Pontifícia Universidade Católica
do Rio de Janeiro

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Peace discourse in Norwegian foreign policy: an analysis of Norway's identity representations in peace facilitation and war engagements

Dissertação de Mestrado

Dissertation presented to the Programa de Pósgraduação em Informática of PUC-Rio in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Mestre em Relações Internacionais

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Rio de Janeiro
February 2019

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Bibliographic data

Neubern, Natalia Duarte

Peace discourse in Norwegian foreign policy : an analysis of Norway's identity representations in peace facilitation and war engagements / Natalia Duarte Neubern ; advisor: Maíra Siman Gomes ; co-advisor: Erica Simone Almeida Resende. – 2019.
181 f. : il. color. ; 30 cm

Dissertação (mestrado)–Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Instituto de Relações Internacionais, 2019.
Inclui bibliografia
1. Relações Internacionais – Teses. 2. Paz. 3. Noruega. 4. Discurso. 5. Identidade. 6. Política externa. I. Gomes, Maíra Siman. II. Resende, Erica Simone Almeida. III. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro. Instituto de Relações Internacionais. IV. Título.

CDD: 327

To Fabro, moving power of this achievement

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I deeply thank Maíra Siman Gomes, who, beyond being my supervisor, has been my tightest bond to this department from the very start of my master's degree journey. As a tutor that guides and advises my academic achievements with in-depth and inspiring problematizations, she has proved to be the perfect match to supervise me even before I ventured into this object. I appreciate that, even in between pregnancy sickness, she has had the guts to follow my prolific yet sometimes prolix lines. I hope her son Gabriel will not give her so much work as I gave to her. Maíra is, like her grandfather says, a "double-fiber" woman and an intellectual I deeply appreciate.

I am truly grateful for the support of my co-supervisor, Erica Simone Resende, who granted me with core contributions on conceptual framings that guided my research along with useful literature and methods. Not least, I appreciate having had the opportunity to count on her enrichening perspectives on recent states and, most importantly, I must credit to her the insight of floating signifier to the case of Norway based on what I had written. Like she said, and like the saying goes (and with due modesty), "great minds think alike". Erica definitely was a master mind in nailing down my object from the qualification phase.

I thank Marta Fernández for her inspiring insights during my qualification, such as Norway's institutional transparency.

This study was financed in part by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - CAPES - Código de Financiamento 001

My recognition also goes to Kai Kenkel, who gave me the opportunity to learn with such a challenging teaching experience.

I truly appreciate Lia Gonzalez, for all the practical support.

The whole degree would not have been possible if it were not for Consul General of Norway in Rio de Janeiro Sissel Hodne Steen, who came up with a flexibilization of my work hours so that I could attend classes. I consequently thank my colleagues of the Consulate General, who understood it and adapted to our small team's new

routine. I equally thank the Consulate General for the support in my learning of the Norwegian language.

I owe many learnings to Peace Research Institute of Oslo and to the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. In PRIO, my especial thanks go to Kendra Dupuy and to Ida Roland Birkvad. In NUPI, I thank Morten Skumsrud Andersen and Halvard Leira for having granted me such enlightening hours of fruitful talk.

I am also indebted to my "peace research gang", my network of peace scholars around the world, especially to Hayk Smbatyan, whom I met in the International Summer School in Oslo and with whom I share not only the passion for Norway but also the interest in the concept of facilitation and identity.

I equally thank my host family in Trondheim during ISFIT, and acknowledge contributions that ensued from a very insightful talk with Trine Galloway and Andrew McCain.

I thank my closest Norwegian friends, for every exchange that inspired me to nail down Norway's identity representation. My special thanks go to Helena Jaswik Tveerabak, Kine Flaaten, Tina Malén Andersen, Rolv Haakon Valle, Tore Næss, and Nancy Rotenberg.

I thank my parents, Cíntia and Victor, for always having given me credence and caring. This is the most difficult expression of gratitude, as they are my two top jewels in life.

Last but not least, I thank my partner Fabro Steibel, for always having encouraged me to achieve what I feared to be inconceivable. Fabro is the driving force for many of my leaps forward in the past years. Sharing life with this great man is a trustworthy source of mutual learning, support, admiration, confidence, plenitude, and growth, in a "win-win" relationship. Thank you for being "all ears" and "hands on" for this academic endeavour to become true.

Abstract

Neubern, Natalia Duarte; Gomes, Maíra Siman (Advisor); Resende, Erica Simone Almeida (Co-advisor). **Peace discourse in Norwegian foreign policy: an analysis of Norway's identity representations in peace facilitation and war engagements**. Rio de Janeiro, 2019, 181p. Dissertação de Mestrado - Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

Historically, Norway has produced itself as a facilitator or a bridge builder between conflicting parties, thereby having achieved the ability to capitalize on the society's belief that Norway is a 'peace nation'. The existence of the so-called 'Norwegian Model' forms a paramount of a new public diplomacy, wherein domestic civil society remains both an audience and a driver of state public diplomacy efforts. At the same time, since the 1990s, Norway has increased its presence in military interventions abroad (mainly in Kosovo, in 1998, in Afghanistan, in 2001, in Iraq, in 2003, and in Libya, in 2011), an intense warfare that has not derailed the notion that other European countries are bellicose whereas Norway is constructed as peaceful. More recent articulations on the Norwegian military warfare in face of its peace identity representation reveal that Norway has achieved so much credence with its peace tradition that the country can purposively undertakes what has been called "peace trough war". The extant literature on the evolution of the Norwegian Foreign Policy on Peace and Reconciliation unveils that peace has been an organizing concept for foreign action, being attached to defence, neutrality, engagement, development, human rights, environment, and even to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. By drawing on the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985), this thesis discusses how, in the context of Norwegian public diplomacy efforts, "peace" has acted as a floating signifier that gives meaning and legitimizes foreign policy options such as conflict facilitations and military interventions. As a result, this thesis brackets the year of 2011 as the context of a triple "coincidence": Norway's conduct of preparatory facilitative talks in Colombia, the bombing of Libya and Norway's domestic terrorist attack. With this in mind, this thesis aims to unpack and understand how Norway has represented

itself discursively as a “peace nation” and how peace, as a floating signifier, has allowed the country to engage in both peaceful and warful practices.

Keywords

Peace; Norway; discourse; identity; foreign policy.

Resumo

Neubern, Natalia Duarte; Gomes, Maíra Siman (Orientadora); Resende, Erica Simone Almeida (Co-orientadora). **Discurso de paz na política externa norueguesa: análise das representações de identidade da Noruega na facilitação de paz e nos engajamentos de guerra**. Rio de Janeiro, 2019, 181p. Dissertação de Mestrado - Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

A Noruega tem historicamente assumido o papel de facilitadora ou de intermediadora entre partes em conflito, de modo que alcançou a capacidade de capitalizar a crença, na sociedade, de que é uma "nação da paz". A existência do chamado "Modelo Norueguês" constitui uma prioridade de uma nova diplomacia pública, em que a sociedade civil doméstica continua a ser tanto audiência quanto guia dos esforços da diplomacia pública do Estado. Ao mesmo tempo, desde a década de 1990, a Noruega aumentou sua presença em intervenções militares no exterior (principalmente no Kosovo, em 1998, no Afeganistão, em 2001, no Iraque, em 2003, e na Líbia, em 2011), em um intenso ativismo militar que não pôs em xeque a noção de que outros países europeus são belicosos enquanto a Noruega é construída como pacífica. Articulações mais recentes sobre a guerra militar norueguesa em face de sua representação de identidade de paz revelam que a Noruega alcançou tamanha credibilidade graças à sua tradição de paz, que o país pode propositalmente empreender o que tem sido chamado de “guerra pela paz”. A literatura existente sobre a evolução da Política Externa Norueguesa sobre Paz e Reconciliação revela que a paz tem sido um conceito organizador para a ação externa, vinculada a defesa, neutralidade, engajamento, desenvolvimento, direitos humanos, meio ambiente e até mesmo à Organização do Tratado do Atlântico Norte. Com base no trabalho de Ernesto Laclau e de Chantal Mouffe (1985), a presente dissertação discute como, no contexto dos esforços da diplomacia pública norueguesa, a “paz” tem funcionado como um significante flutuante que dá significado e legitima opções de política externa, como facilitação de conflitos e intervenções militares. Como resultado, esta dissertação recorta o ano de 2011 como o contexto de uma tripla “coincidência”: a conduta da Noruega de conversações preparatórias facilitadoras na Colômbia, o bombardeio da Líbia e o

ataque terrorista doméstico na Noruega. Com isso em mente, este trabalho tem como objetivo descompactar e entender como a Noruega se representou discursivamente como uma “nação da paz” e como a paz, como um significante flutuante, permitiu que o país se envolvesse em práticas pacíficas e militares.

Palavras-chave

Paz; Noruega; discurso; identidade; política externa.

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1.
Introduction

> "*The interesting thing for the change in Norwegian identity since the beginning of the 1990s is that Norway has gone to war three times (Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq), but this intense warfare has not derailed the notion that (other) European countries are bellicose whereas Norway is peaceful. Despite a decade of continuous warfare, the fact that Norway is in war is still understood as exceptional, when other European States being in war is perceived as natural. They are war states*" (ERIKSEN & NEUMANN, 2011; p. 12, *my translation*).
>
> "*Norway is at a crossroads. The country is divided between supporting the international crusade against terrorism and demonstrating neutrality in peace negotiations where one party is deemed terrorist*" (HELGESEN, V., 2012, *my translation*).
>
> "*The last two decades have also seen increased Norwegian participation in offensive military actions, couched at least partly in terms of peace. That the Norwegian attachment to peace remains strong while still allowing for support to military action suggests both that the Norwegian self-understanding as a peace nation is deeply rooted and that it allows for a self-righteous understanding of 'peace through war'*" (LEIRA. 2013, abstract).

Any discourse analysis on Foreign Policy is incomplete without an assessment of a state's identity. In this research, I chose to address Norway's official Foreign Policy, with capital letters, basing myself on David Campbell's (1998) differentiation against foreign policy in the broader sense, written in small letters. Notwithstanding my focus on the public discourses as official enunciations by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs conforming its Public Diplomacy, I do relate those addresses to debates within the larger scope of Norwegian society, particularly through some of the country's media and literature. I deem this intersection inevitable to enrich my research since Foreign Policy, in its institutional format, adopts available collective social practices and stabilizes both internal and external disturbances of the self with official deeds, whereas foreign policy is the social instantiation that produces meanings. These meanings, in turn, provide the "the grid of intelligibility" (MILLIKEN, 1999, DOTY, 1993**)**, *i.e.* the discursive economy that informs Diplomacy's decisions.

Borrowing Stuart Hall's (2000) conception of "discourse on Englishness" and Erica Resende's (2012) conception of "discourse on Americaness", I intend to explore a

related “discourse on Norwegianess”, wherein the Norwegian Public Diplomacy both disturbs and stabilizes meanings in circulation within society, and both Foreign Policy and foreign policy encompass debates on a self-image of peace. I thus assume that the narratives on “Norwegianess” comprise understandings on Norway and about Norwegians, which are consumed within Norway and by Norwegians[1]. Such reasoning echoes Campbell’s (1998) emphasis on the inner dimension of foreign policy and on Post-Structuralism’s importance of identity as co-constitutive and enmeshed in foreign policy and discourse.

That said, I draw on Post-Structuralism because I believe in the discursively constructed nature of Norway as a Peace Nation. In seeking to identify signifiers as vague and multi-purpose concepts such as that of peace, which not only acts as a “floating signifier” (LACLAU & MOUFFE, 1985) but equally serves as “vehicles” (WÆVER, 2002; p. 24) for the production of identity, I have, along the road of this research, bumped into events in Norway’s history that are coincidental in time. However, and not least intriguing, they may not have taken place out of sheer coincidences in a haphazard fate. As I will present in the second chapter, 2011 was a year of triple “coincidences” that might reveal some “conceptual links” (NABERS, 2009) between events and foreign policy: Norway started preparatory followed by exploratory talks between the FARCs and the Colombian government while, although also secretly dialoguing with Muammar al-Gadaffi, the Norwegian government deliberated the bombing of Libya within NATO’s campaign. The Parliament’s decision allegedly pondered instantaneous messages and pressure

[1] Having worked in a Norwegian environment with Norwegian people for roughly three and a half years now, I must convey that what strikes me the most is Norwegians’ distinct patriotism. This stands even more significantly once we compare Sweden’s not so evident patriotic marks such as national festivities and flags. By contrast, Norway boasts national flags on almost every construction, and the Norwegian National Day – which celebrates not the independence from Sweden but rather the day of Norway’s first and only Constitution, in 1814 – is among the best day of many Norwegians’ lives. As I say this, I must make an important caveat: as a Brazilian, I risk portraying my perceptions on “Norwegianess” in a bit awkward fashion to Norwegians themselves, but the very estrangement of my lenses, not imbedded in Norwegian culture, may also shield itself from biases. To that, I ought to make a disclaimer: even though I work for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a local employee within the Consulate General in Rio de Janeiro, I do not express myself on behalf of the MFA. Additionally, by preserving my ethics and abiding by my secrecy pledge, I took the decision to analyse official public discourses and debates. In doing so, I expect to contribute to a thriving debate on the historical transmutation of Norway’s self-image of peace.

from the then Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg[2], who, I as write these lines, is the current Secretary General to NATO. On that same year of 2011, a terrorist attack took place with a bombing against Norway's government headquarters followed by massive murdering in the island where the Workers' Youth League camped. The presumptions that the attack could have come from Islamists were soon followed by a retractation that caused intense furore and irreparable dismal: the responsible for the attack was a Norwegian. All these events configure a conceptual link that continuously restores the floating signifier of peace even when justifying "peace through war" (LEIRA, 2013) as in Libya or when dealing with anxieties of Norwegians' self-image of peaceful once confronted with the appalling reality of a Norwegian terrorist.

The assessment of how this self-image of peace has allowed such correlations as the ones I just exposed in the synchronic perspective of 2011 requires a diachronic purview stretching back to the very formation of Norway as a state[3]. Norway went through formal occupation by Denmark between 1536 and 1814. Shortly after establishing its own Constitution, in 1814, Norway became a dominion of Sweden due to Denmark's war spoils from the Napoleonic Wars, and only got independent from Sweden in 1905. Thirty-five years later, Norway experienced the Nazi occupation during World War II. Curiously enough, immediately following the demise of WWII, Norway, a country that had pursued neutrality[4] in the period comprising both wars, conducted what I call an "engagement spree", becoming a signatory member of the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the North

[2] While I write these lines, the Norwegian government has conducted a review of Norway's participation in the war in Libya. Illustrative of this effort is the launching of the state commissioned 260-page report *Evaluering Av Norsk Deltakelse I Libyaoperasjonene i 2011*, led by former Foreign Minister Jan Petersen, which concluded that Norway's decision to intervene in Libya was "ill-informed", and debates emphasized the role of SMS exchanges triggering the decision. Most recently, on the 4th of February of 2019, the Parliament called Stoltenberg for a hearing as he was the most insightful person to appraise that decisive moment for Norway to engage in NATO's campaign in Libya. See: http://www.addresslibya.com/en/archives/40827

[3] A synchronic assessment describes a complete system of language and culture at a particular point in time, whereas a diachronic one entails the observation of a sequence of events throughout time. In this research, I delimitate 2011 as the year with triple "coincidences" of Norway's records on peace and war. A genealogical overview of the construction of a peace self-image upon the floating signifier of peace, notwithstanding the limited space here for an in-depth analysis, equally points this research towards a diachronic problematization.

[4] Although Norway declared neutrality on both wars, the country was the breeding ground for a "spy game" during World War I, wherein both Central and Allied Powers undertook intelligence battles, having the Merchant Navy assisted the Allies, to the extent that Norway was dubbed "a neutral ally". See: *https://www.preceden.com/timelines/59651-norway--a-history*

Atlantic Treaty Organization[5], the European Free Trade Association, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and, later, the European Economic Area. How do those changes relate to Norway's underlying attempt to assert itself as a sovereign state through the continuity of a self-framing of peace? Another intriguing aspect stands out once relating events through time: Norway's emergence as a credible facilitator happened thanks to the Oslo Process[6], and the neighbouring context was of uncertainty due to the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The status-seeking drive based on a peace identity predication can ultimately reveal Norway's anxious self-assertion as a sovereign state through a peace nation. Once we look at the short-lived state of Norway in the Twentieth Century and, by contrast, at Norway's self-claimed long-lived nation, one cannot help but assessing contributions on the relation between status seeking and sovereignty such as Brent Steele's (2008) reasoning on ontological security. Status for a small state like Norway depends on certain prestigious foreign policy deeds devoted to ascertaining the country's security of its self-identity. For Brent Steele (ibid) and other authors such as Martha Finnemore (2003, p. 53), even humanitarian actions like the ones that justify interventions carry a moral backdrop that grants credibility and status for the sovereign intervener while relativizing the intervened state's sovereignty.

I therefore contextualize those three apparently unrelated facts to assess how peace has served as a floating signifier to the extent of enabling articulations of Norway's self-righteously making "peace through war" (LEIRA, 2013). In 2011, Norway's self-depiction as a Peace Nation crowned its role as a facilitator between an allegedly terrorist party, the FARCs, and the Colombian government. The Norwegian delegation, couched in this peace narrative, legitimized its facilitative practice at the same time Norway took part of NATO's quite indiscriminate bombing operation upon Libya, which derailed into ousting the equally deemed terrorist Muammar al-Gadaffi. How has Norway naturalized such double stance in a manner that highlights peace in its warfare?

[5] As I will develop further, the internal debate for Norway to become a founding member revolved around a surprising featuring of NATO as "a peace organization" (LEIRA, 2015, p. 37).
[6] The Oslo Process was coined to describe Norway's backchannel in the facilitative talks between Israel and Palestine.

2011 marks the middle ground between the Secret Preparatory Talks[7] and the Secret Exploratory talks[8] of the Colombian Peace Process (NYLANDER; SANDBERG; TVEDT, 2018). Norway's peace engagement in Colombia started during the Caguán negotiations[9] (1998–2002) mostly thanks to the facilitation that Jan Egeland promoted as a member of the Facilitating Commission, who counted with a network of expertise based in Oslo, which ultimately allured the parties into the so-called "Norwegian model"[10] (FABRA-MATA & WILHEMSEN, 2018).

In order to draw a circle around this double-edged self, I heed attention to the fact that, at the same time a delegation of Norway was in Colombia trying to establish some advancements of the peace process, there were Norwegians involved in the military campaign in Libya. The Norwegian involvement in Libya under NATO's auspices followed preceding contributions from Norway in NATO's campaigns in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. The undertaking against Libya, however, makes a dent against this background. When joining the international forces in 1999, Norway did not throw any bomb on Kosovo. The total amount of bombs that Norway dropped in Afghanistan during both the Operation Enduring Freedom and ISAF was only seven. It does come as an awe once we face the numbers for Libya, where Norway deliberately threw 588 bombs (JAKOBSEN, 2013). With regard to the Norwegian contributions to these military operations, Græger contends that these last two decades have seen a crescendo in debate on whether these "military contributions strengthen Norway's position in NATO, towards the United States, and if they weaken Norway's self-image as peace nation, a humanitarian 'superpower' and an international law advocate" (*my translation,* p. 77).

[7] A round of three secret direct talks between the Colombian government and the FARCs took place between March and October 2011 and counted with the participation of delegates from Cuba, Venezuela and Norway. Henry Acosta's easy access to both sides excelled in bringing the parties together alongside a long-standing back channel. See: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Nylander_Sandberg_Tvedt_NOREF%20REPORT_Designing%20peace_the%20Colombian%20peace%20process_Feb18.pdf

[8] The exploratory talks comprised ten negotiating rounds held in Havana, in a governmental site called "El Laguito", which offered installations for both parties and the Norwegian delegation. The Norwegian accommodation, known as "Casa 23", ended up serving as a neutral setting for informal dialogues. This feature of colloquialism in the approach to peace, as I will further describe, portrays Norway's two-track diplomacy.

[9] The Caguán negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARCs began in 1998 in the Colombian Caquetá Department's city of Caguán, having Norway already been involved in efforts for peace in the country as part of the Group of Friends for the negotiations.

[10] The Norwegian Model encompasses peculiarities of Norway's engagement as described in the second chapter.

There is an ample diversity of domestic debates on how Norway's conduction of the bombing against Libya may have stained the picture of peaceful Norway, which reinforces the perception that, no matter how enmeshed into an aura of naturalness, a self is never fully stable. It also reveals that Norway's domestic debate is very self-conscious of what could probably jeopardize its self-image of peace. As such, the campaign in Libya could be an "outcast" event of Norway's history in the sense that it urges to be written out of history so that a peace self can reestablish, although these debates also translate the volatility of peace as a concept, which has "floated" from humanitarianism with Fridtjof Nansen, to neutrality during World War I and II, followed by a peace-development nexus era in which peace was but a subservient element to development, to then evolve into full force with facilitation thanks to the Oslo Process. Although Norway's peace engagements have granted peace a privileged status in Norwegian foreign policy/Foreign Policy, this does not mean it has become a self-standing concept disposing of walking sticks. To the contrary, peace attaches to facilitation, which also unveils a myriad of concepts that Norway discursively attaches to its global playing as peace facilitator: bridge-builder, two track-diplomacy, go-between, niche diplomacy, backchannel, dialogue, engagement and ownership are the common currency of Norwegian public addresses of its Foreign Policy, here deemed as Public Diplomacy. On a superordinate level, too, Norway still describes peace by associating it not only to development but also to human rights, environment, democracy, international law, civilization, wealth, freedom and many other concepts that translate a liberal perspective as Halvard Leira (2013) argues. Leira indeed points to the sheer replacement that peace has suffered in face of a "panoply" of related concepts, which also points to the transmutation towards even allowing Norway to credibly justify "peace through war" according to its own terms, suggesting a (albeit contested) Norwegian way of making peace.

Peace, then, may seem a "one size fits all" signifier. Norway's evolution of peace to the extent of "self-righteously" (LEIRA, 2013) proclaiming "peace through war" is also telling of a quick-fix when, as Erica Resende (2012, p.120-121) says, "the representations and the meanings we employ to render the external reality intelligible fail", "when the language we employ to interpret reality cannot account for changes" (ibid), and "when the attachment of meaning to world based on

national identity" (ibid) collapses. Both the public debates succeeding the campaign in Libya and the domestic terrorist attack in Norway unveiled the necessity to update the floating signifier of peace. Furthermore, just like the Norwegian dominant discourse on peace pitted a more defensive and later neutral approach against strict pacifism in the past, the recent idea that Norway could be at a crossroads (BAMAT, 2012) between facilitating a party deemed terrorist in Colombia and fighting against terrorism in Libya followed by a terrorist attack perpetrated by a Norwegian national urged the updating of peace, which is adaptive to circumstances and narratives in accordance with discursive disputes thanks to its floating movement.

Since the so called Norwegian model comprises, among other features, the placement of "the ultimate responsibility" upon the parties concerned (ibid), I contend in this research project that the Norwegian Peace discourse, by highlighting *ownership* in its facilitation practices, articulates an (unstable) representation of Norway as an impartial, de-politicized and technical expert in peace, thus permitting an annulment of a political stance towards a party referred to as "terrorist" in the Colombian Peace process at the same time the country justifies the bombing on Libya, dubbed as NATO's 'War on Terror' (BROWN, 2006).

This research aims to approach the discursive instantiations of the Norwegian self with some still unexplored emphasis on how the technicity of Norway's peace facilitation interrelates with the disputes on the Norwegian self in face of its anti-terror policies. The peace facilitation in Colombia and the bombing on Libya provide the object to frame this imbroglio given a double coincidence: the "War on Terror" underlying NATO's campaign in Libya and the corollary Norwegian policy of repudiation against terrorism that led Norway to bomb Libya took place at the same time a Norwegian delegation was undertaking exploratory talks to facilitate the Colombian conflict, which required convincing the FARCs, notorious for terrorist acts, that Norway, albeit the bombings, was a credible facilitator.

How did this happen in discourse? One premise we have is that, by overtly preferring facilitation on detriment of mediation, Norway correlates the technical approach of facilitation with ownership, which works towards dissipating any doubt

that Norway legitimizes a party deemed terrorist. Norway has produced itself as a facilitator, or bridge builder between conflicting parties. In this regard, I seek some maneuver room to problematize the notion of "facilitation" in terms of the de-politicization and (supposed) "neutralization" processes it involves and reproduces. In addition to Norway's overstated predilection for a facilitative approach, Norwegian Public Diplomacy addresses ultimately highlight Norway's constructed peace identity over conflicting perspectives towards confronting terrorism. In the case of Colombia, it is argued that the adoption of facilitation has provoked a depoliticization of the confrontation against terrorism by means of promoting the empowerment of the Colombian parties as a condition for achieving peace, thereby rendering the conflict – rather than the parties themselves – the other.

As for Libya, Norway conducted the bombings by deeming terrorism as the other, wherein such otherness implicated a hidden other, that is, the constant threat of bordering Russia informing Norway's need to engage in NATO's campaigns. In this case, terrorism comes politicized as a security-oriented[11] policy within NATO, while justifications of Norway's campaign on humanitarian grounds somehow unveils reinstatements of a peace self in order to appease a persistently disputed self. Understanding how this happens, in the course of action, is what I intend to do, not to engross the already existing literature that exposes this contradiction nor to dissolve it through the compatibilization of a "peace through war" approach but rather to find out how the dominant discourse as the one conveyed in Public Diplomacy grapples with a disputed self that eventually helps crystalize a peace identity when it could otherwise frame Norway as a warrior state.

Once assessing Norway's outer engagements, we perceive that the dispute within this "double-edged self" is the tip of the iceberg of a series of apparently inconsistent partakes. It is noteworthy that, as is the case with many national identities, Norwegian foreign policy is rife with ambiguities and sometimes stark

[11] Even security is subsumed into peace, and the term comes along with humanitarianism, which again reinforces the standing of peace as a floating signifier.

contradictions[12]. It is not a fortuitous episode that leads NUPI[13]'s senior researcher Sverre Lodgaard to share some examples on this precisely in the year of 2011:

> "Norwegian foreign policy has long been contradictory. We are on the top of the international aid statistics, but trade policy still discriminates against developing countries. We give a lot of humanitarian aid, but have recently been restrictive when other peoples have knocked our door. We have a high profile in the UN and were an important contributor to the UN's peacekeeping operations from the start, but we are against the EU".

This research argues that the Norwegian foreign policy discourse is co-constitutive of a peace identity that highlights facilitation and dialogue, thereby enabling discursive articulations that try to stabilize a contradiction between a peaceful approach to conflict resolution and a warful approach to the repudiation against terrorism. The present project aims to analyze discursive practices enmeshed in the Norwegian Public Diplomacy in order to unpack mechanisms that highlight its peace hallmark by means of portraying a moral superiority of a good state (WOLFORTH *et al.*, 2017) – a "non-threatening do-gooder" in Jan Egeland's words – aimed at the facilitation of dialogue while at the same time this agenda helps obscure certain incongruences such as the Norwegian Foreign Policy against terrorism, which sanctions non-peaceful actions as, for instance, the incursions in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), and the bombing of Libya (2011).

In face of this argument, the following research questions can be raised:

Through which narratives, discursive practices and representations of Norway's identity, comprising both instantiations of a peace self and a warful exceptionalism (ERIKSEN & NEUMANN, 2011) *are jointly articulated in Norwegian Foreign Policy discourses? How have these identity discourses been disputed? And how can Laclau and Mouffe's assessment of a floating signifier relate to Norway's double*

[12] The first puzzle I remember detecting in my perception of Norwegian Foreign Policy, having Environment as one of the pillars of the country's MFA values, was the country's devotion towards sustainability and reductions in its carbon footprint at the same time the country is a global oil powerhouse. Inquiring a diplomat back then on what I perceived as antagonistic, he answered that it is precisely because of the oil funds that Norway can invest in the Amazon Fund. Although this argument does not dissolute the ambiguity, there is an underlying belief in the Christian redemption of compensating a richness with a good deed through solidary means. All in all, there are recent developments that point to an attempt to transmute even the oil-related wealth depiction by redressing non-renewable energy companies into a green economy fashion. Norway's major state oil company recently changed its name from Statoil to Equinor, which literally swifts focus from oil towards energy.

[13] Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs. Available on: https://www.nupi.no/en

instantiations of a war state and a peace nation through the attachment to peace of a panoply of seemingly, at least for Norway, peace-related concepts, such as security, but also human rights, development and even environment? And how does the tautological description of "Norway has a peace tradition because it has engaged in peace" and "Norway engages in peace because it has a peace tradition" withholds an underlying ontological insecurity that leads the country to constantly assert its state sovereignty – even if the necessary means would require being "a war state" – through a discursive reinstatement of Norway being a peace nation?

Specifically, the purpose of the present research is to explore how the facilitation discourse reinforces a particular representation of Norway as "a peace nation" and how the Norwegian Public Diplomacy articulates its engagement in the "war on terror", which disturbs such representation of identity, through justifications of the like "peace through war". Tautological rationales such as the one that Norway's tradition in Peace and Reconciliation grants credibility for the country to purport "all the necessary means" (NYLANDER, 2018), added to circumlocutions such as that peace donations serve to assure Norway's own security stabilizes a facilitating notion of peace of the Norwegian self. Such a "peace through war" discourse hinders other possibilities for articulating violence and hierarchies that intervention practices (whether peaceful or armed) always render possible. I aim, therefore, to assess how Norway's role as a guarantor state in the Colombian peace process has obfuscated a quasi-simultaneous warful partake in Libya.

