes, and I will examine if this was the case in the processes where Norwegian actors were, and still are, involved in Sudan. Norway’s engagement around the world is one of the things that make me proud to be a Norwegian. However, there have been some criticisms¹ of Norwegian peace

¹ See Wright’s (2007) article: *Fred og bistand – hand i hand?*, and Østerud (2006): *Lite land som humanitær stormakt?*

work, and the real intentions of the country's engagement have been questioned. I therefore find it interesting to see if this criticism is valid through investigating how the concern for human rights is in the different actors' work.

Both in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka efforts have been made to show the importance of human rights to truly achieve peace. In both cases there seems to be a criticism of too much focus on peace and negotiation between conflicting parties, and too little focus on important human rights. In Afghanistan the attention is in particular put on women and their rights in society. There is a view among some Afghan groups that the strategies of peace initiatives in Afghanistan has failed, and part of this is because there are too little focus on the rights of women. According to this view, a peace without restoration of women's rights can never be true peace (Shorish-Shamley, 2008). In peace processes it is important that the rights of all groups in society are respected. To fully achieve peace there need to be created a democratic society where the rights of all groups are respected. Alan Keenan (2002) stresses this in his text about human rights and peace processes in Sri Lanka. According to him, earlier peace processes in Sri Lanka had too much focus on peace and too little on human rights, and have therefore not been successful. Human rights are crucial for a successful peace agreement, and unless the basic liberal and democratic rights of *all citizens* are respected, the peace process is weak and endangered (Keenan, 2002).

This shows how the important connection between human rights and peace is not a new and unknown theme. It has been discussed in several cases. However, in my opinion the importance of human rights cannot be discussed too much. Norway has taken an active role in the peace processes in both Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. My interest, on the other hand, falls on Sudan and the peace processes there where Norwegian actors have taken active part. Sudan is a country that has suffered from a long and bloody conflict and the Norwegian actors have been very much engaged in this conflict. During the peace negotiations some of the actors took an active and central role, and played a crucial part during the signing of the peace agreement. In the aftermath of the conflict Norwegian actors have been engaged in the country through aid, peace operations, humanitarian work, democratic development etc. I therefore find it very interesting to see how the Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work in Sudan. It is of interest to see how the actors find the relation between peace and human rights to be. I hope to find out if human rights are important in the different peace processes, or if they are "forgotten" due to too much focus on peace negotiations and efforts

in stopping the fighting. It is also of interest to see how the actors understand *peace* when it comes to peace negotiations. Is peace something more than just an end of the violent conflict between two warring parties? And where does the focus lie in peace building? In Sudan efforts towards building and maintaining peace is done by both Norwegian NGOs and the Norwegian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense. These different actors may have different ways of working with the establishment of peace and human rights. My thesis will aim at spotting the differences between the actors.

1.2 Specifying my subject

Norwegian peace processes in Sudan is a wide topic, which can concern many areas. I have chosen to focus on human rights in the Norwegian peace processes and how they are taken into consideration in the efforts towards peace. Sudan has suffered from many conflicts throughout the years. The civil war in Darfur is still going on, and could be seen as a humanitarian tragedy. In eastern Sudan there is also an ongoing conflict. In my master thesis however, I will not focus so much on Darfur and East-Sudan. My main concern will be on the civil war that went on between Northern and Southern Sudan, and the current situation between the two parties. Therefore, when I talk about Sudan, unless other is specified, I focus on the North and the South.

I have also chosen to limit my research to only focusing on the Norwegian actors' point of view. This means that I have only interviewed the different Norwegian actors, and got their opinions, experiences, and knowledge on the area. This is because my focus is on what *their* policy is, how *they* work, and how *they* see themselves in relation to peace and human rights. There may be some risk doing it this way. The actors may not be objective, which can result in a view of a case that is not representative. In relation to this I could also have got some information from people who were directly affected by the work done by Norwegian actors, or people who saw it from a different angle than the actual actors themselves. However, my interest is as mentioned to find out how the actors have been working and how they see themselves regarding the focus on human rights and peace.

There are several Norwegian actors working in Sudan. Besides from the Norwegian government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense, several Norwegian NGOs are working with peace and reconciliation in the country. I have chosen to focus only on the two ministries and the two NGOs that have had the largest engagement in

the conflict, the Norwegian Church Aid and the Norwegian People's Aid. When I talk about *the Norwegian actors* these are the ones I refer to.

There are several discussions on what human rights are, and what can be categorized as a human right. The different opinions can be based on political, educational, social, cultural etc backgrounds. When I refer to human rights in my thesis I refer to the rights that are written down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

1.3 Research question, additional questions and hypothesis

My objective for this master thesis is to find out how the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace in Sudan. My interest is to know if Norwegian peace actors are focusing too much on creating peace between the conflicting parties, and if human rights then come in second place, or even worse are being neglected all together due to too much focus on setting down a peace agreement. It is also of interest to see if there are differences between the actors and how they focus on human rights and how they build peace in the society.

Based on this information my research question will be the following: *How do the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace between Northern and Southern Sudan?*

Through my research I aim to answer this and additional questions such as:

- Are there any visible differences between the processes driven by the government and the NGOs?
- How do the different actors define peace?
- How do the actors approach their peace building?

My assumptions are that the Norwegian government in some cases tends to be too much focused on that the conflicting parties lay down their weapons and on setting down peace agreements and then forgets elements that may be just as important to build peace. I also believe that there are some differences between the processes run by the government and the ones run by the NGOs. I believe that these differences mainly regard that most of the NGOs are engaging in the conflict because they want to establish peace and provide humanitarian

aid, whereas the government may have additional reasons for engaging in the conflict.

Through these assumptions I have come up with the following hypothesis:

In the conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan there are visible differences between peace processes run by the Norwegian government and the Norwegian NGOs. Whereas the former tends to focus on setting down peace agreements and stop the direct fighting (negative peace), the latter focus more on human rights (positive peace).

1.4 Structure of the thesis

In this chapter I have given an account of my aims and goals for choosing the topic, specifying the subject, the research questions and hypothesis. In the following chapter I give some information on the background for the topics that are relevant in this thesis. The information given is about the conflict and situation in Sudan and Norwegian peace work and the relation between Norway and Sudan. In chapter 3, I have presented my methodological choices and how they have affected my work with the thesis. My theoretical framework is presented in chapter 4. Chapter 5 and 6 are my presentation and analysis of the empirical data. Based on my empirical data I have in chapter 5 taken a closer look and analyzed different areas concerning human rights that the Norwegian actors are working with in Sudan. The different actors' definition of peace and how they do peace building is discussed and analyzed in chapter 6. And in the last chapter I have given a summary and some concluding remarks.

1.5 Brief introduction on methodology and empirical data

Most of my empirical data will be based on qualitative interviews. These interviews are done with people working in the different NGOs or ministries that are central in my studies. I will also base my empery on strategies, plans, strategically frameworks, policies etc that the different actors have made regarding their work in Sudan, or work with peace in general. I will use this information and compare the different actors, and try to connect the information to my theoretical framework.

1.6 Brief introduction on theory

In my theoretical framework I will present the theory on negative and positive peace. This theory explain the different ways of defining peace, and why it is important to not only focus on peace as the absence of direct violence, but include elements such as human rights when working for a sustainable peace. Additionally I will show how the concepts democracy and human rights are connected. Last I will present Hugh Miall's model on four paths of conflict, which shows how a social change that lead to a emergent conflict can take four different paths and then give four different outcomes, varying between violent conflict and peaceful change.

2. Background.

2.1 Sudan.

Sudan is, with its approximately 2, 5 million square kilometers, the largest country in Africa. It is also one of the poorest ones. There is an ethnic and linguistic diversity in Sudan, where there exist nearly 600 ethnic groups and more than 400 languages and dialects. This diversity is quite complex. The two largest ethnic groups in Sudan are Black (52%) and Arab (39%). Islam is the largest religion in Sudan, where 70%, of a population of approximately 39 millions, are Sunni Muslims. They mostly live in the North. 5% of the Sudanese population is Christians, most of them living in the South and in the capital Khartoum.² The rest are mainly people whose religion is based on indigenous believes. This diversity of ethnicity, language and religion, and the country's size, can help explain why there have been, and still are continuing tensions and conflicts in the country. The largest natural resource in Sudan is petroleum, and it is claimed that the share of this resource is one of the causes for the continuing conflicts in the country (Sudan.net, 2000).

Sudan has suffered from many long and bloody conflicts. Since its independence in 1956 there has been continuing civil wars in the country. Shortly after Sudan's independence a civil war in Southern Sudan broke out. The country suffered from an economic crisis and the population in the South felt that they were both politically and economically marginalized. In 1972 a peace agreement, the Addis Ababa Agreement, was signed, but in 1983 a new civil war broke out. The new civil war broke out partly because the Addis Ababa Agreement failed to do what it was set out to, and partly because the government wanted to implement the Shar'ia in the whole country, and the Christian and Animistic South strongly disagreed with this Islamism. The civil war was mainly between the Government of Sudan (GoS) in the North and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLM/A)³ in the South. Several attempts on ending the war were done without any success. However, in 2005 the warring parties finally came to an agreement and the civil war ended when the parties signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Globalis (1), 2008).

² The exact numbers concerning religion and ethnicity are disputed and uncertain

³ The distinction on when one refers to SPLA or SPLM is unclear. I will therefore use SPLA/M when I refer to the party in my thesis.

The CPA is a final agreement based on different protocols and agreements made since 2002. The agreement takes into account issues such as security arrangements, wealth sharing and power sharing. At the heart of the agreement are deals on power and wealth sharing. In September 2005 the Government of National Unity (GNU) was established. This included representatives from several parties, such as National Congress Party (NCP) 52%, SPLM 28%, 14% to other northern parties and 6% to other southern parties. It gave Southern Sudan an extensive autonomy and more political influence. Southern Sudan has created its own government, Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS), in Juba where the SPLA/M rules. The South has a wider access to the oil revenues generated under its jurisdiction. In 2009 a national election will be held, where people from the entire Sudan will take part in choosing the new government of Sudan. In 2011 a referendum will be held over independence for Southern Sudan, and if the majority wishes it so, the South has the right to become independent from the rest of Sudan (Lunn, 2006).

The peace agreement between the North and the South created new tensions in Darfur in the West. In 2003 rebels broke out, claiming that they had been neglected – economically and politically. The rebels in Darfur wanted more political and economical influence over their region. The government of Sudan refused to accept these claims, and reacted by putting their own army in the area and supporting the violent Janjaweed militia. This has led to the killings of many civilians, severe human rights violations and many people have been forced to flee to the neighboring countries. Several efforts on creating peace in Darfur have been made, unfortunately without any luck. The conflict in Darfur is still ongoing and the United Nations has referred to it as the world's worst humanitarian catastrophe (Globalis (2), 2008). Despite the fact that the conflict in Darfur is cruel and that several human rights are being violated I have chosen not to focus on it in my research. This has mainly to do with time and delimitation of my thesis, but also the fact that Norway's engagement between the North and South has been larger here and of great importance for the peace.

The signing of the CPA in 2005 created peace between the North and the South in Sudan. The war that had lasted for many years finally came to an end, and the South got some of the rights they claimed. However, despite the peace agreement tensions between the two parts has arisen. The conflict in Darfur is one reason for this, and another may be the fact that Northern Sudan has been claimed not to fulfill all the commitments set in the CPA. The settlement of the border to Southern Sudan is one of these. Another problem that may create tensions is that

according to Human Rights Watch many people in Sudan suffer under conditions of human rights abuses. Most of these abuses happen in Darfur, but some of these abuses also happen in Southern Sudan. One problem is that the refugees from Southern Sudan who wanted to return home to register for the election has been attacked and chased. This has led to an escalation of the conflict between the SPLA/M and the GoS (Human Rights Watch (2), 2008). If the human rights abuses in Sudan, such as chasing people from their homes, destroying property, children being caught up in bloodshed, people being killed, regulation of the media, marginalisation of women etc., continues peace will never truly be achieved in the country. Human Rights Watch criticizes the international community for not reacting enough on these violations. Apparently the international community, including the Security Council, is staying fairly quiet regarding these violations. Despite threats of sanctions upon Sudan, and threats of punishment of the ones in charge of the most serious violations, little has been done. It is therefore fair to believe that with little reactions to these violations and little effort to improve the human rights conditions in the country, a peaceful society in Sudan will be difficult to create (Human Rights Watch (1), 2008).

2.2 Norwegian peace work.

Norway has a long history of being engaged in peace negotiations and settlements for peace. It has been and still is engaged in several conflicts around the world. This seems to be independent on which party that is in government. In 2007 Norway took an active part in 13 peace processes, and gave a contribution to almost all of the world's peace processes. The fact that Norway is a small country does not seem to have stopped it in trying to help others in need. On the contrary, its size and the fact that it seems as it don't have any ulterior motives or interests with its engagement, may be the reason why so many conflicting parties has agreed to Norwegian engagement. In most of the conflicts Norway plays a low-profile role as a supporter of peace and reconciliation efforts made by other, bigger actors such as the UN, other countries or NGOs. Because of Norway's small size it has no power to force the parties into accepting any solutions. Norway is only an impartial facilitator and is therefore dependent on the parties' full acceptance of its role and their wish for peace (Utenriksdepartementet, 2008).

2.2.1 Norwegian authorities and NGOs

Originally in Norway, the NGOs and the Norwegian authorities worked quite separately and independent. In the 1990's, however, this trend shifted and one could see a foreign policy where the state and the NGOs worked more closely together. As an effort to become a greater humanitarian actor, the Norwegian model was developed. Lie (2006) explains how this model includes several new actors, NGOs in particular, which then are making the Norwegian foreign policy stronger. NGOs are now playing a more important part than they did earlier. Their role as foreign policy actors is stronger now because of this model (Lie, 2006: 138f; 141; 144).

There is a close connection between the Norwegian authorities and the Norwegian NGOs. They have a mutual dependency to each other where the NGOs are dependent of financial support from the state to their projects, and the state is dependent on the NGOs to complete its policy in different countries. Often in conflict Norwegian NGOs have helped to prepare the ground for negotiations and have played an important role in the phases during which there has been a need to build trust between the parties. NGOs are freer than the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is, and can easier be engaged in projects and conflicts. The MFA on the other hand need to create friendly relations to both sides in a conflict and can not be very engaged in one side. There then becomes a dilemma over MFA's double position as on the one side a financial contributor to projects aiming to help people suffering on one side of the conflict, and a neutral negotiator between both parties on the other. The relationship between the NGOs and the state gives them both opportunities and limits. The state gives the NGOs financial support and opportunities to have a larger engagement in a conflict. The NGOs gives opportunities for the state to operate in areas they otherwise would not have had access to. It can, however, create problems for the authorities because they can be associated with non-state and non-acknowledged actors such as rebel groups in other countries. This has in some cases led to that the MFA has financed NGOs projects in secret (Lie, 2006: 147-151).

2.3 Norway and Sudan

Norway has been engaged in the conflict in Sudan for a long time. The Norwegian Church Aid started its work in Sudan in the early 70's and since then Norwegian NGOs and authorities have taken an active part in working towards peace in the country. This has been done through aid, peace operations, humanitarian work, rebuilding of the society, establishment of human rights groups etc (Norway – The official site in Sudan, 2006). Sudan

was in 2007 the country that received most aid and support from Norway. During the peace agreements between the North and the South in 2005 Norway and the Norwegian NGOs played an important part. The Norwegian Minister of Development at that time, Hilde Frafjord Johnson, played an active role in getting the two opposing leaders to cooperate and talk to each other. After the signing in 2005 the Norwegian diplomat Tom Vraalsen was appointed leader of the international peace commission in Sudan (Bakken, 2008). Norwegian authorities and Norwegian NGOs have, after the signing of CPA, been actively engaged in keeping the peace in the country through contributions of peace soldiers, building democratic structures and rebuilding Southern Sudan. Norway's Minister of Development, Erik Solheim, has said that through its work in Sudan, Norway is contributing to create a society without corruption, building democratic political institutions and transforming the guerilla movements into political parties. The challenges are big, he says, but Norwegian engagement in the country will last for years to come (Solheim, 2007).