How have Norwegian discursive practices enabled the conciliation of apparent extremes? Which subjects, objects, realities and relations[14] had to be already present such as to give intelligibility to an option of strategically bombing Libya under the justification of a "War on Terror" while trying to convince the FARCSs – a party deemed terror – of its credibility as a facilitator? Which structures of representations, meanings and narratives have enabled the conception of a "peace through war" as an adequate and necessary reaction? Which subjectivity has

[14] This paragraph is an adaptation of Erica Resende's (2012) summarization of the questions underpinning Post-Structuralist analysis. See Resende (2012). "Americanidade, Puritanismo e Política Externa: a (re)produção da ideologia puritana e a construção da identidade nacional nas práticas discursivas da política externa norte-americana". Rio de Janeiro: Contra-Capa, 2012.

rendered this articulation legitimate, natural, valid and possible? How has such a policy become common sense? Just like Resende (2012), I draw on the pre-assumption of "denial that Foreign Policy is but a reaction of a state, taken as a pre-existent entity endowed with fixed identities and interests, to the dictates of a world of independent existence that is hostile to it" (RESENDE, 2012).

With the help of Jennifer Milliken's (1999) methodological framework, I hereby intend to explore how the Norwegian Public Diplomacy has stabilized and fixed a peace identity as its dominant meaning at the same time of the workings of hegemonic discourses to exclude or silence an alternative warful stance, which renders a subjugated knowledge that confronts and destabilizes the instantiation of the peace self. Being a foreign policy study, it is obviously equally "concerned with explaining how a discourse articulated by elites produces policy practices" (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 241). In doing so, I expect to contribute to a somehow incipient literature that, as per Milliken, is negligent when it comes to assessing the "operationalization of discursive categories", that is, "the regular effects" (ibid) of implementation of a warful peace policy with regard to the inquiry of the workings of the Norwegian Public Diplomacy in Peace and War.

Once analyzing identity, one cannot disdain the effect of differentiation for the very demarcation of peculiarities. As William Connolly (19991, p. xv) reminds us, "you need identity to act and to be ethical, but there is a drive to diminish difference to complete itself inside the pursuit of identity". Ethics, as I will develop for Norway's case, uncovers an underpinning morality informing prestige, in a logic according to which "a do-gooder" and "morally superior state" (WOHLFORTH *et. al*, 2017), behaves in accordance to a "status-seeking" profiling. The *ethos* of being good implies a differentiation that does not necessarily entail "the second problem of the devil"[15] (CONNOLLY, 1991, p. ix-x) but seemingly draws on portraying itself as a "good state", thereby diminishing the other. In addition to considering the influence of the other – the domestic other as the terrorist Norwegian other, the "hidden other" as Russia, *etc* –, I give as much or even more importance to the focus

[15] For Connolly (1991), the "second problem of the devil" is the backsliding of ascertaining one's own security of identity in itself towards finger pointing the other as "evil or irrational".

of Norway's peace identity representation, with emphasis on the construction of an image of the self[16] that is based on a floating signifier.

Albeit attempts to bridge realist and idealist perceptions with some constitutive insights that Constructivism provides, these epistemologies do not evince discursive conditions that allow, in the first place, the articulation of representations of identity and behavior as apparently contradictory. For my argument, Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) elaboration on the processes of "floating signifier" helps explain how come Norway's peace has transformed from a humanitarian peace, to "friends of defence[17]", passing through neutrality, followed by the "engagement spree"[18], to then coronate peace with peace facilitation as Norway's niche diplomacy and, for more than a decade now, pursuing security as if "war is peace" (LEIRA, 2013) without Norway being deemed "a warrior state".

In that sense, peace performs the role of a floating signifier, as, thanks to the vagueness stemming from having no ready or obvious signified, it is able to fill up voids in articulatory fields (NABERS, 2009). As a consequence, they are malleable and adaptive enough to perform different meanings, thereby uniting "disparate social movements" (ibid) or, for the object at stake here, it serves to interweave peace with security and war. They have no fixed content and can embrace an open series of demands. Conversely, in order to attend an array of different purposes, the empty signifier disguises behind a coherent chain of equivalence its "missing fullness" that, thanks to its openness (LACLAU, 1996, p. 57-58), twists meanings in accordance with the dominant use in each context. Floating signifier, in turn, is the one that goes along with each use that each context and each group gives to it. Peace then, is a floating signifier that fills up meanings for empty signifiers such as development, environment, human rights, democracy and other terms that connote a universal value entailing political action.

The present research, then, aims at tracing subjectivities and insights of discursive narratives that construct representations by assuming that there are instabilities of

[16] In this theses, "identity" and "self" are interchangeable concepts.
[17] An incipient parliamentary debate on financing the peace movement, in 1896, most Norwegians stood against sheer pacifism, arguing that they were not only "friends of peace" but also "friends of defence" (LEIRA; 2015, p. 31).
[18] As I will detail further, the debate to sanction Norway's membership to NATO unveils discursive constructions revolving around the argument that NATO is an organization for peace.

the Norwegian instantiation of peace identity from the standpoint of its involvement in NATO's operation in Libya. It seeks to problematize, by means of juxtapositions (HANSEN, 2006), these instabilities; as well as to situate this analysis based on the conceptual history of the contextualized constitution of meaning of a key political vocabulary in Norway, which is facilitation. Peace facilitation is thus a nuance of peace that assumes the place of the core of a chain into which many nodal points convolute. With regard to nodal points, the present research draws on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffes's (1985, p. xi) depiction of a master-signifier with a universal structuring function within a certain discursive field, and therefore, I situate peace as the organizing concept that gives functions and orders other concepts[19].

Hansen (2006, p.46) argues that "basic discourses point to the main points of contestation within a debate and facilitate a structured account of the relationship between discourses, their points of convergence and confrontations; how discourses develop over time in response to events, facts and criticism; and how discursive variations evolve". By the same token, she exhorts to "a comparison of issues located within the same temporal horizon", as it "generates knowledge of the discourses of the Self across politically pertinent areas" (ibid, p. 71). Being a kind of research, as Milliken frames, under the category of foreign policy studies, this research seeks to "address discursive productivity by analyzing how an elite's 'regime of truth' made possible certain courses of action by a state [for my object of study, the bombing of Libya] while excluding other policies as unintelligible or unworkable or improper" (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 240).

It is important to perceive how foundational discourses on the peace and war identities of Norway correlate to conciliations and contestations, and how reports such as those of NOREF by MFA diplomats and the Government's official report

[19] Norway's nodal points – global security threats, ownership, lessons learned, the nexus security-development, and the preservation of sovereignty – attach representations of a peace identity to Norway in such a way that, along with a facilitative expertise, this image is conveyed as able to tackle conflicts that could otherwise escalate thanks to an efficient empowerment of the parties that both engenders compliance and propitiates peace and aid, and these are conjugated to a security habitus that relates back to its liberal superiority of political freedom. Facilitation, in a nutshell, summarizes an instantiation of a peace identity that is discursively constructed by means of these nodal points.

on the bombing in Libya have evolved since the exploratory talks with FARCs followed by the announcement of public talks in Oslo in 2012, and Stoltenberg's decision to bomb Libya. Since the present research aims to analyze discursive practices revolving around the co-constitutions between identity and foreign policy into public diplomacy, the object of such assessment will focus the official public addresses of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with support from other non-official literature, mainly books and newspaper articles.

The first chapter will cover theoretical underpinnings that discuss identity, difference, and self and other in Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy. In the second chapter, a brief genealogical overview of Norway's peace identity representation serves to problematize how the historical use of "peace" has acted as a floating signifier unveiling, at the same time, a disputed self that is co-constituted in identity and discourse. The third and last chapter is a more instrumental one, focusing particularly on the triple coincidences that concerned Norway in 2011: the preparatory talks in the Colombian peace process, the campaign in Libya and the terrorist attack pursued by a Norwegian against Norway.

2.

Identity, Difference, Discourse and Foreign Policy: a theoretical backbone to assess Public Diplomacy

> *"Choose your self-presentations carefully, for what starts out as a mask may become your face"*
> ~Erving Goffman

> *"We are all patchwork, and so shapeless and diverse in composition that each bit, each moment, plays its own game. And there is as much difference between us and ourselves as between us and others"* –
> ~Michel de Montaigne, Essays, Volume 2, 1580

In this first chapter, I begin with introducing the concept of identity in its individual form, followed by a brief panorama of its assessments within Social Sciences, as the sociological understanding of it paved the way for the grasping of identity later within International Relations. After presenting the sociological overview of identity, I differentiate state identity from nation identity, and insert the construction of myths in national identity. I then pass through Stuart Hall's undertakings of the concept and Anthony Giddens's modernization of partakes on self and other relations. I describe the developments on state identity across theories of International Relations, starting with Alexander Wendt's "anthropomorphizing" take on individual and collective identity towards state identity. I will then succinctly display the critics to Wendt's inception on identity through psychoanalysis and language and disclose the rupture that Post-Structuralism performs according to Jacques Lacan's and Jacques Derrida's veins and in contrast to positivist or rationalist positionings. I cannot help but contextualizing Post-Structuralism with its underpinning deconstructive questioning not of reasons, but of enabling conditions as Roxanne Doty (1993) propels, to then dissertate on contributions from Lene Hansen, Jennifer Milliken, Charlotte Epstein, and Iver Neumann on identity, discourse and foreign policy. I briefly explain the relationship between discourse and identity under conventional appraisals to then explore the identity/alterity nexus in IR. Ultimately, I explore the relationship between Foreign Policy/foreign policy and Public Diplomacy.

2.1.

Conventional Conceptions of Identity

Literature conveys a polysemic appraisal of identity as a concept. For the focus of the present research, state identity is the most relevant type of identity, and here it is equal to the state's self[20]. But, since identity comprises the individual, the group and the national levels (BUITRAGO & RESENDE, 2019, p. 180), a short introduction to each is made necessary. I will first situate the overview on identity in its individual form. Although explaining state identity through individual identity, Alexander Wendt postulates that biology distinguishes people, but it is consciousness and memory of self that render them human and agents. Likewise, William Connolly (1991, p. xvii) deems identity as biocultural, wherein the conjunction between nature and culture both renders "corporeal sensibilities" and is full of artifices and interactions that constitute identity as "relational, biocultural, and replete with resistances". These resistances indicate some stability in the way one defines its surroundings and differentiates one's identity from the others. As Sybille Reinke de Buitrago and Erica Resende (2019, p. 180) argue, identity is not static, but somewhat stable, as it is part of "cognitive and emotional systems and formed early in human development".

Individual identity used to be of paramount importance for the construction of the "project of the self" (BENWELL & STOKOE, 2006, p. 18) inherent to Enlightenment. Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe (ibid) trace this self-determination notion of identity as a 'project of the self' back to rationalism and idealism, passing through romantic views of self-fulfillment, and chased in the post-modern globalised era as the "self-help" book shelves denounce. The authors claim that the first record of the word was in 1570, as '*identitie*', "meaning […] absolute or essential sameness; oneness'" (OED, 2002, ibid). The authors heed attention to the integral conception of identity as a bounded unity since the origin of the word's etymology, which is telling of how the current everyday use of the term, ever since its first appearance, denotes a sense of unity and stability (ibid). Drawing on

[20] Along the text, self and other appear with small letters, although knowledgeable authors such as Lacan refer to them in capital letters.

Romanticism's expression of sensibility, Freud and Lacan later gave psychological interpretations to individual identity. In contrast to the previous paradigm of the sovereign rational subject, Freud's subject implies its *psyche*, and, in addition to subjectivity, it also relates it to one's socialization in family. But it was Lacan who broke with the rationalist individualism of identity when recognizing the individual as a social subject (RESENDE, 2012, p. 94). Pertaining to the Structuralist relation to language that Saussure inaugurated and, like Freud, showing that the child's unconscious chaos considerably subsides in face of a dominant subjugation to an elusively uniform identity, Lacan postulates that there is no previous referential for the self, which leads him to assume that identity is social and anti-essentialist (ibid, p. 94).

The conceptualization of identity has also thrived in the Social Sciences. George Herbert Mead, for instance, not only became an inspiration to Herbert Blumer, but was also among Alexander Wendt's sociological export of identity towards International Relations theory. Mead inaugurated the approach of role-taking to understand the interrelated activities of a collectivity. As Blumer (2004, p. 60) tells us, when approaching oneself from the standpoint of the collectivity, one stands as an organized and continued unity.

Common wisdom suggests that identity is a pre-social essence, ontologically intrinsic and subject to a rationalist analysis. Stuart Hall (2000, p. 19), in a referential article called "Who needs 'identity'?", argues that, albeit acknowledgements that identity is a temporary attachment to produce subjectivities that speak and are spoken, there is a pervasive attempt to portray collective identity as homogenous with the underlying aim of imposing order and stability.

2.2.

The Image of a Nation: An Imagination

Since I will further assess Norway's warful state identity and peaceful nation identity, I must contextualize the differentiation between state identity and nation identity. On the one hand, there is "state identity", emerging as political actors

detaining sovereignty over a territory and dominating competing political institutions (HANSEN, 2006, p. 431-432), which can also be characterized "as politically responsible for acts committed in the past" (FEARON, 1999, p. 35). On the other hand, the "national identity" refers to "a social category, a set of persons marked off by a membership rule and (alleged) social content" (ibid). James Fearon (1999, p. 35) denounces much confusion in the use of both concepts as interchangeable, since

> "When "state" is used to refer to a political community (a set of citizens), it is a social category. But in the more common use of "state" as a corporate actor, there is no set of persons that uniquely identifies the state. The state as a political community might have or entail a national identity, but the state as a corporate actor cannot".

Erica Resende (2012, p. 106) mentions the inexistence of consensus as to when "nation" became a possible concept, although the academic debate situates it along two possible ideas: that of political will, and that culturally constituted mainly through language and ethnicity. Both dimensions converge to differentiate nation from other forms of collective identity insofar as, independently of its origin, a nation only exists upon self-imagination, and the realization of such takes place through discourse (ibid). Rather than describing a genealogy of the term through modernity, industrialization or ideology, my framing here is upon nation as an imagination constructed through discourse.

Drawing on Gellner (1964), Anderson (1983, p. 6-7), describes nation not as "an awakening of nations to self-consciousness", but, contrary to Gellner, Anderson argues that nations are not invented, but rather imagined. Hence, nations rely on collective imaginaries responsible for constituting "imagined communities", which differ among others not because of authenticity but rather because of the way they are imagined. Stuart Hall (2000) situates the nation's construction in discourse, be it through cultural narratives, representations or symbols. For Hall (RESENDE, 2012, p. 111), it is rather this cultural system than the political formation that conforms the representation, the interpretation and the construction of a nation into a natural or divine order that wittingly mingles with reality. Resende (ibid) explains that this mechanism favours individuals into consenting with the dominant discourse, which propagates "essential, natural and legitimate" articulations as if they were unsurmountable truths. Stuart Hall (ibid) in turn draws on Antonio Gramsci to postulate that common knowledge experiments this "eternal truth"

because they cannot recognize the contingency of their existence. Gramsci's (1971, p. 326) "future folklore" naturalizes the world at the same time it weakens critique, thereby generating such truths. Gramsci (ibid) situates this folklore of future as "a relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge", drawing on common sense, which, in turn, is not rigid and immobile and is in between folklore and philosophy, science, and economics. It is as if folklore would gain credibility with partial truths to the extent of acquiring naturalness.

The construction of a nation normally builds on myths, as I will further mention for the case of Norway as peace nation. Roland Barthes (1972, p. 129) explains that the principle of the myth is to render history into nature, which makes possible to accept a concept without ambiguity or hesitation. There is an unresisted and unproblematized consumption of the myth exactly because it is meant to naturalize meanings and impose non-fixed interpretations. Resende (2012, p. 119) summarizes the following understanding on nation, identity and national identity:

> "Nation is an imagined community, which was invented at some point in history, and is therefore contingent and discursive. Its members imagine themselves as part of a collectivity, possessing a common - though mythical - past and projects for an equally mythical future. By sharing the Imaginary and the Symbolic, they use the same discourse of identity to signify reality and themselves, thus constructing the myth of a unified, coherent, stable and homogeneous national identity that is sustained only on the discursive dimension".

As I will develop later in this chapter with regard to discourse, Roxanne Doty (1993) and Jennifer Milliken (1999) acknowledge that the "play of practice" of discourse is fraught with historical contingency and "subjugated knowledges".

By quoting Renan's account on nation as "a daily plebiscite", Hansen (1996, p. 475-476) delineates Western grasps of national identity based on the underlying political conceptualization of nation, which privileges a civic ideology, wherein nationality is of political importance to identity since it mobilizes people (COX, 1996; MANSBACH & RHODES, 2007, p. 431). At the same time, David Campbell (1998, p. 11) subverts the logic of nation preceding state and argues that States construct the nation in order to legitimize their standing. This is particularly informing for my later framing of Norway as a Peace Nation being an attempt of preservation of the state.

2.3.

Foundational Understandings on self and other

The slight introduction to individual identity as previously presented is somehow coincidental to assessments of self in this section, given the interwoven let alone interchangeable uses that both self and identity can provide. Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. 19) situate the conceptions of the self remoting back to the Enlightenment, by pointing to the already mentioned 'project of the self', being the convergence between René Descartes's deductive rationalism and John Locke's inductive empiricism. As Charles Taylor (1989, p. 19-20) argues, such "disengaged rationalism and empiricism" gave way to an individualist expression of a technological society whose underpinning "crisis" is revealed in a number of self-help books depicting popular notions of the genuine self at the expense of political engagements, and which derives from a Romantic understanding of the self as allied with nature, feelings, sensibility and own fulfillment to the detriment of cognition.

Anthony Giddens (1991) incepted a sociological theorization of identity as 'coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives' that help equip late modernity with unifying features, in an attempt to downplay anti-modern movements (LATOUR, 1993) that claimed for a fragmentary nature. Apart from recommending a necessary "reflexively organised life-planning" (GIDDENS, 1991, p. 5), to structure self-identity in the "post-traditional order of modernity" (ibid), Giddens (1981) equally brought about the concept of "ontological security", based on one's stable sense of being, with coherence and wholeness, through the exclusion of anxieties and the preservation of trust, traditions and belongings. Benwell (2006, p. 23) compares Giddens's ontological security to Beck's realization of a society's "constructed certitude", which, by devising a clear-cut sense of identity and neglecting ambiguities, attach affiliations to identity in order to counter alleged insecurity, fragmentation and risk underlying late modern societies.

The search for stability of one's self equally designates an unavoidable deprivation insofar as, under a Lacanian perspective, there is "a constitutive lack" (EPSTEIN, 2010, p. 334) at the core of identity, which is why the individual imaginarily

constructs the self and needs to believe that it will compensate one's emptiness. Charlotte Epstein (ibid) argues that this process of identity making through identification is dynamics and, as non-essential, cannot account for a real appraisal of identity. Jacques Lacan precisely avoids this "'essentialist reductionism of the social to the individual level'" (STAVRAKAKIS, 1999, p. 3) because his object is not the individual, but rather his lacking (ibid, 1999, p. 36), which interweaves with desire for the constitution of the political subject (SOLOMON, 2015, p.75).

Given its intersubjective nature, identity is inescapable of the presence of the other. We must not forget Anthropology's partakes for the establishment of the self as delineated from the other to actively and continuously form identity, which leads Iver Neumann (1999, p. 35) to state that "the creation of social boundaries is not a consequence of integration but one of its necessary a priori ingredients". It was an influential Norwegian anthropologist named Fredrik Barth who, incepting the concept of 'ethnic boundary', argued that boundaries become stable and persistent and often maintain "vitally important social relations" thanks not to alleged intrinsic traits but rather to "encounters", "transactions" and "opposition" (BARTH, 1969), thereby entailing "social processes of exclusion and incorporation […] based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses" (BARTH, 1969, p. 10). Zygmunt Bauman (2000, p. 11) justifies this on the grounds of the "subjective, self-experienced dimension" of identities and not on an objective one that outsiders perceive, since "it is only after the borderposts have been dug in that the myths of their antiquity are spun and the fresh cultural/political origins of identity are carefully covered up by the genesis stories" (ibid).

Drawing on D. E. Hall's "recognition process", through which socialization with the other validates one's own self-consciousness, Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. 24) argue that the social view of identity as Friedrich Hegel had introduced was determinant for situating, especially within sociology and sociolinguistics, the self as identified with a contextual group. Recognition as such indicates not solely identification with a particular group but equally difference, since identity "is established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized" (CONNOLLY, 1991, p. 64). In accordance with this reasoning, claiming an identity is the flipside coin of belonging to difference (ibid, p. xiv). This "radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the other,

the relation to what is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its '*constitutive outside*[21] '" (HALL, 2000, p. 17) is how authors such as Jacques Derrida, Ernesto Laclau and Judith Butler can positively grasp identity. Given the precondition for the existence of a discursive formation that precedes, executes and recognizes the utterance of an "I" as a subject, Butler (2000, p. 108) reveals the paradox of recognition, which forms a subject rather than confers it, in a double movement that precedes and conditions it, though at the same time it points to the "impossibility of a full recognition". This incompleteness of self-identity relates to the interdependence of signs as Saussure introduced, which later formed Derrida's concept of *différance*, comprising the relational and contingent constitution of codes as "a weave of differences" (DERRIDA, 2000, p. 90). For Connolly (1991, p. 64), differences are the prerequisite for an existential "distinctness and solidity" (ibid), in an attempt to convey congealed representations as if they were "the true order of things" (ibid). Ultimately, there is a perceived attempt to convert difference into otherness, aiming at securing "its own self-certainty" (ibid).

2.4.

Identity in International Relations

Both International Relations and Foreign Policy scholars have delved into identity explanations in such a way as to cause a 'definitional anarchy' (ABDELAL *et al.*, 2009, p. 18**)** across theories. Stuart Hall deems the in-depth discussion around conceptual definitions of identity as a "discursive explosion" (2000, p. 15), particularly when it comes to the advancement, by "celebratory variants of postmodernism" (ibid), of "the endlessly performative self" (ibid), whose "deconstructive approach" (ibid) and "anti-essentialist critique" (ibid) rendered "key concepts 'under erasure'" (ibid) at the same time it adventured into theoretical conceptions "in their most grounded forms"(ibid). To borrow Jeffrey Checkel's and Peter Katzenstein's (2009, p. 226) assessment on European identities, identities as

[21] Chantal Mouffe (2005, p. 14) highlights that Henry State's coinage of the term unveils what is at stake in the constitution of identity, which is the precondition of difference possibly with hierarchical outlets.

such “remain plastic and open to multiple interpretations”. Insofar as identities comprise intersubjective and multi-directional dynamics, “collective identities emerge as multifaceted and must be studied as such” (NEUMANN, 1999, p.36). A panorama of these schools of thought is thus a necessary introduction before addressing post-positivist undertakings on the relation between identity and foreign policy.

2.4.1

Identity in International Relations: Conventional Approaches

Conventional considerations of identity as either pre-given or dissolved misled scholars into taking for granted the influence of identities upon international politics and foreign policy. Whereas Realism regards identity as an *a priori* feature equating state identity, Liberalism dissolved it into “a myriad of individual or group interests” (GUILLAUME, 2011, p.13). As per Guillaume (2011, p. 14), “intrinsicness” poses the pitfall of reification, thereby naturalizing and crystallizing entities that are processual and dynamic, to the extent of essentializing features that are unavoidably relational. To the contrary, post-positivist theorizations urge a renewed understanding of our state of affairs, which, boding for permanent conflict, require the acceptance of “the fluidity of identities, borders and orders” (HARVEY, 2001, p. 250), whose “fewer and fewer ‘givens’ and more and more ‘negotiables’” (ibid) epitomize international politics. “Extrinsicness”, in turn, conveys “the dialogical quality of the identity/alterity nexus for it takes into account and mediates between the potentially complex transactions” (GUILLAUME, 2011, p. 16). As Guillaume describes, both neo-Realists and neo-liberals endogeneized interactions while deeming identity “as exogenous or given beyond the scope of theoretical explanation” (ibid). Conversely, a more *avant-guarde* thought as propounded by authors such as David Campbell, Iver Neumann, Roxanne Lynn Doty, Lene Hansen, Jennifer Milliken, Helle Malmvig and Bahar Rumelili endoneized identity by taking into account processes of self-representations and self-understandings that serve as resistances and by assessing “how identity is constituted through difference” (GUILLAUME, 2011, p. 16).

Structural Realism deems states' identity as permanent, subordinate to the material structure and exogenous, and defines states as egoistic and self-interested in terms of ascertaining their position in the international system. The reduced space for change and the dependence of the social upon the material dimensions result in privileging the outer dynamics as the only influence upon identity and interests. The international space bestows upon states their identity and interests, which in turn are rather defended than defined, while, in fact, "they are neither defined primordially from within, nor simply imposed politically from without" (KATZENSTEIN, 1996, p. 226), as "they emerge instead from the confluence and blending of a variety of projects and processes". (ibid).

Institutionalism, despite defending cooperation, does so based on rational calculus towards material benefits ensuing from cooperative arrangements, putting identity and interests as an *a priori* aspect of cooperation, and not changeable by it. Due to epistemological coincidences in search for a positivist explanatory theory and to ontological assumptions based on anarchy and the centrality of states, structural realism and institutionalism comprise the "neo-neo" synthesis of a rationalist approach (WÆVER, 1996). This rapprochement synthesizes "the interaction between ideational factors and interests, whether defined in power-related or functional terms" (RUGGIE, 1997, p. 93), and whose main line of controversy shifted to the opposition of rationalists against reflectivists, that is, "the postmodernism debate" (WÆVER, 1996, p. 19). These "neo-neo" theories converge in the understanding according to which states strategically choose a 'portfolio' model identity among a collection of possible identities in a combination that, despite encompassing "the dialogical dimensions of communicative action within a framework of shared meanings" (RUGGIE, 1997, p. 125), still base themselves on incentives and interests for maximization of gains. This reasoning unveils a flagrant shortcoming, as Federico Merke (*no press*, p. 9) points out: if identity depends on interests and assuming that interests are variable, why is identity permanent?

The demise of the Cold War paved the way for the emergence of other types of conflict and of both integration and fragmentation processes, thereby bringing to the forefront of the debate issues hitherto overlooked such as identity. As Erica Resende summarizes (2012, p. 98), an important theoretical rupture of this context

resided precisely in the acceptance that identities are constructed, contested and interactive rather than natural, unitary and static. It is specifically Alexander Wendt who, embedded in social theory contributions, brings the issue of identity to International Relations. Objecting the Realist conception of interests as an *a priori* function of power, Wendt defines identities as relational processes based on the interaction among states (ibid).

By arguing that "anarchy is what states make of it", Wendt highlights social mechanisms behind which shared knowledge rather than material forces construct structures (1999, p. 34) and not only mold power politics and self-help in an anarchical system, but equally affect state identities and interests (1999, p. 31). Maja Zehfuss (2006) argues that Wendt's "culture of anarchy" depends on the very definition of identity in an on-going process of casting corresponding counter-identities onto others, so that the different cultures of anarchy of the international system depends on different identity perceptions. Hence, Maja Zehfuss (ibid) postulates that the centrality of identity in Wendt's argument is not solely due to a perspective upon states but also to a systemic view. Recalling Herbert Blumer's (1969) and George Herbert Mead's (1964) symbolic interactionism[22], Wendt (1994, p. 385) defines social identities as "sets of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking the perspective of others, that is, as a social object". As Maja Zehfuss (2002, p. 98) recalls us, Wendt's view on identity as a social object entails a process whereby a state partly informs its interests based on the sense of self it has in relation to others. As such, social identities are related to the mutually constitutive relationship between agents and structures, and, although they can be stable, they can also be constantly redefined within interaction (ibid).

Assuming that interaction leads to both the self's and the other's conceptions of one's identity, Alexander Wendt (1999, p. 224) argues that the internal-external relationship conforms a multitude of probable identities, which he organizes into

[22] Blumer believes that the core of human interaction involves an interpretative mediation through symbols and meanings (BLUMER, 1969, p. 83). The author draws on Mead's introductory analysis on the psychological self of human being as a social structure that affects one's own behaviour thanks to communication (MEAD, 196, p. 139-140), thereby conforming a trend of individualization of the partake of identity within the International Relations as Constructivism underwent, which received criticisms of having contributed to a perspective of "dissolution of identity".

four kinds: (1) personal or corporate[23], (2) type, (3) role, and (4) collective. The personal or corporate relates to "essential properties" such as "the self-organizing, homeostatic structures that make actors distinct entities", and this corporate identity forms a foundation that Wendt deems as "a platform" that enables the construction of the three remaining kinds of identity. (ibid, p. 224-225). With regard to "type identity", Wendt borrows the term from Jim Fearon to refer to a label with social attributes pertaining to membership of a commonality and informing the other's behavior relative to these features (ibid, 226). Wendt (p. 228) situates sovereignty as an example of corporate identity[24], whose recognition by another state entails the emergence of a role identity in terms of "friend" or "enemy". This role identity becomes even more important with regard to conflicts between neighbouring countries, insofar as a state cannot simply quit its role identity in face of the significant other, who in turn behaves to maintain its identity[25]. The fourth type, collective identity, entails identification regarding a specific issue, which means that, for Wendt, it can never be absolute. Wendt (ibid) caveats that, although both type and collective identities encompass shared characteristics, not all type identities denote identifications like collective ones do. Other than that, corporate identities are different from the other three precisely because those are "social" (ZEHFUSS, 2002, p. 98), developing only through interaction.

Constructivism assumes that the self's boundaries are susceptible to change, to the extent that cooperation among states may also conform a collective identity (WENDT, 1999, p. 317). Wendt borrows concepts from the social theory to argue that states are anthropomorphic entities in the sense that they possess "identity, interest, and intentionality" (ibid, p. 318). With the help of Mead's framework to assess the learning of identities and interests in social interaction, Wendt (1999, p. 327) tests a model of complex learning, implying that those are learned and

[23] Wendt deems Corporate identities, such as the desire to survive, as intrinsic qualities that are "ontologically prior to the states system", hence "exogenously given" (WENDT, 1999; ZEHFUSS, 2006).

[24] This research contests Wundt's claim according to which sovereignty is a corporate and thus fixed and intrinsic identity. Norway's historical records of occupation leads me to argue that the country persistently fills "empty signifiers" [like Laclau and Mouffe (1985) described] such as peace, in search to stablish itself as a recognizable state.

[25] Wendt deems as "altercasting" the process through which an interacting part bestows upon the other a role identity. As Zehfuss (2006, p. 99) clarifies, this process is effective only when the *alter* caves in taking up the new role.

reinforced through "reflected appraisals" or "mirroring" by significant others (ibid). Even though not all others are significant, the internalization of one's own role identity may also involve power and dependency relations (ibid). There is some logic of predictability in those patterns of interaction, which leads Wendt to argue that interaction not only enables the learning of identities and interests, but equally sustains them (ibid, p. 331).

By defying erstwhile dyadic-views on power and interests and the "given-ness inherent in rationalist analyses", (ESPSTEIN, 2010, p. 329), Constructivism not only reverts the rationalist order of interests preceding identity but, importantly, as Charlotte Epstein (ibid) argues, the theory brings about the "dual ontology" of constitution and significance. Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander (2000, p. 86) recognize Alexander Wendt's emphasis on culture during that process, as he regards culture responsible for influencing behaviour, for constituting the meaning of behaviour and for constructing identities and interests. As such, the international construction of identity stems from cognitive dynamics according to which interests rise from self-perceptions. States' beliefs about their own existence, in turn, depend on shared knowledge. The "sociological social psychological" (WENDT, 1992, p. 394) foundation underpinning Wendt's systemic theory, notwithstanding its revisionary purposes against "economizing mainstream theories" (ibid), then, deems identities and interests as "the dependent variable" (ibid).

Albeit a precursor of identity in the field of International Relations, Wendt's thought has been object to a myriad of criticisms. As per Maja Zehfuss (2006, p. 114), Wendt reproduces the internal/external rationalistic perspective when perceiving identity from the outside and overlooking power and social processes in identity construction. Besides conferring a minimal stability to identity, Wendt does not consider that there is a common system of norms that also conforms signals, interpretations and reactions when he argues that intersubjective meanings stem from the exclusive mutual inferences in ego and alter relations (RESENDE, 2012, p. 98). This shortcoming is flagrant given that Wendt deems language a *sine qua non* condition for thinking but neglects it as a common system of norms that helps in the attribution of self and other, thereby leaving language "very much out of the picture, despite his repeated reference to its centrality" (GUZZINI & LEANDER, 2006, p. 86).

There are also tensions ensuing from Wendt's decision to mix an orthodox focus on the state as the discipline's main principle and a heterodox "thin rationalism", a move that is both due to the sociological turn and to the choice of a "dualist ontology" comprising agency and structure (GUZZINI & LEANDER, 2006, p. 74; p. 80). For Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander (ibid, p. 81), this double individualist and holistic approach draws on Giddens's (1986, p. 142) structuration theory according to which there is no hierarchy between agency and structure and therefore that theory must assess "relations between social and system integration" (ibid).

With regard to this research focus, the main failing of Wendt's thought is that, albeit socially constructed, identity is reified and thus not problematized. Guillaume (2011, p. 16-17) heeds attention to the flagrant default of Wendt's "extrinsic property of the social entity", insofar as it overlooks the resistances at play carried with self-understandings, which permanently contest and renegotiate social identities, since it goes without saying that "something must happen within the corporate identity for the process of socialization to succeed or fail" (ibid, p. 17). In a similar argument, Epstein denounces Wendt's contradictory stance between a "systemic focus that requires positing given units and appraising them from the outside, while emphasizing effects that call into question this given-ness and require opening up these units" (2010, p. 331). Notwithstanding the necessity to problematize the units, Wendt's anthropomorphic perception of state identity as united and therefore bounded and without difference operates through exclusions and does not allow addressing the complexities of identity, limiting it to boundaries (ZEHFUSS, 2006, p. 108). Moreover, as Epstein (2010, 330) reinforces, the "fallacy of composition'" of Wendt's Constructivism's unveils the approach's simplistic way of making analogies between the self of the individual and the self of the state, "a naïve biologism" that both Iver Neumann (2004) and Charlotte Epstein decry (2010, p. 332). Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander (2006, p. 89) also find this state-centrism precarious given the essentialization of the state, which Wendt deems as people, enabling him to borrow his theoretical backbone from interactionism.

Last but not least, it is necessary to discharge Wendt's Constructivism as an informing theoretical foundation for the present research given its inconsistency when it comes to discourse analysis. To that, it is important to recall Maja Zehfuss's

(2006, p. 102) argument according to which Wendt cannot account for addressing how identities change since he deems them 'relatively stable' and consequently has not walked down the way of concretely studying identity formation through socialization. This leads Maja Zehfuss (ibid) to postulate that Wendt's centrality on physical gestures to explain social action forecloses the possibility of analyzing identity transformation as a discursive process, although he recognizes the importance of "verbal communication" (1999, p. 346). As per Zehfuss (2006, p. 102), this omission is purposeful because Wendt would not be able to accommodate it in face of his assumption that states are pre-given, unitary actors. The discursive constitution of identity through competing narratives, according to her, would put into jeopardy Wendt's systemic theory (ibid). Contrary to Wendt's (1999, p. 93; p. 229) qualification of identity as a causal category that helps explain international politics, Zehfuss (2006, p. 113) highlights that identities are constantly under transformation and contestation and, as such, cannot equate to explanatory categories. Conversely, in his anthropomorphic move, Wendt needs to attach identity to socializing actors as a finished, close-capped feature, which Zehfuss (ibid) deems as "the identity of identity". The ineffable character of identity, though, is not only what leads to its definitional hierarchy, but it is also why a Post-Structuralist analysis, deeming identity as a discursive constitution on the shaky ground of a quick sand, is better suited to capture identity transformations such as to enable discourses like Norway's "peace through war".

2.4.2. Identity in International Relations: Post-Positivist approaches

If, on the one hand, there is an evident lack of problematization of politics in Wendt's contribution to identity, on the other hand, Post-Modern/ Post-Structuralist's main contribution to the assessment of identity resides precisely "in the commitment to problematize political practices that aim to confer stability to their contents" (RESENDE, 2012, p. 98, *my translation*). This call for problematization assumes that there is a power issue in identity construction, being William Connolly's (1991, p. 64) inceptual framing of identity/ difference the breeding ground to what followed later within this strand of thought thanks to his recognition that identity construction, entailing difference and othering, is a process

of power to stabilize itself, excluding others through force (RESENDE, 2012, p. 98; p. 101).

Post-Structuralists relinquish the rationalist drive to solve problems and to restitute the *status quo*. Instead, they seek to address identity in a way as to handle the instabilities and hybridisms that made the hitherto "regimes of truth" of the dominant IR theories derail (RESENDE, 2012, p. 105). In an ever more fragmented and volatile world, these critics propound us to think about the discursive and social character of reality that co-constitute a relational and performatic identity, and do so by heeding attention to issues thus far kept at bay, such as the contingency and multidimensionality of processes, the reciprocal dynamics between structures and agents, and the power-oriented identity discourses (ibid).

The reflexivity shift on identity focuses the conceptual practice of it as a "narrative event" (GUILLAUME, 2011, p. 32) that, through "a multitude of commitments and identifications" (ibid), forms the guiding horizon in terms of determining what one is, does, or is not and should not do (ibid). To a certain extent, Guillaume (ibid, p. 37) believes that polity itself is the instantiation of a collective political identity. This perspective of the discursive formation of identity and of agency ensuing from enunciation draws on Structuralism's symbolic depictions inscribing subject formations. Ole Wæver's (2002, p. 23) reminder that "Post-Structuralism does not mean 'anti-Structuralism', but a philosophical position that developed out of Structuralism" is a cue to place a caveat here[26].

Post-Structuralism rises from a move already incepted within constructivism that excavates "ideas, norms, identities, language and other discursive practices" (JACKSON, 2011, p. 391) as enablers and restrictors of "conditions of possibility" (ibid), whereby Doty's (1993) "how possible" questions emerge against "why questions". Among Post-Structuralism's main claims is the rebuttal of a character

[26] The conspicuous distinction between Structuralism and Essentialism lies precisely in the assessment of identity as dynamic and symbolic structures from a social perspective rather than as true essence or nature under a reductionist individual perspective (EPSTEIN, 2010, p. 337). The function that one's own name plays as a sign in the passage from the biological to the symbolic and social order (ibid) illustrates Lacan's emphasis on symbols for the formation of identities (ibid). Derrida's (1978, p. 25) Structuralism challenged traditional Western philosophy's penchant for believing in a "preexistent presence" (HARVEY, 2011, p. 252) – as an essence, which Derrida names 'metaphysics of presence' (ibid). Structuralism, then, "precludes the possibility of envisaging identity in terms of an essentialized or pre-social self" (EPSTEIN, 2010, p. 337).

of certainty, since nothing can dispose of the meaning that only discourse and signification can attribute (HARVEY, 2001, p. 252). Such dependency on narratives informing actions entails a disruptive innovation that Post-Positivist approaches brings about, rendering new framings for policy de-constructions.

2.5.

Identity and Discourse

First and foremost, as Post-Structuralism conveys, identity and discourse are interrelated because of a symbiotic relation wherein discourse constitutes identity as such, and, in turn, identity informs discourse. Michel Foucault was responsible for shifting attention from "language" to "discourse", taken not as a linguistic concept but rather as a system of representation that produces knowledge through language (HALL, 1997, p. 72) and, by conforming meaning, embeds every social practice in discourse. Moreover, and most important for the present research discussion, is that, despite the pleonasm, this "meaningful discourse"[27], representation, knowledge or truth is contingent in history (ibid, p. 74), which lends some perspective to capture how the concept of peace, for *Norwegianess*[28], has not a continuous nor a consistent meaning throughout historical contexts.

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985, p. 10-11) unveil the scholarship panorama of discourse as "a pedigree in contemporary thought going back to the three main intellectual currents of the twentieth century: analytical philosophy, phenomenology, and Structuralism". My purpose here is not to make a genealogy of discourse and identity across those fields but rather to situate its grasp in the co-constitution of foreign policy in general and Foreign Policy in particular. By highlighting the fact that Post-Structuralism does not mean "anti-Structuralism" but rather a deepening of understandings of Structuralism's inception of linguistic

[27] It is a pleonasm if one ponders Foucault's belief according to which nothing can dispose of discourse to acquire meaning or, as Laclau and Mouffe argue, "every social configuration is meaningful" (1990, p. 100).

[28] I adopt the term based on Stuart Hall's *Englishness*, Franz Fenon's *Frenchness* and Erica Resende's *Americaness*, in order to appraise myths and ideologies revolving around Norway and Norwegians, whose organizing concept of peace stands in the core of *Norwegianess*.

attachments to meaning by Foucault, Saussure and Derrida (being the latter already Post-Structuralist), it is important to frame the structuration of meaning through language and discourse in the analysis of identity and self as a co-constitution of foreign policy (and, consequently, Foreign Policy). It is also meaningful to remember that Lacan's positioning does not go against Structuralism but is different from it in that he argues that the signifier is empty, which thereby enables it to fluctuate and associate itself to different meanings. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) caution against the essentialist perspective of identity insofar as the self does not comprise every meaning, thus it is not the essence of reality but its description. By the same token, meaning is situated "in a series of representations mediated by semiotic systems such as language" (ibid, p. 31). The authors draw on Derrida, for whom "there is nothing beyond the text: reality is always representation, and therefore it is language that constitutes the 'I' of the subject and brings it into being through the process of signification" (ibid). To that, Benwell and Stokoe add that, given the myriad of conflicting texts relating to "transient identifications" (2006, p. 31), identity is far from being unified, and its fragmentation renders it impossible to sustain a "stable selfhood" (ibid).

Laclau and Mouffe provide useful lenses for capturing how discourses are plastic and adaptive to different historical contexts. For them (1985, p. 96), "a discursive structure is not merely 'a cognitive' or contemplative entity; it is *an articulary practice*" that constitutes and organizes social relations. Articulation comprises elements that are related such as to modify their identity, and the totality of the structuration ensuing from articulatory practices is what these authors deem discourse (ibid, p. 105). Discourse analysis therefore entails a chain of equivalences and differences. These authors agree with Foucault in the sense that no discursive formation has a logical coherence with a transcendental subject and, as such, they adopt Foucault's formulation that it is rather a "regularity in dispersion", wherein dispersion entails lack of unity, and regularity means "an ensemble of differential positions". (LACLAU & MOUFFE, 1985, p. 107). However, contrary to Foucault, they make no distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices precisely because every object is constituted within discourse (ibid), and this does not mean that they are denying a world external to discourse but rather that they are stating that the constitution of an object as such owes to a discursive construction (ibid, p.

108). The discursive articulation, being a system of differential entities that they name as "moments" (ibid, p. 111), is neither absolutely fixed nor entirely non-fixed in meaning.

The crux of Laclau and Mouffe's (ibid, p. 113) argument is as follows: identity is relational, although there is no point of fixation for a system of relations, which in turn form a "field of discursivity" that only exists to subvert it as a "surplus of meaning" (ibid, p. 111). This "field of discursivity" thus overflows discourse in a subversive manner, which turns elements into "floating signifiers", whose impossibility to thoroughly compose a discursive chain is pervasive to every discursive identity (ibid, p. 113). Additionally, polysemy is what enables this floating character. This is particularly important to my argument as I will develop further, with reference to Norway's peace discourse being subsumed into a discursive umbrella that serves to shield a panoply of concepts that Norway relates to peace, such as security, development, human rights, and environment, as if peace formed an infinite field of discursivity that overflows across history and fields. Floating or "empty" signifiers become an object of dispute among groups that attempt to appropriate them in order to stabilize themselves and their projects as hegemonic (RESENDE, 2012, p. 152).

The Lacanian constitution of identity through a name, which enables ulterior "narrations of the Self" (EPSTEIN, 2010, p. 337) unveils an emphasis on symbolization as being "a discursive phenomenon" core to identity (ibid), which is, to Epstein (ibid), "what makes Lacanian theories particularly germane to the Post-Structuralist scholarship emphasizing the role of discourse in international politics". Identity is fundamental to constitute definitions on the linguistic, the psychological and the social levels since it defines words, the self, and a collectivity (MERKE, *no press*). In International Politics, the state organizes the space that contains identity within its borders so as to differentiate it from the other states. Once we assume that it is the hegemonic political discourse that socially constructs identity, defined as a collective self[29] with a constructed past, a world vision and a standing in that representation, we cannot help but accepting that there is no pre-discursive identity and that the identity discourse is a structure prone to changes due to its inner

[29] I chose to interchange "self" with "identity" along this work.

construction in specific temporal, spatial and institutional contexts and according to a certain discursive practice (HALL, 2000, p. 17). Besides the fact that identity does not precede discourse, it is wrong to essentialize identity because discourse comprises limited linguistic elements and thus cannot apprehend the totality of an object or reality.

Wæver (1996, p. 7) deems discourse as the society's dimension for structuration of meaning, in that a discursive system regulates what can be said in a contingent context of the discursive space. The discursive system comprises a stratified constellation of key concepts, which in turn form a dense and solid structure in each layer. Discursive praxis reproduces and reformulates structures, which leads Wæver to argue in favour of the possibility of changes within continuities. Consequently, this does not mean that a foreign policy discourse utterly exterminates a distinct previous one, but rather that there is a re-articulation of key concepts, which combines the maintenance of some aspects and the addition of others.

Milliken (1999, p. 229) brings a summarization of scholarship on discourse. Saussure and Derrida paved the first commitment to conceptualize discourses, deeming them "structures of signification" that construct social realities. The second engagement concerned discourses as being productive and reproductive of intelligibility, authorizing subjects to speak and to act, recognizing practices, controlling people and space, and ultimately producing "audiences" for "authorized" actors that behave according to a constructed common sense that sanctions some actions and subjects while excluding others. The third commitment, as Milliken portrays, is that of "play of practice", which deems all discourses as unstable grids in need of articulation and re-articulation to stabilize knowledges and identities and thereby fix "regimes of truth" (ibid, p. 230). The rupture of this theoretical commitment from conventional IR resides in assessing "subjugated knowledges" that enable a more adequate assessment of historical transformations (ibid, p. 230).

2.5.1.

The indifference of Difference versus the antagonism of Otherness

Following "the linguistic, sociological, critical and aesthetic turns" (RESENDE, 2019, Contexto), the International Relations' "nexus between war and peace" (ibid) gave way to a shift towards what Guillaume (2011) deemed "the identity/ alterity nexus", which reflected an unprecedented development of reflections on identity to assess the making of interstate relations through states' constructions of self. Neumann (1999, p. 22) describes that "at the moment when the self/other *problématique* finally reached the discipline of international relations, there was a repetition of the shift away from a dialectical to a dialogical reading that had taken place in social theory at large some twenty years earlier". Such dialectical reading – or "dialogic" perspective – complies with normative issues of reciprocity and recognition, whereas dialogical approaches turn to the transactions and processes that feature the dynamics of identity formation, thereby acknowledging the influence of interactions (GUILLAUME, 2011, p. 40).

Drawing on Bakhtin's dialogical view on the relation between identity and alterity, Guillaume (2011, p. 8). deems identity as interwoven with alterity, wherein otherness is but a form of expression, and the analysis shifts from an entity to a process that necessarily encompasses political struggles for alternative representations of identity[30]. These contestations, in turn, point to a convergence point where the network of signifiers configures a hegemonic self-representation. By referring to "*narrative matrices*" as "performative frameworks and networks of signifiers (de) limiting the conditions of possibilities of *politics of alterity*", Guillaume (ibid) evinces how a dialogical approach can assess the way particular articulations of identity persists or caves into mobilizations that originate other collective identities.

On a superordinate level, the identity/alterity nexus is an ongoing dialogue between identity and alterity that comprises diverse self-representations. Below that, each

[30] Even though drawing on Campbell among other Post-Structuralist theorists, Guillaume contests Campbell's certain neglect as to inquiring how alternative mechanisms besides othering are at play to confirm processes of identity and alterity. Albeit Campbell's acknowledgement that alternative processes of differentiation undergo a normative appraisal, Guillaume (2011, p. 24) bashes what he calls "a conflation between a mechanism and a process".

utterance corresponds to a particular style that, in turn, unveils "a constellation of figurations of alterity" (ibid, p. 46), which have a relational standing towards identity that helps in the mapping of identity (ibid). Among these figurations of alterity is the figure of inversion, expressed as othering. Guillaume (ibid, p. 50) emphasizes identity's "extrinsic property of a social continuant", whose process of self-understanding entails "the interweaving of an identity's expression, its contextuality and its relations to different and/or alternative self-understandings/representations, to alterity" (ibid).

Post-Structuralism considers that the promotion of the self occurs at the expense of the other, in a denigration of the other regardless of its dominance or hegemony (BENWELL & STOKOE, 2006, p. 29). In addition to being inscribed in discourse, identity is "prescriptive, limiting and unelective rather than something politically empowering", as Benwell and Stokoe (ibid) argue. These authors highlight Post-Structuralism's orientation towards stressing the "oppressive dimension of identity", and, in this sense, they heed attention to a supposed challenge to identity politics ensuing from this violent partake with the other.

The production of difference as a means to reinforce and reproduce a national identity matrix finds in foreign policy the realization for this praxis (RESENDE, 2010). Difference is enmeshed in foreign policy as much as in identity. Campbell (1992, p. 55, my highlight) goes beyond by stating that, although the logic of identity *only requires difference*, the assurance of state identity through "an ordered self and an ordered world" involves not the reinforcement of a nation's alleged features but rather its pronounced practices to rationalise, normalise, moralise, correct, punish and discipline elements standing against this order in the form of otherness (CAMPBELL, 1992; CONNOLY, 1991).

Hansen equally explains the relational process of identity construction as always opposed to something else, but not necessarily limited to this opposition. Since difference is open to more than one-way definitions, it is the exclusivity of opposition that distinguishes otherness from difference. As Hansen (2006, p. 478-479) describes,

"'Relations of difference' construct identity in nonexclusive terms, whereas 'relations of otherness" are built on exclusivity. Relations of identity are never stable, and there is often a temptation to

convert difference into otherness, to move from viewing the other as different, and maybe strange, to viewing the other as threatening".

That said, we perceive that Campbell deems identity as exclusively defined by means of difference. Moreover, Hansen shows that difference, in turn, is not exclusively defined through opposition, whereas otherness is. The production of both danger and difference through the mobilization of foreign policy ultimately seeks to perform a political identity by means of legitimizing the exclusion of alternative subjectivities that do not comply with the dominant regime (RESENDE, 2010, p. 25, *my translation*). Equating foreign policy to border production, to the extent of deconstructing the assumption of a pre-existent international system, also allows the observer "to glimpse an international sphere filled with multiple differentiation practices and border delimitation" (ibid), in which a perceived diversity of otherness variations seek to warrant the stability of each state's entity (ibid). In this sense, Neumann exhorts to the importance of studying how such social boundaries come to exist and remain through time. It is noteworthy that the very definition of the other retroactively impacts the conception of one's identity, thereby engendering a co-constitution process of self and other (RESENDE, 2018).

Diez (2005, p. 628-629) summarises some strategies pertaining to the construction of self and other. Following the Copenhagen School of Security Studies' theory of securitization, some exhort to representing the other as an existential threat by means of a speech act that legitimizes extraordinary measures at the same time it constructs the referent object as threatened. Secondly, we perceive representations of the other as inferior, which Diez (ibid) deems a "weaker version of 'othering'" that conversely constructs the self as superior to the other. Thirdly, there is the "representation of the other as violating universal principles" by portraying the standards of the self not simply as superior but also of "universal validity, with the consequence that the other should be convinced or otherwise brought to accept the principles of the self" (ibid). Finally, Diez points to the "representation of the other as different", which precludes inferiority or threat constructions, yet not as an innocent practice since it imposes identities on others. All in all, it is the preferred practice in the sense that it does not legitimise harmful interference with the other". (p. 629). Other than that, Prozorov (2011, p. 1283) pinpoints not only the existence of spatial othering, but also of temporal othering. For him, "from a Kojèvian perspective, the process of othering, which eventually leads to the attainment of

self-consciousness or the 'ideal self' at the end of history, always involves both spatial and temporal dimensions" (ibid).

Studying othering typologies is especially important when it comes to deconstructing foreign policy mechanisms assembled within discourse and in a context of crisis. As Resende (2012, p. 25) argues,

> "Methodologically, the analysis of foreign policy in times of crisis seeks to map meanings, representations, narratives and myths that indicate a logic of building a privileged 'Self' – meaning 'good', 'pure', 'desirable', 'innocent', 'civilized', or 'righteous' – as opposed to a radical 'Other' equivalent to 'evil', 'unclean', 'undesirable', 'sick', 'barbaric', 'aggressor', or 'mad'. Then, once this logic of identity construction is located in a discursive formation, it becomes possible to identify the ideology that tries to sustain and to stabilize the discourse of (re) production of identities. By stripping the ideological content of discourse, revealing its arbitrary and therefore unnatural character, it is possible to open it for criticism and deconstruction" (*my translation*).

Notwithstanding the usefulness for grasping othering in contexts of crisis, othering is but a strand of alterity and, as such, must be taken *cum grano salis.* Even though identities, as a rule, predicate a relationship between the self and the other – be that a spatial, a temporal or an axiomatic other –, Wæver does not agree that the construction of identity necessarily entails antagonisms, being this circular dynamics very similar to traditional understandings of the "enemy images" in Peace studies (MERKE, *no press*, p. 29). Guillaume (2011, p. 22; p. 24) abominates the prominent standing of othering in literature, "presented as the almost default sociological process by which a self comes to define itself in relation to alterity" (ibid, p. 25), when, in fact, it cannot account for "the processual character of the identity/alterity nexus"[31] (ibid, p. 26). Othering is a term that Connolly dubs as 'the second problem of devil' because the act of othering is the "evil that flows from the attempt to establish security of identity for any individual or group by defining the other as evil or irrational" (CONNOLLY, 1991, p. ix-x).

The conception of difference in order to establish a representation does not necessarily require an external exclusion, as it may entail an exclusion of an internal aspect. As Hansen (1996, p. 477) reminds us, "When the national history is being created as a continuous unfolding of the present, there is an implication that

[31] A processual understanding of the identity/alterity nexus goes against the essentialization of identity. In accordance with and Guillaume (2011, p. 29), a "process-based approach prioritizes process over substance, relation over separateness, and activity over passivity" (ibid). This processual turn is illustrative of Doty's (1993) definition of "how" based approaches.

inconvenient examples that blur the homogeneous and exclusive identity have to be written out of history"[32]. Apart from drawing on erasures, the continuous reinstatement of an identity needs ideological vehicles with the aim of stabilizing the dominant discourse and effacing any alternative that does not conform with it. It equally draws on myths – Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's thesis on the myth of the Brazilian "cordial man" is illustrative of how such depictions construct a nation's identity[33].

2.6.

Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy

2.6.1.

Foreign Policy, Identity and Discourse: from one-sided perspectives to multiple directions

Studies of identity have gained impetus within International Relations given its contribution to appraise not only a country's foreign policy but equally world politics under unprecedented perspectives that conventional approaches such as rational choice hitherto overlooked (KATZENSTEIN, 1996; FEARON, 1999; LAPID & KRATOCHWIL, 1996). Conventional foreign policy analysis deems the state's interests as clear-cut objectives based on a previously fixed and thus taken for granted identity, which leads decision makers to conduct a bridge-building policy on the border between ontologically hermetic dimensions, the "inside" and the "outside" (WALKER, 1993; CAMPBELL, 1992), thereby causally reaching decisions ensued from the meeting of internal and external pressures (WÆVER, 1996). As a result, these decision makers portray actions based on an authoritative

[32] As I will detail in the second chapter, a provocative happening "under erasure" (to borrow Hall's already mentioned expression) of Norway's past is the politics of assimilation of Sami children and the severe laws and enslavement imposed on Tater/Romani people. Although part of Denmark, Norway's past was enmeshed in colonialism, and the denial of it gets sanctioned with the dominant discourse according to which Norway has no colonial past.

[33] The construction of the Brazilian "cordial man" also implied difference or even otherness, since "the cordial man" inherited Portuguese culture as opposed to the Spanish one, for example.

status as cognitively valid, empirically objective, rationalistically grounded and universally accepted (DER DERIAN, 1989).

When it comes to foreign policy analysis, Realism assesses the structure of the international system and material capabilities, whereas cognitive perspectives prioritise perceptions, though these two have somehow shown some agreement, and Realist scholars show openness towards incorporating cognitive and domestic aspects to their analysis (MERKE, *no press*, p.13). Preferences prevail for states' action in accordance with Liberalism, whilst information is the focus for Neoliberals. As for Post-Structuralism, the construction of identities unveils "how possible" (DOTY, 1993) questions in a problematization beyond Constructivist undertakings, in order to find how possible answers to state's external actions.

Merke (*no press*, p. 37) echoes a perception of identity as a tool for states to interpret the world and inform their actions, wherein identity and practice are telling of the way the discourse of the self moulds reality according to differences. The influence of identity upon foreign policy in its cognitive and social aspects entails both the definition of interests and the selection of policies following an equally selective constellation of discourses that end up structuring foreign policy (LARSEN, 1999, p. 11). Since foreign policy must comply with identity in discourse and practice, there is a 'path dependency' in this relationship, thereby granting authority to identity as a structuring element of foreign policy (MERKE, *no press*, p. 39).

The main problem with the Constructivist view resides exactly in the authority it grants to identity upon foreign policy, thereby reifying identity in a single directed understanding from identity towards foreign policy. Post-Modern understandings appraise the matter as a double direction move, in that foreign policy equally informs identity, hence deconstructing identity through an argument of co-constitution between identity and foreign policy.

Acknowledging two different strands of theory, Robert Cox incepted a critical understanding by describing conventional approaches as "problem solving" (SYNCLAIR, 1989, p. 6), in which the states are themselves the limits of the system and impervious to change, being action itself the focus of the system. The Rationalistic theoretical framework and its underpinning epistemology provide very myopic lenses for the assessment of how Foreign Policy is the setting for the

production and reproduction of subjectivities and representations about a state's self. Conversely, an incipient critical strand, gaining ground after the demise of the Cold War, started unveiling contradictions and conflicts prone to changing even the prevailing order, wherein the limits of the system derailed.

Moreover, those incipient critical perspectives like Cox's, drawing on Foucault's binomial comprised by power and knowledge, paved the way for "alternative standpoints" (CAMPBELL, 1992, p. 69), which unmasked the anachronism of perceiving states as atomistic and finished entities that influence the international system based on a "securely grounded" identity "prior to foreign relations" (ibid). The conventional approach regards global politics as a conjoint of the international and the state systems along with domestic subsystems, which exists *a priori* and unrelatedly to the "bridge" that the states consciously construct as Foreign Policies (CAMPBELL, 1992, p. 49). Post-Structuralist scholars like Campbell unpack the intersubjectivities that the pair foreign policy/Foreign Policy entails. For Campbell (1992, p. 43), "policy is not about policy per se, although it has manifest political implications", but rather "about how the conventional understanding of foreign policy was made possible via a discursive economy that gave value to representational practices associated with a particular problematization". (CAMPBELL, 1992, p. 43).

Importantly, Campbell (1992, p. 76) draws a caveat on this "discursive economy" process that turns foreign policy into Foreign Policy (*i.e.* in capital letters). Foreign Policy, in its conventional organizational form, can be traced back to the turn of the nineteenth century, with the labelling of "foreign" or "external" of such "modern cultural artifact" aimed at intensifying the state's power (CAMPBELL, 1998, p. 75). As per Campbell (ibid), it is foreign policy that constitutes identity and thus "provides the discursive economy or conventional matrix of interpretations" informing Foreign Policy as a state-based relationship that reproduces identity by means of a "discourse of power that is global in its scope yet national in its legitimation" (ibid, p. 77). In other words, Foreign Policy, in its institutional fashion, is not as "implicated in the constitution of identity" (ibid, p. 76) as foreign policy, since the institutional one only reproduces "the constitution of identity made possible by 'foreign policy', stabilizing ensuing challenges to identity" (ibid).