On the 11th and 12th of April 2005 representatives of more than 60 countries and international organizations met in Oslo at the "Oslo Donors' Conference on Sudan 2005". The aim of this conference was to show a commitment to the implementation of the CPA. Donor pledges were generated to support reconstruction and development in Sudan. All the participants of the conference welcomed and congratulated the CPA and the end of the civil war in Sudan. They all expressed a wish to take steps to implement the CPA and to rebuild society (Issafrica.org, 2005). In 2008 Norway once again hosted a donor conference for Sudan in Oslo. From 5th to 7th of May, the "Sudan Consortium" was arranged and brought together participants from 45 countries and international organizations. The conference was held to ensure that the CPA will be fully implemented, and the funds were given for reconstruction and development. The aim of this conference was to create lasting peace in the entire Sudan (Norway – The official side in Indonesia, 2008). Norway's initiatives to host these two donor conferences show the engagement that Norway takes towards the conflict in Sudan. Norway is one of the countries that have actively tried to make an end to the conflict in Sudan, among other things by making the parties meet, meeting with several other countries, and make efforts on reconstruction and development in the country.

3. Methodology

3.1 Qualitative methods

Silverman (2005) says that when one is to choose what method to use, one should ask what one is trying to figure out. One can not say that one method is superior to the other (Silverman, 2005: 6). Both qualitative and quantitative methods wishes to provide a deeper understanding of the society we are living in and how individuals, groups, institutions etc. acts and interacts within it. With qualitative methods one wish to get deeper understandings of social phenomena and processes through data on persons and situations. There is closeness between the researcher and the object of research. This closeness exists because one wishes to get a deeper understanding and to see the world through the eyes of the research object. When choosing qualitative methods one hopes to discover things that will provide one with a more nuanced picture of the phenomena one studies (Holme & Solvang, 1996: 73, 87, 89). This is the reason why I have chosen to use qualitative methods, and not quantitative, in my research. I am interested in finding the different actors' understandings of peace, and to get a deeper understanding of the role of human rights in the different peace processes.

3.2 Sources of knowledge

My empirical data will mainly be based on qualitative interviews. I will also use documents, articles, strategies, reports, principal platforms etc the different actors have written. This material will help me to answer my research questions. My data can be divided into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are first-hand sources, sources that have not yet been analyzed. Secondary sources are sources that already have been analyzed by others (Furuseth & Everett, 1997: 118). The interviews I conducted are my primary sources. They have not beforehand been analyzed for research purposes. Documents, strategies and principal platforms are also primary sources, because they are original and unanalyzed documents that I have gathered from the different actors' home pages at the Internet or gotten from my informants. My empirical data is therefore primary sources. The advantage of using primary data is that I have more closeness to the material. I have been taking an active and close part in the gathering of the information. Secondary sources are more distant and I do not have the same control and knowledge on how the sources are gathered and where they come from. However, I use secondary sources in the beginning of my thesis. When introducing the topic

and the problem, I have used secondary sources such as articles and reports. These have given me more knowledge on the problem and situation in Sudan.

The collection of data took place in semi-natural settings, which means that the informants were interviewed in settings they are familiar with. I did the interviews in my informants' offices, or at conference rooms at their workplace. Holme and Solvang (1996) say that when one conducts interviews it is important to create a research situation that is similar to the everyday situation (Holme & Solvang, 1996: 94). When doing the interviews in settings that are familiar to the informants it may help to make the informants feel more "safe" and then be more open when answering the questions.

In qualitative research generalization and representation is not as important as in quantitative research. However, it is important to make sure that the right persons are interviewed. It is important that the ones chosen will contribute with information to our research (Holme & Solvang, 1996: 98f).

The biggest Norwegian NGOs that are working in Sudan are Norwegian Church Aid and Norwegian Peoples Aid. I therefore chose to interview people from these two organizations. In addition to the NGOs the Norwegian government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense, is working in Sudan. Since a part of my research is to find out if there are any differences between the operations run by the NGOs and the government, it was of importance to interview people from the two ministries as well. All of the informants had knowledge on the actors' work in Sudan. During the interviews they mainly represented the organizations' or the ministries' views, and not so much their personal views. This made the specific person less important. What was of importance was that the person interviewed had a great knowledge about the ministry's or organization's strategies, policies and work done in Sudan. I chose to interview two persons from each actor, meaning eight persons all together. However, in Norwegian People's Aid I had a group interview with three people. By choosing to interview more than one person from each group it may contribute to picking up variations that may exist within a group. If there are any variations or different opinions within a group, it is easier to find them when interviewing more than one person from each group. Choosing more than one informant also makes it easier to distinguish between what could be seen as the ministries' and organizations' opinions and the individual's personal opinions.

All the persons I talked to had been working with the peace-processes between Northern and Southern Sudan. They all had great knowledge about the conflict and the work in and with the conflict. None of them were “high authorities” in the conflict negotiations, but several were either advisors, experts on certain areas, or responsible for projects. I came in contact with them by writing an email where I informed them about my project and why I wanted to get in contact with them. I wrote the emails to the ministries and organizations in general and they then figured out who were best suited for me to interview.

3.3 Ethical considerations:

When the research involve persons it is important to have ethical considerations in mind. This is particularly important when it comes to collecting data. If the data collection involves sensitive information it is important to follow some ethical guidelines. In these guidelines the right to self-determination and autonomy is emphasized. This means that the informants have the right to determine their own participation in the research, that there is an informed and voluntary consent for participation and that they are able to withdraw from the project whenever they want. They are the ones in charge of what information that will be provided during the interviews (Johannessen et.al., 2004: 88-90). Before I started the gathering of information I reported my project to Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD), and informed them about my project. When projects contain information about people, it is necessary to do this in order for it to be valid and in accordance with the ethical guidelines. NSD gave me feedback that my project was approved. When I had gotten feedback on which persons in the different organizations and ministries I could interview I sent them a letter of information. In this letter I gave them information about my project, about confidentiality, voluntariness and the informant’s right to withdrawal from the project. Before the interviews started each informant signed a letter of consent where they either accepted that I used their whole name in the thesis, or that they wanted to be anonymous. Some of my informants chose to be anonymous, and others said that they were fine with me using their whole name and title in the thesis. However, since some of my informants wanted to be anonymous I have chosen to make all of them anonymous when I cite them in my analysis. This makes it easier to distinguish between the informants and gives them a common approach. I will refer to my informants as the following: Informant MFA1, Informant MFA2, Informant NCA1⁴ etc.

⁴ This signifies that Informant MFA1 and Informant MFA2 come from Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Informant NCA1 from Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) etc.

3.4 Qualitative interview:

Qualitative research and interviews provides a deeper understanding of a social phenomenon we are curious about. One is interested in the person's experiences, opinions and understandings, and all these aspects are possible to catch in a qualitative interview. There is an interaction between the researcher and the informant, which is quite similar to the everyday conversation. In qualitative interviews the informants have more freedom to express themselves than in more structured quantitative interviews. A qualitative interview may differ between (i) open interviews – with little structure and which reminds more of a conversation between the researcher and informant about certain subjects, (ii) structured interviews – where the questions and the order is set beforehand, and (iii) partly structured interviews (Johannesen et.al, 2004: 133-135). My interviews were partly structured, and what recognizes them is that they are based on an interview guide where subjects and questions were decided, but the order and the importance of the questions could vary. I had made the questions beforehand, but during the interviews I realized that not all questions were suitable for the informant, and I also varied the order in which the questions were asked. During the interview I also came up with new questions as a response to some of the answers I got. This type of interview can give a good balance between standardizing and flexibility. One problem with this is that during my analysis I discovered that some of my informants got some questions that were of interest for the thesis, whereas others did not get the same questions. This makes it difficult to compare the responses. However, with the questions in which this was the case I feel that I have gotten some ground of comparison on other areas anyway.

The background for interviewing the persons was to get a deeper knowledge about the different organizations' and ministries' work in the conflict in Sudan. I wanted to take part in their knowledge and experiences about the subject, and I therefore found that this form of interviewing suited this purpose perfectly. It was important to get the informants to talk as much as possible, and to try not to lead them into the specific answers. I therefore asked several questions where I encouraged them to talk about or tell me about different subjects.

When interviewing there are several elements that are important for how the outcome will be, and these are important to bear in mind. In some cases the subject could be difficult to talk about, and it will therefore be difficult to get the proper information. During the interviews different roles are created. There are different expectations on how to behave, and both the researcher and the informant are given certain roles. For example there may be certain

expectations to the researcher because of her/his status vis-à-vis the informant. The informant may also feel some expectations towards what (s)he is expected to answer on different questions. It is therefore important that trust is established between the informant and the researcher. The settings of the interviews are also of importance for the outcome. Time, place, procedures etc creates the atmosphere and is relevant for how the outcome will be (Holme & Solvang, 1996: 101f). In my research I tried to have all these elements in mind when doing the interviews. I, in particular, thought about the expectations that could arise, and tried not to show any emotions or thoughts about how I expected my informants to answer. However, all my informants had a much greater knowledge about the subject than me, and it is safe to assume that they had a great deal of confidence about the themes they were asked about. Therefore I do not think that this was a problem.

One of my interviews was a group-interview. This was originally not planned, and I got to know it when I arrived at the organization's office. In a group-interview, the social dimension is very important. The research situation becomes a discussion between people and this social interaction is developing and forming opinions and attitudes. A mutual influence may arise in which opinions will be created (Holme & Solvang, 1996: 103). In my case the three different informants seemed very comfortable with this form of interviewing. They were all colleagues and seemed to have worked together for a while. During the interview they talked to each other and to me, and the situation was very much similar to a conversation between four people. I believe that this helped me get the informants proper experiences and thoughts about the different subjects. It also made me as a researcher feel more comfortable. A problem with group-interviews is that the opinion of the minority may be oppressed (Holme & Solvang, 1996: 103). In my case there were two persons who did most of the talking, whereas the third did not talk so much. It is difficult to know if the reason for this was because the others were too dominating or that he just did not have anything to say. I would probably have gotten more information out of him if I had had one-on-one interviews with the three informants. However, I feel that this form of doing interviewing also gave me some information I probably would not have gotten if I had done one-on-one interviews. In addition I feel that the information I got out of this interview was sufficient, so I do not see that as a problem.

3.5 Technical equipment:

During my interviews I used a digital voice recorder to record what was said. All my informants consented that I recorded their interviews. The advantage of using a voice recorder is that all that is said is captured and I could concentrate on listening to the informant and give follow-up questions. However, this way of doing interviews gives a lot of data that has to be analyzed. As an alternative I could have written notes, but this gives a less extensive material, and could have resulted in me being too concerned about writing and having too little attention on the informant. I feel that I do not master the note-taking enough to use it while doing interviews, so in fear of the informant feeling ignored because of my writing and to lose important information I concluded that voice recording was the best way for me to do interviews. Then all my attention was on the informants, all the information they gave me was captured and I felt more relaxed during the interviews.

A danger with using a digital voice recorder might be that the informants are more careful with expressing point of views that might be sensitive when the information is recorded instead of written down. When the information is recorded it is more difficult to regret or deny things that have been said during an interview. This concern may result in that the informant is holding back information. However, in my case I still felt that it was better to use a voice recorder than not.

3.6 Analytical strategies

When analyzing qualitative data one needs to reduce the data one have and find some structure and meaning of the material. Organizing the empirical data into categories can create a reduction of the data. Thagaard (1998) says that through a reduction of the data the information most relevant for the research question will be presented more explicit. And by categorizing the data, information about a common subject will be placed in the same category (Thagaard, 1998: 128). I have chosen to do a subject-based analysis of human rights in peace processes. This will illuminate particular subjects or events by comparing information from all informants in a research. This might get a deeper understanding of each subject (Thagaard, 1998: 149). In my research I wished to study and compare the different actors' work, strategies and approaches, so I therefore found this type of analyzing most suitable. I created different categories and placed the different answers I got under the different categories. This made the ground of comparison easier when I did the analysis.

My material consists of seven transcribed interviews and six strategies, frameworks, official documents etc. I transcribed the interviews to make them more suitable for analysis. As mentioned, even though some of the informants accepted that I used their whole name, I have chosen to keep all of the informants anonymous. This makes it easier to distinguish between the different informants. During the transcription I tried to write down the interviews as accurate as possible. In places where the sound was unclear I went back to hear what was said. After the transcription I listened through the whole interview while I had the transcribed text in front of me. This was done in order to correct mistakes I might have done and to ensure that I had gotten everything the informants said. By doing this I made sure that the transcription was trustworthy. I also wanted to ensure that I did not lose any meanings or dimensions with the interviews. Both the interviews and the transcription were done in Norwegian, but when I cited the informants in the analysis I had to translate the citations into English. When doing this I have tried to make the contents of the citations as precise as possible although I have edited them to make them easier to read and grammatically correct in the text.

3.7 Confirmability, credibility and transferability⁵

According to Kvale (1997) the concepts of validity and reliability have together with generalization gotten a status as a holy, scientific trinity, but are at the same time discussed in connection with qualitative methods (Kvale, 1997: 158). Tove Thagaard (1998) makes a suggestion to use the concepts confirmability, credibility and transferability in qualitative studies, instead of the more quantitative loaded concepts validity, reliability and generalization (Thagaard, 1998: 20).

Steinar Kvale is arguing for that the validity or the confirmability should work as a control of the quality throughout all the stages in the production of knowledge (Kvale, 1997: 165). Due to this I have been reflecting on the confirmability to the choices I have made in all stages of my work. And in relation to this, the preparation of logical conclusions from theory to research question and from empirical data to interpretations in the analysis has been important. I have also tried to be as critical as possible to my own interpretations. Confirmability is about the researcher's critical examination of personal interpretations and

⁵ Freely translated from Tove Thagaard's (1998) concepts *bekreftbarhet*, *troverdighet* and *overførbarhet* (Thagaard, 1998).

the understanding that the results of the project can be confirmed by another research (Thagaard, 1998: 170).

Credibility is connected with the consistency of the findings and the quality of the empirical data. In other words, it is about if the research is done in a confident way (Thagaard, 1998: 20). The request of credibility is connected to all parts of the process and I have all the time reflected upon my ability to clarify how the data has been developed and how I differ between the empirical data and my own interpretations. The methodology chapter is to a great extent connected with the reflections and the choices I have made to secure the thesis' credibility.

Transferability is discussions about if one can expect to find the same findings in other similar situations or among other similar persons (Kvale, 1997: 160). In my research I did interviews with two or three people from each ministry or organization. This makes it possible to say that my findings are more transferable. It may be possible that other persons within the ministries or organizations have other understandings of the importance of human rights in peace processes, than my informants have got. I feel however that my findings can be transformed and that they can be relevant in other situations.

4. Theoretical framework

In a master thesis the theories are supposed to be connected with the research question. The theoretical framework, together with the empirical data, opens up for a study that will answer the research question. In my thesis I have chosen to use negative and positive peace theory, theory on democracy and human rights, and Hugh Miall's model on four paths of conflict. Negative and positive peace theory gives a good demonstration on how peace can be interpreted differently and why it is important to have a broad focus in peace processes. The theory on democracy and human rights demonstrates the connection between these two concepts and how they are mutually dependent. Hugh Miall's model gives a demonstration on how conflict can take four different paths depending on structures, processes etc in society. All these may then be used to explain and study why it is important to focus on human rights in peace processes.

4.1 Negative and positive peace

The concept of peace can be understood in different ways. During time different people have had different interpretations of the concept of peace. The most common understanding is *negative peace*. Negative peace means the absence of war or the absence of direct violence. In international relations this concept is most commonly used. According to negative peace theory, peace is found whenever direct violence is absent (Barash & Webel, 2002: 6).

The Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung criticizes this way of thinking for having a too narrow view on peace and on what a peaceful society is. According to him, peace is so much more than just the absence of direct war and violence. In light of this he has developed the term *positive peace* and states that: "*Positive peace is the best protection against violence*" (Galtung, 1996: 32). In this view peace in a society is found when exploitation is minimized or eliminated and when there is neither direct violence nor structural violence. Galtung has developed the term *structural violence*, meaning that there is more to violence than just the physical pain. Structural violence is a more indirect form of violence that is built into the persons or the structures in society. It can be divided into political, repressive and economic exploitative structures (Galtung, 1996: 32). Structural violence means that people are denied their important rights by society and this is a type of violence. Because of this social oppression that people experiences, people who are originally seen as "non-violent",

may act in violent ways. This may often be the cause of conflict in a society. The problem with structural violence is that it is more difficult to notice than direct overt violence. It works more slowly and may have more grave results. In a positive peace view, it is important then, that for a society to be peaceful, structural violence needs to be at a minimal or absent. According to Galtung inequality is one of the major forms of structural violence, and is therefore one of the major causes of conflict. Coping and dealing with inequality is thus a major peace component (Barash & Webel, 2002: 6f).