Moreover, the challenges to the reproduction of identity that Foreign Policy faces are noteworthy: since identity is unstable and Foreign Policy is not exempt from contingencies or resistances, this means that no matter what elites adopt, Foreign Policy practices always face possible instantiations for alternative representations of identity (ibid, p. 78). The crux of this reorientation unveiled, as Campbell describes, shifts of foreign policy "*from* a concern of relations *between* states which takes place *across* ahistorical, frozen and pre-given boundaries, *to* a concern *with the establishment of the boundaries* that constitute, at one and the same time, the 'state' and 'the international system'" (ibid, p. 69). Campbell's originality resides precisely in the subversion of received wisdom on foreign policy by deeming it as domestically constituted, since he sheds light on how the delimitation of the external comprising foreign policy contributes to the production and reproduction of the state' identity, a practice that ultimately justifies the own existence of a state.

Globalizing and fragmentary forces intrinsic to Post-Modernity and the corollary porosity of borders is what leads Campbell to problematize how foreign policy is synonymous with a self-defence practice aimed at ascertaining the importance of its national identity and at disciplining its interior so as to preserve the state (RESENDE, 2010, p. 23). In accordance with Campbell (1998, p.61), the very instability of foreign policy neglects the alleged durability of borders and instantiates them as historical entities that simultaneously conform both the state and the international system.

The Post-Structuralist deconstruction of self and other in international politics sheds light to the retroactive dynamics between them: identities base themselves on some other that forms them inasmuch as the identities themselves construct the other (DIEZ, 2005, p.16). Received wisdom suggests that the domestic sphere precedes the construction of the external threat, while what actually happens is that

> "they are constructed in this very statement – there is no homogeneous and clearly delineated 'inside' to be defended against the 'outside' apart from a historically contextual representation of social relations infused with power and distinctions between 'self' and 'other'. Foreign policy, from such an angle, is not the representation of the nation to others as a pre-given object, but a construction of the nation in the very moment of representation" (ibid, p. 16).

Drawing on Foucault's understandings on the relations between discourse, power and meaning, the present intake of Post-Structuralism to Public Diplomacy assumes

that “discourses are productive” (SKÅNLAND, 2016) inasmuch as “They construct truth, meaning and knowledge, and provide us with the lenses through which we perceive the world and the basis on which we think and act. Moreover, discourses define what practices are possible, logical and legitimate, rendering others unthinkable or illegitimate” (ibid, 2016).

Wæver’s (2002) account on foreign policy through the elucidation of structures of meaning illustrates the actualization of language to address state’s external language insofar as discourse conditions policies (HANSEN & WÆVER, 2002, p. 26). The systematization of a country’s “patterns of thought” (WÆVER, 2002, p. 26) renders its debates and actions “more intelligible to other observers” (ibid). Wæver (ibid) expands the flagrant relationship between foreign policy and discourse on the grounds that, as Kissinger (1957, p. 146) describes, policy makers are obliged to justify where a certain decision will lead to and how this “resonates with the state’s ‘vision of itself’”, regardless of the audience.

Particularly interesting for the object at stake in the present research is the context of crisis, wherein national leaders draw both on “an interpretive framework for problem definition, and a resonant frame to legitimise or ‘sell’ policies to the collective” (JACKSON, 2011, p. 392). Elites, being the speaking subject, are the “spinning doctors” maneuvering strategic messages to each channel and audience according to specific context and to interests, in a dynamic that legitimizes policies, discredits alternatives, sanctions knowledge and empowers some agents to the detriment of other actions and people (ibid).

2.6.2.

The politicization of discourse: stabilizations and hegemony

The prevailing political character of enunciators of discourse underpins both the temporality of ‘subject positions’ and hegemony in the sense of foreclosing meanings in an artificial manner whose outlook is rendered natural and homogenous (HALL, 2000; BENWELL & STOKOE, 2006). Discourse is thus the political delimitation of power practices, which not only endows reality with “regimes of truth” (MILLIKEN, 1999; HANSEN, 2006) by bestowing naturalness upon restricted perspectives (HALL, 2000), but also establishes a hierarchical

stabilization, as those that are subservient to the enunciators "give their consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural group generating the discourse persuades them of their essential 'truth', 'desirability' and 'naturalness'" (BENWELL & STOKOE, 2006, p. 30).

Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. 29) clarify that the discursive partake on identity occurs either as an interactive performance / construction, or as a historical set of structures with regulatory power upon identity. While the perspective on the structuration of identity historically evolved from a sovereign towards a cognitive subject and socially contingent reconfiguration to finally achieve a critical 'discursive turn' restricting self-determination (ibid, p. 30), its interactive dimension implies dynamics of stabilization and contestation.

The stabilization of meanings implies structuration according to "nodal points", which, as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2004) explain, are key structures that dominate a discursive space by excluding other possible meanings, which ultimately sediment discourse through time and space in such a way as to present reality as objective and irrefutable (MERKE, *no press,* p. 35). The search to render a discourse hegemonic resides exactly in its incompleteness – since a discourse is always subject to be challenged by alternative meanings, identities carry "completeness fantasies" (WÆVER, 2002).

The "fantasy of completeness" does not incur into the dissolution of the very identity. Rather, it relates to a "logic of hegemonic stabilizations wherein part of the system intends to represent its totality" (MERKE, *no press,* p. 37). Being discursively constructed, a collective representation requires the hegemonic stabilization of an identity by means of silencing alternative representations (HUYSMANS, 2006). Since other meanings can constantly defy an identity, even the hegemonic discourses are historically contingent. All the more, the nature of identity as "an incomplete process of identification rather than as a culturally given trait or structurally determined consciousness" (HARVEY, 2001, p. 253) configures an "undecidability" (ibid) that not only "blocks the achievement of full self-consciousness" (ibid) but is also prone to multiple identifications via social interaction (ibid). The danger of a frail self-consciousness lies in the reproduction of inequalities, as well as the reinforcement of particular hegemonic conceptions,

whereby identity and identification become a colonising force (BENWELL & STOKOE, 2006)

Hansen (2006, p.46) argues that "basic discourses point to the main points of contestation within a debate and facilitate a structured account of the relationship between discourses, their points of convergence and confrontations; how discourses develop over time in response to events, facts and criticism; and how discursive variations evolve". By the same token, she exhorts to "a comparison of issues located within the same temporal horizon", as it "generates knowledge of the discourses of the Self across politically pertinent areas" (ibid, p. 71).

As Hansen (2006) suggests,

> "the discourses of the Self are trying to stabilize the Self's identity, yet […] this is an inherently unstable and often contested project produced and reproduced through foreign policy discourse" (p. 40);
> "As the meaning of each sign is established through linking and differentiation, there is always a gap between them: they are linked to each other, but never fully the same. Instability might be explicitly articulated if the Other is constructed as radically different yet also as part of the Self, but discourses will usually seek to avoid such blatant contradictions, and tracing instability therefore usually involves more careful analysis of how links and juxtapositions come into conflict with each other" (p. 69).

Milliken, acknowledging the 'play of practice' of discourse, points to the persistent instabilities of discourses, which require 'authorized subjects' to be successful in reproducing them, in some open-ended dynamics that recall Foucault's microphysics of power (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 242). Milliken thus wraps up existing methodologies to approach these unstable dynamics and appeals to more contributions in terms of assessing the practices engendered with the implementation of policies. Milliken traces the existing literature, in that discourses are not only "systems of signification" implying relationships in a sign system according to its structure as Saussure taught us, but also on Derrida's understanding of binary oppositions, establishing, for my research object, a relation of power and privilege of some terms (as "peace" and "facilitator") in face of others (as "war" and "terrorist"). Discourses, being equally productive, operationalize "regimes of truth", "define subjects authorized to speak and to act" and even establish "*knowledgeable practices*" with the mastering of places and groups, being the legitimation of those a result of rendering them "common sense" (MILLIKEN,

1999, p. 229). Additionally, "the play of practice is of particular importance here, as it assumes that even dominating discourses are subject to unstable 'grids of intelligibility" (DOTY, 1993), which require efforts to articulate their "open-ended meshes", thereby rendering, as Doty explains, any fixing of identity "historically contingent", subject to variations along time (ibid). This "play of practice" lens gains significance for my research, since it focuses on the workings to fix meanings as dominant and the resilience of "subjugated knowledges" in face of attempts to silence and exclude them (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 230).

2.6.3.

Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy

With the help of Milliken's (1999) methodological framework, I hereby intend to explore how the Norwegian Public Diplomacy has stabilized and fixed a peace identity as its dominant meaning simultaneously to the workings of hegemonic discourses to exclude or silence an alternative warful stance, which renders a subjugated knowledge that confronts and destabilizes the instantiation of the peace self. Being a Foreign Policy study, it is obviously equally "concerned with explaining how a discourse articulated by elites produces policy practices" (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 241).

For the purpose of this research, I must also refer back to existing understandings revolving around the concept of Public Diplomacy. The study of Public Diplomacy not only entails discourse but also – and essentially –interactions[34] of power. This research considers Public Diplomacy as open discourses on Foreign Policy, or, to borrow Snow's (2009) definition, the communications that governments make to global publics, including "efforts to inform, influence, and engage those publics in support of national objectives and foreign policies".

That said, and deeming Public Diplomacy as official discourses on Foreign Policy, the usefulness to assess the "coherence, logic and meaningful tensions" (WÆVER, p.30-31) that configure the "`public logic`" (ibid) of the realm of Foreign Policy

[34] Epstein's actualization of Foucault conceives these social relations as "both simultaneously the locus of power and the site for the production of meaning" (2008, p. 4).

discourse resides in the possibility to "capture strong structuring logics", which limits politics into a "relatively tight loop" (ibid). Wæver explains that the interdependence of conceptual constellations across different arenas acts in such dynamics that allow both reproductions and modifications of a conceptual code at play and dependent of a logic, which, in turn, paves the way for the following "political struggle" (ibid).

James Fearon (1999, p. 29) observed that a common argument assumes identities as the basis of interests and "actions as commitment on, and even resolution of, issues concerning [identity]". Although this assumption may derive from rationalistic calculations on strategy, it equally denounces a political purpose of externalizing Foreign Policy and identity through Public Diplomacy. There is a compelling drive for elites to export crises by means of Public Diplomacy, either in a process of reinforcing a good self or by resolving ambiguous stances. By the same token, Campbell (1998, p. 72) argues that the discipline and containment of domestic ambiguities and contingencies becomes possible with the external release of threats through discourse, and the conjoint foreign policy/Foreign Policy stands as among a multitude of current cultural practices that is effective in that political aim to discipline ambiguity and construct identity.

2.7.

Conclusion: Redressing Disturbances in the 'Natural Order'

The building of a nation presupposes beliefs, identities and values enmeshed in a people's "history, myth, education, language, experience, and ideology" (MANSBACH & RHODES, 2007, p. 430). In that process, one cannot help but resorting to Anderson's portrayal of nations as "imagined communities", wherein a sense of belonging attaches people like a family in an identification stretching "backwards in time, including all past generations to when the founding myth took place" (HANSEN, 1996, p. 474). The core of this consolidation resides in the "privileging of continuity" (ibid). There is a groundbreaking deconstruction of the logic of continuity in Hansen's argument, which I will develop further in this

research and which relates to “the breaks within continuity”. As Hansen (ibid) explains, episodes and representations that do “not easily conform to the nationalist, homogeneous vision of history are constructed as breaks within continuity - as periods in which the natural order is temporarily disturbed”.

Once analyzing cracks in a supposedly natural and unified order such as Norway’s self-image of a “Peace Nation”, I must admit that, drawing on Connolly, (1991, p. 176), there are both contingent elements “susceptible to reconstitution” and “branded or entrenched contingencies”. For Connolly, “a branded contingency is a formation that has become instinctive, even though it may not be reducible to instinct as a biological drive”, which entrench dispositions in a manner that seem “deep truths”. Conversely, contingency is synonymous with a changing fashion, which is subject to will or decision (ibid). Hansen (2006, p. xviii) heeds attention to some pressure working actively on specific entrenched patterns of identity, which ensues from discordance, interventions and repercussions. I will relate such pressures upon the “deep truth” of Norway as a Peace Nation. In order to ponder such pressures, I must take into account the “‘undecidability’ of the social and the contingency of meaning on competing discourses” (HARVEY, 2001, p. 253), whose political interventions “attempt to create new discourses that ‘sediment’ identities, borders, and orders” at the same time they enable actors to revisit identities and to incorporate innovative articulations to face those disturbances of naturalness.

All in all, and recurring back to the opening epigraphs of this chapter, Post-Structuralism points against an aim of fixing a unity like Goffman implies with the mask metaphor. Giddens (1986, p. 65), referring to Goffman, attempted to demonstrate that the body itself is not a position but rather a situation. To that extent, Montaigne’s quotation from 1580 becomes ever more up-to-date, given that our shapeless and diverse composition renders individuals, collectivities and others into a “patchwork”, whose work is constantly “playing its own game” in the differentiation “between us and ourselves” and “between us and others”. As I will further explore drawing on Laclau and Mouffe (1985), that patchwork is constantly vying for an overfloating assurance that fills up empty and vague signifiers.

3.

Old peace nation, recent war state

> "*If you look at the conditions outwards, you always say with a lot of strength: We will have no foreign policy. [..] The task must be to remain out of participation alliances that can draw us into war adventures along with some of the European war states. And that is of course what man wants […] to claim and maintain neutrality, to remain neutral not only during war, but also during the days of peace, remain neutral to political combinations between powers - this is a very important foreign policy. […] But one must remember that this means that we must pursue a very strong foreign policy. Its goal must be to keep the country outside the dangerous combinations; but it requires caring, it requires daily attention, and it requires influence. The only foreign policy we must politically envisage is that; but it is not the same as no foreign policy, on the contrary, it is an ever-living foreign policy*"
> ~Jørgen Løvland (*Stortinget*, 1905, *my translation*)

Norway's self-perception of a moral do-gooder aligns with civilization in a way that received wisdom does not give space for one to conceive that Norwegian interventions may be more related to war than to peace. The overall though floating concept of peace organizes disputed narratives of Norway's identity representation by filling the void between peace facilitation, on the one hand, and the violent peace of war intervention, on the other. This chapter will explore Norway's recent past as a sovereign state with the aim to introduce the development of peace as an organizing concept for the country to ascertain its place in the outer world through an identity politics of prestige based on a constructed peace niche diplomacy. The assessment of this peace expertise involves the investigation on the technical contours of facilitation, which, as opposed to power politics mediation, grants Norway a depoliticized stance. Couched on narratives of morality and of its exceptional approach to peace, I argue that, far from being dichotomic or coherent, Norway's peace identity representation as a seemingly disputed self may be assessed against the backdrop of peace as a floating signifier. The extent of this assessment ranges not only throughout the country's urge to ascertain its sovereign status but also as a concept amenable to Norwegian engagements in other areas, thereby attaching a peace rationale even to intervening wars.

3.1.

Norway: old nation, recent state?

Ever since 1536 until 1905, Norway was not a national sovereign state. In practical terms, Norway became a Danish province when Denmark abolished the Norwegian national council in 1536, thereby subsuming Norway's land and its people to the southern neighbour's rule in the context of Reformation (DANIELSEN *et al.*; 1995, p. 123). Ralf Danielsen, Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Gronlie, Knut Helle and Edgar Hovland (1995, p. 123) remind us that there was "an awareness of Norway's distinctiveness that was at least as strong in 1814 as it had been in 1536". It is this self-awareness of Norway as being a long-standing nation but lacking a sovereign state that spearheads the analysis of how the Norwegian peace identity representation and Norway's peace engagements might be connected to a need of the country to self-righteously claim a peculiarity once achieving sovereignty. Even though Norway proved to be prosperous in absolute terms, in comparative ones it was unfortunate that the "province" of Norway could not fully seize the gains from mercantilism due to the fact that the central government was placed outside its borders (ibid, p. 127).

Absolutism granted – also to Norway – the status of kingdom, although, as those authors argue (ibid, p. 196), that standing was rather pro-forma than realistic since both the rule and the administration were based in Copenhagen. During the Napoleonic wars, Denmark-Norway allied with France, whereas Denmark's archrival Sweden stood against Napoleon (LIBÆK *et al.*, 2012, p. 11). Sweden then confronted a hereditary crisis, which led the country to exhort to the French war hero Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, known as Carl Johan, to succeed the Swedish old and childless king (ibid). Betraying his former benefactor Napoleon, Carl Johan accepted to rule Sweden and claimed Norway, which the Great Powers had promised to Sweden as spoils of war (ibid). But Norwegian notables (not the people) had, up until then, supported the Danish Prince Christian Fredrik as ruler of Norway, who relinquished autocratic rule and, on 17 May 1814[35], the Norwegian

[35] The 17th of May is celebrated as Norway's National Date, in reference to the promulgation of its first and only Constitution in 1814, and not to its full independence from Sweden, in 1905.

people drew up the Eidsvoll Constitution, electing the Danish Christian Fredrik to be king of an independent Norway[36]. In summer of that year, Carl Johan invaded Norway and forced a union that, albeit allowing Norway to retain the country's constitution and domestic policies, Norway's foreign policy was entitled to Sweden only. This heeds our attention to the fact that Norway was a partly sovereign handicap until 1905.

Ivar Libæk, Øivind Stenersen and Og Asle Sveen (ibid, p. 16) tell us that, once assuming power, Carl Johan faced the challenge of balancing aristocratic Sweden and way more progressive Norway, where nobility was over and most farmer men[37] could already vote. The Swedish king also faced fierce resistance against his notorious disapproval of Norwegians celebrating the constitution date as their national date and his decision that the *Storting* (Norway's National Assembly) should gather only every five years. These authors (ibid. p. 17) explain that National Romanticism exerted a significant role on Norway's struggle to ascertain itself since, contrary to the universal French Revolution's values of "liberty, equality and fraternity", Romantics spread the belief in a national soul, which, based on singular features such as language and culture, purported the right to a state. This National Romantic orientation went nonetheless in tandem with the French Revolution's legacy of democracy, and informed Norwegians against the Danish cultural and the Swedish political dominances up until 1905 (ibid, p. 19). A curious reminiscence of Norway's attempt to differentiate itself from Denmark is the Norwegian dialect *Nynorsk*, created as a sovereign marker of identity, since the formal Norwegian Bokmål is a "Norwegianised Danish"[38] (ibid, p. 19).

It was precisely in foreign policy that the confrontation against Sweden recrudesced. As these authors describe, Norway's "increasing self-awareness"

[36] The fact that Norway retained its Danish king after independence from Denmark somehow resembles the history of Brazil, as the Portuguese Bragança Dynasty continued to rule the country after formal independence from Portugal.

[37] Norwegian women got the right to vote in 1913.

[38] The Norwegian Bokmål is the standard language, and its written form still resembles that of Danish, which is why Nynorsk emerged specifically to grant some particular identity to Norwegian written language. The peripherical and more rural parts of Norway used to radicalize for a "Norwegianisation" of culture by emphasizing Norwegian history, the *Nynorsk* language and the customs of far life, to the extent that urban citizens switched from opposing towards buttressing Sweden against this radical "counter-culture". Political struggles followed, with the gradual introduction of Parliamentarism and the eventual placement of *Nynorsk* on an equal footing to Bokmål (LIBÆK *et al.*, 2012, p. 23).

resulted in a growing need to ascertain itself externally. After Sweden threatened war against Norway's intent to claim its own consulates and foreign minister, the *Storting* decided to finance the modernization of Norway's defence against the "union brother Sweden" (ibid, p. 26). Following unsuccessful negotiations with Sweden on foreign policy, the *Storting* self-righteously proclaimed the dissolution of Norway's attachment to Sweden (ibid, p. 26).

Curiously enough, Sweden, deemed a "war state" (ERIKSEN & NEUMANN, 2011, p. 12) reacted to Norway's self-proclaimed dissolution not with war, but rather by pledging that a referendum be held in Norway so that the Swedish King Oscar could approve it (LIBÆK *et al.* 2012, p. 26). Although an overwhelming majority of Norwegians voted favourably to the dissolution, the most radicals in Norway believed that a people does not deserve freedom if they do not fight for it through war (ibid, p. 26-27). Eventually, Swedes caved in and relinquished the Norwegian crown in 1905. After some debate on whether Norway would adopt a republican or a monarchic regime, and cautioned against a negative reaction from foreign countries if Norway ventured into becoming a Republic, Norwegians voted for a Monarchy, and invited the Danish Prince Carl[39] to become their king (ibid, p. 28). Torbjørn Knutsen, Halvard Leira and Iver B. Neumann (2016, p. 60) explain that Norway received the prevailing liberal ideas that developed in Great Britain, the United States and France in a selective manner, incorporating those that could mostly be set forward by the nation's foreign policy. Among those ideas, the authors (ibid) pinpoint that the liberal peace movement is what stroke Norway the most. Interestingly, Norway preferred the ideas coming from the USA and Great Britain, and overlooked the predominant ideas ensuing from continental Europe, especially because Norway wanted to outstand from the continental 'war states', as Norway's first Minister of External Relations, Jørgen Løvland, addresses in 1905 (ibid, p. 61). More than that, he proposed active international trade relations but no politics of alliance that could drag Norway into wars, which led Olav Riste (2001, p. 76) to make a parallel between American isolationism and Norwegian neutralism.

[39] As part of an invented nation, the popularly elected king Prince Carl changed names to Haakon, an old royal name of Norway, and his son, Alexander, became Olav. Additionally, the chosen Royal family decided to boost its skiing abilities as a means to show identification with the national culture (LIBÆK; 2012, p. 29 - p. 31).

It is equally noteworthy, in that sense, the relativization that Norwegians make to war when it comes to protecting the new territory's sovereignty:

> "Nationalism is hardly so exceptional, but there is one move which points in this direction. It is the idea that Norway is especially peaceful. The idea dates from the 1890s, and has its roots in the delimitation of the Norwegian against the Swedish. As an old military superpower, Sweden became, in a Norwegian nationalist wording, categorized as one of several European 'Warrior states'. […] During the Cold War, Norway was an avid NATO member, and Norway was and is an important weapon exporter, but this does not crash against its self-esteem as exceptionally peaceful. Whether a given relationship results in correctness or not, however, is not particularly relevant in identities. One can, for example, ask how the Soviet Union officially emphasized the great and positive significance of violence. The passage of history could also have a self-image as peaceful. And one can ask how it is possible that Norway, like now, has for a continuous decade been a warring party in Afghanistan, but can still claim to be more peaceful than, for example, Sweden. But Norway can do that, and you can see the effects of it daily in the political debate, where it is being communicated or even denied that Norway is in war while such abnormalities of soldiers taking life are even portrayed as the reason why we actually have them and while the nation refuses to celebrate them as actually having died in Norway's name. Ståle Ulriksen (2003) has delivered the best explanation so far on how this might happen. Like Leira, he finds an explanation in the beginning of the crucial phase of Norwegian nation building, in the 1890s, when a thought emerged that Norwegian warfare was linked to Norwegian territory. For Norwegians, war has since meant to protect Norway. Those who were supposed to protect the territory were the people. Those people should protect the territory from Sweden" (NEUMANN, 2012, *my translation*).

In that sense, it is interesting to note that Norway also resembles the American isolationism when it comes to a sort of Christian tradition of just war.

Since the definition of one's self depends on the definition of what the self is not, Norway's definition of the world outside the country related mostly to representations that could contrast the European civilization. In accordance with Knutsen, Leira and Neumann (ibid), despite these efforts, there were no obvious differences to build on; actually, the influence of the continent to build up Norway pointed quite to the contrary: these authors argue that it is impossible to think of "the Norwegian people" without German Romanticism at the same time it is impossible to think of "the Norwegian state" without the French Revolution. Just like the different for Russia stood as "the West", for Norway, the different had been "Europe". These authors (ibid, p. 64) add that Norway's struggle to claim its status as a state would be a recurrence in Norwegian relations throughout the 1800s, and those efforts have not excluded bloody fights.

Free Norway lasted for thirty-five years only, from 1905 and 1940. The very conduct of foreign affairs stood among the challenges of the new state. Even though Norway declared itself neutral in the First World War, Norway's vulnerability with its large fleet of ships and dependency on Britain's exports forced the country to have a penchant for the allies, to the extent that Norway was deemed "a neutral ally" (LIBÆK *et al.*, 2012, p. 33). The years to follow saw some radicalization of the Norwegian Labour Party, influenced by the Russian Revolution, sparking some domestic opposition. Additionally, the stock market crash in the USA caused deleterious consequences on the Norwegian population, such as farmers' bankruptcy, mass unemployment and civil unrest (ibid, p. 40). These circumstances formed the backdrop for the rise of the extreme right wing through the "National Gathering", a rally that a Norwegian former military named Vidkun Quisling called upon on the 17th of May of 1933 (thus on the National Date) in order to fight Marxism and Communism (ibid, p. 41). What is most curious is that this man, who later collaborated with the Nazis during the German occupation of Norway, had assisted the Norwegian humanitarian hero Fridtjof Nansen to save victims of the famine in Russia and in Ukraine in the 1920s, to the extent that Quisling, shortly after Nansen's death, intended to portray himself as Nansen's natural successor and savior of the nation (ibid, p. 41). Needless to say, it is ironic that a national hero often attached to Norway's peace identity representation could also serve to legitimize a pro-fascist regime. This aspect of history also corroborates the perception of peace as a floating signifier, which, by never being a fully-fledged signifier, opens up to articulations and constellations that can be used by starkly opposing political projects.

Quisling's programme equally encompassed an assertive policy in the polar regions, buttressed by exploring national pride such as the fact that Roald Amundsen was the first expeditor to the South Pole, in 1911. Norway claimed areas in the Antarctic and annexed small islands in the Southern Atlantic, deemed strategic for Norwegian polemical whaling practices (ibid, p. 42). As for the Arctic, Norwegians occupied Spitsbergen archipelago and parts of Danish Greenland, causing Danes to protest against this "Arctic imperialism" and leading the International Court of Hague to vindicate them (ibid).

A pro-Hitler right-wing grouping became even more evident in Norway with attacks against the Norwegian Nobel Committee's "anti-German demonstration" when the Committee granted the prize to the German pacifist and concentration camp prisoner Carl Von Ossietzky[40] (ibid, p. 46). The Soviet Union, in turn, threatened Norway because the country conceded residence to Leon Trotsky, Josef Stalin's exiled opponent, which also infuriated the Norwegian Right.

The Nazi assault, however, came out as a sheer surprise to Norwegians, who decided to resist when Vidkun Quisling announced the world's first coup d'état by radio, with King Haakon disdaining it with a reinforcement of German soldiers that Hitler sent to assure the campaign. (ibid, p. 47). The allies' attempt to defend Norway failed and led to Neville Chamberlain's handing over of Great Britain's power to Winston Churchill (ibid). Germany buttressed a Nazi revolution in Norway, and Hitler established a purely Nazi government in Norway in 1942, appointing Quisling as Minister-President (ibid, p. 53). Crucial historical developments ensuing from the Nazi occupation such as a sense of national unity and the realization that neutrality failed and that Norwegian defences should be stronger (ibid, p. 61) are behind Norway's decision to sign its membership to NATO as a founding member.

Among the most important consequences of the Nazi occupation is the emergence of an even stronger sense of self. Clemens Maier (2007, p. 1) argues that Norway's (and Denmark's) framing of this period as the "dark parenthesis" was, in fact, "mentally structuring" for Norway's self-perception and identity, with effects up to date. The author, by remembering us that even the country's liberation too depended on another foreign force, depicts the extent to which Norway's population was traumatized with those years of hardship.

"The nation-state that had often just recently been built (in the case of Norway it was just 40 years old) to protect the integrity of the territory and to protect its citizens had lost its legitimacy. The experience of treason and helplessness added to the deep sense of

[40] As history shows, the Nobel Peace Prize has an inescapably political cause and effect. The nomination of Peace Prize winners followed suit Norway's activism in peace from the 1990s, emphasizing Norway's role of peace broker. The Nobel Committee paid a tribute to the democratization of Eastern Europe by prizing Gorbachev, just as it did to the struggle against dictatorship in Burma and to the need of reconciliation in South Africa when granting the prize to San Suu Kyi and to Nelson Mandela respectively (LIBÆK *et al.*, 2012, p. 102). As problematized further, the granting of the Peace Prize to Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo backfired in terms of the freezing of the diplomatic between Norway and China.

insecurity. The nations were in 'urgent need of patriotic memories' to support the process of reconstruction – of both souls and infrastructure".

In order to counter this sense of insecurity of the self, Norway's conspicuous patriotic memory creation resided in simultaneously glorifying resistance and actively denying the experience of the occupation, which thereby conformed a widespread belief that it was resistance that defended the nation (MAIER, 2007; p. 2). As Maier (ibid, p. 30) describes, historians of democratic states normally address these "black holes" of a state's past by means of breaking news revelations that somehow draw on Roland Barthes' conception of myth as both a message and a statement able to create a new meaning through simplifications and omissions. These simplifications exist in order to make complex past events manageable and with a social meaning (ibid, p. 47). Maier argues that this myth creation not only refrained the opposition fighters from thinking that their efforts were in vain since the liberation came from outside, but also was necessary to re-invent a nation state that had been slaughtered by wars already at its very early stage. The construction of this glory is noteworthy in that it gives agency to Norway in a context that required that the country rebuilt its own sovereignty in an assertive manner.

Prime-Minister Einar Gerhardsen's 1946 address "Our generation will have a great place in Norway's history"[41] is illustrative of this blossoming self-standing:

"During the war, we managed to put a bigger price on land than before. How often did we not say that we would like to live modestly and struggle hard only once the country was set again? [...]. Our country has many rich and great opportunities. If we put capabilities and forces into common ceilings, Norway will come over the difficulties faster than we think today. Our generation will have a great place in Norway's history. The efforts of the warriors will provide strength and will travel through after us. [...]. What is decisive for the country's and people's closest future is back" (GERHARDSEN, 1946, *in* BERGE, 2016, p. 27, *my translation*).