Galtung (1996) says that for a model of violence and peace one can demand the same thing as for a medical model. Through this he develops the Diagnosis – Prognosis – Therapy triangle. Peace studies can learn much from these three stages in medical science, and all three of them are connected. A change in one stage, will call for a change in the others. Just as in medicine, violence must be treated or else it will be repeated. And just as with diseases in medicine, with violence and war one must ask what has gone wrong and treat it thereafter. In the Diagnosis – Prognosis – Therapy triangle, the diagnosis would be what is wrong, what is the suffering or the state of violence. The prognosis stage would be the process of violence, either changing by increasing or decreasing, or staying the same, whereas the therapy stage would be the intervention and processes initiated, trying either to reduce the violence (negative peace) or enhance life (positive peace). What is important in peace studies is to clarify the causes and effects of violence and peace. This will make a sustainable peace easier to achieve (Galtung, 1996: 25-30).

When it comes to peace work, when the attention is put on negative peace, there is a diplomatic emphasis on peacekeeping or peace restoring. In a positive peace view the work towards peace is done through peace building, the establishment of non-exploitative social structures, respect for human rights and working towards a goal even in an absence of war (Barash & Webel, 2002: 8). Peacekeeping is most often used about peace operations where the aim is to contain or keep the peace. It can be used to: contain violence and prevent it from escalating to war; limit the intensity, geographical spread and duration of war once it has broken out, or to consolidate a ceasefire and create space for reconstruction after the end of a war. The term peace building, on the other hand, is based on the ideas that for peacemaking processes to be sustainable there need to be taken more into account than just peace agreements made by elites. The peace needs to be built from below through the empowerment of communities that have been torn apart by war. Culture, tradition etc need to be taken into

account, and grassroots, communities, civil actors etc. need to be included (Ramsbotham et.al, 2005: 133, 215f). Positive peace is more difficult to achieve than negative peace, but is more long lasting and stable. I will now take a deeper look at some of the ways of building negative and positive peace.

4.1.1 Negative peacekeeping

The most common forms of peacekeeping in a negative sense are diplomacy, negotiations and conflict resolution. These ways of making peace have existed for a long time. According to a negative peace view, peace is made through coming up with a mutual agreement between the parties in conflict. The negotiations often take place between the two major leaders in conflict. This way of negotiating was in particular practiced during the Cold War. By some scholars there seems to be a view that this way of dealing with conflict is effective and successful, but often it has proven not to be. During the Cold War, this way of dealing with conflict often made things worse. Another way of settling conflict is to combine diplomacy and military force. By some there is an opinion that diplomacy and military invasion or involvement are connected. In some cases this has proven to be correct. Barash and Webel show how countries can threaten other countries and use military force on them in order to stop a conflict. However, some of these military threats and invasions have also failed and made the conflict worse. Another form of diplomacy, one that has proven to be quite successful, is the so-called Track II diplomacy, or unofficial or “encounter group” diplomacy. The representatives of opposing groups meet in informal interactions, often with a third-party facilitator, trying to establish a mutual understanding and interpersonal relationships. This way of solving conflicts has had positive results. Conflict resolution seems to be more effective when a third party is involved, than when the two sides in conflict are trying to solve the conflict alone (Barash & Webel, 2002: 267-282). This way of solving conflict was used under the negotiations and signing of the CPA in Sudan, where Norway’s former Minister of Development – Hilde Frafjord Johnson – among others, worked as a mediator and third-party facilitator between the two leaders on each side of the conflict.

Other ways negative peacekeeping could be through military strength or the balance of powers, disarmament and arms control, and the establishment and strengthening of international organizations and international law (Barash & Webel, 2002: 291,315,344,372).

4.1.2 Positive peace building

As one may see above there are several forms of achieving negative peace. The thing that unites all these ways is that they all have one intention: to stop the fighting. One might, however, claim that there is more that is necessary to create a peaceful society than just to stop the direct violence. The advocates of positive peace say that it is necessary, but not enough, to prevent and be against war. Additionally one needs to be in favor of something, in favor of peace. In peace studies it is therefore necessary not only to focus on the understanding and prevention of war, but also on the establishment of a desirable and attainable peace. Galtung says that for a society to be peaceful, in a positive way, there needs to be justice. Injustice is a major cause of structural violence, which then again may be a cause to conflict (Barash & Webel, 2002: 427f).

The respect for human rights is an important contributor to a just society. Human rights are very important in positive peace theory. A country may be peaceful in a negative way in the sense that there is no war or direct fighting, but if human rights are being violated it will not be peaceful in a positive way. Ife (2007) emphasizes the importance of the connection between peace and human rights. Both are necessary for one another, and without the one you cannot have the other. They are mutually dependent and if human rights are not protected and realized, peace cannot be achieved, and if peace is absent human rights cannot be protected. A peace without human rights could be considered a weak peace (Ife, 2007: 160f).

The conception of and respect for human rights is quite new. After the Second World War the international attention to human rights grew considerably. However, the ideas of human rights have existed for quite a long time. Traditionally one might say that they stem from some of the Western thinkers such as John Locke and John Stuart Mill. The focus here was mainly on the rights through the state, and little on universal rights. The different states were more concerned about what happened within their national borders, and not so much about what happened internationally. However, the concern with international human rights gradually began to develop, and after the Second World War, in particular as an outcome of devastating denial of people's rights and the Holocaust, the whole world began to put focus on international human rights (Barash & Webel, 2002: 431-433).

Scholars within human rights thinking have different interpretations of human rights. Some see the rights as individual rights, meaning basic rights that the individuals have. Individual liberty is important here. These rights are called “negative rights” and are rights that need to be protected. On the other hand one find “positive rights”, which are rights that needs to be provided. These rights could be right to education, health care, social security etc. The positive rights require a stronger role of the state than negative rights. The state needs to provide rather than just protect, and by that needs a stronger and more active role. Very often the emphasis is on negative, civil and political rights rather than on positive rights (Ife, 2007: 162).

Another way of categorizing human rights may be to divide them into civil-political rights on the one hand and socio-economic rights on the other. The first set of rights involves rights such as freedom from torture, unjust imprisonment and execution, intellectual freedom to speak, to write, political freedoms, freedom to vote etc. Socio-economic rights on the other hand involve rights such as the right to work, education, medical care, and adequate food. Some associate human rights with the first group while others associate them with the last. In developing countries many people attribute great importance to socio-economic rights whereas in more developed countries like in the West, individual liberty, and civil and political rights are the most important ones (Barash & Webel, 2002: 437f). The focus on what rights that are important often depends on ones’ background. This may explain the different emphasis on different human rights in peace building. These two categories of human rights are the ones I will use in my thesis.

Human rights and peace are connected. It is possible to state that the denial of human rights is a denial of real peace. The causes to fully achieve peace may often be deeper than just to end the fighting. When developing human rights it is important that it is done from below. Originally human rights were formulated by an elite group of few people. However, for the rights to be legitimate and to work in a society, it is important that they are implemented in the daily routines of people. One needs to create a culture of human rights. The same can be applied to peace. When creating a peaceful society, it is important that it is done from below. A peace from above is only a partial peace, and the same goes for human rights. This shows the connection between human rights and peace. Both depend on developing and sustaining strong, inclusive communities, within which human rights and human responsibilities can be constructed (Ife, 2007: 170-172). The Nobel Peace Prize laureate of 1977, Mümtaz Soysal

from Amnesty International, said the following in his speech: *“Peace is not to be measured by the absence of conventional war, but constructed upon foundations of justice. Where there is injustice, there is seed of conflict. Where human rights are violated, there are threats to peace...”* (Soysal, 1977: 48). What both Soysal and Ife here demonstrates is the important connection between peace and human rights. If a society suffers from human rights violations, peace will never truly be achieved. It is crucial that both concepts are well built into the societies. In this sense, peace is more than the absence of war and human rights is one key to positive peace. Other ways of building positive peace could be through improving ecological and economical well being or creating a mentality of non-violence (Barash & Webel, 2002: 460, 485, 512).

4.2 Human rights and democracy

Several scholars would agree that there is a connection between human rights and democracy. There seems to be a common opinion that one cannot have the one without having the other. David Beetham (1999) links the two concepts together, and says that one of the things they have in common is the *universality*. Both human rights and democracy are seen as universal principles that belong together (Beetham, 1999: 90).

Beetham (1999) defines democracy as follows: *“...all citizens are entitled to a say in public affairs, both through the associations of civil society and through participation in government, and that this entitlement should be available on terms of equality to all”* (Beetham, 1999: 91). Here one can see that democracy gives people some rights, the rights to participate and have some sort of control. Democracy also ensures that all people have the same rights to participate, there is equality between the citizens. In a democracy all citizens have a right to participate and to exercise some sort of control over the government. For this right to be effective and to realize the basic principles of democracy, political institutions such as elections, parties, legislatures etc are needed on the one hand and civil and political rights must be guaranteed on the other (Beetham, 1999: 91-93).

This shows that democracy and civil and political rights are connected. These human rights constitute a necessary part of democracy. However, as mentioned earlier human rights can be categorized in civil-political rights and in socio-economic rights. Despite the fact that democracy and civil rights are connected and that these human rights are a necessary part of democracy, the connection is not that clear with socio-economic rights. Beetham says that

there is a connection between democracy and socio-economic rights, but these rights do not constitute a part of democracy the same way as civil-political rights. There is a connection between civil and political equality and economic and social equality. If there is a gap between the economic and social status between people, it is possible that there is a gap in the civil and political status as well. If the differences are big enough rich people can have better opportunities to vote, get access to politics, use their money on political influences etc, while the poor are excluded and deprived their possibilities of exercising their basic civil or political rights. It is therefore necessary for democracy that socio-economic rights are guaranteed in order to ensure a minimum equality of access to civil-political rights for all citizens. If the democracy does not protect the socio-economic rights it can be damaging to the democracy. Beetham also emphasizes that despite the fact that socio-economic rights are important for democracy, democracy is also important for socio-economic rights. They are mutually dependent. Features of democracy such as openness, accountability, distribution of power etc makes it likely that democratic governments will pay attention to the protection of socio-economic rights. However, despite the fact that democracy is necessary for the protection of socio-economic, it is not a sufficient condition. Other factors than democracy are also important to ensure and protect these rights. To sum up Beetham's arguments, one can say that the civil-political rights are an integral part of democracy, whereas the socio-economic rights are standing in a relation of mutual dependency with democracy (Beetham, 1999: 94-107, 114).

Another author that shows the connection between democracy and human rights is Norberto Bobbio. According to him the reason for why human rights are so important is because of their connection with two fundamental problems of our times: democracy and peace. Human rights, democracy and peace are connected in the sense that democratic constitutions are built on the recognition and protection of the human rights, and at the same time peace is the precondition for the effective protection of human rights. This shows how these three elements are connected and necessary to each other. Peace is pursued through democracy, and through democratization human rights are protected. The three elements are important because: *"There is no democracy without the recognition and effective protection of human rights; without democracy the minimum conditions do not exist for the peaceful resolution of conflicts..."* (Bobbio, 1996: 63).

In relation to my thesis these thoughts on human rights and democracy, and on human rights, democracy and peace becomes relevant. It is of interest to see if these thoughts are central when it comes to Norwegian peace work. With the signing and implementation of the CPA in Sudan, the country will become more democratic, and according to these thoughts human rights will then through this democratization become recognized and protected. This may then help to explain the different actors' focus on human rights in their work towards peace.

4.3 Hugh Miall and his Four Paths of Conflicts model

Conflicts of interest occur in societies at all times. In some societies the social changes are managed constructively while in others they lead to violent conflict. These conflicts may divide the societies in new ways or intensify existing divisions. Miall (2007) tries to answer why social changes are handled differently and why they from time to time create new emergent conflicts. One important element is how the conflicts of interest are handled. If the conflicts are handled through negotiations and agreements, the prospects for peace are improved. If they on the other side are intensified and the differences in the society are constant or worsened, they could become a new source of violent conflict. An important issue is therefore how one can manage social changes, and how these changes can proceed with conflict but without war. There is a link between peaceful change and the creation of political orders, or political communities, that can accommodate and foster social transformation (Miall, 2007: 2f).

The social changes that take place can follow two different paths. The first path goes from an early conflict of interest towards an overt conflict that will then become polarized and lead to violence. Another path the social change may take is a path where the issues in conflict are negotiated and accommodated, who will then lead to peaceful change. Which path the social change take, depends on the social capacity. The social capacity means what kind of structures there are in the society, who will help to solve or not solve the conflict. Based on different scholars Miall takes this model further. He shows how different scholars lay a different meaning to the concept peace. Some of these define peace as merely the absence of direct violence, whereas others such as Galtung says that peace is more than the absence of violence and that one need to think about peace in a positive way. Miall agrees with Galtung in that peace should have some positive content. However, he says that the presence of many structures and processes of change, and not merely the absence of conditions of violence, have contributed to peace. Co-operation, common goals and a sense of wholeness in society

create friendly relations and peaceful change. Peaceful change can be defined in both weak and strong senses. *“Peaceful change in a weak sense means that a major change is achieved without the use of direct violence. Peaceful change in the strong sense means that change not only avoids violence but fosters mutual development and friendly relations”* (Miall, 2007: 12).

Miall takes the model of two paths of conflicts further and present a model of four paths of conflicts. In this model Miall states that a social change that lead to an emergent conflict may take four different paths and then have four different results. As in Miall’s first model the social capacity is deciding which path the conflict takes. The first path is when the conflict exists of dominant or coercive relationships. These relationships will then lead to a structural conflict. Another path the social change may take is when the emergent conflict leads to a polarization or a violent political mobilization. When a conflict goes this way, it will eventually lead to a violent conflict. These two paths are paths when the emergent conflict will have a negative result, and in many cases lead to war. In these paths the social capacity would probably be low and weak. The third path in Miall’s model is when the emergent conflict leads to some kind of accommodation or compromise, which again will lead to a mixed conflict or a co-operation. The fourth and last path of conflict is the most peaceful one, and shows that an emergent conflict that will lead to a transformation will provide peaceful change. In these two paths one could say that the social capacity is higher. The social capacity is as mentioned relevant for which way the conflict will go. If there in example not exist institutions or organizations that are created to solve conflicts in peaceful ways, conflicts are more likely. However if there exist social norms in a society that says that peace is the way to go, and it is preferable, peaceful solutions will occur (Miall, 2007: 4-13). In relation to my thesis this model can be used to explain the importance of promoting human rights and creating stable institutions in Sudan. By strengthening the social capacity and create institutions or organizations that promote peaceful conflict solving in the Sudanese society, the social changes that occur may lead to peaceful changes. It is of interest to see if the Norwegian actors are contributing to this.

Intrastate conflict and civil wars seems to be the most common forms of armed conflict. The causes of these conflicts vary from place to place, but there seem to be some circumstances that make civil war less likely than others. Miall present factors such as democratic governance, development, governance, political institutions, human rights and education as preventions of civil wars. In societies where these factors are present civil wars are unlikely to

happen, or on the other hand, in societies that lack these factors civil wars are more likely to break out (Miall, 2007: 111-113). In relation to my thesis it becomes interesting to see if these factors are present in Sudan, and how they are valued by the different Norwegian actors when promoting peace.

5. The actors' human rights work

In my research question I have asked the following: *How do the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace between Northern and Southern Sudan?* In order to answer this I need to take a closer look and analyze the informants' statements on how they value human rights and how they work towards improving human rights conditions. I will also see this in relation to reports, strategic frameworks and strategies, documents and programs.

Among my informants there seem to be a common opinion that human rights must be both respected and acknowledged in a society in order for peace to be sustainable and long lasting. There may be variations between the actors, but human rights seem to be important for all of them in their work towards peace. The concept of human rights is wide and consists of many different rights. And all these rights may be put into categories such as socio-economic rights and civil-political rights. Due to this variety of rights it may become complex to decide which rights to focus on in my analysis. In this chapter I have focused both on civil-political rights and socio-economic rights and divided the chapter into human rights and war, human rights and democracy, human rights in post-war time and human rights and women. The reason for this is that I feel that these topics are most relevant when it comes to human rights and positive peace and also that they are best suited to answer my research question and hypothesis.

5.1 Civil-political rights

5.1.1 Human rights and war

When striving towards creating a peace agreement between the North and the South, the Norwegian government was very much engaged, and the respect and acknowledgment of human rights seemed to be important. One of my informants from MFA, Informant MFA1, explained to me how the violation of human rights is an important issue for Norway, and is one of the main reasons why Norway decided to play a part in the conflict in Sudan. Through their engagement in helping to solve the conflict and ending the war they were taking part in improving the human rights conditions, because as he said: *“Because there is no bigger violation of human rights than war. So by contributing to ending the war, you are improving the conditions of human rights.”* This shows that when the Norwegian government is

participating in ending the war and establishing peace, they see this as a means to improve human rights conditions. During war, several human rights are violated, so by building peace in a society one is also ending some of these severe violations. Another of my informants from the MFA, Informant MFA2, seemed to share his colleague's opinion concerning this. It is a basic human right to live in peace. The basis of the MFA's work is to improve both the humanitarian situation and the human rights. Development and the fight against poverty are also very important, and these issues could be connected. As he said:

“War is, at least in Africa and the Middle-East, the biggest obstacle to the fight against poverty. And human rights have a wide definition, it is not only the civil rights, it is also the absence of hunger and need, and the absence of education etc. So it is a much wider term of human rights, and war is the biggest obstacle to helping people get their rights.”

This shows that both my informants from the MFA think that war is a severe human rights violation, and that through promoting peace you are promoting human rights. This can also be seen as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) where Article 3 states: *“Every individual has the right to life, liberty and security”* (UDHR, 2009). This article could be categorized as a civil-political right. The article expresses the view the informants from MFA share, namely that war is a severe human rights violation because it derives the individual's right to live in liberty and security. So by ending a war you are protecting human rights. But creating peace and protecting human rights through just ending the war could be seen as what Galtung called negative peace. According to Galtung, peace is more than just the end of direct violence (Galtung, 1996: 32). However, Informant MFA2 mentioned the variety of human rights, and mentioned that civil-politic rights are not the only ones to take into consideration, but also socio-economic rights. As demonstrated in Chapter 4 one can categorize human rights into two different categories, and it is necessary to bear in mind that both these categories are important. Informant MFA2 seems to agree on this when saying that presence of hunger, needs and the absence of education etc are violations of important human rights. All these elements need to be present in the fight against poverty and towards development, but an end to the war is the first and most crucial step in this direction.

My informants from the MD said little about the focus on human rights in their work towards peace in Sudan. What is important to remember about the MD is that when it comes to international peace operations they contribute with soldiers to operations led by larger actors such as the UN and NATO. The MD is not sent out to realize independent political goals in a country, in the same way as the MFA and the NGOs are. In cases such as in Sudan, they are

following the UN and their tasks are to observe and monitor the implementation of the peace agreement and to make sure that the parties follow their obligations. One of my informants from the MD, Informant MD1, said that their role was to establish units, which then were given to peace operations by the UN. And today Norway has around 20 officers that are participating in UNMIS⁶. They are observers who are sent out to observe and make sure that the parties are following their commitments in the CPA, and there are staff officers who sit in the head quarter in Khartoum and in the various sectors and take care of the management of personnel. He told me that the MD is supporting the work towards peace and reconciliation on a more technical mandate compared to the MFA or the NGOs. They are therefore not working to improve human rights conditions in the same way as the other actors. The MD's focus in Sudan could be seen as making sure that war does not break out again. If one connects this to what the informants from MFA said about that one of the most important human rights is to live in peace, one can argue that the MD is working to secure that some human rights are protected. Another aspect that is important to take into consideration is that peace operations led by the UN often have as a core mission to promote human rights. In Sudan the UNMIS operation is tasked with supporting the implementation of the CPA. However: *"UNMIS is also tasked with facilitating the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons providing demining assistance and contributing towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in Sudan* (UNMIS, 2009). So, by contributing with soldiers to the mission, MD is protecting and promoting important human rights. In relation to negative and positive peace theory one might claim that despite of MD securing some human rights with their UNMIS personnel, their approach is more in relation to negative peace where their focus is on making sure that a new violent conflict does not escalate. They do not seem to, as Ife (2007) in Chapter 4 said was important, develop human rights from below and make sure that they are implemented in the people's daily-lives and in the communities.

5.1.2 Human rights and democracy

Democracy and human rights are connected, which again is connected to peace. As seen in Chapter 4, human rights can be divided into two categories, civil-political rights and socio-economic rights. Civil-political rights include rights such as political freedom, freedom to speak, to vote etc. These rights are rights that are guaranteed through democracy.

⁶ United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)

The different Norwegian actors working in Sudan seem to value democracy as very important in their work. Sudan has, with the CPA, taken an important step towards becoming a more democratic country. First of all, the agreement opens up for a democratic election in 2009 where new political leaders are to be chosen. It also opens up for a referendum in Southern Sudan in 2011, where the people living there shall decide whether they want to remain a part of Sudan or become independent. This demonstrates that the CPA is making Sudan more democratic, and thus is protecting human rights⁷. Then again it is possible to say that the different Norwegian actors that took an active part in finalizing the agreement also have contributed to making the country more democratic and by that protecting and promoting human rights.

In Sudan the MD is contributing with personnel to the UNMIS operation. This operation is aimed to support the implementation of the CPA and make sure that the parties follow their obligations. In this way they are among other things tasked to make sure that the election and the referendum takes place as planned. MD focuses on the importance of democratic principles in peacetime. Informant MD1 said that in Sudan the parties in broad outlines are following their agreements and are keeping to the time limit that is set. He told me that in Sudan institutions for monitoring and courts of appeal are established, where the different parties can file complaints against each other. The UN is in charge of organizing them and some of the Norwegian personnel are taking part in this organizing. Informant MD1 here demonstrates that the MD is, by contributing personnel to UNMIS, actively monitoring, organizing and making sure that the parties follow their agreements, and if they do not they have an arena to file complaints against each other. This may be related to Hugh Miall's model on four paths of conflict. He said that if there are institutions, organizations, arenas etc in society where conflicts can be solved peacefully, it is likely that these conflicts will lead to peaceful solutions (Miall, 2007: 14f). These institutions and courts that have been established in Sudan can be seen as parts of what Miall called social capacity, and when these are present in the Sudanese society conflicts that might emerge can be handled in peaceful ways, and then lead to a mixed conflict, a co-operation or a peaceful change. This will help secure that the CPA is observed and followed, which not only will prevent new conflicts, but also protect the important human right that democracy is.

⁷ Ref. to UDHR Article 21 (1) *Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives [...]* (3) *The will of people shall be the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.*

Scholars say that democracy and human rights are connected, and therefore one might say that by working towards a democratic society one is working to promote important human rights. MFA agrees on this, and sees democracy as an important human right that needs to be protected. Informant MFA2 said that in the settlements of the peace agreement between the North and the South, democratic principles such as the right to self-determination were of importance.

“In the end it is the people in South Sudan who are going to realize their right to self-determination, and that is part of the most important human rights demands that this agreement fulfils, namely that a population group in a country get the right to self-determination. It is one of the most important human rights that now will take place through the referendum, and this peace agreement has maintained that.”

Informant MFA2 sees the right to self-determination as an important human right, and with the CPA this right will be protected. He told me that for Norway it was very important that the peace agreement prepared for democratic elections that were as just as possible, so that the people in Sudan had an opportunity to choose their own leaders, or throw out the old ones that had not been elected through democratic means. The fact that he says that the right to self-determination is one of the most important human rights demands, shows how much he values civil-political rights.

The NPA see democracy as very important when it comes to peace and human rights. In their “Principles and Values” document they emphasize that the support of actors who takes part in making society more democratic is very important. The right to be organized and to empower democratic societies is a human right that NPA values a great deal. In order for peace to be sustainable in Sudan, one of the most important things to secure is that the referendum in 2011 takes place. Informant NPA1 said that: *“If it [the referendum] isn’t carried through with as planned, war will break out.”* Here she demonstrates how important NPA sees the democratic element of the CPA for the peace to be sustainable. If the people in Southern Sudan do not get what the agreement promised them, they will become dissatisfied and it is likely that there will be turbulence in society. One of the central elements of the CPA was that the country became more democratic and that the people in the South got their referendum. NPA therefore see it as very important that this happens. This can be connected to negative and positive peace, where one might claim that if the people do not get the rights they are promised, and are being oppressed, society might be peaceful, but not in a positive way. And

as a result of this conflict might break out again. However, if the Sudanese people get the democratic rights they were promised it is more likely that peace will be sustainable.

Democratic principles are also important for NCA. In their “10 point political platform” they state that the empowerment of democracy and civil society is very important. To secure a well functioning civil society and that the people elected have clear roles and tasks are important conditions in order for states and governments to secure important human rights. Informant NCA1 said that to secure that the government is held accountable for how a peace agreement is implemented and what actually happens on the ground is very important. Whereas the MD and the MFA focus more on the government and the ones in power when securing that the democratic principles of the CPA are held, the NCA focuses more on empowering and supporting civil society. In order for human rights to be respected and democratic principles to be present, there need to be a good and balanced relationship between the state and civil society. Democracy needs to be built on the ground as well. The informants from NCA also said that in a country such as Sudan, that never has experienced a democratic election, it was crucial to do work concerning influence and information about democracy and democratic rights. NCA see the importance of supporting and giving information on how this is done and what this means. *“It is now major efforts that need to be done in relation to making people understand what democratic rights are”*⁸.

The implementation of the CPA is making Sudan more democratic. If the parties follow their obligations, and the democratic election in 2009 and the referendum in 2011 takes place, Sudan has taken an important step towards becoming a democratic country. This is important for the human rights situation in Sudan as well. Beetham demonstrated that human rights and democracy were closely connected. Through democracy people are given important rights, such as the right to participate and have some control. Democracy also ensures that these rights are given to all people – all citizens are entitled to participate in a democracy (Beetham, 91-93). So, as seen above, when the Norwegian actors supported the signing and implementation of the CPA, when they are making sure that all parties follow and observe the agreement, and securing that the people on the ground are guaranteed these rights, they are working on securing that civil-political rights are promoted and protected.

⁸ This can be supported by the findings in Sally Healy’s summary record of the seminar: *Sudan: Where is the Comprehensive Peace Agreement Heading?* (2008) where it was emphasized that democratic norms and a democratic culture needed to be established in Sudan in order for the election and referendum to be successful.

5.2 Socio-economic rights

5.2.1 Human rights in post-war time

The end of the war between the North and the South in Sudan, and the establishment of democracy and democratic principles are important steps in the efforts towards improving and protecting human rights conditions in the country. However, it is not sufficient. It is crucial that other human rights⁹ are protected and taken into consideration as well. Galtung presented his Diagnosis – Prognosis – Therapy triangle, where these three stages are important to consider in peace studies. The last stage, the therapy stage is the intervention and processes initiated, where either one tries to reduce the violence (negative peace) or enhance life (positive peace) (Galtung, 1996: 30). This is relevant in post-war time. Among my informant there seems to be a shared idea that the need for people to return to safe and just societies where human rights are respected and acknowledged is vital. Refugees and internally displaced persons who are returning home after a conflict need to have something to come home to. Rebuilding of the society and the infrastructure is something that ought to be of high priority. Connected to Galtung's triangle it is not sufficient to reduce the violence, life need to be enhanced. NCA talks about basic human rights, which are necessary to secure in the post-war period:

“In the meantime we need to make sure that a new generation of Southern-Sudanese people that grow up in so-called peace-time, with a peace agreement surrounding them, get the basic rights. Because we're not talking about welfare-services, we're actually talking about human's rights to get clean water, to have their children vaccinated, to go to school.”

What Informant NCA1 here demonstrates is how important it is for NCA to promote basic human rights. NCA talks about socio-economic rights such as the right to clean water, education, healthcare etc, and how necessary these rights are when Southern Sudanese people are going to start all over in peacetime. If the people in Southern Sudan shall live in peace it is necessary that the human rights that were absent in society before the war are now present. Comparing this to positive peace, it is clear that this way of thinking of peace is important for NCA. As Galtung said, if people live in injustice, structural violence occur, which then again may be a cause to conflict (Barash & Webel, 2002: 7). Human rights are a contribution to a just society, and are therefore important for a peaceful society. NCA seem to agree with Galtung on this. They also see the importance of not only reducing violence (negative peace) after a conflict, but also enhancing life (positive peace).

⁹ Ref. to UDHR Article 25 and Article 26 that involve rights concerning livelihood, food, health-care, education etc.

NCA is not the only actor that sees the value of improving the human rights condition and enhancing life for refugees and internally displaced persons. The MFA is stating in the “Annual Report on Norway’s Efforts to Promote Human Rights” from 2004/2005 that they are working on efforts to improve the human rights situation for refugees and internally displaced persons. They too emphasize the importance of improving the conditions for these people, in particular by ensuring an access to effective humanitarian assistance, but also “...by placing stronger emphasis on sustainable reparation and reintegration measures in post-conflict situations.” In the case of Sudan, Informant MFA2 told me how they had been working on ensuring that the people that were returning to Southern Sudan had something to come home to. Not only was it important to ensure that they had a safe journey home and securing them from attacks by militia groups – a situation that has been very problematic. It was also crucial to make sure that they had a reason to return home.

“I discussed myself with the UN that the UN should establish safe corridors between the north and the south so that the people could return home [...] so Norway brought this up very early, just this problem. But it doesn’t mean that it has become so much better. We have given our support to returns both through organizations and the UN, but the problem is probably still there. But it is probably more compound. It is probably both that the people are appraised and often deprived of almost everything they own in order to move home. But also the lack of school and health care and other services in their home areas, so they don’t have an incentive to go home. Then they are better off in Khartoum [...] at least they might get some form of education and health care there, and that means more”.

Informant MFA2 here demonstrates how the concern for the return of the refugees in Sudan was something Norway was early engaged in. He shows a concern about the problem, not only the problem with the attacks during the return, but also the fact that the refugees and the internally displaced persons have little or nothing to come home to. One can see how he agrees with the NCA in that it is necessary for people to have something to come home to, otherwise they are better off staying where they are. It is stated in the MFA’s strategic framework “The Contribution of Development Policy to Peace building: Norway’s role” that the efforts to work on repatriation and reintegration will continue. This is valued as important. Rebuilding of the society in post-war time is also seen as very important, because it is necessary to show the positive side of the peace. Additionally, my other informant from MFA told me that ensuring that the CPA is observed and making sure that people are getting the rights they are promised with the agreement is something Norway is constantly working on, both through continuing dialogs with the parties and by seeing that all parts of the agreement are upheld and respected.

The three most important areas the CPA covers are power sharing, welfare sharing and security. The agreement is securing that power is shared democratically and that all people of Sudan get access to the resources and the welfare they are entitled to. The issue of human rights, then, falls under this goal, and despite of critics claiming that the CPA lacks the protection of some important human rights,¹⁰ it is possible to state that the agreement is promoting and protecting some important human rights. When MD is contributing with forces to the UN and by that supporting the implementation of the agreement and observing that the parties follow it, they are in some way making sure that the human rights conditions in the post-war society are improved and respected. Additionally, as seen above, one of UNMIS' missions is to facilitate the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. MD is in other words involved in helping these people to a safer and easier return to their proper homelands. This is important in post-war time. The MD is thus protecting some human rights, but on a more technical and external level, where they are giving room for human rights to be protected and promoted, but are not working directly on this. Once again it can be connected to Ife's statements, and MD might be criticized for not securing that human rights are built from below and into the communities.

From a positive peace view it is important that people living in post-war areas have the rights and live under the conditions they are entitled to. If injustice in a society exist it is likely that a new conflict escalate. People that return to their proper homelands after years of conflict need to have something to help them start all over. If they return home and there still exist some form of inequality in the society, if they feel the peace has not given them anything, it might be possible that conflicts escalate again. Galtung and other scholars have emphasized this. For a society to be peaceful, justice must be present. NPA also connects justice and peace. For them peace seems meaningless without justice. Their engagement in different conflicts originally was based on a solidarity engagement. They showed their solidarity with and supported people and groups they felt were being oppressed, such as in Palestine, South-Africa, Guatemala and South Sudan. However, over time their focus seems to have shifted more towards a wish to change structures in the society and on issues concerning human rights. Informant NPA1 told me how their engagement at the Balkans can explain their shift in focus where:

¹⁰ The criticism is mainly concerned around that human rights violations and crimes against civilians committed during the war are not brought into account in the CPA (Human Rights Watch Article *There is No Protection*, 2009) and how gender issues are not taken into consideration (Tønnesen & Roald, 2007)

“Our engagement started as a solidarity engagement which was in line with the whole solidarity-tradition [...] But then one have changed the focus in the program, and focused to a greater degree on democratization and democratic deficit, and violence against women, and eventually empowerment of women’s positions, of youth and participation...”

This shows that human rights have become very important in the work done by NPA and is now often a reason why they choose to engage in a conflict. NPA is engaged in different projects in Southern Sudan that are supposed to improve the human rights conditions in post-war time. All these initiatives are made to build up society and create a sustainable peace. The problem in Southern Sudan is, according to my informants that a lot of things are still missing despite the different attempts from the international society on rebuilding society. The roads are absent and people are unable to interact with each other, the rights of independent media needs to be improved, the infrastructure is not properly built up, people need to begin working again, and they need to get access to the resources they are entitled to. Informant NPA2 said: *“It won’t be peace unless these things are in order”*. It is therefore clear that human rights play an important part in NPA’s work towards peace, and the respect for basic human rights and a good infrastructure is important in order to build a peace that last. NPA has stated in their document on “Principles and Values” that the right to food, water, housing and education are basic human rights¹¹. Many people are living in societies where they do not have access to several of these things. NPA is trying to improve this both in Southern Sudan and in other countries. They seem to share the same view as the other two actors when saying that the society in Southern Sudan needs to be rebuilt in order for people to be able to live under peaceful conditions. It is very important that socio-economic rights are present in society. Comparing this to positive peace theory one can see that my informants seems to share this thought, the thought that peace is more than just the absence of direct violence and that human rights are an important key towards peace.