This address depicts Norway's new wave of potentials for new beginnings. As noted earlier in the Introduction, the years following Norway's decision to abdicate neutrality saw what I hereby term as "engagement spree". Norway was enthusiastic with the founding of the United Nations, not least because the Norwegian foreign minister Trygve Lie became its first Secretary General in 1946 and because of an underlying hope that the organization would assure peace in a way that could Norway from engaging in military alliances (ibid, p. 66). Norway's wish to become

[41] "1946 - Vår generasjon vil få en stor plass i Norges historie". See: BERGE (2016).

"a bridge-builder" between West and East was nonetheless impossible with the surge of the Cold War, in a context in which a small state like Norway was not able to assume the role of a mediator since the situation forced Norway to take sides with the West, accepting funds from the Marshall Plan (ibid). Norway equally abided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's free trade framework.

As per these authors (ibid, p. 67), the watershed that marked Norway's relations with the Soviet Union happened when the Soviets occupied Czechoslovakia, motivating Norway, Denmark and Sweden to cogitate a Nordic defence alliance, which they failed to achieve. This shortcoming pushed Norway to join NATO. In order to appease the Soviet, Norway tried to maintain its territory free of foreign bases and atomic weapons, a policy that the Americans were not sympathetic with, and Norway refrained from allowing military exercises near the border, a scenario that has recently changed as I will later develop.

As anticipated in the Introduction, an array of organizations comprised Norway's engagement spree after the liberation from the Nazis. This is intriguing as it nails down the infant Norwegian state with an anxiety to ascertain its sovereignty by depositing its membership ratifications in an outstanding move as opposed to years of intended neutrality. It is also curious that Norway incepted its Peace Engagement only from the Oslo Accords, in a context of uncertainty in its neighbouring areas after the demise of the Cold War, a circumstantial factor that is telling of Norway's specialization through a niche diplomacy of peace, so that it could ascertain itself in the new order. At the same time, as the neighboring threat subsided with the fall of the Soviets, NATO declared, in 1991, that the organization was open to redirect assignments outside the territory of the member countries, which happened in sequence in Bosnia and Kosovo, an operation of which Norway already took part. As further detailed, Norway engaged in military operations under humanitarian justifications.

Other than that, the trauma of the austerity and the consequent unity among the population in times of the occupation was the breeding ground for shaping the Norwegian welfare state (MAIER, 2007; p. 3). The following debates on whether joining the European Community often revolved around self-perceptions that the

traumatizing occupation generated (ibid). This author (ibid, p. 4) points to attempts to revisit these narratives of the war, but the "memory political forces" proved to be astonishingly enduring, thereby prevailing upon contested interpretations.

This contextualization of Norway's history as an old nation but recent state is fundamental to shed light on Norwegian peace activism on the grounds of the country's anxiety to ascertain itself as a sovereign state that, albeit small, becomes prestigious by trademarking peace, which also informed the country's "engagement spree". Such reasoning gains theoretical contours with Brent Steele's (2008) conception of ontological security. As Steele (2008, p. 27) argues,

> "While individual states may engage in behaviors that reinforce or distinguish them as part of a larger community of states, they only commit to foreign policy actions through time which they perceive as securing their self-identity or their sense of ontological security. What have appeared to us (scholars) as the 'humanitarian' or 'moral' actions of states actually represent a form of rational action because they serve to reinforce the state drive of ontological security as such actions confront threats to self-identity".

There is equally a strong security element in the Norwegian engagement in local conflicts under the reasoning that local conflicts can emerge into larger and even global conflicts. Skånland (2016, p. 37) argues that

> "The comprehensive notion of security, set out in the 1989 White Paper, centred on the claim that security could not be viewed in isolation from global challenges. In other words, Norway's global engagement to help people in crisis was considered a tool in safeguarding its own security and prosperity [...]. An interest-based motivation for such engagement was thus explicitly introduced, potentially strengthening the legitimacy of peace efforts".

Apart from attaching peace to security and defence, the Norwegian Model of making peace has more particularities as shown below. The Norwegian Model comprises at least four elements:

> "First, Norway was said to possess certain small-state advantages (absence of colonial past, great power interests, historical or vested interests, and muscle to pressure the parties) that ensured impartiality, neutrality and confidence in the country as a third party. Second, the close cooperation between Norwegian authorities, NGOs and academic institutions, allowing the authorities to draw on non-state actors' flexibility, experience and contacts in conflict areas, was underlined. This cooperation was often regarded as the lynchpin of the Norwegian approach. Third, the approach was seen as benefiting from close contact with and confidence from the parties. Close contacts enabled Norway to play a facilitative rather than mediating role. Fourth, a long-term perspective on peace-building, including aid and economic support for reconstruction, was also often seen as part of the Norwegian approach" (EGELAND, 1998; SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 39).

Both the domestic and the international profiling of Norway's peace engagements goes in tandem with a narrative of a "do-gooder state", to borrow the expression of

the extant literature (WOHLFORTH *et al.*, 2017). The dominant discourse on the Norwegian efforts in the Colombian peace process often revolves around explanations such as "Norway has no colonial past and thus no major power interests in the conflict" (NISSEN, 2012, *my translation*). Arguments based on swift decisions thanks to an efficient bureaucracy and to a tight network between the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and think tanks are also commonplace. Even though the absence of a colonial past is open to question[42], Norway's discourse on its peace identity representation certainly dominates albeit a collection of warful partakes.

That Norway "punches above its weight" (OBAMA, 2011) given its size and peripheral position is itself a taken-for-granted truism. What is not so obvious, however, is how Norway chose through its history and culture to be a peace nation in such a circular way wherein its peace commitment exists because Norway has a tradition of peace, and the origin of the peace tradition is that Norway has always been engaged in peace (NISSEN, 2012, *my translation*). To that puzzle, I add the problematic of how, by producing itself as a peace nation, the peace discourse that Norway constructs authorizes warful approaches, which, in turn, re-create Norway as a double-edged self-representation. Moreover, tradition refers to an invention, as Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) argue:

> "Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity 1 with the past.

The tradition of peace in Norway has, like other traditions, been an imagination and an invention, to the extent that Norway has attached peace to war.

[42] It would be preferable to deem Norway, to say the least, as a "noncolonial colonial" (KJERLAND & BERTELSEN, 2014), since Norway also "hitchhiked" (ibid) its "way to the boons of empire" (MACALLISTER; 2018), conjoining Denmark in the transportation of around 100,000 slaves, owning plantation farms in Mozambique and even occupying parts of Greenland (BANGSTAD, 2018). With regard to the Northern Norway's indigenous Saami population, until the 1980s the Norwegian State undertook policies of assimilation – "norwegianisation" (MINDE, 2005) in addition to uprooting Saami people of their land, silencing their culture and violently suppressing uprisings, which "bore all the hallmarks of internal colonialism, including the official stigmatization of the Saami as an 'inferior race'" (MINDE, 2005; BANGSTAD, 2018). Norway also shows records of attempts to oust or incorporate Romani/Tater people:

https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde/krd/rap/2003/0022/ddd/pdfv/188093-rapportomtaterne.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0moeTsrT7M4Zj7XCfL1tfS-T5EFIJ7bO91EkaTY1dGz5WnYvFbqNIH6SQ

Once doing so, discursive constructions reveal attempts to make amends with peace (to be in peace with peace), which entails a parable to the emptiness of the signified of peace.

Punching above its weight was Obama (2011)'s reference to small states in general and to Norway in particular. Interestingly to my object, the second time Obama applied the boxing metaphor to Norway was on the occasion of the visit of the Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg to the White House in October 2011, in an explicit tribute to Norway's hefty involvement in the NATO-led bombing of Libya (CARVALHO & LIE, 2015, p. 56; p. 70). Surprisingly enough, Norway's high status on the grounds of its peace and security involvement is indifferent to whether the means are humanitarian or military (ibid, p. 56), which leads me to inquire how the discourse on Norway's indiscriminate bombing in Libya has somehow reinforced the image of a good state, wherein morality and recognition are two sides of the same coin just as, like I will further develop, the pairs of peace-war, and facilitation-ownership are flipsides of the same coin of a two-headed Norwegian crown.

The very credibility of Norway as a peace broker can arguably draw on the country's "lack of past", because, being a recent sovereign state, Norway's history portrays comparatively less staining historical facts as in face of, say, Great Britain. Maybe it is thanks to this crystal-clear self-perception that Norway can present itself as a transparent state. Notwithstanding received wisdom of lacking a past due to fact that Norway is a recent state, there are some problematizations towards automatically claiming that there are no indices of a colonial past, as developed in the following section of this chapter. Also, it is argued that Norway has allured high stakes for its credibility as an uninterested, discreet and impartial (GUIMARÃES, 2014) facilitator that has its own way of making peace through closed capped mingling situations also known as "backchannel" (JONES, 1999; WAAGE, 2000), such as the receptions at residence of the Norwegian Ambassador to Colombia and in "El Laguito", the setting for the Peace Talks in Havana, wherein informal occasions helped raise familiarity and empathy among rivals (NYLANDER *et al.*, 2018).

The extant literature argues that Norway, being a small homogeneous democracy that boasts huge internal consensus, with assets and resources readily available (EGELAND, 1998; GUIMARÃES, 2014) to approach to a positive peace linked to security, the country also benefits from the *status quo* of the international system (CARVALHO & NEUMANN, 2015), and, acting as a systems-maintainer (ibid) that bandwagons the hegemon (JAKOBSEN *et al.*, 2016), echoes anti-terrorist warful approaches under drivers of humanitarian causes (ROTTEM, 2008), thereby focusing on problem-solving approaches to conflict resolution and, as such, it rather promotes a negative peace (NEUMANN, *no press*).

The steep increase of Norwegian efforts in facilitation after the demise of the Cold War has formed the lynchpin for the transformation of Norway's status of a peace nation from an almost self-evident subconscious (LEIRA, 2007, *my translation*) towards becoming a constant and high-priority matter of its foreign policy shift (ibid). The new and unstable context of free neighbouring states forms the backdrop against which Norway resorted to the ontological security of its sense of peace identity through the professionalization of a peace niche diplomacy. Notwithstanding diverse interest-based motivations and an upsurge of a critically reflexivist trend, peace policy remains tied to identity (LEIRA, 2013, p. 339). Moreover, even in the contemporary context of the "Global War on Terror", Norwegian diplomacy continues to predominantly endorse dialogue and open communication as its chief approach to peace (ibid).

3.2.

Peace discourse as an organizing concept for Norway's Foreign Policy

As a concept, "peace" is said to have "particular resonance" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 29) within Norwegian society thanks to a distinguishable peace tradition that Norway firmly conceived as a means to emancipate from Sweden, a "warrior state" (ERIKSEN & NEUMANN, 2011, p. 12). Sweden used to be Norway's other back when Norway formed a compulsory union with that country after Denmark had to cede Norway as a war spoil from Napoleon's fall. Besides being crucial to step up

the mobilization against Sweden, the concept of peace "came to dominate the foreign policy discourse of the newborn state" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 29). The brand new Norwegian Foreign Policy incepted peace as its primary goal, whose achievement anchored upon neutrality (ibid). As Leira (2013, p. 351) notes, Norway accompanied the international modifications of the peace concept, with "an ever-increasing number of issues being subsumed under the positive heading of 'peace'". If, on the one hand, peace is an unattainable abstraction, on the other hand, its recurrent use to refer to different improvements of the like of development, sustainability, security and so forth risks emptying the meaning of the concept. The potential harbinger that peace could become a cliché might be behind the fact that, as Leira (ibid) tells us, "explicit reference to 'peace' has become less frequent over the last decade, with the entire panoply of good causes now being referred to as 'engagement policy'".

The existing literature on the Norwegian Peace identity aims at mobilizing and naturalizing an intent of characterizing Norwegian peace with its own said peculiarities, which politicians highlight as (albeit contested) a 'Norwegian way of making peace'. This literature is rife with arguments that Norway's approach to peace is idiosyncratic in its networking of expertise throughout the world, encompassing not only representatives of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) but equally NGOs and think tanks (GUIMARÃES, 2014; SKÅNLAND, 2016), which points to a new way of Diplomacy (NEUMANN, *no press*).

There is an almost automatic way of saying that a country has a tradition when what happens in practice is that a country *makes* a tradition. The making of a tradition implies both discourse and agency, which construct identity. Nissen (2012) states that Norway's peace tradition not only changes constantly but also relates to the narratives that Norwegians tell about who they are and what they stand for. By remarking that Norway's commitment to peace is not a self-evident part of being Norwegian, I hereby resonate with Nissen's (ibid) attempt to reflect on whether the Norwegian peace tradition exists, and, if so, what it consists of and where it is heading to. Let me then start the making-off of this identity "on the making" (GOMES, 2016, p. 2).

Leira (2015, p. 31) tells us that, in the context prior to its independence, Norway had a penchant to attaching particularities rather than general features to status, therefore "the qualities of Norwegianness" (ibid) pitted against, as in juxtaposition, the other that Sweden represented. In that context, liberal nationalists discursively constructed Norwegian people as nature lovers, whose peacefulness stood in stark contrast to the "war-proneness" (ibid) of snobbish Danes and the noble Swedes. The Norwegian identity as peace loving functioned both as "a cause and an effect of the policies of peace" (ibid), being policy not only instrumental but also an expression of Norwegian people[43]. Leira places the peace discourse as the very inauguration of Norway's foreign policy discourse once liberals pondered on how to conceive the country' role in the world outside the union. Such discourse started becoming natural thanks to activists such as Bjørnson, for whom small peoples' "leitmotif" should be peace as a matter of survival (LEIRA, 2015, p. 32), and Koht, who buttressed peace and justice to guard for land and peace in a mission that, if fulfilled, bestows honour[44] upon a small country. Rather than seeking power through moral authority, they argued in favour of change thanks to Norway's smallness. In accordance with Leira (ibid, p. 33), this reasoning purported the active change of "the rules of the game" through the pursuit of peace, whose fulfillment would not only grant honour on Norway but also re-order the rank of the state system, thereby generating more status to Norway (ibid). As remotely as 1902, then, the Foreign Minister Halvdan Koht had already described the peace work as a *task* (LEIRA, 2007), which reinforces the anti-essentialist dynamics of peace identity.

Most importantly, Leira (ibid) states that in the 1896 Parliament's debate on whether to finance the peace movement, "most of 'the friends of peace[45]'" were equally "'friends of defence'", standing against "the extreme pacifism" of the peace movement. In order to turn this alleged nature of peacefulness into the practical achievement of peace, there was a perceived attempt to represent Norway abroad

[43] As developed in the First Chapter, Post-Structuralists go beyond by stating that foreign policy are not only means to express a nation's identity, but also affect that identity as discourses constantly press its remaking.

[44] Honour is of paramount importance for Norwegian society, and there is a caricatured portrayal of the value of the principle as above life in the Norwegian NRK TV series "Norsemen". Leira (2015, p. 38) equally argues that, especially in the context of independence from Sweden, in 1905, peace served, among other functions, to attain honour and prestige.

[45] The expression stems from the Norwegian leading liberal newspaper *Dagbladet*, which asserted that "our entire people are natural-born friends of peace (*Dagbladet*, 23 April 1896).

through a system of consuls. Such penchant was telling that Norway preferred neither to partake on conventional foreign policy nor on the practice of diplomacy that it comprised, but rather preferred to deal in the economic realms (ibid, p. 34).

Other than navigating through the low-profile waters of the economic realm, the Norwegian Foreign Policy built on the figure of Fridtjof Nansen as one of the representations through which it started conveying narratives and practices based on the notion of a Peace self-representation. Until nowadays, this self is attached to Nansen's picturesque depictions, who, as an adventurer, became "the first High Commissioner for Refugees appointed by the League of Nations"[46]. Nansen's humanitarian legacy in terms of aiding starved refugees in the Soviet Union contributed for the adoption of humanitarianism in the Norwegian foreign policy peace discourse after World War I (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 29).

3.2.1.
The truism of altruism or a double-edged morally superior self?

Stating that Norway is a Peace Nation sounds like a truism, as if the worldly labelled Nobel Prize[47] country has always been attached to peace altruism. Notwithstanding genealogical explanations through historically emblematic figures remoting back to Norway's father of humanitarian causes Fridtjof Nansen, Norway's international peace hallmark has been a recent discursive consolidation, gaining impetus particularly after the Oslo Process[48], when Norway inaugurated its role as facilitator in an unprecedented sequence of peace-making processes following the "backchannel" talks that the country facilitated between Israel and Palestine. Some authors point to a sudden evolution of what seemed to be sparse conventions towards a solid image of Peace coined through *facilitation* (NISSEN, 2015), a standing that heeded global attention with the Oslo Process (WAAGE, 2000).

[46] Fridtjof Nansen Facts. THE NOBEL PRIZE. Available on: https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1922/nansen/facts/.
[47] The yearly peace recognition bestowed upon Norway with the Nobel Peace Prize is a credence to Alfred Nobel's decision, who happened to be Swedish (LEIRA, 2015, p. 35).
[48] The Oslo Process or the Oslo Accords refer to Norway's facilitation between Israel and Palestine, which led to the signing of the Oslo Agreement on 13 September 1993, thence revealing to the world that Norway, a country that Mahmoud Abbas deemed "a minnow", could make deeds the "whale" – the United States – could not (WAAGE, 2007, p. 157).

In this regard, Nissen (2015, p. 2) states that

> "Norway's self perception as an international peacemaker remotes to the times of its peace icon Fridtjof Nansen, a national hero. Even so, the overlapping of its peace identity with its foreign policy has intensified from the two decades following the end of the Cold War, when, 'all of a sudden"', 'Norwegian diplomats, policymakers, aid workers, and researchers were playing key roles as facilitators and mediators in various international peace processes', such as in Guatemala, Mali, the Middle East, the Balkans, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Cyprus, Haiti, the Philippines, and Timor Leste, among others, to the extent that this engagement is deemed as 'peace diplomacy'".

By the same token, Waage (2000) describes:

> "One of the most usual explanations of the Oslo success, is that in Norway, Israel and the PLO found a country that was keen to promote its image as an international peacemaker. This is obviously a correct observation and an important factor in any explanation. Although the new Norwegian policy of engagement, whose foremost spokesman was Jan Egeland, involved a new and far more active and conscious mediating role, ever since the turn of the century there had been a tradition of peace and mediation in Norway, symbolized above all by the explorer Fridtjof Nansen".

National narratives play a significant role in the development of collective identity, which also informs agency. Nissen (ibid) states that, even if "Norway does not always succeed in creating peace, the peace work helps to create Norway". One possible how question that rises from the double-edged self-representation of Norway – say, an identity discourse that simultaneously comprises peace in Colombia and war in Libya – is how a possible new way of making peace has helped to re-create Norway's peace self.

Despite Norway's persistence on a peace discourse as "an organizing concept" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 29) throughout history, policy implications shifted the discourse from proactive international cooperation and conflict prevention in the 1920s towards neutrality in the 1930s, showing that, albeit "largely intact" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 30), *the political use of peace discourse was rather flexible* (ibid, my highlight). In seeking to stay at bay of European power politics, Norway portrayed itself as a "role model for other countries by standing outside war and conflict" (NISSEN, 2012, *my translation*), and instead claimed that free international trade equated to peace-building (ibid). Faith in the redistribution of the international economy replaced initial free trade ideology (ibid), therefore Norway's standing as a liberalist fighter started comprising, around 1950, improvement through the UN (LEIRA, 2007), being the strengthening of international law, development aid, humanitarian assistance, and the substantial participation in UN peacekeeping operations prevalent practices that convey how

the peace discourse inspires the Norwegian approach to peace and development to present days (LEIRA, 2007; SKÅNLAND, 2008).

Perhaps it was Norway's stance as, along with the Nordic countries, a leading contributor to UN peacekeeping operations what led military activity to become "an important part of what one perceived as the peace tradition" (NISSEN, 2012, *my translation*). This perception of peace, as I will discuss later, did not emerge "out of the blue", as it was also present back in the discussions revolving around Norway's decision to become one of the founding members of NATO.

Official and authoritative addresses comprise the dominant discourse of peace as attached to Norway's self-image. Skånland (2008, p. 32) analyzes how three White Papers that the Norwegian government released after the Cold War helped to the consolidation of a peace foreign policy built on issues that saw a discursive construction prior to that activism on peace promotion through official policy. The 1989 White Paper not only stresses Norway's global engagement to help people in crisis as springing from values, but also underlines the importance to safeguard the country's security and prosperity by repeatedly articulating that the country's security is strictly connected to global challenges (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 33). Interestingly enough, this White Paper inaugurates this innovative notion of security to the official foreign policy discourse at the same time it does not deem the promotion of peace as a field of in which Norway has special advantages (ibid).

By contrast, the peace *promotion* discourse gains prominence as of the publication of the 1992 White Paper, "indicating a starting peace *engagement*" (ibid, p.34). Notwithstanding this upgrade, the caption of development aid or humanitarian assistance were still the prevailing signs, thereby subsuming peace, being rather a "a tool in development aid" (ibid), leading Skånland (2008, p. 36) to argue that there was "no distinct peace engagement discourse […] before Norway's role in the Middle East peace process between the Israel and Palestine became publicly known".

All in all, both the peace and the development aid discourse of the turn of the 1990s were breeding grounds for the later peace engagement discourse, which drew on "key terms, concepts, links, and meanings" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 35) such as "the Norwegian exceptionalism, the positive assessments of Norway's ability to

contribute to the solution of global challenges, the comprehensive notion of security, the compatibility of self-interests and altruism, and the link between development and peace" (ibid).

The emergence of a dominant representation that crystallized Norway´s very positive image in terms of its peace engagement took place, according to Skånland (2016), between 1993 and 2003, and initially comprised five discursive constructions. Firstly, following Norway's role in the Middle East, "the construction of Norway as able to contribute to peace in general may plausibly be seen as a *sine qua non* for both the new discourse and the policy of peace engagement" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p.38). This construction comprises addresses such as that of the then Secretary of State Jan Egeland (ibid, p. 39) according to which Norway, as a "Potent Small Power"[49], "may play a role that the super powers cannot in a range of different situations".

In accordance with Skånland (2008, p. 44), there was "an explicit generalization of the discursive elements and concepts of the Middle East peace process discourse", which replaced "the hitherto particularistic discourse" (ibid), thereby generating a spill-over effect through the export of its concepts and discursive constructions towards other relevant settings. Government officials thus asserted that Norway was a disinterested small nation to play an important role in other conflict areas as well, and statements as such channeled through the public realm of the media (ibid). Therefore, the media played the semiotic channel role to reproduce the innovative notion that Norway, albeit deeming itself traditionally as a peace nation, took up an unprecedented profile of peace engager. Examples of this novelty abound, with the thriving of press articles making conjectures on potential new "Oslo Channels", and with Norway even gaining the epithet of "World's peace office" (ibid, p. 44). The narrative that Norway played a decisive role for the upshot of the Oslo process together with the country's newly investment on agency and influence and its distinguishable approach contributed to lay the groundwork for a more general discourse on Norwegian peace engagement (ibid, p. 43).

[49] Jan Egeland is author of, among other books, "Impotent Superpower - Potent Small Power: Potentials and Limitations of Human Rights Objectives in the Foreign Policies of the United States and Norway".

The second discursive construction involved somehow a nexus between aid and peace, wherein peace promotion became an important part of Norway's foreign policy[50]. Thirdly, idiosyncrasies of the Norwegian way of making peace became part of discourses that explained the then deemed success in the Middle East thanks to features such as "secrecy, close personal contacts, confidence from and to the parties, and absence of Norwegian vested interests". Fourthly, a combination of self-interest with altruism formed the discourse that explained the drives of such engagement, so that the emphasis on signifiers like charity, moral duty and good-doer could be co-opted for the sake of unrelated "self-interested motivations". The emphasis on the utility of Norway's ascendant prestige and standing through regards such as "Norway's best foreign policy niche product" (LARSEN, 2002) that generates "considerable political capital" in terms of having access granted to eminent decision makers paved the way for "an instrumentalist self-interest perspective" (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 40), rendering the Norwegian engagement in peace "increasingly tied to a furthering of Norwegian interests unrelated to peace" (ibid).

Larsen (2002, p. 3), taken by the initial optimism related to Norway's peace facilitation of the Sri Lankan conflict[51], argues that no-one had ever imagined that the then Foreign Minister Jan Petersen, a former member of the rightist party, would pursue a peace work in remote areas. This is because conflict resolution was, back "in the old days, something Johan Galtung and some left-wingers spent their lives on". Larsen (ibid) argues that, while membership to NATO configured Norway's path to attention by the great powers, now, "a Norwegian-led breakthrough in Sri Lanka and Norwegian specialist knowledge from other conflict areas have taken

[50] The 1995 Official Report and White Paper on Norwegian development aid made clear that peace promotion was no longer a mere tool for development, but rather a salient concept part of the Norwegian Foreign Policy, wherein development aid had hitherto been granted a privileged hotspot (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995; Norwegian Official Reports, 1995 apud SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 39).

[51] Norway facilitated talks between successive Sri Lankan governments and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) during a span of twelve years. The ephemeral negotiated settlement, which comprised the Ceasefire Agreement, the Oslo meeting (wherein both parties committed to explore a federal solution), and the signing of a joint mechanism for post-tsunami aid, backfired and revealed the fragility of the peace process, as well as the limitations to the Norwegian ownership model and its facilitative soft power, even though Norway also acted as a ceasefire monitor and an aid donor (SØRBØ et al., 2011). The combination of peace facilitation, monitoring and donor not only drew criticisms but also points to the attachment of multiple empty signifiers, such as democracy and development, to the floating signifier of peace.

over this role" (*my translation*), granting to Norway access to other countries' decision-makers, especially in the United States, and rescuing the "old ideal policy" (ibid) as Norway's most important foreign policy niche product (ibid).

The profiling of Norway as a peace nation as set forth by the then Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik summarizes the dominant representation of the Norwegian engagement to Peace:

> "Norway must be a nation of charity and solidarity. Let us follow in the footsteps of Fridtjof Nansen through faithful efforts for refugees and suffering people in other countries (…) Norway must be a peace nation – an actor for conflict resolution and peace creating efforts. (…) I wish that our capital will appear as an international peace city. If we are remembered as a peace nation, Norwegians have reason to be proud". (Bondevik, 2000 apud SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 40).

Skånland (ibid) equally mentions the naturalization of peace efforts and the legitimization of practices accorded to them, a process that reinforces Milliken's (1999) genealogical perspective on discourse analysis, wherein history and continuity serve to endorse representations and practices. The audience to Bondevik's New Year addresses corroborated the enactment of Norway as a Peace Nation. By underlying peace engagement as Norway's distinguishable feature, Bondevik linked it to the Christian culture, to Fridtjof Nansen, to historic legacies of humanitarianism and Peace activism, which, in accordance with Skånland (2016), served to attach legitimacy to that engagement by suggesting that it had to do with the very nature of the Norwegian nation. Assuming that the discursive construction of tradition and continuity renders dominant representations natural, Bondevik's peace promotion stands as "a necessary practice for the reproduction of Norwegian identity" (SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 41).

During this period between 1993 and 2003, such idyllic image witnessed criticisms in a continuous process that, more recently, has enthralled disapproval through a trend of "denaturalization" of this engagement (SKÅNLAND, 2016). The alternative realpolitik representation denied priority to peace matters on the basis that neighboring areas should have prevalence and also through the dismissal of importance of such standing in face of concrete security concerns. On the other side of the spectrum, idealists not only criticized "Norway's interest-maximizing policy" as "incompatible with the goal of peace promotion" (SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 42) but equally abominated the "Norwegian failure to adopt a clear anti-war

stance", a practice deemed "out of line with the ideals implicit in concepts like 'peace nation' and 'humanitarian great power'", as the author quotes: "We have a self-image as a peaceful nation. (…) The government's eagerness to participate militarily in international conflicts stands in contrast to the building up of peace as a Norwegian brand (Nationen, 13 October 2003 apud SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 42).

Skånland (ibid) describes that, between 2003 and 2008, the government helped the dominant representation to continue in the "public limelight" thanks to ontological reinstatements of Norway as a peace nation for the branding of its engagement. Secondly, "Norwegian participation in military missions in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq was controversial, and could be construed as putting pressure on the dominant representation" (ibid, p. 43). And thirdly, the backsliding in Sri Lanka and the Middle East contributed to a relativization of this discursive dominance, followed by what Skånland (ibid) calls "Reflexivity" phase from 2002 onwards, enmeshed in a "denaturalization" process of Norway's self-image as a peace nation. Neumann (2004) observes that the construction of the peace self-image faced a diverse number of practices not in line with it, to the extent that radically different self-images could possibly have emerged through Norwegian history, such as that of Norway as a war nation.

Drawing "on the tensions between the peace nation image and foreign policy practices such as international military operations and weapons export", Skånland (2016, p. 44) mentions that the only innovation of the idealist representation for the period in question has been the "construction of negative links between Norway's ability to play a constructive part in peace processes on the one hand, and military engagement and weapons export on the other" (ibid, p. 44-45). On the other hand, the realpolitik representation conveyed at least four advancements. Firstly, there was the problematization of the "Norwegian model" "as a major advantage, of Norway as able to contribute to peace where other third parties fail, and of the involvement as having 'added value'" (ibid, p. 45). The second line of criticism, mainly voiced by Øyvind Østerud (2006), questions if Norway has indeed contributed to peace in practical terms. Thirdly, criticisms are equally articulated in relation to the benefits of this engagement for furthering Norwegian interests in unrelated domains. The fourth critical claim, echoing the new reflexivity, appointed

the unrealistic self-image of peace, which actually dampened "a proper interest-based foreign policy" (ibid, p. 45).

In addition to those criticisms, the backsliding of many peace processes in which Norway has taken part put pressure onto Norway's dominant representation by undermining faith in the country's self as an efficient peace promoter[52] (ibid, p. 46). Consequently, the re-articulation and reproduction of the major discursive constructions of Norway's peace identity are constantly on the making to counter such pressures (ibid). As of the Oslo process, there is a perceived dominant representation of the peace engagement in an official version, since the media scene often functions as the arena for official discourse and the government servants are the first reliable source of information to Norwegian news. (SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 37).

3.3.

Core concepts around the Self-Image of a Peace Hallmark: Status, Recognition, Morality, Honour and Prestige

Norway's self-image of peace stems from a Christian *ethos* of solidarity and therefore revolves around morality and honour. Status and recognition are relational and thus presuppose both the other's perceptions and proper conduct related to a specific discursive universe (WOHLFORTH *et al.*, 2017). Since these terms inform discourses on Norway as a peace nation, it is important to analyze how these concepts are buzzwords that constitute Norway's branding with a peace hallmark.

Aligning with NUPI's analysis of Norway's self-image as that of a "good Samaritan", William C. Wohlforth *et al.* (2017, p. 11) explain that Norway's national identity, the changing international setting and sheer luck enabled the

[52] The stalemate of the Colombian peace process at the very time I write these lines (shortly after a sequence of attacks and halting of talks with the FARCs) is but an example of Norwegian peace efforts unfortunately backfiring. As such, the peace process in the Middle East faces still bigger challenges than when Norway created its "backchannel". With regard to peace process in Sri Lanka, Norway's main legacy was the 2002 ceasefire agreement, torn into tatters shortly afterwards. Against such setbacks stand success such as the 2005 peace agreement in South Sudan (KELLEHER, 2006; SKÅNLAND, 2016).

endurance of the country's strategy of "good power". Drawing on peace activists and liberal discursive constructions on the importance of the people, "a persistent trait in Norwegian national identity" (ibid, p. 12) resided in the notion of its "self-evident capacity and duty to work for the betterment of the world". The status-seeking based on being good state and on its smallness has remained albeit international changes. Last but not least, Norway's riches sided with its "willingness to invest in visible international peace projects" (ibid, p. 17) have guaranteed recognition from the US, which has put incentives on Norway not only wanting to be a good state but also, in comparison with other good states, the better state (ibid).

Wohlforth *et al*. (ibid, p. 3) explain that a state's hierarchical standing also encompasses geopolitical placement, meaning that status seeking is consequently "a subcategory of state identity politics". Therefore, as they argue, "status is intrinsically coupled with the concept of recognition" (ibid), but, instead of relating status to structure and recognition to agency as a static dynamic, they claim that "structure is ever emergent, and it is thus continuously constituted and reconstituted through both attempts at gaining status and the giving or withholding of recognition" (ibid, p. 3). This status as politics of identity gains special contours in view of Norway's past as a recent state, as it reveals that the self-promoting status of, say, a peace niche diplomacy, became the driving force for securing the newly acquired sovereignty. Jonathan Renshon (2017, p. 3) describes status as comprising three attributes: it is positional (implies a rank or standing, generating meaning in terms of comparison), perceptual (relates to identity in terms one's assumption of self and others) and social (implying a standing relative to a collectivity), which "combine to make any actor's status position a function of the higher-order, collective beliefs of a given community of actors" (ibid). Erik Ringmar (1996, p. 164). explains that an actor's status claims depend of a "circle of recognition", which equally comprises an audience.

Rationalist theories understand that, by bandwagonning the hegemon, Norway consistently chooses to perform an image of a *good state* on which the mighty can count. This is particularly noteworthy for the case in point of the Norwegian air campaign in Libya within NATO. As Wohlforth *et al.* argues, Norway pursues a status policy based on "conspicuous do-goodism" (2017, p. 18), by seeking a

position just below great powers, "alongside – as close as possible – to the hegemon" (ibid, p. 9). The status differentiation that Norway undertakes is not one of establishing different others, as "being conspicuously useful or saliently helping to solve problems" (ibid, p. 18) does not entail "explicitly defeating or deflating others" (ibid). That said, these authors believe that "although this almost certainly has the effect of diminishing the social and psychological satisfaction of some competing do-good states (say, Sweden or Denmark) with its own standing, it does not necessarily entail the defeat or demotion of a rival" (ibid). Even if difference may preclude othering, Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p. xv) remind us that, although identity is required to be ethical, "there is a drive to diminish difference to complete itself inside the pursuit of identity".

Additionally, Leira indicates that there is a relationship of co-constitution between status and power, though, in the case at stake, of Norway's projection through international law, aid, peace and human rights, which granted Norway some status as "the vanguard of civilization" (2015, p. 28), equally entails "some sort of moral authority". During the forced union with Sweden, Norway counted on external recognition and respect with a view to secure some institutional status within the union (LEIRA, 2015, p. 27). Leira describes recognition as an interactional thus dynamic movement, which requires constant "re-cognition"" (ibid, p. 29). Ever since the period of the union with Sweden, Norwegian debates conveyed an underlying assumption according to which "honour and prestige" are fundamental if a small country is to rely on something other than power to claim for some moral authority (LEIRA, 2015, p. 29).

At least in the Cold War period, Norwegians deemed altruism as more important than status (LEIRA, 2015, p. 37). With the demise of the Cold War, however, Norway resumed its branding as a peace nation by means of a steep increase in its efforts on peace facilitation, with a flagrant replication of its past discourses according to which "being small provided opportunities for making a difference, and smallness could thus give moral authority" (ibid). Albeit "striking similarities" such as "massive domestic resonance", Leira points that Norway's recognition as "a peace-oriented state among global policy elites seems to have been both quick and broad" to the extent that "peace has been even more important for the Norwegian self-image than for the status of Norway abroad" (ibid).

In the context of the downfall of the Cold War, Norway's 1989 White Paper ascertains that Norwegian foreign policy is value-based (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 33), following principles such as those stemming from "the Christian view of fellow human beings and the Labor movement's notion of solidarity" (ibid, p. 49). In addition to a principled foundation, the international praise ensued from the Oslo Process, and its underpinning external reference of authority and legitimacy reinforced that the positive Norwegian evaluations are not subjective and self-centered"(ibid, p. 40). Alongside honour, recognition became a "banner word" particularly after Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre's inaugural address in 2005 (NUPI, 2007, p. 7, *my translation*).

Albeit recognition's symbiotic relationship with status, the Norwegian attachment to is peace image is very much self-centered, to the extent of being deemed as "narcissistic" (RISTE, 2007; SKÅNLAND, 2008; LEIRA, 2013), according to which the "missionary impulse" runs in tandem with Norway's ambition to be the frontrunner in international justice and humanitarianism, emphasizing Norway's distinctness in peace and human right promotion as an exceptionalism that plays a cornerstone part in Norway's identity and self-image (SKÅNLAND, 2008, p. 30).

As I discussed previously, Norway's justification to engage in peace has also found justifications on the grounds that the country must act for the sake of its own security. This reasoning includes a Western liberal drive to export human rights and democracy, which Norway puts into practice by placing its peace tradition on a more offensive and activist pace, financing it with burgeoning investments from oil revenues, which, coupled with high profile facilitation initiatives, "contribute to branding the well-functioning and solidarity state of Norway" (NISSEN, 2012).

Norway's discourse on peace commitment situates it as a sort of alms for the international fight against terrorism, inasmuch as "is also about contributing to ensuring that the states manage their own territory to a greater extent" (AGENDA, 2018). In that respect, Norway's candidacy for the UN Security Council in 2021-2022 has its aim at influencing on world peace as one of its lynchpins (ibid), wherein the fight against terrorism is deemed as an inescapable challenge. It is noticeable that this report stresses Norway's potential relevance for the Council's

work thanks to the country's "knowledge and experience from peace and reconciliation work" (ibid).

3.3.1.

Narratives performing the Norwegian Model: facilitation of peace, exceptionalism, two-track diplomacy, Policy of Engagement, niche diplomacy

In order to balance Norway's peace identity between an altruistic do-gooder[53] profile based on a Liberalist approach and its interested profiling as a Realist seeker of prestige and status (CARVALHO & NEUMANN, 2015), the Norwegian Public Diplomacy discourse on peace emphasizes its preference for *facilitation* rather than *mediation*, its close cooperation with NGOs and worldwide synergy with think tanks, its internal consensus, the (contested) absence of colonial past, its vastly available resources and swift application of funds and its labelling as a Peace Nation that enables its self-depiction as morally superior (WOHLFORTH; CARVALHO; LEIRA; NEUMANN, 2017).

The literature on Norway's peace identity is rife with portrayals of the "Norwegian exceptionalism", "underlining its special abilities in promoting peace, international justice and humanitarian values" (LEIRA; RISTE; SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 36) and the "Norwegian Model" to approach peace. With regard to Norway's exceptionalism, Sindre Bangstad tells (2018) us on the page of PRIO's forum "Decolonizing the Academy" that Norwegian exceptionality is a myth, especially when Norway denies its history of colonialism and racism. Drawing on Norwegian social anthropologist Marianne Gullestad, she resonates Gullestad's claim according to which the so called Norwegian exceptionality is "part and parcel of a long-standing and widespread social and political imaginary inside and outside of Norway" (ibid), being "by no means limited to the political right" (ibid), and

[53] Donations to fight poverty and hunger in the Horn of Africa, applications in the Amazon Fund and money contributions to the United Nations are among some of Norway's generous funding of good causes, which conveys a foreign policy as if it consisted of "banners held up at Woodstock", but, as a report on *The Economist* argues, this do-gooder stance is not exclusive, given that Norway, a member of NATO, played an "outsized role in the campaign in Libya". THE ECONOMIST. The peacemakers: Norway's role in the world. Available on https://www.economist.com/briefing/2011/07/30/the-peacemakers. Last access on September, 18, 2018.

counting with "the support or tacit consent of a great number of Norwegian tenured academics" (ibid).

The discourses on Norway's exceptional peace standing are not exclusive when it comes to the strong network of collaborators, the supposed absence of colonial past or the expediency on decision processes. There is a discursive representation of peculiarity also with regard to the approach to terrorism, insofar as Norway is not bound by US or EU terrorist lists, which grants Norway a privileged standing in terms of rendering the country a point of contact between some parties (SLETTHOLM, 2018), whereas many diplomats from other nationalities are banned to deal with deemed terrorist groups such as the LTTE, the Hamas and the FARCs (ibid). As Mathias Slettholm describes, Norway follows the way less inclusive list of the United Nations, and, provided that Norwegian involvement depends above all on the parties' interest on a political solution, Norway stands as "one of the few countries that has a unique role as facilitator in peace processes" (ibid, *my translation*), thanks to "the opportunity to talk to important players [the country's] allies cannot contact" (ibid).

Despite Slettholm's resonance to the dominant discourse of Norway's uniqueness, he caves in to the condition that Norway as a peace nation is a constructed idea, recalling the circular argumentation that "Norwegian peace commitment exists because Norway has always had a tradition of peace and a Norwegian tradition of peace exists because Norway has always had a peace commitment", a circumlocution of the type of "which came first, the chicken or the egg?". Although the criticism is theoretically interesting, Slettholm (ibid) argues that there is no way to escape from the fact that Norway has had "a peace commitment that gives Norway a special credibility in peace and reconciliation policy". Besides the tautological dimension, the foundational discourse of the main liberal newspaper *Dagbladet* of 1896 according to which "Our Entire People are Natural Born Friends of Peace" («Hele vort Folk er naturlige og fødte Fredsvenner») equally points to another underlying component of this discursive perception of the peace self, which is biological (NUPI, 2007, p.13). Another tautological questioning concerns the fact that Alfred Nobel, from Sweden, chose Norway to siege the Peace Prize, thenceforth raising the doubt on whether Nobel made this decision because a constructed peace identity representation had already been attached to Norway or

rather if Norway built on a tradition based on a responsibility towards becoming the official capital of the Prize.

Furthermore, the Norwegian peace policy's unsurmountable feature of being constitutive to identity (and here I add that it is co-constitutive to foreign policy) in addition to resonating to a public-wide sentiment ("grass roots" rather than a lonely first-class project) leads Leira (ibid, p. 339-340) to mull over its potential resilience in face of global breakneck paced changes. Norway has experimented a new way of making Diplomacy (Neumann, *no press*), which, having peace policy as the frontrunner of innovative approaches, showcases how the third sector, comprising a network of think tanks, can be synchronous with foreign policy officials in terms of providing inputs to civil servants when it comes to peace making. By relying not solely on the close contact among authorities, non-government organizations and the academia, but also on informal, casual and unofficial settings as a means to strategically put the parties together, Norway has inaugurated a new approach deemed "two-track Diplomacy" (SLETTHOLM, 2018, p. 20), which enables "efficient decision-making and short-term changes along the way" (ibid, *my translation*). Track two diplomacy comprises different organizations and actors, who develop strategies, affect civil society and organize people and resources in ways that can contribute to conflict resolution (ibid).

As per Slettholm (ibid), the advantage of such a process is that it is in lesser degree bound by political power, thus enabling a neutral space in which fractional communities can meet to discuss how they can find solutions. Both in Colombia and in Libya, where Norway drew on international organizations and major powers, we can talk about "track-one-and-a-half diplomacy" (ibid). The integration of different sectors into Norwegian foreign policy making equally means high mobility of employees across institutions. Tvedt assesses how changing relationships between state and civil society create a new "cosmopolitan elite" in Norway, comprising "people that regularly migrate between leading positions of power within internationally oriented non-governmental organizations, and between these and the foreign management" (JOHANNESSEN, 2018).

Apart from counting on NGOs to inform its practices, the Norwegian Foreign Policy owes to the media the reproduction of its dominant representation. To this

effect, Skånland (2008, p.45) argues that not only official texts but also the channeling through the media that reproduces those authoritative texts is what precisely secures the dominant position of a discursive representation. Such peculiarity bolsters the assumption of Norway's exceptionalism in peace and humanitarian efforts, which Leira (2007) deems as the core of the hegemonic self-image of Norway as a peace nation. However, the center-left report Agenda pinpoints that this sort of cooperation in the Norwegian peace engagement can be problematic since it enlargers the possibility for workers to become practitioners of Norwegian politics and get roles as representatives of the Norwegian state. The development studies scholar and former militant Terje Tvedt, in his relatively controversial book "Det internasjonale gjennombruddet" (*The International Breakthrough*), coins the term "the humanitarian-political complex" , which stablished a period of aid donations through humanitarian organizations with the aim to promote "Western state-financed exports of values and institutions to other cultures and continents" (JOHANNESSEN, 2018). Bangstad (2018), among others, excoriates Tvedt's depiction of Norway as "ethnically and religiously homogeneous until the late 1960s", having "enthusiastically and unreservedly welcomed immigrants and asylum seekers from the post-colonial world" (ibid).

Once one assesses hegemonic peace discourses in Norway, then, one cannot help but accounting that the variety of this collaboration comprises voices that are continuously vying, suppressing or buttressing one another. Instead of deeming this more inclusive diplomacy problematic, one can equally reason that this joint effort boosts Norwegian peace diplomacy, especially because the diversity of knowledge and experiences is said to render the Norwegian foreign policy firmer (SLETTHOLM, 2018, p. 20) albeit positions to the contrary. Official discourse equally underlines this in-depth knowledge and specialization when down turning a schematic to-do list to follow: "We have no 'Jan Egeland model' as Ljødal claims, but an accumulated knowledge and experience that is further developed and adapted to today's conflict picture". Albeit acknowledging idiosyncrasies to each particular conflict, a "nodal point" (MILLIKEN, 1999) characteristic of Norwegian discursive approaches to peace is "lessons learned".

The analysis of Norwegian scholarship on their self-image of peace resonates an idealist formation according to which Norway's role as "a world broker in demand"

(LARSEN 2002) does not dwell on special interest but rather on ideals such as "a better and just world" (ibid). Larsen (ibid) raises concern as to when the publicity and fame stemming from deeds end up jeopardizing the focus on the parties to the conflict that Norway facilitates. It is thus tricky to put the peace maker on the spotlight, as it shadows the peace-making parties themselves. However, as Larsen reminds us, in the global current context of "all-encompassing war against international terror", when a nation stands for human rights and reconciliation, it undoubtedly deserves some spot on evaluations of peace studies.

Norway's repudiation against terrorism and its membership of NATO are a reflex both of its discursive emphasis on a denial of pacifism *per se* and a justification according to which "sometimes we have the responsibility to use the necessary means" (NYLANDER, MFA, 2018). However, when it comes to its peace identity, Norway has pursued a differentiation between *dialogue facilitation* and *power politics mediation* by emphasizing signifiers such as backchannel, low profile, dialogical expertise, and bridge-builder (JONES,1999). These two simultaneous penchants for peace and war draw attention to the complexities of identity narratives, which is why a Post-Structuralist partake on public diplomacy can help shed light on how discourse evinces some articulations while it obliterates others.

The "Policy of Involvement" or "Policy of Engagement" of Norway in peace processes has allowed the country to consolidate its peace-builder identity by establishing a peace promotion hallmark based on a "niche diplomacy[54]", which ultimately bestowed upon Norway a privileged status in the global architecture of peacemaking. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs defines Norway's foreign policy as a "policy of engagement" since it is based on "ethical responsibility at the global level". According to Paulo Roberto Ribeiro Guimarães (2014 p. 163), the Norwegian government translated, in "engagement", the broadening of peace and reconciliation processes to include the dimension of development cooperation to the affected countries and regions, as a way of providing conditions for sustainable

[54] Niche diplomacy entails recognition by the international community in a field of expertise, which the State maneuvers in order to gain influence, as illustrates Norway's fame as 'the international capital of peace' (Bruni 2002) and "a leading power in the field of peace negotiations" Niche diplomacy: a key for smaller states to become visible? The example of Norway and peacemaking diplomacy. Public and Cultural Diplomacy. Available on: https://publicandculturaldiplomacy1.wordpress.com/2012/03/22/niche-diplomacy-a-key-for-smaller-states-to-become-visible/. Access on Dec, 21, 2017.

peace. It is, in his opinion, an evolution of the country's traditional role as facilitator or mediator of political understandings for peace. The Ministry, in a report, equally interweaves security and development by stating that "Norway has a long tradition of supporting conflict resolution and peacebuilding. These credentials give the country a solid basis for pursuing a policy in which security and development issues are intertwined" (UTENRIKSDEPARTEMENTET, 2009. p. 103).

3.3.2.

The "knotted gun" of facilitation

[Sculpture by Carl Fredrik Reuterswärd, image by unkown author]

Created by the Swedish artist Carl Fredrik Reuterswärd (1934-2016), who is also author of "avant-garde writings like "Cornering the discipline on board" and "Prix Nobel2, the "knotted gun" is world-wide known as tribute to John Lennon's message of non-violence and peace[55]. Here I borrow the art as another replica, but with the purpose of being a metaphor for Norway's apparently inoffensive gun of facilitation, which the country deploys as a silent weapon for depoliticization. I draw on the technical character of facilitation to argue that the co-constitution of identity and foreign policy enacts a Public Diplomacy that attempts to depoliticize Norwegian external engagements, and that attempts to stabilize a particular

[55] http://www.nonviolence.com/about/the-knotted-gun/

representation of the self, which ultimately reinstates depoliticization, reification and silence.

While Norway has been able to produce itself as distinct of other peacemaking countries engaged in international mediation by operating a differentiation between "facilitation services" and "mediation *per se*", it is an actor that equally seeks an international profile and, in this sense, its actions *are not* de-politicized. I justify this statement under the premise that the "facilitative mediation", as opposed to the power political approaches of the "manipulative mediation", is more devoted to the interaction of parties and the facilitation of dialogue. As a guarantor country of the Colombian peace process, Norway provided logistics and training, confidence building and the resumption of negotiations during crises. There is a flagrant logic of withdrawal from a political stance that underpins the facilitation role and ultimately bolsters the confidence-building process. Not only does this aim at legitimating the third party as a provider of knowledge and resources – thereby granting the facilitator a technical identity – but also at enabling the ownership of the process.

The Norwegian principle that the responsibility for finding a solution to the conflict depends on the actors is informed both by the pragmatic efficiency for the parties to agree once the own the negotiating process and by the facilitator's own fear of getting involved in the process, which would result in the contradiction between its anti-terrorist policy, on the one hand, and the risk of legitimizing a party deemed terrorist, on the other. The need to *resolve* this double political stance finds support in the transmutation of the traditional practice of mediation towards a facilitation practice. This transmutation goes back to the Oslo Peace Processes: The so-called 'Oslo Process' brought together the characteristics associated with Norway's approach to complex issues of peace and reconciliation: a discreet 'peace facilitation' attitude - unlike formal 'mediation', based on building a broad network of diplomatic and personal contacts with influential representatives of the parties to the conflict and of the other countries directly involved in the solution of this. Norway has operationalized the term "facilitation" in most speeches that go beyond the field of peace, which went in tandem with it deliberately shying away from a political influence on a peacebuilding process no matter how this trademarking as a peace facilitator has a latent political endeavor of profiling itself in international

politics. I do not share this rationalist view according to which facilitation resolves a contradiction but I rather focus on the way a disputed self responds to an unstable identity through an emphasis on the technical contours of facilitation.

The term "facilitation", as a subtler form of traditional mediation frameworks, is the third parties' convenient form "to underscore the non-intrusive nature of their good offices, portraying their activities as focusing on building communication channels and assisting in setting ground rules for the process towards reaching an agreement" (FABRA-MATA, 2014). Although there may be objections and counter effects for a uniformization of a facilitative pattern of the Norwegian way of peace making, dialogue is the lynchpin of every Norwegian approach to making peace. Gahr Støre (2011, apud FABRA-MATA, ibid) reminds us that dialogue is "the essence" of Norwegian efforts in peace, while Brende (2013 apud FABRA-MATA, 2014, p. 3) argues that, without dialogue, it is not possible to win confidence, or gain insight into the other party's positions and thinking".

Chiefly among "facilitative roles" is the establishment of "basic lines of communication" (MOORE apud JONES, 1999, p.13), such as the translation of "information that passes between different political cultures and contexts - whether they be 'ethnic' or merely the differences between different bureaucratic organisations" (JONES, 1999, p.13). These "facilitative roles" oppose to "more active and substantive mediations" intended at "constructing and structuring an agenda/negotiation script", which pertain respectively to a "facilitative/ problem-solving paradigm" and to a "power-political/ geostrategic paradigm".

Facilitation is based on communication rather than power, which explains why it adapts to a low-profile stance as the one that Norway conveys:

> "In international conflict, mediators have to deal with this realm of symbolic reality and meaning. Thus, there exists an approach to mediation which is based on 'the realisation that conflict is a socially created and communicatively managed reality occurring within a socio-historical context that both affects meaning and behavior and is affected by it'. From this perspective, clear and concise communication is the ideal. Conflict results from a poor mutual understanding of the various and competing contexts of meaning. Ongoing, wide-ranging and perspicuous communication is thus the *raison d´être* of the facilitative approach to international mediation" (JONES, 1999, p.17).

Regardless of its virtues, the dialogic approach may seem naïve, let alone dangerous, as Jones (1999, p. 4) alerts:

> "The facilitative problem-solving workshop is described as a well-meaning flight from the burdens of genuine political action. Its normative understanding is deficient, its pretence at neutrality is potentially dangerous and its concentration on symbolic and psychological issues can obscure or postpone a confrontation with the substantive issues of an international dispute".

As a concept, mediation is a disputed term. Jones reveals a contested literature in which authors disagree on the nature of neutrality of the third part. Take some, for instance Touval and Zartman (1985), who believe that neutrality can backfire a potential agreement. By contrast to the mild facilitative approach, "mediators can, and do, work with political pressure to force compromise" (ibid, p.11). Jones quotes Kolb, who "states that the mediator is often a 'spin doctor', that peculiarly contemporary form of political actor, working on 'impression management' through the intentional and unconscious [manipulation] of symbolic resources" (ibid).

This dichotomy that Jones points out sheds light on a synchronous finding for my object, that is, the development of the "Norwegian Policy of Involvement" upon the threshold of facilitative approaches. Jones describes the geostrategic/power political approach as tending "to avoid deep-contextual issues", with "minimal aims" of mediation. Consequently, "power-political mediators aims to achieve a 'negative peace', i.e. the absence of war or a Hobbesian civil society" (JONES, 1999, p.14).

The crux of this finding is then to unmask correlations between the Norwegian penchant towards facilitative approaches and its traditional peace hallmark launched with Galtung´s seminal works for a positive peace. How do the traditions incepted in the Nobel city relate to the development of a subtler form of mediation coined as facilitation? Galtung (1968, p. 183) states that

> "peace research, defined as research into the conditions - past, present and future - of realizing peace, will be equally intimately connected with conflict research and development research; the former often more relevant for negative peace and the latter more relevant for positive peace, but with highly important overlaps".

I hereby contend that one form of overlapping conflict resolution with positive peace takes place by means of the facilitative approach. Positive peace of the kind that Galtung (ibid) buttressed is one that not only encompasses the absence of

personal and structural violence, but goes beyond by comprising social justice. This finding paves the way for my further argument according to which peace as an organizing concept of Norway's identity representation discourse is a floating signifier, which comprises, among other empty signifiers, social justice.

3.3.2.1.

The backchannel of the "Norwegian Policy of Involvement": scrutiny of an Uninvolved Facilitation Model

Norway has profiled its stance as "a small fish"[56] according to its Policy of Involvement in peace affairs. The facilitative approach that Norway has institutionalized over the past 20 years with regard to peace processes draws on a conceptual methodology that frames the Norwegian engagement under neutrality or impartiality signifiers for its methods of facilitation, such as "go-between"; 'bridge-builder"; "dialogic expertise"; "backchannel"; "light footprint"; and so forth.

Facilitation, as a modified form of mediation, is itself a political practice. As Deiniol Jones (1999, p. 58) puts, "facilitation rests upon a belief that international politics can be made to resemble the politics of normal democratic states, or the political relations between normal democratic states". Hoffman (apud JONES, p. 58) describes how facilitation not only encompasses "the manipulation of power-political interests" but it must also go further by considering "the social-psychological dimension" or the "intersubjective meaning" underlying every conflict. (JONES, 1999, p. 58). The silencing of political interests by means of a technical facilitation procedure, like Jones quotes Jabri, precludes "the possibility of long-lasting resolutions to the underlying causes of conflict" (JABRI apud JONES, 1999, p. 58). Jones (ibid) unveils that even the instrumental setting of facilitation does not escape some political positioning:

[56] With regard to the role of Norway in peace negotiations in the Middle East, Hilde Henriksen Waage states that Norway was the "minnow" as opposed to the "whale" United States. Notwithstanding the difference of size or leverage, Norway stood with a positive reputation also thanks to being disposed of the stigma of colonialization, and the country boosted its activism during the 90s by underscoring its new role in peace and reconciliation (WAAGE, 2016, p. 181).

"Facilitation theory argues that power-political bargaining takes place in a context of rational instrumental and strategic action, which, despite being governed by atomistic instrumental relationships, is, nevertheless, a shared intersubjective context".

Jones appoints the primary objective of mediation under its facilitation approach is to arouse "empathy and mutual understanding". The core aspect of the de-politicization of the facilitator is the possibility of addressing political disputes by locating them on their subjective backgrounds, and this is what both Jabri 8ibid), referring back to Galtung, has alerted against the governmentality of peacebuilding to the expense of addressing it from its foundation, that is, from its political underpinnings. In other words, as Jones reminds us, "the intersubjective fabric of the social world needs to be rebuilt before any rational assessment of a political process can take place".

Literature deems mediation as negative form of peace making and facilitation, conversely, as a broader or positive form of making peace, this simplistic division is object of some problematization. Take, for instance, the Norwegian problem-solving approach as Neumann (*no press*) describes:

"Norwegian peace and reconciliation is unashamedly systems-maintaining in another sense. As discussed by Oliver P. Richmond, *The Transformation of Peace* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 89-101, third-party works tend to happen within a wider frame that he names 'the liberal peace'. He further identifies two generations of peace activities in this field, with the first being problem-solving, and the second being more attuned to structural issues. While Norwegian diplomats are definitely not blind to such issues, their peace and reconciliation work is explicitly set up as an exercise in problem-solving".

All things considered, there is no "one size fits all" concept to delineate contemporary constitutions of peace and violence within oxymorons that range from positive to negative, from power political to problem solving, from natural to historical. Norway´s peace hallmark could be even more contradictory if facilitation and its underlying assumptions of ownership and impartiality had not enabled a depoliticization with regard to controversial stances. In a nutshell, conflict resolution studies require some shifts in literature that are able to grasp the political idiosyncrasies of peace so that it will not remain elusive nor defined through other concepts. Norway portrays itself as a problem-solving facilitator at the same time it has a negative approach to peace because it aims mainly at problem solving. But, being a problem solver, facilitators such as Norway explore intersubjective contexts that render the peacemaking process a positive one. By the same token, Norway

conveys a negative way of status seeking institutionalization at the same time it explores the apolitical techniques of facilitation. Being apolitical, thus rather technical, it may be interpreted as a negative pragmatism equivalent to that of problem solving. However, Jones reminds us that problem solving reveals positive approaches, whereas Neumann conveys the exact opposite. Such tautological reasoning needs a break up from hermetical concepts that do not translate the complexities of the current geopolitics of peace and conflict.

3.4.