5.2.2 Human rights and women

To secure that women have the same rights as men is very important. Women make up around 50% of the population, but still they are in many societies marginalized, oppressed and excluded. However, the concern of providing women with equal rights as men has been growing over the last years, and it seems as all the actors that are working on human rights see the importance of ensuring women with equal rights as men. In war, women are often the

¹¹ See: UDHR Article 25 and Article 26

ones that suffer the most among the civilians and sadly they are often the ones that are excluded when negotiations and agreements for peace are made. In the case of Sudan some researchers, such as Liv Tønnesen and Anne Sofie Roald (2007), claim that gender issues were being ignored during the peace processes. The focus from Sudanese and international peace builders was mainly on including marginalized religious groups. During the peace talks women were merely guests at the tables, and this led to the fact that the CPA could be seen as a “gender blind” peace agreement. This made the work towards improving human rights for women in other arenas important. A difficult problem in Sudan, both in the North and the South, is that it is a country with a strong tradition and culture. It is a country where men have a stronger role than women, and the differences between the gender roles are well cemented in society. This is both due to religion and cultural tradition (Tønnesen & Roald, 2007).

The Norwegian actors working in Sudan see the role of women as very important. NPA is working on projects to empower the role of women in Southern Sudan. The relation between the genders in Sudan is, according to Informant NPA1, unacceptable, and the NPA is working towards improving these conditions. A lot of emphasis is concentrated on women and the efforts to empower their role in society. In the “NPA South Sudan Strategy 2008-2011” the organization’s civil society development programs are presented, and one of these programs focuses on the promotion of women’s rights. Sudan is a country with a highly traditional culture, so ensuring women the same rights as men is challenging and comprehensive. The NPA sees this promotion as a long-term activity. And through their projects the NPA is working on empowering the role of the women, working on the fight against violence towards women and ensuring that women get the rights they are entitled to. When the structures in society are excluding and oppressing women, one have a clear case of structural violence. Injustice is a major cause of structural violence and it is therefore important that women are included in society, equally with men. When they are, positive peace is easier to achieve.

NCA also works towards empowering the women and securing their rights. In their “Country Program Plan on Sudan” they emphasize the problem of exclusion of women in decision-making, their low access to education and work, and the violence against them in forms of rape, domestic violence, battery etc. Despite the fact that there is peace in the country, in the conflict areas a large population of women and children live in an insecure environment. NCA is supporting projects that focus on these issues. In the “Country Program Plan” it is stated that: *“Building capacity of partners in order to carry out advocacy, awareness creation and*

providing assistance to affected women and children will have high priority". Women and children are a marginalized group, and NCA sees it as important to do something about this. Education of women and girls is something that they in particular have as an objective in their program. Their aim is to make sure that women and girls, and other marginalized groups, have the acquired knowledge and skills.

The MFA also emphasizes the importance of including women in order to create peace. In the "Annual Report on Norway's Efforts to Promote Human Rights" from 2004/2005 it is stated that: *"the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which concerns the role of women in peace processes, is an important element of Norway's support for peace and reconstruction in conflict areas."* The role of women in peace processes is important and Norway supports projects that take gender balance into account in peace negotiations. Concerning Sudan and the CPA we saw earlier that women's participation in the peace talks and negotiations were at a minimum. Informant MFA2 told me that during negotiations between two warring parties it is mainly men who participate in these negotiations because it is mainly they who are in the armies and are in power. It was therefore logically men who were the majority of the participants in the peace negotiations between Northern and Southern Sudan. One could not imagine negotiating without the ones in power – namely the men. However, Norway was all the time trying to give women the possibilities to participate and to include them. He said that the problem was:

"...this type of peace agreement can take part in cementing power relations that are established during a war, and women then may be victims during the war and may be victims later in the peace by being excluded. One needs to be aware of this. And I don't think that we were that aware of it when it was going on as we have become afterwards".

Norway has in the aftermath of the war tried to include women more in the peace building and the reconstruction of the Sudanese society. In the "Annual Report on Norway's Efforts to Promote Human Rights" it is reported that in 2005 the MFA, together with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), arranged a conference on the role of women in Sudan. They also contributed with NOK 3,5 million to the UNIFEM project *Promoting Women's Participation and Gender Equality in Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peace building in Southern Sudan*. They continued this engagement by arranging, or co-arranging, more conferences that focused on the role of women. This shows that even though the efforts on including women before and during the peace negotiations did not succeed that much, several efforts has been made in this area in the post-conflict period.

Out of this one can see how the different Norwegian actors focus on ensuring that human rights are protected for women. They are working on promoting these through different projects. However, again it seems that the NGOs are working more directly on this by running several different projects that aim to empower, educate and include women. MFA is, on the other hand, more supporting projects that work on these issues. It is crucial that women are guaranteed the same rights and possibilities as men. In a country such as Sudan, where the traditional culture often stands strong in society and where women often are marginalized and oppressed, it is important that efforts are made to change this. A society where peace is only achieved through the end of the direct violence is only experiencing negative peace. In order for people to live in positive peace, several efforts need to be made, and equality between the genders is one of them. If half of the population in a country lives under oppression, injustice and inequality will exist in the society, and positive peace will not be present.¹²

5.3 Summary

All of the actors work on the promotion of human rights in Sudan. Human rights have become a universal principle that in many areas is valued as very important. It is therefore quite reasonable that the Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their efforts to build peace in Sudan. My research question asks: *How do the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace between Northern and Southern Sudan?* This chapter gives a good answer to the question, by showing different examples on how the actors promote and emphasize human rights. One can also see that the different actors have both similar and different approaches and focuses in their human rights work.

Two of the actors focus on human rights through the end of war. War is seen as an obstacle to the protection and development of human rights. This is something the MFA in particular emphasized. The informants told me how the right to live in peace is a very important human right, and how they, by contributing to ending the war and the fighting, took the first and important step towards the promotion and protection of human rights. The MD is also focusing on maintaining the peace by seeing, through UNMIS, that the parties are following the CPA and that a new violent conflict does not break out. The two ministries, run by the Norwegian government, seem by this to focus more on the protection of human rights through

¹² This can be connected to what I presented in my introduction, where researchers claimed that strategies of peace initiatives in Afghanistan had failed, and part of this was because there was too little focus on women's rights.

a more negative peace view, as just the end of conflict. Their focus is more on the state-level in making sure that the parties are at peace with one another.

Beetham stated how democracy and human rights are mutually dependent. Democracy and democratic rights are important for all the actors. The right to participate in democratic elections is a human right. One of the reasons why the civil war broke out in Sudan was that the people in Southern Sudan felt oppressed, marginalized and wanted more power. This shows that securing democratic rights is important in order to secure the peace. Both the ministries and the NGOs agree on this. However, there seems to be differences on how they work towards implementing democratic principles in Sudan. During the negotiations the MFA made sure that the CPA contained democratic principles and rights, and in the aftermath they are, together with the MD, making sure that the democratic election and the referendum will take place and that they are as fair as possible. The NGOs are also emphasizing that it is important that the democratic rights the CPA is promising are guaranteed. They are however, in particular NCA, focusing on that the people on the ground need to be included in the democratic principles.

To secure human rights in post-war period is important for the Norwegian actors. The NGOs did not say so much about how war is an obstacle to human rights. They did, however, emphasize the importance of rebuilding society and infrastructure in the time after the war. Both the NPA and the NCA said that it was fundamental important to ensure that people were given their basic human rights in the time after the war. The refugees and the internally displaced persons that returned to their proper homelands after several years of war need to get their basic socio-economic rights. If not, there will be injustice and peace will not be present. Both of the NGOs support and work on projects that focus on this. This shows a clear connection to positive peace theory. The informants from MFA told me how they saw the importance of giving the returnees a safe journey home and the importance of rebuilding society, infrastructure, education etc. Once again, however, it seems as if the MFA is focusing more on the state level. The same goes for the MD, who has a core mission to make a safe and easier return of the refugees and internally displaced persons, but says nothing about what will happen in the long run and how to ensure and protect human rights in the future. This could be a negative thing because it will not help to build a sustainable peace in the long run. As demonstrated by several scholars it is necessary that human rights and peace are built into the people and communities. This would make it more sustainable.

In my hypothesis I stated that: *In the conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan there are visible differences between peace processes run by the Norwegian government and the Norwegian NGOs. Whereas the former tends to focus on setting down peace agreements and stop the direct fighting (negative peace), the latter focus more on human rights (positive peace).* In this chapter I have seen that there are differences between the processes run by the Norwegian government and the Norwegian NGOs. The differences are, however, more evident in which human rights that are important for each actor, and where the focus is.

All the actors focus on human rights, but there are differences in *how* they focus on them. Both the MFA and the MD seem to focus more on making sure that human rights are protected and present on the state-level. The MD does little in protecting human rights besides ensuring that the parties are following their obligations set in the CPA. In the aftermath of the signing of the peace agreement the MFA have focused more on other actors, women in particular, than just the ones in power. The NGOs see the importance of the people on the ground and work directly on projects that promote and protect the human rights of these people. It is possible to assume that the MD focus more on negative peace than the NGOs do. The MFA, on the other hand, is focused on stopping the direct fighting, but also see the importance of other things in order to build peace in post-war time. It is therefore not correct what I stated in my hypothesis that the Norwegian government only focuses on negative peace in Sudan. It is neither correct as I assumed that human rights are being neglected due to too much focus on negotiations and settlements for peace. It is, however, possible to claim that the NGOs are focusing more on human rights and positive peace than the MFA is.

It is important to remember that in peace processes the different actors have different tasks and roles. Some might work as negotiators with the parties in conflict, others as protectors of the peace agreement, and others again as promoters of human rights and humanitarian issues. These different roles may help to explain the differences between the Norwegian actors. They are engaged in Sudan out of different missions and aims, their focus and their approaches will then be different because of this. This can explain why they have different focus on human rights. Human rights are important in a society, and in order for it to be peaceful, human rights such as those seen above need to be present. If they not are the society might be peaceful, but not in a positive way. I will now take a look at other areas concerning human rights and peace that are also valued as important.

6. The actors' views on peace and peace building

With my research I hope to see how the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace between Northern and Southern Sudan. In the previous chapter I presented some concrete examples of this issue. However, there are other areas concerning human rights that are important in peace building. In this chapter I will present and analyze the different actors' definitions of peace, how they work towards building peace in the country, and how human rights are connected to this. Peace and human rights are connected, and in order to answer my research question and hypothesis, an analysis of the following is necessary. This is also relevant in order to see if the actors focus on negative or positive peace.

6.1 Understanding of peace

The concept of peace can be understood in different ways. For some it means the absence of war or the absence of direct violence. According to this view a society without war or direct violence is peaceful. However, there are other thinkers, such as Johan Galtung, who sees peace as something more than this. A society is peaceful when exploitation is minimized or eliminated and when there is neither direct violence nor structural violence (Galtung, 1996: 32). Among my informants there also seem to be different interpretations on when a society is peaceful. The different Norwegian actors working in Sudan have different roles in the peace processes, and this may explain why they look at peace differently.

There is a common opinion among my informants that for peace building to start the weapons needs to be put down and the war has to stop. Informant MFA1 said that there are different levels of peace and therefore when one talks about peace one cannot put it in a final category. He said that in Sudan, there still exist some conflicts in the society, but the signing of the CPA is an important milestone towards peace. When asked if there is peace in Sudan he said:

“...gradually you're getting a political solution to the conflict between the North and the South. And there is a radical distinction between before and after. [...] It is far more security for most people in Southern Sudan and in other areas in Sudan than it used to be. It is, however, a fragile peace. It is a peace that needs to be protected, but it is a peace with certain limits [...] The peace agreement represents the peace, where you end the conflict and enter a new phase.”

According to Informant MFA1 there is peace in Sudan, but this peace is fragile and needs to be worked on. Conditions have improved after the signing of the CPA and one can therefore say that peace starts with this signing. However, this does not mean that the signing is the final step when creating peace in society. Informant MFA2 said that peace is connected to how one manages a conflict. “...we can define peace as a form of non-violent conflict management, namely politics.” Through politics, and creating arenas where conflicts can be handled non-violently, peace is present. Informant MFA2 here demonstrates the connection between peace and politics. In some way then it is possible to assume that he has a positive way of looking at peace, when he says that there needs to be created more in a society than just the end of war in order for peace to be present and sustainable. However, creating political institutions where conflicts can be handled non-violently is not a sufficient condition for positive peace.

My informants from MD also see the signing of the peace agreement in Sudan as an important step towards peace in society. They seem, however, to define peace more as negative peace. Informant MD2 said that when you are able to stop the war, the other things in society would follow. The crucial thing is to stop the fighting. Her colleague, Informant MD1, said that when conducting peace operations in a country such as Sudan everyone have different roles. MD’s role was quite technical and their aim was to solve one particular conflict. They then did not take into consideration that there were several underlying issues and conflicts in society. Out of this it is possible to assume that the actors from MD see peace in a negative way. Their aim with engaging in conflicts and peace operations is to stop the war and make sure that the parties follow the things that are set in the peace agreements and does not start the fighting again. Their emphasis is more on peacekeeping or peace restoring, and as seen in Chapter 4 this is a very common way of negative peace. Their role as a military actor is more technical and therefore not that political or humanitarian as the other actors’ roles. This may explain why they have a more negative interpretation of peace.

The two Norwegian NGOs that work in Sudan have a more positive understanding of peace. The informants from NCA agree with the other actors when saying that peace starts when people put down their weapons. There are, however, more things to do in order for peace to be present and sustainable. Informant NCA1 says that an important condition for peace is that the parties stop the fighting. But there are different levels of peace work, and this is just one level. After the end of the fighting one needs to go further in order for a society to be

peaceful. As seen in the previous chapter human rights such as clean water, access to health care, education etc are important. Rebuilding of the society and creating a good infrastructure is crucial in order for peace to grow. Informant NCA2 also says that there are certain things that need to be present in society for peace to evolve.

“For me peace starts and end with the war, but it has to lead to that there are acceptable living conditions [...] So it is important that the fight against poverty and differences of certain things that we are working on here are present in order for the peace to be sustainable. So peace is not only that the war has stopped, but also other things need to be started and the daily life needs to be different, living conditions need to be changed for the better. Health, education, infrastructure, communication, trade and all things need to be connected. Otherwise it is easy to return to war.”

Informant NCA2 here demonstrates that NCA’s understanding of peace is a positive peace interpretation. For them certain things, such as socio-economic rights, need to be present in a society in order for people to live in peace. One can draw connections between what he says and Galtung’s arguments concerning that people need to live under certain conditions in order to live in peace. If people live under conditions of structural violence, it is likely that they will act in violent ways and war may be repeated. Informant NCA2 agrees when saying that the fight against poverty, against injustice and towards development and improved living conditions are necessary in order to have peace in a society.

For NPA peace is more than the absence of war. They too seem to agree with Galtung when they say that peace is connected with justice. Informant NPA1 told me that for NPA peace have always been connected with justice, and unless there is justice in society peace seems meaningless. When creating peace in a society it is important to focus on what comes after the peace agreement, that democratic structures are built and make sure that there is a just and equal distribution of goods and services in the society. *“The absence of war is not the same as peace,”* she told me. A lot more is included here, and NPA see the importance of human rights when building a sustainable peace. Informant NPA2 says that it is crucial that certain human rights are respected if peace shall be realized. Rights concerning infrastructure, independent media, equal distribution of resources, democracy etc need to be present, otherwise peace will be difficult. Out of this one can see that NPA’s view on peace is quite similar to the positive peace view. Peace is more than the absence of war and direct violence; justice needs to be present, and this need to be taken into consideration when working towards peace in Sudan.

Based on these findings it is possible to say that the two NGOs defines peace in a positive way when saying that there is more to peace than just the end of violence, and see the importance of human rights and development when building peace. Even though they did not use the term *structural violence* there is a common understanding among the NGOs that under the presence of conditions of what Galtung referred to as structural violence, peace will not be sustainable and it will be easy to return to war. The MD on the other hand works from a negative peace view, while the MFA is kind of in the middle where they focus on ending the warring between two parties, but also sees the importance of other efforts in order for peace to be sustainable. They do not seem to proceed so actively on this though as the NGOs does.

6.2 Peace building through the end of conflict

There are both similarities and differences when it comes to how the Norwegian actors define peace and how they work towards creating and building peace. As mentioned all the actors seem to agree with the fact that a crucial element for peace to start in a society is that the fighting between the parties stops. When it comes to Sudan and the end of the fight between the North and the South the different actors played an active part here.¹³ Norwegian authorities through the MFA took an active lead in the negotiations between the parties and during the signing of the CPA. Our Minister of Development at that time, Hilde Frafjord Johnson, played an important part as one who could go between the parties. Informant MFA1 told me that she had good relations to both the government in Khartoum and the SPLA/M, and she could talk to both parties and make them settle on certain compromises etc. However, it was always Kenya and IGAD¹⁴ who led the negotiations and Norway always supported these. Informant MFA2 also mentioned Johnson and Norway's central role during the negotiations. This shows how Norway helped create peace in Sudan in a negative peace way. As seen in Chapter 4, one of the most common and successful ways of doing diplomacy and ending war is the so-called Track II diplomacy or unofficial diplomacy. This way is recognized by that the representatives of opposing groups meet in informal interactions, often with a third-party facilitator, trying to establish a mutual understanding (Barash & Webel,

¹³ More on Norwegian actors' central roles can be read in Ann Kelleher (2006) *Norway's Contribution to Peacemaking in Sudan's North-South War*, where she demonstrates how Norwegian actors, both the government and the NGOs, have played a central and constructive role in the conflict resolution and peace building in the North-South War in Sudan.

¹⁴ Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD) – IGAD was established in 1996 and is a regional organization that through increased cooperation between its member states (Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Eritrea) works towards: food security and environmental protection, promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs, and economic cooperation and integration (IGAD – about IGAD, 2009).

2002: 267-282). This is how Norway, among others, carried out their negotiations between the parties GoS and the SPLA/M, and this shows that at least in the beginning the MFA took a negative peace approach when working towards peace in Sudan.

NPA talked about their role during the peace negotiations between the North and the South, and said that they felt that they contributed in a large degree to the fact that a peace agreement was in place by 2005. By choosing to support only one side in the conflict, the side they felt was being oppressed and by helping them both humanitarian and politically, they feel that they empowered SPLA/M. The informants told me how the side of SPLA/M was at a point of being totally destroyed and that the people almost starved to death. The help NPA gave to just one side empowered the SPLA/M and made them capable of participating in the negotiations that led to the peace agreement in 2005. Informant NPA3 told me that this way of doing humanitarian aid in the 90-ties was quite controversial and “...*some might say that we were taking part in extending the conflict. Whereas we think that without that help there could never have been a peace agreement in 2005.*” NPA therefore see their role as important in relation to making an end to the war and the reaching of a final agreement between the parties.

Humanitarian organizations such as NCA normally play their most important part after the peace is settled and the parties have laid down their weapons. However, in the case of Sudan Informant NCA1 told me that they too played a central role during the war. Supporting the actors on the ground was also an important step towards achieving peace between the actors.

“Norwegian Church Aid was at an early time engaged with the partners, which primarily are our churches in different forms in Sudan, in organizing the peace on the ground [...] And then it was important to support both church actors and other civil society actors in organizing and preparing themselves in that the parties could end the war and to execute pressure [...] they [the actors] were involved and executed pressures towards the ones that negotiated and the authorities to make sure that there were room left for the peace.”

During the war it was, according to Informant NCA1, just as important to support the ones on the ground in order for peace to be a reality. By doing this, Sudanese actors on the ground could execute some form of pressure towards the authorities that were negotiating and organizing peace on the ground. Because of the fact that there were underlying causes to the war, this was just as important as being directly involved in the negotiations. This way of doing peace work is recognized as building peace from below, as I will come closer to later,

where other actors than just the ones in power are included and supported, and is by that making sure that the peace also reached the ones on the ground. This was, according to my informants from NCA, just as important during the negotiations for peace to be settled.

The MD, on the other hand, got involved in Sudan in the post-war period. Through their contributions to UNMIS they entered the conflict after the signing of the CPA. UNMIS was established in 2005 following the signing of the CPA, and its tasks are to monitor the peace agreement and make sure that the parties follow the agreements they have set. MD's role, through UNMIS, was therefore more important after the signing. And they did not take such an active part to ensure that the parties agreed to end the fighting and the war.

To create an end to the conflict is important in order to establish peace in a society. The NGOs and the MFA were among some of the actors that took an active part in this during the civil war in Sudan. In 2005 the conflicting parties lay down their arms, stopped the fighting and signed the CPA. In a negative peace view the actors contributed a great deal in order to create peace in Sudan. However, according to a positive peace view more is necessary in a society in order for it to be peaceful.

6.3 Peace building through democracy

Democracy is, equally with human rights, a concept that many actors see as very important when they are building peace in a society. It might seem as one can not talk about peace without talking about democracy. And democracy is often the first step that needs to be taken in order for a country to become peaceful and developed. Democracy and democratization are important factors for peace because it gives room to solve conflict peacefully. Hugh Miall said this when he showed that with democratic institutions, conflicts are more likely to transform into peaceful change rather than violence. And how societies with democracy, political institutions etc have a less chance of experiencing civil war than the ones without (Miall, 2005: 111-113). In Chapter 4 one could also see how Norberto Bobbio presents his views on human rights, democracy and peace, and he said that all these three concepts are connected. One might see it as a mutual connection where peace is pursued through democracy, and through democratization human rights are protected. And then again when human rights are protected, a society is more peaceful (Bobbio, 1996: 63). The building of democratic structures and institutions in Sudan is therefore important. If this is not done in post-war time, new conflicts might escalate.

The Norwegian actors in Sudan seem to agree on this. As seen in previous chapter, the implementation of the CPA creates a more democratic Sudan, and is therefore securing important human rights. Making Sudan more democratic is also very important in order for peace to be sustainable. As Norberto Bobbio mentioned, human rights, democracy and peace are connected, and it seems as if the Norwegian actors agree. In the MFA's strategic framework "The Contribution of Development Policy to Peace building: Norway's role" it is stated that "*In a society with a good system of government, democracy and respect for human rights, the use of violence will be little relevant in conflict solving*". They agree with Bobbio's arguments that the three concepts are connected and are supporting initiatives that will improve these conditions. Informant MFA2 told me that in Sudan one of the MFA's jobs is to help transform the conflict from a violent through a non-violent conflict. Conflicts always exist he said, and they need to be handled non-violently through democratic means such as democratic elections, creation of a government etc. These means of handling a conflict will prove more effective. This is something the MFA tries to implement in the Sudanese society. Hugh Miall's model on four paths of conflict shows how a conflict can take four different paths depending on the social capacity in society. The social capacity can be higher by improving the democratic institutions in a society, respecting human rights and creating arenas where conflict can be solved peacefully, and then it is likely that the conflict will lead to peaceful change (Miall, 2007: 12f). In MFA's strategic framework and through Informant MFA2's statements one might see the similarity to Miall's thoughts on this when it is stated that in post-conflict situations it is important that there are possibilities for a broad participation in the decision processes.

Democracy gives the population more power to decide in important cases. Informant NCA2 emphasized the importance of democracy and the importance of creating a democratic society in order for peace in Sudan to be sustainable. "*It is fundamentally important that people decide their own future [...] The basis for peace in Sudan needs to be within the population*". He said that when it exist some form of democracy, when the power is within the population it is easier to build a more long-lasting peace. The people on the ground are often interested in living in peace and have some form of stability and development. It is therefore important that they have an opportunity to decide over their own future and are able to control that the authorities secure their rights to live in peace. Informant NCA2's opinions on democracy and peace can be related to Beetham's statement that through democracy people are given

possibilities to a saying in public affairs and to a participation in government. People have rights to participate and to have some sort of control over the government. If they are unhappy about the people in power they are, through democratic means, able to change the government (Beetham, 91-93).

After the signing of a peace agreement it is important to focus on what comes afterwards in the society. The NPA emphasized this and told me that their concept of peace was wider than just the absence of conflict. They have a positive view on peace because according to Informant NPA1 it is important to focus on what different actors do in order to build democratic structures and making sure that there are equal distributions in society. The presence of democratic principles and practices are important in order for peace to be sustainable. What is critical in post-war time, according to Informant NPA1, is that one has authorities with a good rhetoric on peace, democracy and human rights, but they do not know anything on how to go through with this. *“So to change or include authorities that have been in the leadership of a liberation-movement is no guarantee for democracy and peace.”* NPA therefore has projects that are to support democratization of society, and empowering civil society actors that might be an offensive to the government and making sure that the politics that were promised are secured. They also support a project that is aimed to democratize SPLA/M and include civil actors and people on the ground. This project is done in order to make the party more democratic, and therefore make sure that people get the things they were promised in peacetime. They are aiming to give the former leaders of liberation-movements knowledge on how to go through with the promises of democracy and human rights.¹⁵ Informant NPA2 said that: *“What is difficult is to maintain the peace. If people on the ground don’t see the point in this, it’s easy that old conflicts and old differences emerge.”* It is therefore very important to ensure that SPLA/M is able to secure the democratic rights that both they and the CPA promised. If not, conflicts might emerge. NPA also seem to connect the three concepts democracy, peace and human rights, and seem to value the importance of positive peace. They see democracy and democratic rights as important steps towards building a more just and peaceful society. This is connected to positive peace.

¹⁵ In the report: *The Khartoum-SPLM Agreement: Sudan’s uncertain peace*, conducted by International Crisis Group in 2005, it is stated that one important element to ensure the peace was that the SPLM leadership began to democratize its movement and transform from a guerilla force into a democratic party. The report urged outside actors such as Norway to give more assistance and expertise on this.

By making the country more democratic, and making sure that the people have an opportunity to choose a new government, one might be able to find a solution to the civil conflicts in the country. This can be connected to what Beetham said about how democracy gives people opportunities to execute some sort of control over the government. They then may, through the democratic rights that are guaranteed, choose to elect other representatives for government if they are not happy with the current ones (Beetham, 1999: 91-93). In Sudan this is in particular the case since one of the main reasons for why war broke out both in the South and in Darfur was because the people living there felt that they were being oppressed and neglected by the government. One basic principle of democracy is that *all* citizens are entitled to participate and the citizens have *equal* democratic rights. This equality that democracy provides is a component against injustice. As Galtung said, injustice is a major cause of structural violence, which then may be a cause to conflict. Democracy could then be seen as an important step towards positive peace. However, democracy is not sufficient and peace needs to be built in other ways in order for positive peace to be present and human rights to be fully protected.

6.4 Peace building through empowerment of civil society

The end of war is the first step towards peace. Another step then may be to implement democratic structures in the society. Some might think this is sufficient when building peace. The MD is, as mentioned earlier, engaged in the peace operation on a more technical mandate, through military troops via the UN. Their role is to monitor the CPA and make sure that the parties follow it the way they are supposed to.

The MFA took an active part during the negotiations towards the peace agreement. Through the so-called Track II diplomacy they participated in building negative peace. However, according to Informant MFA2 it is necessary to have a continuing engagement in the conflict in order to make sure that peace is sustainable. He emphasized the importance of remembering that even though a conflict may be finished per se, it does not mean that it is not likely that it blaze up again.

“When the violent conflict cease one has to continue building the peace with different means through the fight against poverty and presence in different ways, and make sure that it does not blaze up again violently [...] Even though the so-called conflict by some definitions has ceased after a peace agreement, it is rarely an abrupt end of that type of conflict anyway.”

Informant MFA2 talks about the importance of continuing work towards peace in society after a peace agreement. It seems as if the MFA have shifted from a negative view on peace towards a positive one¹⁶. Important measures need to be taken to avoid an escalation of the conflict. The important thing with a peace agreement such as the CPA is to take care of old problems in society such as unequal distribution of resources or marginalization of minority groups, and locate the basic problems and try to change them. Informant MFA2 told me that the Norwegian engagement in Sudan has been focusing on this when they participated in working out the agreement and making it more sustainable and long lasting. Additionally he told me that there were some critics of Norway because Norway to some extent cemented the negotiations to only involve the warring parties, and not including actors from civil society such as women's groups, church groups and other civil society actors. Norway responded to this criticism and arranged a "side-conference" to the Oslo Donors Conference on Sudan for the civil society in 2005 which had as an aim for the civil society groups to be more engaged in the peace and the accomplishment of the CPA. *"And we have gotten very much acclamation for that and it has been very good that we have done it"*. Out of this one can see how MFA has in the aftermath of the peace negotiations and the signing of the CPA worked towards including other factors than just an end of the fighting, in order to make the peace in Sudan sustainable. Their approach seems to have shifted from negative peace towards positive peace. Earlier their focus was on getting the warring parties to reach a peace agreement, whereas now it has moved towards including other actors such as the civil society.

Empowerment of civil society is important for other actors as well. Informant NCA1 told me that empowerment of civil society is very vital in a post-war period. It is necessary to strengthen civil society and create actors who can hold the government accountable for how the peace agreement is implemented and what actually happens on the ground. NCA has taken an active part in this both during the war and in the post-war period. People on the ground need to be aware of what democratic rights they got, and how to prepare the society for an election. Informant NCA1 told me that they are doing major efforts on making sure that people understand what democratic rights are. This will help make the peace agreement tangible and sustainable. It is also crucial that people living in peacetime get the basic services and rights they are entitled to. Because of this NCA is supporting projects that are including

¹⁶ This can be explained through Informant MFA1's statements earlier when he said that there are different levels and steps in peace, and ending the war is the first.

and empowering civil society. Informant NCA2 agrees with his colleague in that civil society and the people on the ground are important when building peace.

“When it comes to peace in the future the thing we need to focus on is that the basis for peace is not with the leadership. We need to aim at the grassroots population, women’s groups, farmers, most people on the grassroots need to be equipped and built up to understand peace, how we can stand together in making demands on the leadership concerning peace...”

This shows that there is an agreement between both of my informants from NCA that it is important to empower civil society and the people on the ground when it comes to peace building. I talked in Chapter 4 about the importance of building a culture of peace and human rights in order for it to be strong and long lasting. Informant NCA2 statements show how he agrees on this and how NCA is focusing on this in their work in Sudan. They are working towards empowering and supporting civil society in both the North and the South.

Civil society is important for NPA as well. Just as NCA they see the importance of having someone on the ground that can work as an opponent to the government, who can execute pressure and make sure that the ones in power follow the things they are supposed to. It is crucial that different Sudanese actors learn how to make demands on the government, and how to ensure that they get the human rights they are entitled to.

“...we have a civil-society program, which is supposed to contribute to empower other actors who may become an offensive to the authorities [...]... we are trying to support a network of independent society organizations that are engaged in this, that tries to set an openness of information that gives possibilities for civil-society organizations to make demands and for the local communities as well to make demands”.

In these civil society programs the NPA works on issues such as independent media, gender equality, and democratization of SPLA/M etc. These are important issues concerning human rights and by working on these issues NPA is promoting human rights in Sudan. As demonstrated by several scholars when working for peace in a society it is important that the people on the ground are content with the living situation. If not, conflict is likely to emerge. Working on improving the human rights condition is an important step in this direction. A society where human rights are respected and where justice is present is more peaceful in a positive way than a society that lacks this.

The positive way of defining peace is that justice is present and structural violence is absent. It is also necessary that human rights are respected and protected, and that all people get the

rights they are entitled to. By empowering civil society actors that focus on these issues, the Norwegian actors are building positive peace. It is more likely that a country will experience positive peace when the civil society is empowered and supported. As seen in Chapter 4, in a positive peace view the work towards peace is done through peace building, the establishment of non-exploitative social structures, respect for human rights and working towards a goal even in an absence of war. A society with a strong civil society will be more able to work on this than a society without. Civil society actors are participating in building peace and human rights from below, into the structures in society. And when this is done, a society is closer to positive peace. Apart from the MD, which says little about this, it seems as if the actors share a view that it is necessary to do more in peace building than to just end the war between the parties. However, the NGOs are more directly involved in empowering and supporting the civil society than the MFA is.

6.5 Peace from below or peace from above?

There are different ways of working with peace. Some focus on achieving peace from above, or peace from the top, whereas others think it is more important to realize peace from below or through bottom-up activities. Richmond (2005) distinguishes between these two and says that peace can either be achieved by a top-down approach where its development depends on international or state-level official actors or by a bottom-up approach where peace is derived from individual or civil society actors. There seem to have been discussions on these approaches, where some are claiming that a top-down approach, in particular in cases where external actors without consent try to implement peace, is not efficient. But on the other hand, when peace is achieved from the ground, from the bottom-up approach through civil societies and local actors, it seems to be more successful (Richmond, 2005: 188f). Ife's thoughts on this were presented in Chapter 4 where he said that both peace and human rights needed to be built from below. A peace from above is only partial peace, and the same goes for human rights. Both concepts need to be included *into* the societies (Ife, 2007: 170-172).