From Conventional to Post-Structuralist Readings of Norway as 'a Peace Nation and a War State'

Notwithstanding in-depth assessments of the genealogy of the peace hallmark in Norway as the most *avant guard* Norwegian scholarship engages itself into, "why questions" still prevail. That said, once inquiring "Why were Norwegian intellectuals and politicians arguing so consistently that Norway was and should be a peace nation, and that this would bring honour and prestige?", Leira (2015, p. 35) argues that peace served as a differentiation from Sweden to ultimately topple the union and as a cheaper endeavour than that of great power politics. With regard to reasons as to the perpetuation of peace policy and its relation to status, Leira (2015, p. 38) pinpoints altruism, since, for him, Norway drove "peace policies out of sheer good will and due to deep-felt moral obligations". Since the Norwegian Peace tradition equally comprises a culture of social democratic solidarity and Christian charity (NISSEN, 2012), efforts towards peace entails altruism. Leira indicates that a rational calculus for gains in terms of "greater prosperity" and "higher security" in addition to "access to great power decision-makers" (ibid) equally inform the tenacity of Norway's peace policy, although this interest-based approach to peace is "somewhat morally dubious" (ibid) to the domestic audience. The third reason as Leira (ibid) mentions resides in Norway's status as not a means but an end, a figuration of a standing wherein the country has a say on relevant issues. All these justifications reveal that "Why-questions" foreclose possibilities to assess how

discourses rendered "regimes of truth" into foreign policy practices, which in turn contributed to reify the peace identity.

Orthodox developments on Public Diplomacy that focus on Norway's status of a Peace Nation assess the tension between its peace engagement discourse and its war engagement discourse as a return to Realpolitik terms. Yet a return to Realpolitik does not account completely for the persistence of a discursive portrayal of Norway's peace hallmark, which unveils a disturbing inconsistency in literature that *overlooks the mechanisms through which foreign policy and identity co-constitute one another as a means to tackle with disputes of the self.* Moreover, when assessing the insufficient Realpolitik justifications for Norway's Anti-Terror Policy, it does not suffice to rationalistically interrelate peace and war under the assumption that Norway's peace tradition stems from a culture of prevention that links concerns with global security. In this excerpt, Neumann (2013), albeit part of a more *avant-guarde* reflexivist strand of Norwegian thought, portrays an understanding of a return to Realpolitik justifications for Norway's peace engagement that is not able to address security and peace as co-constitution of narratives and practices relative to a disputed self:

"Attempting to minimize conflict along the way is a real policy and ethical healthy line[57]… If we understand peace and reconciliation as system maintenance, the policy of peace and reconciliation lies firmly rooted in the foreign policy's main tradition. Norway gives her might to mitigate conflicts. Conflict can turn into civil war. Civil war can turn into a regional war. Regional war can turn into a Global war. War always has strong, but unpredictable effects in the social order. If you encounter conflicts, you will encounter events that can potentially threat world peace and thus the global order. This is especially urgent in the current context, in which new powers, especially China and India, become ever more robust. Norwegian peace and reconciliation policies are therefore a system-maintaining, and thus a system conservative power. As the pressure on the current order will only increase by and beyond 2020, there is little or no reason to believe other than that peace and reconciliation will remain a central part of Norwegian foreign policy. If anything, it becomes more, and not less important" (NEUMANN, Internasjonal Politikk 03, Volume 70, 2012, *my translation*).

Recent literature on the evolution of the Norwegian Foreign Policy to Peace has brought about an interesting way to conciliate these apparently intractable asynchronies under the premises of the very credibility that Norway gained

[57] This combination of Realist and Liberalist underpinnings is a constant in the Norwegian self-image. As Neumann (ibid) describes, "Norwegian debate has taken the split between realism and idealism directly from the hundred years' old international dissertation on the nature of the system of States".

throughout the years as a "Peace Nation" (BONDEVIK apud LEIRA, 2013, p. 349). With regard to Bondevik's statement that "Norway is a peace nation', Leira (2005, p. 135) argues that it was controversial whether it referred to current timing back then or to the time to come. As an example, he conveyed that the national Socialist Left Party's address on government cooperation during spring 2005 was: 'Norway will be a peace nation' (SV 2005 apud LEIRA, 2013 p.349). Additionally, he adds that Aftenposten featured a double page following these debates, entitled 'Peace is Norway's new niche product'" (LEIRA, 2005, p. 135, my translation). All things considered, Leira shows us that the discourse of Norway as a Peace Nation was, until recently, a novelty, an identity crafted to enact a foreign policy on peace, albeit historic identifications with peace dating back to the 1890s. Leira (2013, p. 338) equally portrays that:

> "On April 29th 2012 the leading Norwegian newspaper, Aftenposten, ran a three-page feature (including the centre spread) with the title 'Export commodity: Norwegian recipe for peace'. Included on the accompanying world map illustrating 'Norwegian peace efforts' were both Afghanistan and Libya, where Norway has contributed with significant offensive military force. Observing from the outside, one could well question whether one was witnessing a blatant exercise in Orwellian newspeak ('War is Peace'). Engaging with Norwegian foreign policy discourse, one would, however, realise that what might seem like hypocrisy is rooted in a widespread belief in an inherent, liberal Norwegian peace identity".

Let me begin with the way the existing literature pointed Norway's impartiality in the Colombian peace process as *dichotomic*. As a facilitator of the peace talks, Norway fostered close ties with the conflicting parties but, as Harpviken (apud SPARROW, 2012) explains, by playing this third-party role, Norway inevitably gives legitimacy to the parties. This may be controversial, especially in the case of Colombia, where some sectors qualify one of the actors as a terrorist and question if that party is a valid interlocutor. In this regard, "Norway is at a crossroads", as Norway's former Deputy Foreign Minister Vidar Helgesen declares in an interview to BBC: "The country is divided between supporting the international crusade against terrorism and demonstrating neutrality in peace negotiations where one party is characterized as a terrorist" (SPARROW, 2012). The article points out that, in order to avoid compromising its policy of peaceful diplomacy, which brings many returns to its international image, Norway emphasizes that its functions are limited to establishing a framework conducive to dialogue and that all decision-making power falls into the hands of the negotiators. Helgesen concludes:

"Norwegian peace efforts always depend on all parties showing a genuine willingness to negotiate and allowing Norway to be a *facilitator*".

There is a perceived attempt, in Norwegian official discourses, to frame peace as the natural flipside of the coin of war, wherein peace and *security* harmonize their opposing natures when taken as co-dependent and co-consequential, as illustrates this passage: "Norway facilitates peace because sparse and distant conflicts may derail into global conflicts that might affect its own *security*" (GOVERNMENT.NO; 2013; *my highlight*). Furthermore, there are enactments of discourses favorable to peace donations as a *security policy*, while developments of infrastructure provided for poor countries have a strong nexus with security, wherein peace efforts are part of an intersection of humanitarian assistance, migration control and fight against terrorism. This reasoning justifies violence for the sake of humanity, of the accomplishment of peace through war, in that peace is facilitated after parties have contended until ripeness for negotiation, and in that civils supposedly gain peace after intervenors bomb terrorist targets. Reality is, unfortunately, way more complex, but the Norwegian peaceful and warful approaches unified under a do-gooder representation of identity unveil that peace and war have very fine lines separating them.

The claim that Norway has achieved a standard so credible as to enable it to assertively justify its *"peace through war"* may also suggest that there is something specific to the way Norwegian policy makers have articulated the "peace nation" image. If we take the image of Norway as a "facilitator" for peace and conflict resolution, we have an expertise dressed in technical guidelines, which highlights an impartiality that constructs the Other as being the conflict itself. Meanwhile, the facilitator, by simultaneously abstaining from meddling in the conflict, is supposed to be impartial towards a party deemed terrorist, which may be depicted as unproblematic towards Norway's aggressive anti-terrorist policy within NATO. Those two apparently stark different approaches find some conciliation under humanitarian premises. Norway's peace image stands against this imbroglio as idiosyncratic, according to which the transmutation of the traditional practice of mediation towards a facilitation practice – alongside discursive articulations on the preference for facilitating dialogue and on humanitarian causes – cajole audiences into considering policies against terrorism under the peace umbrella.

3.5.

Neither peaceful, nor warful: towards a Post-Structuralist understanding of possible conditions for a double-edged self

Discursive constructions such as that the Norwegian peace identity is the very asset for a warful approach (NYLANDER, interview to PRIO's Summer Students, MFA, 2018) or that Norway's recognition in peace efforts have given so much credence for Norway to self-righteously assert its "peace through war" (LEIRA, 2013, p. 338) discourse in "Orwellian terms" such as "war is peace" (ibid) are telling of a disputed Self.

Far from being a uniform self, Norway's peace identity involves permanently disputed personas even domestically. Albeit controversial, Tvedt inscribes Norway's NATO-related wrongdoings into political party antagonisms, through which "NATO supporters 'sacrificed' aid to the left in Norwegian politics, thereby weakening the latter's attention on NATO's doings" (JOHANNESSEN, 2018, *my translation*). The collateral effects of support turned Norway's participation in the Libyan war into "a crowned certificate of a development in which 'the interests of a poor population' gave alibi for the Norwegian warfare" (ibid). Tvedt credits Norway's warfare in Libya not to humanitarian ends as has been the conventional reasoning, but rather to contributions for regime change in Libya (JOHANNESSEN, 2018).

The depoliticization entailing the facilitative role misleads a conventional foreign policy analyst, who oversees how the technical expertise of an impartial facilitator renders processes obscure, provided that the hegemonic instantiation of self struggles with an intricate web of identity representations that are constantly flexible, adaptive, let alone unstable. On the one hand, the very emphasis on the impartiality inextricably associated with a technical expertise based on the double threshold of facilitation and ownership ultimately and wittingly interrelate the peaceful spectrum of facilitation and the warful spectrum of its anti-terror operations by producing them as either *unrelated* or as *conciliated*. On the other hand, the solution to this contradiction by means of highlighting impartiality, or by means of justifying the means (war) through the ends (peace) with accommodations

such as "peace through war" (LEIRA, 2013), forecloses the possibility to understand these pragmatic positions not as separated and therefore contradictory stances, but as *discursively interrelated* and as an expression of the inherently unstable and disputed nature of the Norwegian representation of the self, which, on its turn, comprises an intricate web of power relations, interactions, subjectivities, fortuities, anxieties, and so forth. By contrast, that traditional way of conceiving the Norwegian position in Colombia and Libya – as a contradictory behavior, or as a compatible one, through the notion of "peace through war" – *does not* permit interrogating the very conditions that allowed for these two hegemonic readings and representations, that is, the contradictory notion of Norway being at a crossroads, or the notion of compatibility in war for peace.

Drawing on Doty (1993), I assume that a why-question approach as to why Norway engaged in the bombing against Libya - while it established a backchannel for the facilitation in Colombia - precludes us from seeing the possibilities of how such practices were rendered possible. The Norwegian peace self-representation appears to have developed through discourse in the sense that it attached interpretive meanings that authorized Norway to pursue a peace-as-war policy within NATO. I wonder, then, *how come did discourse/narratives/stories mobilize "interpretive dispositions"* (ibid) *such as to socially construct representations and practices?*

Although presenting a polarized perspective, these narratives (of contradiction and of compatibility) are based on an essentialist and preconceived notion of the Norwegian self that does not account for the fact that foreign policy is an identity-making performance of linguistic and non-linguistic signals in attaching meaning to reality (MILLIKEN, 1999) through discourse and interpretation (MALMVIG, 2006). Appointing the double role that Norway plays between the microcosm of its facilitative and thus impartial stance in Colombia and its anti-terrorist warful campaigns in Libya as a stark contrast by rationally depicting Norway "at a crossroads" is problematic. So does the reconciliation of that contradiction by rendering peace compatible with war as implicit in "peace through war" lead to blind approaches that question *why* these policies resulted opposite or are part of a coherent amalgam. Conversely, I choose, in this thesis, to take a step back and assess *how* those narratives about the Norwegian identity representation inform foreign practices, as well as *how* those narratives serve to abide actions, events, or

decisions to interpretations by a moral portrayal (NEUMANN apud PINGEOT, 2018).

By following this path of raising "how-questions" (DOTY, 1993) to explain enabling conditions, I will assess, in the following chapter, possibilities to raise how discursive practices enacted this apparent double role that Norway played. By downplaying limited rationales, the analysis of a self that as inherently disputed sheds light to how a peace identity had legitimized a warful foreign policy and, retroactively, how the depoliticization of a technical facilitative approach to a party deemed terrorist has been jointly articulated with Norway's repudiation against terrorism. To that, I count on the underlying assumption that identities are dynamic and have a reciprocal effect on foreign policy, both reifying, through disputes, an actualization of a peace identity towards framing it as "peace through war".

3.6.

Peace as a Floating Signifier in Norway's Foreign Policy Discourse

Leira unpacks the historical construct of peace as a hallmark for the Norwegian foreign policy identity through an analytical review of its self-portrayal discourse along history. Peace emerged as Norway's central concept in the early 1900, and Norwegians architects of peace framed this concept in a negative sense as "the absence of war" (LEIRA, 2013, p. 351). Leira (ibid) illustrates the historic evolution of this negative sense towards a more encompassing positive one with the example of the changing criteria of the Nobel Peace Prize. The author situates this development in Norway towards a more positive framing of peace as a steep overlapping of peace, security and development in that Norway followed both a logic of expansion of security assessments like the ones the Copenhagen school incepted, and by means of the Norwegian approach to peace as related to development, to ultimately reach a stage when an even more encompassing reference, such as the deemed "Norwegian Policy of Engagement", has subsumed the concept of peace into a broader perspective. Leira (ibid) conveys that an

"explicit reference to 'peace' has become less frequent over the last decade, with the entire panoply of good causes now being referred to as 'engagement policy'".

The self-definition of the Norwegian Policy Engagement (or Involvement)[58] portrays both a moral duty of a wealthy do-gooder nation as well as its underlying interests to safeguard its own security, linking it directly to its peace and development efforts:

> "Norway is currently involved in peace and reconciliation efforts in over 20 different countries and regions. What has been termed Norway's policy of engagement is one of the most distinctive aspects of Norwegian foreign policy. It embraces development policy, humanitarian aid, peace and reconciliation efforts and international work to promote human rights and democracy. Norway is a small and wealthy state, with political consensus regarding our ethical duty to combat poverty and armed conflict. At the same time, what happens far beyond Norway's territorial borders has become more important to Norway than previously. Conflicts and crises that are seemingly unrelated to Norwegian society can shape global developments, with direct or indirect consequences for us" (GOVERNMENT.NO, 2013).

This official self-understanding of the Norwegian Foreign Policy of Engagement unveils not only peace as a floating signifier that aligns with empty signifiers such as development, human rights, humanitarian aid, and democracy, but also some ontological security as security of Norway's self-identity of peace based on an "ethical duty". However, a recent development in Norway's official Foreign Policy discourse has somehow relativized the morality underlying a "do-gooder state", especially in the context of the resumption of the diplomatic relations between Norway and China. The freezing of that relationship derived from China's contempt against the Nobel Peace Prize granted to the Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo[59], deemed by the Norwegian Nobel Committee as "the foremost symbol of the human rights struggle in China"[60]. Even though the Committee is independent, with members elected by the Parliament, the controversy spilled over to the bilateral relations[61], and, only six years afterwards, in 2017, would they come back to normal thanks to prospects of the signing of a free trade agreement between those two countries. Even though China is off-topic here, the discussion is valid as it shows

[58] Norway's policy of engagement. Last updated on January, 08, 2013. Available on https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/peace-and-reconciliation efforts/norway_engagement/id587985/).
[59] For more information, see https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2010/prize-announcement/; https://www.nupi.no/Skole/HHD-Artikler/2010/Nobels-fredspris-2010-til-Liu-Xiaobo
[60] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11499098
[61] Ibid

an important development of the Norwegian foreign policy from a purely "preacher" or principled standing towards a more pragmatic approach to globalization. The materialization of that transformed self-perception was brought about in 2017 by Børge Brende's speech according to which Norway must engage in a "responsible realism"[62], in an indirect reference to solve the imbroglio with China:

> "Realism because the foreign policy seriousness requires prioritization of national interests, fundamental security and welfare. Responsible because a well-functioning regional and global world order rooted in strong institutions and effective cooperation is crucial for the realization of Norwegian interests. Responsible realism means a clear, but also balanced and well-considered policy when our values and interests are challenged as we see today. This applies not least to meeting with countries and actors with other political systems and priorities than our own. It does not mean that we should change or undermine important values. But it means classical and clever diplomacy in the face of an increasingly multipolar world order. Often it will mean focus on results more than symbols. More dialogue and less megaphone. To identify common interests and build on them. To combine firmness with humility and willingness to understand others' point of departure" (VIRKSOMME ORD, 2017, *my translation*).

I must make a caveat that Norway's past stance as a principled preacher is not outstanding from its Nordic peers. Christopher S. Browning (2002, p. 50-51) tells us, for instance, that Finland equally developed a self-understanding of bridge-builder to facilitate the Cold War's tensions. This author uses the metaphor of a physician to qualify the Finns, who, contrary to the judges such as the great powers, brings about the positive and benevolent though moralistic doctor, who tries to diagnose and cure. The case of the normalization of ties with China demonstrates, thus, an attempt of Norwegian Foreign Policy to balance pragmatism and responsibility.

In addition to recently have deemed peace overall as pragmatic, the framing of the Norwegian engagement as a guarantor state in the Colombian peace process and as a NATO campaigner in Libya equally demonstrates that, albeit the concept of peace has floated and thereby generated transmutable interpretations, it remains, just like Skånland (2008, p. 30) has qualified for the use of peace in the past, a largely intact concept but with flexible political use. The peace engagement that Norway incepted thanks to the Oslo Process brought facilitation to the hotspot of the floating concept

[62] See BRENDE (2017).

of peace. This movement did not neglect other linkages, such as that of the Amazon Fund, and other environmental pioneering and ambitious initiatives[63], the human rights and humanitarian aid efforts, development, and so forth.

How does this happen in discourse? What are the enabling conditions for Norway's peace sedimentation taking place thanks to empty signifiers such as the aforementioned panoply of uses for peace? We must remember Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (1985) teaching according to which empty signifiers comply with different demands by articulating themselves and constructing systems of signification. The floating signifier – *peace* – does not fully attend each empty signifier's demand to establish a prevailing order. A discourse's attempt to become hegemonic will count on the use of equivalence and differentiation.

For instance, a more just human rights system may contribute for a more peaceful living in equality, though not fully equates to peace. Investing on greener solutions may propitiate peace, but is not a conditional factor for peace to emerge. Investing in other countries' development requires other elements such as management, capacitation and compliance, thus does not necessarily build peace. Security – and its boosting through securitization[64] – may backfire into more suspicion or violence. Democracy and liberalism have been tied to peace as Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch* (1795) has epitomized, although the tautological inference that non-liberal states are necessarily in war is way more complex in reality.

One must not forget that the very concept of peace, in general, is adaptive because it is intangible, as it does not fully account with simply the absence of war or with progress, for example. By reviewing the literature of social constructs of the Norwegian peace identity through perspectives on negative and positive peace, not only does a discussion as such entails an update of Johan Galtung´s (1969) seminal conceptualization of negative and positive peace, but equally raises a question mark on the motivations behind peace orientations towards either a more encompassing

[63] Norway spearheaded the concept of "sustainable" in the field of environment after releasing the United Nations report "Our Common Future", led by former Norwegian Prime-Minister Gro Harland Brudtland'. See: http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf.
[64] Chapter 3 touches upon Norway's and NATO's practices in the Arctic, on the one hand, and Russia's actions, on the other, which have demonstrated a process of securitization in the region.

sense or, not too seldom, towards more operational and restricted senses. By looking closely to both framings, one comes across a spectrum that, in the end, erases any fine line between those two methods in the "Norwegian Policy of Involvement", which is both based on problem-solving practices and on a broadening of understandings of peace.

Vivienne Jabri (2010) critically inspects the emancipatory agenda of peace wherein the emancipation of peace requires unveiling a modern idea under juridical terms that underpins the conditions under which the constraint of peace takes place. Drawing on her previous *Discourses on Violence*'s (1996) core argument that "peace 'remains as enigmatic a concept as it is in achievement", as well as on Walter Benjamin's "spectre" and on Foucault's "understanding" of "the subject of communicative practices as already in and of relations of power", Jabri states that modern ontological basis of peace, with progressive outlook, "is expressive of a particular and situated mode of articulation", wherein its modernity "reveals [...] the constituent other of peace, namely violence" (p. 69). Again, this "constituent other" reminds us of Laclau and Mouffe's differentiation. Dichotomies such as this one between peace and violence, or that one between negative and positive peace call us to make parallels with key arguments on natural violence, on the one hand, and positive violence, on the other hand[65]. Walter Benjamin himself restores some judgements on this literature that places "violence as a natural datum" as "diametrically opposed to positive law, which sees violence as a product of history" (1921, p. 278).

[65] Is Norway, built on the tradition pioneered by not least Johan Galtung, considering the political frame in the peacebuilding of Colombia? It may be too soon to pose such a question, which is why I do not venture to discuss this but rather prefer to get one step back to the conflict resolution under Norway´s and Cuba´s guarantorship. Galtung framed peace and violence on an overarching foundation that encompassed, among other elements, the dimension of politics. According to the Norwegian scholar, peace "should immediately steer one's attention towards problems that are on the *political*, intellectual, and scientific agenda of today, and tomorrow" (1969, p.168; *my emphasis*). For Galtung, "an extended concept of violence is indispensable", being defined "as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual" (within existing resources). As Galtung portrays, this concept must comprise at least six key distinguishing features: 1) between physical and psychological violence, 2) between the negative and positive approach to influence; 3) whether or not there is an object that is hurt; 4) whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts; 5) between violence that is intended or unintended (both on the personal and on the structural domains), 6) between two levels of violence, the manifest and the latent (1969, p. 168-172).

In conformity with Galtung´s conception of security, a comprehensive approach is deemed necessary in order to consider the overall welfare of human beings. The studies that Galtung inaugurated are regarded as "positive", "positive security", insofar as he develops the concept of violence not only on armed terms, but also on social ones. For Galtung, societies are a pyramid that demonstrates inequalities. Provided that there are differences between what one has and what one thinks one deserves, one experiences violence to some degree. In this way, the author points to three types of violence: direct (resulting from death, torture and use of force), structural (related to inequalities) and cultural (derived from sexism, racism and LGBT discrimination). Galtung demonstrates that the three types of violence, each at a vertex of a triangle, change between them in the three directions. Galtung also exposes the strong relationship between inequality, underdevelopment and armed conflict. As the third and last chapter will develop, Norway's peace in Colombia is tied to other concepts, such as development, democracy, inclusion, gender equality, human rights, representativity, and even environment[66].

When it comes to the engagement in Libya, the concept of peace intermeshes with that of security, having the operation in Libya also happened in parallel with secret peace talks with Moammar Gadhafi, whose toppling overlooked the United Nations' mandate. In Norway, however, the Parliament's approval engage in NATO's operation in compliance with the UN1973 Resolution was based on legal grounds. Peace, in Libya, was also the laboratory for the launching of "Responsibility to Protect" as a constructed concept.

Moreover, the fight on global terrorism deemed as an external other was followed by the surprise of an internal terrorist attack led by a Norwegian. Norway has, therefore, intensively attached peace to the "war on terror". To that, I finally add that NATO's significance for Norway resides in that the organization is also seen as linked to peace, achieved through collective defence of the alliance, wherein Norway also plays the role of a bridge-builder between the West and Russia. All things considered, Norway's discursive identity representation makes use of peace as a conceptual umbrella that shields a diverse array of engagements from being

[66] See: https://www.tnp.no/norway/global/norway-helps-farc-militants-become-forest-guardians-colombia; http://gggi.org/gggi-and-norway-support-the-south-south-exchange-of-experiences-in-controlling-deforestation-and-environmental-enforcement-between-brazil-and-colombia/

interpreted as warful, and such discursive assets find in Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) conception of floating signifier a fruitful theoretical backbone for foreign policy analysis.

4.

Peace as a one size fits all umbrella

"Si vis pacem, para bellum"
("Let him who desires peace prepare for war")
~The Norwegian Military Academy
(Krigsskolen)

"I am infinitely grateful to live in a country where people in a critical time take to the streets of flowers and light to call democracy. And to honor and remember those we have lost. We will take this with us when we start the work on shaping Norway after July 22, 2011. Our fathers and mothers promised each other 'Never again 9 April[67]' We say 'Never again July 22'[68]
(STOLTENBERG, 2011, *my translation*).

As Halvard Leira (2013, p. 338) described, the way the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten once depicted Norway's peace identity representation on the very same page of the portrayal of Norway's engagement in Libya denoted a strange Orwellian correlation of the kind "peace is war", as if the country needed to engage in war to achieve peace. Whether or not Norway aims at exporting domestic crises through such engagements, the framing of peace in the triple coincidence comprising facilitation in Colombia, NATO's campaign in Libya and the 22nd of July terrorist episode forecloses contextual links of Norway's exceptional approach to peace as a conceptual umbrella that translates different meanings in accordance with different purposes and uses. This chapter will introduce the Norwegian Public Diplomacy to unveil hidden, and constructed, others in it: the Colombian conflict as the other that depoliticizes Norway's facilitative stance of one party deemed

[67] Date of Norway's Nazi occupation.
[68] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/statsminister-jens-stoltenbergs-tale-pa-/id651840/

terrorist, Russia as a constituent other for Norway's active engagements within NATO as the campaign in Libya is illustrative, and the Norwegian aggressor as an internal other to the country's peaceful order. In addition to problematizing Norway's politics in the High North, this chapter will instrumentally convey some narratives of official Norwegian Foreign Policy addresses as a means to assess how the "Norwegian Exceptionalism" is tied to a panoply of discursive uses of peace.

4.1.

Norwegian Public Diplomacy and attempts to redress disturbances

Before assessing Norwegian Foreign Policy's public discourses, I must make a caveat on my understanding of Public Diplomacy as a concept. I frame Public Diplomacy according to John Robert Kelley's (ibid) definition of "a two-part process shared by the substance of foreign policymaking and the message exchange capacity of international communications". Kelley names as "take-offs" the "participation in the genesis and planned articulation of policy", and "crash landings" the attempt to manage policy failures. In this regard, the report on the Libyan campaign can be a case of "crash landing". Kelley equally points that countries like Norway "regard public diplomacy as highly as other diplomatic activities", whereas Rhonda S. Zaharna argues that Norway stands out in this diplomatic area of relationship-building, and Alan K. Henrikson (apud ZAHARNA, ibid) labels Norwegian officials and diplomacy as "master networkers." Mark Leonard (2002) mentions that Norway has achieved a disproportionate voice and presence in international relations "through aggressive pursuit of niche public diplomacy, and a ruthless prioritisation of its target audiences", with a focus "on a single message – Norway as a force for peace in the world".] (ibid).

Katarzyna Pisarska (2015) attributes the success of the Norwegian niche diplomacy in peace to two factors:

"First, it is the ability of the Norwegian government to capitalize on the society's belief that Norwegians are a 'Peace Nation' with a missionary obligation. Second, it is the existence of the so-called 'Norwegian Model', which allows creating efficient interactions between government, civil society and research institutions in specific foreign policy

efforts. Both factors combined make Norwegian peace diplomacy a model example representing New Public Diplomacy, where domestic civil society remains both an audience ('Norway as a Peace Nation' notion) and a driver (Norwegian model of cooperation) of state public diplomacy efforts".

Apart from targeting audiences as if "spin-doctors", Norwegian diplomats show off talent in the artistry of "holding their mouth" (AGENDA, 2018), being secrecy one of the cornerstones of Norwegian Public Diplomacy. Øystein Haga Skånland (2008, p. 41) argues that the condition of keeping "the talks and negotiations between Israel and PLO out of public the public light "is the most commonly articulated explanation for the success of the Oslo Back Channel". Drawing on an article from *Bergens Tidende* (December 31, 1993), he explains this assertion: "(…) the process illustrates that it may be easier to accomplish results when one can carry on with meticulous efforts outside the public's often merciless limelight, where one on an hourly basis are asked about whether things are moving in the right direction." The same applies to Norway's facilitation in the Colombian Peace Process, where Norway imported a lesson learned from Sri Lanka in terms of adopting a low-key public media profile (FABRA-MATA *et al.*, 2018, p. 58). One must recognize, after all, that Public Diplomacy, besides generating accountability, demands instantaneous feedbacks on progress, and this pressure goes not in tandem with the pace of diplomacy and can sometimes even derail peace processes by opening up vulnerabilities to spoilers. All things considered, the analysis of Public Diplomacy discourses, albeit these limitations, unveil significant instantiations of both the institutional Foreign Policy and the common currency of foreign policy.

In an open talk to PRIO's 2018 summer course on Peace Research, the main envoy to the Colombian process from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dag Nylander, conveyed that it took roughly two whole days to reinstate Norway's credibility as an integral facilitator since the FARCs would not understand an *apparent* contradiction between Norway's hallmark as a peace nation while it was deploying its air force in order to deliberately bomb Libya. But the fact that Norway has credence in both camps is, in accordance with the negotiator, its very *asset*. From a discursive perspective, there is a narrative of peace alongside a narrative of the war, as if both were parts of the same coin. The usefulness of the Post-Structuralist perspective to address this incongruence is to look not at a simple response that solely presents this contradiction or attempts to dissolve it as if both

stances were compatible, but rather at a response in which discourses on the image of peace are open, unstable, and disputed by divergent narratives.

While the discourse of facilitation brings more technical contours in order to de-politicize the guarantor state of a peace process, it ultimately renders the entitled owners of the process accountable as to the results of it and exempts the facilitators from direct responsibility of the consequences of peacebuilding, a process that contradictorily unveils both the political stance of the apolitical facilitator in terms of seeking status and reputation and the politics of conflict as it transfers responsibility to the supposed owners of the peace process. On a further spectrum, the Post-Structuralist scholar of the Norwegian process of securitization of the "High North" Leif C. Jensen (2013) contends that "By taking part in the 'war on terror', the state of Norway, de facto and almost overnight, helped to expand the concept of security by joining others in declaring war on an abstraction ('terror')". Not only does this punctuate a sudden change in the Norwegian foreign policy, but it equally unveils how Norway's framing of Russia as the other is highly connected to Norwegian compliance with NATO's 'war on terror'-driven aggressions for the sake of a collective defense[69] in face of a potential threat around its immediate territory:

> "Making visible and relevant military contributions to US- and NATO-led military operations would be one way of ensuring Norway's reputation as a state that more-than-fulfilled its alliance obligations. In the last instance, the prestige garnished was also to serve as a 'reservoir of goodwill', increasing the likelihood that Norway's allies would provide support in case of a conflict with Norway's unpredictable great power neighbour: the Russian Federation" (JAKOBSEN *et al.*, 2016; p. 16).