On basis of this one can argue that among the Norwegian actors, the MD and the MFA are working from a top-down approach, where their focus is more on the actors on the state-level, whereas the NGOs work from a bottom-up approach when they are empowering civil society and people on the ground. Informant MFA2 told me that they had been criticized for having too much focus on just the parties in power during the negotiations towards the CPA, but that they in the wake of the CPA arranged a conference where civil society could be more

included in the peace work. However, most of the time when they tried to create peace between the warring parties in Sudan they focused on the actors on the state level. They were the ones that were important to focus on when creating peace. Despite the arguments that peace is more sustainable if it is built from below it is crucial to distinguish between the different stages of peace building. During the efforts towards getting the warring parties to sign a peace agreement, it is quite reasonable that it is the ones in power, the ones on top, that are in negotiations and work to get a peace established. The peace then comes from above, and as a starting point this is necessary. On the other hand, to secure that the peace that is guaranteed by a peace agreement, such as the CPA, is sustainable and long lasting, it is necessary that the people on the ground are included and content. If not, conflict might emerge again.

The MD also seems to act from a more peace-from-above approach. They are engaged in Sudan through the UN and the troops they are contributing with. Their role is to monitor the agreement and focus on that the parties follow it. They take little part in empowering the people on the ground. Informant MD1 told me that the work they did in Sudan was quite military and technical, and that their focus is mainly on the parties.

Some might argue that an important factor when it comes to creating sustainable and long lasting peace in a society is that the people in the society has the knowledge acquired for go on with the peace and humanitarian work after the different external actors withdraw from the country. It is necessary that they are equipped with the necessary skills to continue with the work on promotion of peace and to give humanitarian services. If not, conflict is likely to emerge.

NPA is among the actors who talk about the importance of thinking about what comes afterwards in their peace work. This is an important part of their view on the concept of peace. Informant NPA1 told me about how one of their aims in Sudan is the provision of information, knowledge and skills to people living in Sudan. It is necessary that people living in Sudan get the services and opportunities that NPA gives them also when NPA withdraw from the country.

“So in a lot of the areas where we previously performed services, our goal now is that we are contributing so that national authorities in the South are capable to give these services. And it is not only practical reasons for this, but it is also connected to peace because it will contribute to nation building. Because one has no faith in an authority that doesn’t give services to its people [...] It creates distrust, it creates agitation and it will probably destabilize in the long run”.

This is something the NPA values as very important when it comes to a stable peace. It is necessary that the population, especially the ones living in the rural areas, is equipped with the knowledge necessary for further development and peace building. Through different programs such as health programs, education of nurses and securing that eventually the authorities are running these services and programs, the NPA is making sure that people on the ground get the services they are entitled to, and that the people in Sudan have the knowledge necessary to “survive” and continue the development when NPA withdraw from the country. One of NPA’s programs in Sudan is called “Rural Development Program” and it is focusing on the local community in Sudan. During my interviews the informants talked about this program and told me that a methodology is created, where the local community can be in deliberation with the local authorities and together negotiate on resources and the use of them. This makes a good basis for negotiation. It is, according to Informant NPA1, crucial that people are aware of what resources they are entitled to and knows how to negotiate over them. *“People need to negotiate with certain strength; otherwise they will always loose the negotiations”*. And for peace to be just it is important that people are not oppressed. This is the aim of this project. Based on this, peacekeeping from below is a central approach in NPA’s peace work. For peace to be just it is necessary that the people on the ground are participating in building it. Otherwise oppression might occur and positive peace will not be present.

From a peace-from-below perspective it is important that the people in Sudan have the knowledge to build peace and a just society. Actors such as the NGOs might play an important part in peace building and development, but in the long run it is crucial that the people living in the society take over this role. Otherwise society might go back to its old sins when the NGOs withdraw. NCA is also focusing on this when they are working in Sudan. In Sudan they are among other things contributing by empowering civil society and taking initiatives on projects that will contribute to more knowledge on areas such as peace negotiations. Informant NCA1 said that it was very important to remember that the NCA could not create peace in Sudan. However:

“NCA can empower civil actors in influencing the situation on the ground. And we locate good actors to support and make it possible for them to unite, have meetings, do some lobbying and have training of our partners...”

NCA here demonstrates that for peace to be created in Sudan it is necessary that it is done by the population in Sudan, not by the actors coming from the outside. Peace needs to be built from below. However, NCA can contribute with support and help to educate and facilitate processes for different actors working for peace in Sudan. And this is done through some of their different projects. Informant NCA1 said that civil society is an important actor when it comes to creating peace. And this is something the NCA has emphasized and focused on in their work, namely that civil society had the space and opportunities to work on rights, advocacy, politics etc. It is the actors in civil society that are the central actors in peace building, and: *“We cannot create the peace, they can, but we can be with them and give them tools and pointers to how things may be done. And then it is their choices if it is in ways that suits their culture”*. Here Informant NCA1 shows that for NCA it is important that it is the civil society and people on the ground that are in control, and it is they who create the peace. NCA is only assisting with tools and knowledge on how things can be done. The control and implementation lies with the civil society and the people on the ground. This is important when peace is built from below.

It is likely that when peace is built from below, positive peace is built. By including the people on the ground it might be easier to include more people's feelings, attitudes and opinions concerning certain areas. This again may help to put an end to structural violence that might occur in a society. And by building positive peace, one is also promoting human rights, since these two concepts are connected. Through building peace from below, one is among other things empowering civil society actors that are working on human rights issues. This is important if one wishes to create a stable and long-lasting peace. One is also making peace more sustainable through making sure that the work towards development, peace negotiations, protection of human rights etc will continue when the external actors leave the country. Peace is built into the people and the communities and this will make a stronger and a more sustainable peace.

6.6 Summary

In relation to my research question I have in this chapter tried to give an answer to how the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights when they are working towards peace in Sudan. I have done this by looking at how they define peace, how peace can be built in different ways and how human rights play a part in this.

Negative peace theory says that peace is found with the absence of war or the absence of direct violence. Peace is built by coming up with a mutual agreement between the warring parties and when one is stopping the fighting. The MD sees peace in a negative way, where the important thing is the signing of the peace agreement and to stop and prevent the fighting. Their work in Sudan is quite technical and they have one role and one focus, and do not look at the underlying issues and conflicts. Peace is then connected to only the end of direct violence, and human rights seem less important when they are building peace. One might think that MFA also share this view, but despite the fact that the MFA focused very much on the parties in power during the negotiations in Sudan, and that their main focus was to reach an agreement and to end the fighting, they have a more positive peace focus than the MD.

Positive peace theory states that peace is more than the absence of direct war and violence. Positive peace is found when exploitation is minimized or eliminated and when there is neither direct violence nor structural violence. An end to the violent conflict is crucial for peace, but this is not sufficient. The informants from MFA seem to be aware that more needs to be done in order for peace to be present and sustainable. This shows that they are able to shift from a negative to a positive way of looking at peace. I would, however, claim that the NGOs are focusing even more on this perspective when they are working towards peace in Sudan. Both NPA and NCA said that the respect for and protection of human rights were crucial in order for peace to be sustainable. And both see the reduction or elimination of what Galtung referred to as *structural violence* as important, otherwise it is easy to return to war. This response, and backed up by their projects and support of projects that help to promote and protect human rights, as presented in previous chapter, makes it clear that the NGOs focus on human rights in their peace work.

Democracy is valued as very important when building peace. It seems as if one cannot talk about peace without talking about democracy. Democracy and democratic structures does not only provide the society with important human rights, it also is a contributor to making peace

sustainable. Hugh Miall has through his model on four paths of conflicts shown how democratic governance, institutions etc can create peaceful solutions to emerging conflicts within a country and how it also make civil conflict war less likely. Additionally Norberto Bobbio emphasized that peace is pursued through democracy, and through democratization human rights are protected. This is something the Norwegian actors agree on and has focused on when working towards peace in Sudan. All underline that democracy is a contributor to peace in Sudan. However, democracy is not sufficient and for human rights to be fully protected in a society after a conflict it is necessary that civil society and people on the ground are empowered and supported. This is also important in order to ensure that a new violent conflict does not escalate. Ife emphasized how both peace and human rights needed to be built from below into the communities and people. During the efforts of creating peace in Sudan, Norway and the MFA played their most important part during the negotiations and before the signing of the CPA. They have however in the aftermath arranged conferences that included civil society and women's groups. The informants from MFA also told me that they were very engaged in ensuring that the CPA concerned important human rights. This would make peace more sustainable. However, once again it seems as if the NGOs are more focused on this problem than the MFA. The informants from NCA and the NPA said that the civil society is very important in order for peace to be sustainable in Sudan. Both of the NGOs run and support projects that are empowering the role of civil society actors, which again will build a culture of human rights. The two NGOs also share the opinion that it is important that civil society and the people on the ground are equipped with knowledge, tools, and information etc to continue doing the work the NGOs does when the NGOs withdraw from the country. Peace is built from below, and the Sudanese people then may continue building peace and ensuring that people get their human rights.

On this background one might say that my hypothesis is to some degree confirmed. There are visible differences between the peace processes driven by the Norwegian government and the ones driven by the NGOs. The differences are, however, clearer between the MD and the NGOs, where the former does not seem to be focused on building positive peace, whereas the latter is focusing more on human rights, end of structural violence etc in order to make peace sustainable. The MFA on the other hand may be put in an intermediate position where it has a broader focus than just to end the war and sign the peace agreement, but still it does not focus as much on human rights and positive peace as the NGOs do.

7. Conclusion

Human rights are important for peace to be sustainable. These two concepts are mutually dependent. A country that experience human rights violations will not be peaceful, at least not in a positive peace way. Peace and human rights are necessary for each other, and a peace without human rights could be considered a weak peace. Norway is a nation that is engaged in solving many conflicts around the world. It was therefore of interest to see how different Norwegian actors focused on human rights when working towards peace. Sudan is a country with a broad Norwegian engagement, and Norwegian actors have played an important part during the negotiations that led to the peace agreement in 2005 and in the post-war period. The interest then turned to how the human rights focus were in these peace operations. My aim in this thesis was therefore to answer the following research question: *How do the different Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace between Northern and Southern Sudan?*

Before I started my research I hoped to find out if human rights are important in peace processes or if they are “forgotten” due to too much focus on negotiations and efforts on stopping the fighting and the direct violence. In addition to my research question I aimed to see if there were any differences between the Norwegian actors, how they focused on peace and which approaches they took when they where building peace in Sudan. All the actors said that human rights are important and that they take human rights into consideration when they are working for peace in Sudan. There were, however, differences in where their focus was. The two ministries seem to put their focus on the state level and the ones in power and making sure that they promote and protect human rights. The two NGOs, on the other hand, the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) and the Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA), are working more to support human rights directly, and they therefore have projects that concern human rights, and are building human rights on the ground. This is, as demonstrated by Ife, creating a more sustainable peace and protection of human rights.

A common understanding between all the actors is that democracy is important for peace and human rights. All the Norwegian actors said that implementation of democracy and democratic structures in Sudan will be a major contributor to peace in the country. It seems, however, that the MFA is more focused on democracy and the democratic rights the CPA

provides, whereas the NGOs, who also see this as important, value other things such as civil society and socio-economic rights as just as or even more important.

There are also differences in the Norwegian actors' focus on peace. As demonstrated in my hypothesis, before I started my research I assumed that the Norwegian government was more focused on settling disputes and ending the direct fighting (negative peace) whereas the NGOs were more focused on other things such as human rights (positive peace). These presumptions were to some extent correct, where the MD's focus is mainly on preventing the fighting and ensuring that the peace is kept. The MFA, on the other hand, seems to have a more positive peace approach, where they see the end of the fighting between the two warring parties as important for peace, they acknowledge and work on other issues to build the peace, and to make it sustainable. The NGOs, on the other hand, have an even more positive peace approach, and they are the ones that agree most with Galtung's thoughts about that in order for peace to be true in a society, human rights must be protected and structural violence need to be at a minimum or eliminated. They are also focusing more on empowering civil-society and building peace from below.

Out of this one sees that all the Norwegian actors focus on human rights in their work towards peace in Northern and Southern Sudan. The differences between the actors are, then, not *if* they focus on human rights or not, but *how* they focus on them. The Norwegian government focuses more on human rights at the state level, where they see the importance of creating a government and authorities that can ensure that human rights are protected and respected. Despite the informants' statements on the importance of socio-economic rights, they seem to focus more on civil-political rights, such as democracy, self-determination etc. The NGOs on the other hand see the importance of building peace and protecting human rights, in particular socio-economic rights at the ground level. They work on creating and supporting actors on the ground that can protect and develop human rights and peace.

The different Norwegian actors play different roles in the peace processes in Sudan. It is not possible to say that one role is more important than the other. The actors are set out to complete different missions and peace needs to be built on different levels. As seen in Chapter 2.2.1 the Norwegian authorities and the Norwegian NGOs have a close relationship and there is collaboration between them. These close relations the Norwegian state and the Norwegian NGOs have may explain and in some way legitimize the different ways of working in Sudan.

The NGOs stand freer to operate as they want, whereas the MFA and the Norwegian government need to act more carefully and impartially. The result then may be that the NGOs are more engaged in projects that aim to empower civil society, people on the ground, focus on human rights etc. The MFA on the other hand need to act more cautiously, focus more on the leaders in conflict and often have good relations to both sides of the conflict. The close relations may then act as a means to do Norwegian foreign policy through the NGOs. The financial support the NGOs get from the state signifies that the state supports and backs the work done by the NGOs, but at the same time shows that they are not the ones who work actively on it. One might then assume that these close relations make it unnecessary for both the state and the NGOs to work so much in the same area. And they can then focus on different areas when building peace in Sudan.

Before I started my research I had some presumptions about the differences between the Norwegian government and the NGOs. I thought that the NGOs were engaged in the conflict out of sincerity to help and provide humanitarian assistance, and therefore were more focused on human rights. The government, on the other hand, was more engaged because of underlying reasons such as status and international acknowledgement. It seems, however, that my assumptions were wrong, and that the differences are mostly based on the fact that the actors have different roles and different tasks in the peace processes.

7.1 Suggestion for further studies

There are several things in this area that can be of interest to study. My focus has been on how the Norwegian actors see themselves and their role. It could be of interest to see how the people in Sudan have experienced the work done by Norwegian actors, and how they feel the human rights situation has changed, or not, after Norwegian engagement. These studies might discover different findings than mine, and other things might become more clearly or be seen in other perspectives. This might also get a more objective perspective than my studies does. It could also be of interest to compare the peace processes in Sudan with a peace process in another country in example Sri Lanka or at the Balkans. A comparison of two peace processes could help to see if the findings I have found, such as the differences between the actors, are the same in all cases or just in the case of Sudan. It could also discover if the Norwegian actors have common approaches in all the processes they carry out, or if each country is unique.

7.2 Last considerations

Norway has played an important role when creating and building peace in Sudan, in particular in Southern Sudan. After the signing of the CPA in 2005 the human rights conditions have improved in the country. It is better than it used to be, but could still be improved. Southern Sudan has gotten several of the things they claimed and some things seem to come into order in the country. Although, in Darfur several people still experience severe human rights abuses. The international society is starting to react on this and the Sudanese president, Omar al-Bashir, was in March 2009 charged of war crimes and crimes against humanity from the International Criminal Court in The Hague. While some might argue that this charge is a good thing, others fear, among them the Norwegian government, that this will complicate the peace negotiations, and create more tensions between the North and the South. As a response to these charges the president has expelled ten of the largest international aid agencies from the North (Planz, 2009; Rustad, 2009). This is just one of the many problems that Sudan still experience. There are still disputes over the border between the North and the South. It is said that these disputes are because of North refusing to give away some important oil resources. The election that was scheduled to be held in summer 2009 has now been rescheduled to February 2010. This delay might create more tensions, and if it continues it is possible to assume the new conflicts will arise. The democratic principles of CPA are important, and it is therefore important that they are observed and followed. This is something the Norwegian actors and the international society need to focus on and put pressure on. Sadly the grave and important situation in Southern Sudan has almost been “forgotten” in the media and in international relations. It is important, in particular in the time before and during the election and referendum, that these problems are put on the agenda. Human rights cannot be forgotten, and it is therefore important that the attention is put on this. I would then like to end my master thesis with a quote about the importance of human rights.

"All human beings, whatever their cultural or historical background, suffer when they are intimidated, imprisoned or tortured . . . We must, therefore, insist on a global consensus, not only on the need to respect human rights worldwide, but also on the definition of these rights . . . for it is the inherent nature of all human beings to yearn for freedom, equality and dignity, and they have an equal right to achieve that."

-The Dalai Lama

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Appendix 1

List of written empirical data

Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

- Annual Report on Norway's Efforts to Promote Human Rights from 2004/2005
- Strategic framework - The Contribution of Development Policy to Peace building: Norway's role

Norwegian Church Aid

- Norwegian Church Aid's 10 point political platform (Kirkens Nødhjelps 10 punkts politiske platform)
- Country Programme Plan on Sudan

Norwegian People's Aid

- Norwegian People's Aid's principles and values – 2007-2011 (Norsk Folkehjelps prinsipper og verdigrunnlag – 2007-2011)
- NPA South Sudan Strategy 2008-2011

Appendix 2

Presentation of the Norwegian actors

Ministry of Defence:

The Ministry of Defence is a Government Office responsible for the formation and implementation of Norwegian security and defence policy. When participating in international operations the ministry's tasks include participation, together with their allies, in multinational operations and international defence collaboration designed to prevent the onset of an acute crisis through the appropriate deployment of forces. Since 1947 Norway has contributed military personnel to over 40 international operations abroad. After the signing of the peace agreement CPA in 2005, Norway has contributed with soldiers to the UN led operation UNMIS.

(Information gathered from the Ministry of Defence's official website:

<http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/fd.html?id=380>)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a Government Office responsible for working out Norway's interest internationally, to safeguard the country's freedom, security and prosperity. The ministry also works to promote peace and security, an international legal system, an economically just world order and sustainable development. It is also of interest to finding a solution to issues of this kind. Since the beginning of the 1990s Norway has played an important role as a facilitator in a number of peace and reconciliation processes. During the negotiations that led to the CPA, Norway played an important and central role as a facilitator between the parties. The MFA has also shown a large engagement towards Sudan in the aftermath of the signing.

(Information gathered from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' official website:

<http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud.html?id=833>)

Norwegian Church Aid:

Norwegian Church Aid is a voluntary, ecumenical organization that works to promote the basic rights of human beings. The organization supports those who need it most, irrespective of gender, political conviction, religion and ethnic origin. It takes a broad approach to its development, advocacy and emergency activities. Norwegian Church Aid has a focus on seven thematic fields: peace and reconciliation, accountable governance, HIV and AIDS, gender-based violence, climate change, indigenous people, and water, sanitation and hygiene. Norwegian Church Aid is a non-political organization that works for that all human beings can have their basic human rights. The organization has worked in Sudan since 1972, and the Sudan-program is its biggest land program.

(Information gathered from Norwegian Church Aid's official website:

<http://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/no/>)

Norwegian People's Aid:

Norwegian People's Aid is a solidarity organization that support people in their fights towards more power, more influence of own lives and in society development. Internationally, Norwegian Peoples Aid is engaged in more than 30 countries, where local competence is the key word for all of their commitments. The work of the organization has four pillars: work against oppression, poverty and unfair distribution of resources; fighting racism and discrimination; working for gender equality, and against violence and abuse; and prevention, promoting voluntarism and building competence. Norwegian People's Aid has been engaged

in Southern Sudan since 1986. Norwegian People's Aid is not a neutral actor. It is a political organization that takes a stand in conflicts. In Sudan they took a stand to support the Southern Sudanese people in their fights for justice, and therefore chose to only provide aid to this side of the conflict.

(Information gathered from Norwegian People's Aid official website:

<http://www.folkehjelp.no/>)

Appendix 3

Informasjonsbrev

Prosjektet: ”Menneskerettigheters rolle i norsk fredsarbeid i Sudan”

Jeg er en masterstudent ved ”Master in Peace and Conflict Transformation” ved Universitetet i Tromsø som skal gjennomføre et masterprosjekt om norsk fredsarbeid i Sudan, og se på menneskerettigheters rolle i dette arbeidet. Grunnen til at jeg forsker på problemstillingen er at jeg synes det er et interessant tema som jeg gjerne vil vite mer om. Norge spiller en aktiv rolle i fredsarbeid rundt om i verden, både gjennom fredsstyrker og hjelpeorganisasjoner. Menneskerettigheter er viktig for å oppnå fred, og jeg vil derfor se på hvilken rolle de spiller når norske aktører arbeider med fred. Grunnen til at jeg vil fokusere på Sudan er at det er et av de landene som mottar mest hjelp fra Norge, og det er et land som fortsatt er i konflikt, til tross for arbeid for fred og signering av fredsavtaler. I mitt prosjekt vil jeg i hovedsak fokusere på konflikten mellom Nord og Sør Sudan.

Intervjuene vil bli tatt opp på lydband dersom du ikke har noe imot det. Dersom det ønskes vil opplysningene bli anonymisert når de skrives ned fra lydbandet. Anonymisering innebærer at kopling mellom navn og lydbandopptak blir makulert ved prosjektets slutt i juni 2009.

Lydbandene vil bli oppbevart nedlåst og separert fra samtykkeerklæringene. Siden dette er et studentprosjekt vil opplysningene være tilgjengelige for veileder og sensor. Alle opplysninger jeg får vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. De som inngår i prosjektet og har tilgang til dataene har taushetsplikt med hensyn til det som kommer fram i intervjuene. Enkeltpersoner som er intervjuet vil ikke være gjenkjennbare med mindre det er gitt eksplisitt tillatelse til det fra intervjupersonene.

Prosjektet er meldt til og godkjent av Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet, og du kan trekke deg fra prosjektet når som helst uten å oppgi noen grunn.

Ansvarlig for prosjektet er:

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Appendix 4

Erklæring om samtykke

Jeg har mottatt skriftlig og muntlig informasjon og har lest informasjonsbrevet om prosjektet ”Menneskerettigheters rolle i norsk fredsarbeid i Sudan”. Med dette samtykker jeg til å bli intervjuet.

Tromsø/ Oslo

Dato:

.....

(underskrift)

Denne erklæringen om samtykke vil bli levert til veileder og oppbevart forsvarlig atskilt fra intervjuene.

Appendix 5

Erklæring om samtykke

Jeg har mottatt skriftlig og muntlig informasjon og har lest informasjonsbrevet om prosjektet ”Menneskerettigheters rolle i norsk fredsarbeid i Sudan”. Med dette samtykker jeg til å bli intervjuet og at mitt fulle navn og/ eller stilling kan benyttes i masteroppgaven.

Tromsø/ Oslo

Dato:

.....

(underskrift)

Denne erklæringen om samtykke vil bli levert til veileder og oppbevart forsvarlig atskilt fra intervjuene.

Appendix 6

INTERVJUGUIDE TIL PERSONER I UTENRIKSDEPARTEMENTET

- Kan du fortelle litt om din rolle i Utenriksdepartementet? Hvordan er denne rollen knyttet til arbeidet i Sudan?
- Hva vil du si er kjennetegnene for fredsarbeid drevet av Utenriksdepartementet? Hva er hovedfokuset?
- Er det noen spesielle strategier som brukes i fredsarbeid? Er disse like på alle områder?
- Hva er ”kriteriene” for at U.D trer inn i et land med konflikt?
- Hvordan vil du definere ”fred”? Når vil U.D fastslå at partene i en konflikt har kommet frem til en fredelig løsning?
- Hvordan vektlegges respekt for menneskerettigheter når det skal inngås fredsavtaler?
- Hvilken rolle tar U.D i konfliktene? Partisk? Nøytral? Hvilken rolle mellom partene i Sudan?

- Hvor lenge har U.D arbeidet i Sudan med konflikten mellom nord og sør?
- Hvilke områder i konflikten engasjerer Norge seg i?
- Hvordan foregikk arbeidet for fred mellom partene?
- Hvilke forandringer har skjedd i Sudan etter at Norge engasjerte seg i konflikten mellom Nord og Sør?”
- Hvilke reaksjoner har oppstått i Sudan etter Norges arbeid?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive forholdet mellom den norske stat og de ulike NGOer som arbeider i Sudan? Har dere ulike roller i fredsarbeidet? Spiller for eksempel U.D en større rolle i våpenhvileavtaler, mens NGO fokuserer på menneskerettigheter?

- Hvordan foregikk prosessen med å utarbeide CPA?
 - o Hvem deltok?
 - o Hvilken rolle spilte Norge i utformingen?
 - o Vil du si at avtalen har vært suksessfull?
- Hvilken rolle har kvinner etter CPA? Er kvinners rolle i Sudan forandret etter signeringen?
- Har du noen kommentarer til at CPA er blitt kaldt en ”kjønns-blind” avtale?

- Hvordan vil du beskrive situasjonen mellom Nord og Sør i dag?

Tilleggs spørsmål dersom det blir tid til det:

- *Hva vil du si er styrker ved Norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hva vil du si er svakheter ved Norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hvilken betydning har det at Norge deltar i fredsprosesser?*
 - *Internt i landet det er i?*
 - *Internasjonalt?*
- *Hvordan rolle spiller FN for norsk fredspolitik?*
- *Hvordan stiller U.D seg til de stadige bruddene på menneskerettigheter som rapporteres? Eks angrep på personer som ønsket å returnere hjem for å registrere seg til valget, eller seksuell vold som voldtekt.*

Appendix 7

INTERVJUGUIDE TIL PERSONER I FORSVARSDEPARTEMENTET

- Kan du fortelle litt om din rolle i Forsvarsdepartementet? Hvordan er denne rollen knyttet til arbeidet i Sudan?
- Hva vil du si er kjennetegnene for fredsarbeid drevet av Forsvarsdepartementet? Hva er hovedfokuset?
- Er det noen spesielle strategier som brukes i fredsarbeid? Er disse like på alle områder?
- Hvilken rolle spiller FN i norsk forsvarspolitik?
- Hva er ”kriteriene” for at Forsvarsdepartementet trer inn i et land med konflikt?
- Hvordan vil du definere ”fred”? Når vil Forsvarsdepartementet fastslå at partene i en konflikt har kommet frem til en fredelig løsning? Når trekkes styrkene ut?
- Hvordan vektlegges respekt for menneskerettigheter når det arbeides for fred?
- Hvilken rolle tar Forsvarsdepartementet i konfliktene? Partisk? Nøytral? Hvilken rolle mellom partene i Sudan?

- Hvor lenge har Forsvarsdepartementet arbeidet i Sudan med konflikten mellom nord og sør?
- Hvilke områder i konflikten engasjerer Norge seg i?
- Hvordan har arbeidet for fred mellom partene foregått?
- Hvilke forandringer har skjedd i Sudan etter at Norge engasjerte seg i konflikten mellom Nord og Sør?
- Hvilke reaksjoner har oppstått i Sudan etter Norges arbeid?
- Vil du si at fredsarbeidet i Sudan som norske styrker har deltatt i har lyktes?
 - o Hvorfor? / Hvorfor ikke?

- Hvordan vil du beskrive forholdet mellom stat og NGO? Har dere ulike roller i fredsarbeidet? Spiller for eksempel Forsvarsdepartementet en større rolle i våpenhvileavtaler, mens NGO fokuserer mer på menneskerettigheter?

Tilleggs spørsmål dersom det blir tid til det:

- *Hva vil du si er styrker ved Norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hva vil du si er svakheter ved Norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hvilken betydning har det at Norge deltar i fredsoperasjoner?*
 - *Internt i landet det er i?*
 - *Internasjonalt?*
- *Hvordan stiller Forsvarsdepartementet seg til de stadige bruddene på menneskerettigheter som rapporteres? Eks angrep på personer som ønsket å returnere hjem for å registrere seg til valget, eller seksuell vold som voldtekt?*

Appendix 8

INTERVJUGUIDE TIL PERSONER I KIRKENS NØDHJELP

- Kan du fortelle litt om din rolle i Kirkens Nødhjelp? Hvordan er denne rollen knyttet til arbeidet i Sudan?
- Et av temaene Kirkens Nødhjelp jobber med er fredsarbeid. På hvilken måte arbeider Kirkens Nødhjelp med dette?
- Hva er ”kriteriene” for at Kirkens Nødhjelp trer inn i et område?
- Er det noen spesielle strategier som brukes i fredsarbeid? Er disse like på alle områder?
- Hvordan vil du definere fred? Når vil Kirkens Nødhjelp fastslå at et samfunn er fredelig?
- Hvilken rolle spiller menneskerettigheter i Kirkens Nødhjelps arbeid for fred?
- Hvilken rolle tar Kirkens Nødhjelp i konfliktene? Nøytral? Partisk? Hvilken rolle mellom partene i Sudan?

- Hvor lenge har Kirkens Nødhjelp arbeidet i Sudan med konflikten mellom nord og sør?
- Hvilke områder i Sudan engasjerer Kirkens Nødhjelp seg i?
- Hvordan foregår arbeidet for et mer fredelig samfunn i Sudan?

- Er Kirkens Nødhjelps arbeid i et område påvirket av norsk politikk?
- Vil du si at det er noen konkrete forskjeller mellom fredsarbeid i Sudan drevet av statlige aktører og Kirkens Nødhjelp?
- Er det områder hvor du kan si at Kirkens Nødhjelp har vært mer fokusert på menneskerettigheter enn hva de statlige representantene har?

- Hvilke reaksjoner har oppstått i Sudan etter Kirkens Nødhjelps arbeid?
- Hvilke forandringer har skjedd i Sudan etter at Kirkens Nødhjelp engasjerte seg i konflikten mellom Nord og Sør?
- Hvordan vil du si situasjonen med brudd på menneskerettigheter er nå kontra før Kirkens Nødhjelp startet sitt arbeid?

Tilleggs spørsmål dersom det blir tid for det:

- *Hva vil du si er styrker ved norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hva vil du si er svakheter ved norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hvilken betydning har det at Norge og norske organisasjoner deltar i fredsprosesser?*
 - o *Internt i landet det er i?*
 - o *Internasjonalt?*
- *Hvordan stiller Kirkens Nødhjelp seg til de stadige bruddene på menneskerettigheter som rapporteres? Eks angrep på personer som ønsket å returnere hjem for å registrere seg til valget, seksuell vold etc?*

Appendix 9

INTERVJUGUIDE TIL PERSONER I NORSK FOLKEHJELP

- Kan du fortelle litt om din rolle i Norsk Folkehjelp? Hvordan er denne rollen knyttet til arbeidet i Sudan?
- Hvordan blir Norsk Folkehjelp involvert i freds skapende arbeid? Hvordan henger dette sammen med organisasjonens primære oppgaver?
- Er det noen spesielle strategier som brukes i Norsk Folkehjelps arbeid? Er disse like på alle områder Norsk Folkehjelp arbeider i?
- Hva er kriteriene for at Norsk Folkehjelp trer inn i et område?
- Hvordan vil du definere "fred"? Når vil Norsk Folkehjelp fastslå at et samfunn er fredelig?
- Hvordan rolle spiller menneskerettigheter i Norsk Folkehjelps arbeid for fred?
- Hvilken rolle tar Norsk Folkehjelp i konfliktene? Partisk? Nøytral? Hvilken rolle mellom partene i Sudan?

- Hvor lenge har Norsk Folkehjelp arbeidet i Sudan med konflikten mellom nord og sør?
- Hvilke områder i Sudan engasjerer Norsk Folkehjelp seg i?
- Hvordan foregår arbeidet for et mer fredelig samfunn i Sudan?

- Er Norsk Folkehjelps arbeid i et område påvirket av norsk politikk?
- Vil du si at det er noen konkrete forskjeller mellom fredsarbeid i Sudan drevet av statlige aktører og Norsk Folkehjelp?
- Er det områder hvor du kan si at Norsk Folkehjelp har vært mer fokusert på menneskerettigheter enn hva de statlige representantene har?

- Hvilke reaksjoner har oppstått i Sudan etter Norsk Folkehjelps arbeid?
- Hvilke forandringer har skjedd i Sudan etter at Norsk Folkehjelp engasjerte seg i konflikten mellom Nord og Sør?
- Hvordan vil du si situasjonen med brudd på menneskerettigheter er nå kontra før Norsk Folkehjelp startet sitt arbeid?

Tilleggs spørsmål dersom det blir tid til det:

- *Hva vil du si er styrker ved norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hva vil du si er svakheter ved norsk fredsarbeid?*
- *Hvilken betydning har det at Norge og norske organisasjoner deltar i fredsprosesser?*
 - *Internt i landet det er i?*
 - *Internasjonalt?*
- *Hvordan stiller Norsk Folkehjelp seg til de stadige bruddene på menneskerettigheter som rapporteres? Eks angrep på personer som ønsket å returnere hjem for å registrere seg til valget, seksuell vold etc?*