All these pragmatic interests may somehow be shadowed by a preference to highlight Norway as a "Peace Nation". In this regard, 2005 was not only the year when Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik enacted a "Peace Nation", but also the year of a steep increase in securitization discourses, which rendered some radical changes: "The post-2005 discursive field of the Northern areas is, in many ways, more open-ended, complex and confusing than ever. The opening up and expansion of the concept of High North security means that 'everything' is seen as having a

[69] When explaining why Norway engaged in Afghanistan, for instance, Kristian Harpviken argues that the main justification has been the same as of 1940s, which is full support for NATO and the USA as a guarantee for Norway to count on reciprocal security. See: https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/4470-a-peace-nation-takes-up-arms.pdf

security potential" (JENSEN, 2013, p.1). Jensen emphatically argues that "it was in 2005 that, according to the textual evidence, official Norwegian security thinking on the High North underwent a substantial change, with 'security talk' becoming a normalized and necessary ingredient of the High North discourse" (ibid, p.7).

In addition to this temporal coincidence, another stands out once considering the year of 2011 in this regard: Not only was it the year when Norway prepared the ground for exploratory talks with the FARCs while it was involved in NATO's bombing operation in Libya. 2011 was also the year when Anders Behring Breivik, on the 22nd of July, bombed the Norwegian government's headquarters in Oslo and Utøya, an island where the children of the Labour Party were camping. At the time of such unprecedented solo terror attacks, the then Prime-Minister was Jens Stoltenberg, the one who had commanded the decision to bomb Libya a few months earlier. Back then, it came as a surprise that the terrorist revealed was actually a Norwegian, when all regards and concerns turned against the threat posed by the other, *i.e.* the Islam. One must not take for granted that the then Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, is the current Secretary General of NATO as I write this. Discursive articulations help explain processes of othering, as illustrates the reading of this following snippet:

> "The unclassified versions of the last three Norwegian Police Security Service reports assessing national threats all played down any threat by right-wing and nationalist extremists. Instead, the reports emphasized the dangers posed by radical Islam, groups opposed to Norway's military involvement in Afghanistan and Libya, and others. The 2011 report, released early this year, concluded that 'the far-right and far-left extremist communities will not represent a serious threat to Norwegian society'. Even after the attacks, that appeared to be the official position. 'Compared to other countries I wouldn't say we have a big problem with right-wing extremists in Norway', Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg told reporters at a news conference on Saturday… Mr. Romarheim said in some ways the homegrown nature of the attack made it harder for Norwegians to accept. 'With 9/11 in America, people could ask, 'Who are they?' and could pour their rage out on someone else',he said. 'But we can't disavow this person, he's one of us'" (ERLANGER & SHANE, 2011).

The very naturalization of security issues is telling of a self that involves disputes even internally. The "conflict other" in Colombia; the lunatic "other" in Oslo and the "terrorist other" in Libya are deemed a violent other. The facilitation through a guarantor role in Colombia reinforces the image of Norway as *non-violent*, and so does Norway's reaction to the internal aggression in a pacific way. Although this peace via facilitation takes place in parallel with the military operation in Libya,

Public Diplomacy unveils attempts to stabilize an identity representation that is placed in permanent tension, especially in a context when Norway has its representation of identity being questioned also domestically in face of, among others, the issue of refugees, the political right in power, and an internal instability geared by anti-immigration feelings, as the terrorist act of 2011 made evident.

By encompassing security threats into a stabilization of a peace identity, the naturalization of this identity is what gives credence for Norway to engage in warful partakes as it finds justification in humanitarian causes that do not jeopardize Norway's depicted historical peace hallmark and that serve to reinstate its identity of a Peace Nation as opposed to Sweden, for example, which in turn stands among the 'warrior states' (ERIKSEN & NEUMANN, 2011; p. 12). It is, to say the least, curious that a nation of Viking ancestry marked with violence and wars – sharing a past warrior character with the rest of Scandinavia – is now the materialization of symbols, myths, know-how and the most significant prize. The not so distant breakthrough ensued with the Oslo process has distinctively enabled the enactment of a peace nation self-depiction, which brings to the surface validations that foreign policy also transmutes identities. In other words, this symbiotic relation is not about a pre-fixed identity that has a one-sided effect on foreign policy; rather, identity and foreign policy co-constitute one another in a dynamically retroactive movement.

Although the identity of Norwegians as a peaceful people is undoubtedly attached to an idealism and to its identification with Liberal Internationalism and even if Norway's reasonings unveil a clear seduction of Realism, neither Liberalism nor Realism can elucidate practices and mechanisms that enable the conditions for the Nobel peace country to spearhead a bombing operation in Libya in an unprecedented magnitude. A Post-Structuralist perspective on discursive practices may explain *how foreign policy and identity constitute one another as a means that allows us to understand how conventional approaches articulated to explain Norway's external actions substantiate the notion of a stable and coherent self*. However, these conventional approaches do not let us perceive how Foreign Policy is under a permanent process of reification, silencing and depoliticization, to borrow terms that some of this literature comprises (CAMPBELL, 1992; DOTY, 1996; NEUMANN, 1998; HANSEN, 2006). Consequently, the Post-Structuralist partake is made necessary as it is the most appropriate to account for the subjects, objects,

realities and relations that gave meaning to Norway's decision to bomb Libya while it facilitated exploratory talks between the FARCs and the Colombian government, and to unveil how the narratives on terror in Libya distanced from those pertaining to Norway's inner terror. This chapter hence does not seek to unveil these contradictions nor to harmonize them but rather to assess *how structures of representation, meanings and narratives have articulated subjectivities in a way of rendering legitimate, natural, valid and possible incongruous spatial though temporally simultaneous identities*.

The analysis of the Norwegian Public Diplomacy, in accordance with a Post-Structuralist understanding as a co-constitution[70] between identity and foreign policy, engender a triple corollary comprised of a depoliticization, silencing and reification. That said, the representation of a peace identity "has naturalized and in periods depoliticized the peace engagement" (SKÅNLAND, 2016, p. 48). Furthermore, such naturalization gives prominence to a peace identity representation, thereby silencing warful stances. As a bottom line, both movements, taken together, reinstate Norway's peace identity as such to reify it as a morally superior state that, be it in the condition of a facilitator or as a NATO member in combat, acts under the premises of humanitarian claims.

In a nutshell, how have narratives and related representations of the Norwegian self in Norwegian Public Diplomacy, enabled the tautology of a "peace through war?" How can a Post-Structuralist discourse analysis assess joint articulations of "peace through war" not as contradictory neither as compatible but rather as a constantly disputed self? Since discourse can build identity such to mobilize actions (HANSEN, 2006) – including the necessity of intervention, I also wonder how the discursive self of Norway as a peace nation enables such "peace through war" narrative, thereby bringing to the surface mechanisms through which some narratives gain evidence while others are left to oblivion. Drawing on Foucault's understandings on the relations between discourse, power and meaning, the present

[70] As a response to critics on the Post-Structuralist method, Hansen (2014, p. 15) argues that "The relationship between foreign policy and identity is theorized in noncausal terms, but the absence of causality does not imply a lack of structure".

intake of Post-Structuralism to Public Diplomacy assumes that "discourses are productive" (SKÅNLAND, 2016) inasmuch as

> "They construct truth, meaning and knowledge, and provide us with the lenses through which we perceive the world and the basis on which we think and act. Moreover, discourses define what practices are possible, logical and legitimate, rendering others unthinkable or illegitimate" (ibid, 2016).

Likewise, the discourse analysis for my object assumes that there are instabilities of the Norwegian instantiation of Peace self from the standpoint of the bombing in Libya. This means it aims to problematize, by means of juxtapositions, these instabilities; as well as to situate this analysis based on the conceptual history of the contextualized constitution of meaning of a key political vocabulary in Norway, which is facilitation. Facilitation thus constitutes the core of the chain into which all those nodal points convolute. Since the present research aims to analyze discursive practices revolving around the co-constitutions between identity and foreign policy into Public Diplomacy, the object of such assessment will focus the official public addresses of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with support from other non-official literature, mainly books and newspaper articles.

That said, this discourse analysis will draw on official narratives as primary sources. Specifically for the case of the peace process in Colombia, I will depart from NORAD's assessment on Norway's peace efforts in Colombia, coordinated by Javier Fabra-Mata and Anette Wilhelmsen (2018) after an intensive archive research conducted in the MFA. For the case of the bombing in Libya, I will depart my analysis from the report *EVALUERING AV NORSK DELTAKELSE I LIBYAOPERASJONENE I 2011*, recently released in September 2018. Finally, a short overview on Jens Stoltenberg's addresses after the domestic terrorist aggression will serve to delineate some narratives that correlate with Norway's self-representation of a peace nation. As a means to engross those primary sources, official sources will encompass narratives such as speeches, and practices such as those contained in Norway's "Engagement Policy". The ways to analyze the productive power of such discursive practices will find some "how possible" explanations through the assessment of official addresses and alternative or secondary sources, such as genealogical readings and contestations of influence and legitimacy by local and international media.

The framing of this analysis will assume some nodal points as Lacau & Mouffle (1985, p. xi), basing on Lacan's partial fixations as "*points de capiton*'" (LACLAU & MOUFFE , 1985, p. 112) describe them:

"Thus, the category of *point de capiton* (nodal point, in our terminology) or master-signifier involves the notion of a particular element assuming a universal structuring function within a certain discursive field — actually, whatever organization that field has is only the result of that function".

In accordance with the authors (p. 113), nodal points constitute "privileged discursive points" of a discourse's attempt to predominate in "the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre". These *points de capiton* thus serve to fix the meaning of a signifying chain, to form an articulation that constitutes only partial meaning, which enables adaptability in its social use for a constellation of discursivities.

The understanding of the conditions that enabled articulations and practices as the peace through war and the facilitation in Colombia while Norway bombed Libya gains contours through interpretations and meanings ensued from discourse, which is why an analysis of *nodal points* in language, both at a synchronic and a diachronic level (MALMVIG, 2006, p. xxii) addresses *how questions* more adequately, such as how statements produced meanings as to render legitimate the bombing of Libya, and how this conduct has been articulated with the Norwegian instantiation of a peace self.

One nodal point of Norwegian Peace and Reconciliation Policy indeed encapsulates a security drive: *global security threats*. This is evident in official discourse[71]:

"Many of the global security threats we are facing are symptoms of unresolved political issues. The result is violence and states losing control over their territory and borders. The challenge lies in not merely relieving the symptoms, but in helping to address some of the underlying causes. Through peace and reconciliation work, we support local, regional and international efforts to bring about lasting political solutions" (GOVERNMENT.NO, 2016).
"We live in a globalized world. Whatever happens on the other side of the planet will affect us. Conflict can affect us in terms of terrorism, refugee streams, drug trafficking, etc. So we also see now that it's in our interest to prevent conflict even though they're far away and we're strong believers in dialogue as the means to resolve conflict"[72]. (SLÅTTUM, 2016).

[71] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/peace-and-reconciliation-efforts/innsiktsmappe/facilitation/id708238/
[72] Available on: http://davaotoday.com/main/politics/why-is-norway-helping-out-in-the-philippines-peace-process/

"The nature of today's conflicts means that we are facing challenges that constitute a direct threat to European and global security" (SOLBERG, 2018).
"Peace and reconciliation efforts are a key element of Norwegian foreign policy, and our work in this area is increasingly linked to security policy considerations. We are living at a time of great uncertainty. We are facing new threats and seeing the rise of new geopolitical power constellations. Global security, economy and welfare could be undermined. Working together with the UN for peaceful resolution of conflicts is a way of safeguarding our common interests" (SØREIDE, 2018).

Ownership is another nodal point of Norwegian Public Diplomacy on Peace and Reconciliation:

"The nature of Norway's engagement in peace and reconciliation processes varies according to the situation in the country, the wishes of the parties involved, what other international actors are doing, and what Norway has to offer. At the request of the parties to a conflict, Norway can facilitate talks on possible pathways to peace and on how the suffering caused by war can be reduced and international law respected […] The responsibility for preventing conflict and building peace lies with the parties involved, but we can provide advice and expertise or support a political process through projects that build capacity and a sense of ownership in the local population" (ibid).

An additional nodal point implies measurement of success by means of Liberal "*lessons learned*" guidelines based on a long-term perspective:

"Peace and reconciliation work requires taking a long-term perspective. This is a challenge when we try to measure the results of our efforts. The Government attaches importance to collecting and systematizing experience gained from peace processes, in part to make it easier to measure results. Efforts to resolve conflicts and build peace do make a difference" (ibid).

Prime Minister Erna Solberg's speech at the Paris Peace Forum reinforces a rationalistic view of lessons learned to systematise result measurements. Furthermore, the address unveils telling *predicates* and other nodal points that configure a common currency of most official addresses on peace, such as dialogue, trust, competence building, inclusion, consistence, impartiality, international law and human rights[73]:

"Let me share some lessons learned over all these years and how these guide our work in this area.
First, we talk to all kinds of actors. Norway is only aligned with the UN terror list, not with that of the EU. This makes it possible for us *to keep discreet channels of communication*

[73] By framing often framing peace as related to human rights and international law, Norway not only reveals a multitude of possibilities of use of the concept of peace depending on the context – which entails a floating movement of peace – but also justifies the prevalence of impartiality upon neutrality as the latter overlooks what must be undeniably regarded as just. The attachment of justice to peace, moreover, is another example of peace as a floating signifier, and Norway's status as an international law advocate is intrinsically associated with the country's construction of peace tradition.

open where others cannot. From an early stage in the Middle East peace process, we *recognised the need to engage all parties*. Similarly, in Afghanistan we have long promoted an approach that includes all sides.
However, there are limits. For actors that show no interest in *a negotiated settlement*, such as ISIL, *dialogue* makes little sense[74].
Second, we recognise the responsibility of the parties. The parties themselves own the conflict and the process. It is only when they want to talk that we can bring people together. Our job is to help foster *trust* and *build competence*.
Let me take the example of the UN-sponsored Syria negotiations. They illustrate how important – and yet how difficult – trust building is. Norway has supported *innovative mechanisms for the inclusion of civil society in the peace process*. However, these efforts will amount to little as long as there is no *willingness* among the parties to find common ground.
Third, we *seek to build trust*. Norway is *a consistent and predictable actor*. We are *impartial, but not neutral*. *International law and human rights* guide our work.
We *encourage the parties to search for solutions*, not just to treat the symptoms. They must address *the core issues of the conflict*. They must look further than the immediate need for stabilisation.
Fourth, we are in it *for the long run*. The Colombian peace process has seen almost 20 years of *consistent Norwegian engagement*. In the Philippines, we have been involved since 2001. Our engagement for peace in Afghanistan dates back to the 1990s.
Just days after this year's anniversary of the Oslo Accord, Norway once again chaired the donor group for the Palestinians. These are just a few examples of *our long-term engagement*. Our *efforts enjoy broad support in Norwegian society and among all political parties in Norway*. This means that they can continue even if there are setbacks in the various processes. *Continuity adds to the quality of a peace process. It reinforces trust.*
Fifth, we are willing to fail. Peace diplomacy is always a high-risk activity. The possibility of failure is considerable. Norway accepts this political risk. We *seek to play a leading role in an area where others face greater constraints*.
Our efforts will not always succeed. Nor will they yield quick or perfect solutions. Even in failure, *lessons are learned*"[75] (2018, *my highlight*).

Moreover, there is a perceived demonstration of interest in Norway's peace engagement, as Erna Solberg (ibid) continues:

"And it is against this backdrop that we have launched Norway's candidature for the UN Security Council for the period 2021-22. Our aim is to contribute to strengthening the role of the UN in conflict prevention and resolution. We believe our experience in this field will be an asset to the Security Council".

Skånland (2009, p. 42) traces this discursive articulation between Norway's international praise for its peace efforts and a self-interest based perspective back to the Oslo Process, when an unprecedented avail of interests enabled constructions such as that the success has placed Norway "on the world map", giving the country "a good PR" image, and the positive effect on the whaling negotiations.

[74] The nuanced view on terrorism helps to reinforce the legitimisation of Norway's stance as a facilitator of a party deemed terrorist according to other non-UN terror lists.
[75] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/speech-at-paris-peace-forum/id2618598/

Peace and its lessons-learned also play a cross-sectoral role in Norwegian Public Diplomacy. As Fabra-Mata's *et al.* report reminds us, the White Paper on the Sustainable Development Goals and Norwegian Development Policy[76] and the 2017–2018 National Budget proposal submitted to the Norwegian Parliament[77] state that "the Government of Norway 'puts emphasis on gathering and systematising experiences from peace processes'", including that of Colombia (FABRA-MATA *et al.*, 2018, p. 11).

A symptomatic need to frame a *security-development nexus*[78] is also a nodal point of Norwegian Peace and Reconciliation efforts: "Strategic use of development aid makes it possible for us to support negotiating processes and to reinforce peace settlements, for instance through monitoring mechanisms and peacebuilding efforts"[79]. In Fabra-Mata's *et al.* (2018, p. 52) evaluating report on Norway's facilitation in the Colombian peace process, the following is stated: "It is part of Norway's peace and reconciliation approach to make strategic use of development aid to support negotiating processes".

Being a fluid concept, peace can even be attached to the prevention of sexual abuse and gender inclusion:

> "Preventing and responding to sexual violence is a cross-cutting priority in all of our peace and security efforts.
> We deploy many women police officers to international operations, and we are working to increase the number of women in our military contingents. Because we want to recruit the best, irrespective of gender. A diverse team delivers better on the ground.
> We want our men to speak out, too. Gender is never only about women. And sexual violence cannot be stopped by women alone […]
> We are strengthening the gender perspective in our humanitarian efforts; asking more of our implementing partners and monitoring their work better. We will develop a new humanitarian strategy, with a strong focus on gender […]
> In mediation, we work to ensure that victims are heard. That amnesty for sexual crimes is not accepted. We learned through the Colombia process that this is possible, with the commitment of the parties and a strong push from civil society" (HAGEN, 2017).

[76] Meld. St. 24 (2016 –2017) Melding til Stortinget Felles ansvar for felles fremtid Bærekraftsmålene og norsk utviklingspolitikk.
[77] Prop. 1 S (2016–2017) FOR BUDSJETTÅRET 2017 — Utgiftskapitler: 100–172 Inntektskapitler: 3100
[78] Surprisingly, "Norway nevertheless said no to accept wounded Libyans and to assist in building Libya's bombed infrastructure". Aftenposten. I dag kommer granskningsrapporten om Norges bombing av Libya. September 13, 2018. This can be a point of dispute of the Peace self. Available on: https://www.aftenposten.no/verden/i/e1Ld29/I-dag-kommer-granskningsrapporten-om-Norges-bombing-av-Libya
[79] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/peace-and-reconciliation-efforts/innsiktsmappe/facilitation/id708238/

Norway also perceives Justice and International law as irreconcilable from peace: "Justice and the legal order are increasingly recognised as prerequisites for lasting peace and stability" (ibid).

Another use of peace has pointed to a discursive correlation between attaining Sustainable Development Goals and peace, stability and security, as Norway's policy on oceans illustrates:

> "Achieving SDG 14 is important in itself, and will also have positive ripple effects in other strategically important areas that are vital to peace, stability and security. With its extensive experience and knowledge of ocean-based activities, Norway is well placed to make an important contribution in this area"[80].

When it comes to Norway's security policy, one nodal point is the need "to safeguard Norway's *sovereignty, territorial integrity* and *political freedom of action*"[81] (*my highlight*), which, as I further intend to expand beyond the present thesis, entails a securitization of threats to its physical security as a pretext to engage in peace process and ultimately redress an ontological insecurity to its peace identity related to anxieties such as the bombing of Libya. Moreover, the very concern with sovereignty and territorial integrity is of uttermost relevance to my argument according to which Norway, as a recent state that suffered occupation three times, urges to secure a sense of being, which, tied to a sense of self-identity, is as significant as physical security (STEELE, 2008; p. 2). Along Norway's recent history as a sovereign state, the country has differentiated its self-representation from other states through discourses on peace even before the dissolution of the union with Sweden, with an engagement spree following the liberation from the Nazi government[82], and an unprecedented engagement through facilitation after the demise of neighbouring Soviet Union. The construction and the attempts of stabilization of a peace identity representation and of a peace engagement thus constitute a niche diplomacy through which Norway symbolically tries to secure its sense of self-identity and therefore to ascertain itself as a prestigious sovereign nation-state in the international arena.

[80] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/meld.-st.-22-20162017/id2544710/?q=Libya%20Colombia

[81] https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/defense/id215/

[82] Aimé Césaire depicts how the Western Christian civilization has constructed the idea of peace as opposed to Nazism.

It goes without saying that all these nodal points – global security threats, ownership, lessons learned, the nexus security-development, the preservation of sovereignty, dialogue, trust, capacity-building and so forth – attach representations of a peace identity to Norway in such a way that, along with a facilitative expertise, this image is conveyed as able to tackle conflicts that could otherwise escalate thanks to an efficient empowerment of the parties through ownership, which both engenders compliance and propitiates peace and aid, and these are conjugated to a security *habitus* that relates back to Norway's self-perceived liberal superiority of political freedom. Facilitation, in a nutshell, summarizes an instantiation of a peace self that is discursively constructed by means of these nodal points.

Nodal points are fragile, allowing both a fluctuation due to a constitutive lack and disputes for hegemony. The flowing instantiation of peace is the very asset that allows such encompassing foreign policy on peace for Norway. The dispute among groups for meanings can happen in a macrocosm, in foreign policy, but is, as Neumann (*no* p*ress*) describes, unescapable from the microcosm of Foreign Policy, especially when the Peace and Reconciliation Section started taking over responsibility of countries entitled to other divisions when the matter was peace, and all the more because peace could also flow as a concept by spilling over to other fields.

Hansen (2006, p. 46) argues that "basic discourses point to the main points of contestation within a debate and facilitate a structured account of the relationship between discourses, their points of convergence and confrontations; how discourses develop over time in response to events, facts and criticism; and how discursive variations evolve". By the same token, she exhorts to "a comparison of issues located within the same temporal horizon", as it "generates knowledge of the discourses of the Self across politically pertinent areas" (ibid, p. 71).

As Hansen (2006) suggests,

> "the discourses of the Self are trying to stabilize the Self's identity, yet […] this is an inherently unstable and often contested project produced and reproduced through foreign policy discourse" (p. 40);
> "As the meaning of each sign is established through linking and differentiation, there is always a gap between them: they are linked to each other, but never fully the same. Instability might be explicitly articulated if the Other is constructed as radically different yet also as part of the Self, but discourses will usually seek to avoid such blatant

contradictions, and tracing instability therefore usually involves more careful analysis of how links and juxtapositions come into conflict with each other" (p. 69);
"and so without knowledge of a key political vocabulary and its conceptual history one would be unable to identify the precise contextualized constitution of meaning" (p. 75).

As Hansen prescribes, I will frame my object accordingly. That said, there is one self, which is Norway (or, rather, two instantiations of Norway: the peace self and the war destabilization); a comparison around events (the facilitation of the Colombian Peace Process, the bombing in Libya and the domestic attack); a discursive encounter (with ensuing production of instabilities); the wider political debate as intertextual models (in the sense that even though I will focus on official addresses, I will base the wider political debate on media materials); one temporal perspective (2011 in Libya and the terrorist aggression) while continuous in Colombia; and three events (related by time – 2011 – and self – Norway).

Milliken, acknowledging the 'play of practice' of discourse, points to the persistent instabilities of discourses, which require 'authorized subjects' to be successful in reproducing them, in some open-ended dynamics that recall Foucault's microphysics of power (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 242). Milliken thus wraps up existing methodologies to approach these unstable dynamics and appeals to more contributions in terms of assessing the practices engendered with the implementation of policies. Milliken traces the existing literature, in that discourses are not only "systems of signification" implying relationships in a sign system according to its structure as Saussure taught us, but also on Derrida's understanding of binary oppositions, establishing, for my object, a relation of power and privilege of some terms (peace and facilitator) in face of others (war and terrorist). Discourses, being equally productive, operationalize "regimes of truth", "define subjects authorized to speak and to act" and even establish "*knowledgeable practices*" with the mastering of places and groups, being the legitimation of those a result of rendering them "common sense" (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 229).

Pondering all these theoretical underpinnings as equally useful for my research, I adopt the juxtapositional method with the aid of an assessment of subjugated knowledges. The juxtapositional method is appropriate inasmuch as concerns juxtaposing the

> "'truth' about a situation constructed within a particular discourse to events and issues that this 'truth' fails to acknowledge and address, and also by pairing dominant representations with contemporaneous accounts that do not use the same definitions of what has happened and that articulate subjects and their relationships in different ways. The point of this method, as David Campbell (1992, 1993) has explained, is not to establish the 'right story' but to render ambiguous predominant interpretations of state practices and to demonstrate the inherently political nature of discourses". (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 243).

I thus juxtapose the "truth" that Norway is a peaceful nation to the contemporaneous accounts of the Norwegian involvements in Libya and attempts, as the recently released report unveils, to redress that truth under the justification that Norway had very little knowledge of the whole picture[83] when it decided to deploy the jets into Libya[84].

I do not, however, deem that the juxtapositional method suffices for the scope of this research, since I reinstate my wish to problematize that ambiguity beyond simply presenting it, which is why I choose to complement the juxtapositional method with an analysis of "subjugated knowledge" (ibid), that is, Norwegian warful intakes in the already "taken for granted" (ROTTEM, 2007) participation within NATO.

As Milliken (1999, p. 243) describes, the method of *subjugated knowdledges*

> "is essentially an extension of the juxtapositional method, with the difference that alternative accounts are not just pointed out but are explored in some depth, showing that they are enabled by a discourse that does not overlap substantially with a dominating discourse. This may also involve an examination of how the subjugated knowledge itself works to create conditions for resistance to a dominating discourse, and also perhaps an exploration of how the dominant discourse excludes or silences its alternative".

The subjugated knowledge implies the exclusion of certain practices – as the bombing in Libya and the depoliticization of the terrorist attack illustrate – on the detriment of the naturalization of other practices – such as facilitation by the Peace Nation. The subjugated knowledge equally implies contestation of nodal points that, albeit somehow resilient, are subject to change, and the very spaces of

[83] "Norway ill-advised on bombing Libya", https://www.newsinenglish.no/2018/09/13/norway-ill-advised-on-bombing-libya/. This text not only questions accountability but equally reveals Norway as status-seeking.

[84] Committee on Libya bombing: Politicians had "very limited" knowledge. https://www.nrk.no/urix/utvalg-om-libya-bombing_-politikerne-hadde-_svaert-begrenset_-kunnskap-1.14205087. The report on Norway's participation in Libya is clear in its conclusion: Norway had too little knowledge of the situation in the country. Such claim, put simply, aims at stabilizing the discourse of a Peace Nation.

instability are the ones that may give rise to practices that try to render legitimate some interventions.

Being a kind of research, as Milliken frames, under the category of *foreign policy studies*, it seeks to "address discursive productivity by analyzing how an elite's 'regime of truth' made possible certain courses of action by a state [for my object of study, the bombing of Libya] while excluding other policies as unintelligible or unworkable or improper" (MILLIKEN, 1999, p. 240).

With regard to facilitation, I perceive depoliticization as a process that develops in tandem with what I take as a compound formed by facilitation and ownership. The technicity attached to this impartial labelling of facilitation in Colombia transfers the other from the FARCs to the conflict, a deed that can sanction deeming terrorism *per se* as the other in Libya. A Rationalistic approach would interpret that a strategy based on the interest of facilitating for prestige and of fighting for security should make sense, but I argue that, in practice, there is not a rationale that presumably and consciously relates one event to another except when it comes to reinstating a peace identity in the attempt of justifying the 'war on terror' as a fight for humanitarian causes, as a "war for peace". This war for peace is not contradictory nor compatible but rather an articulation aimed to stabilize, through discourse, a disputed self whose constructed peace identity faces tensions and needs reinstatements through Public Diplomacy. If we turn into both Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) explanation on the chain of equivalence among signifiers and into Derrida's (1978) notion of "undecidability", this oscillation between war and peace concentrated in such oxymoron is not a contradiction nor a dissolution insofar as the flowing signifier is unstable without being psychotic, thus allowing that meanings and fixations slide into different interpretations, such as the discourse on peace in Colombia, the use of "peace operation" in Libya, and an emphasis on peace with a parallel silencing of terrorism concerning the 22nd of July event.

The Norwegian way of making peace through facilitation inherently equates with a low-profile bridge building: the facilitator, by abstaining from manipulating the parties as would the power political approach of the mediator, renders ownership not only more genuine and feasible, but also depoliticizes the facilitator. In doing so, the parties appropriate even responsibilities and accountabilities for political

conjectures and positionings related to the peace process. In the Colombian case, an even subtler way to address the facilitation of talks was by means of appointing guarantor countries. The association between ownership and facilitation in the Norwegian Public Diplomacy discourses leads me to argue that one is the flipside coin of the other. This impartiality towards the parties equally enables ownership in that it functions as the antipode of facilitation: such abstention from accountability and its allegedly unbiased stance from the interest-driven power that characterizes mediation is what equally convinces a depoliticization of the facilitator, who, being partial against the other framed as the conflict and impartial towards a party deemed terrorist, witnesses joint articulations in temporally synchronous but spatially different identities as compared to the one emphasized in Libya. Since I assume that the self is a continuous and disputed construct, I unmask ownership when it stands as a liberal "fit for all" in addressing the disputes between war and peace, being the depoliticization of the facilitator the corollary of ownership. That same ownership is what renders possible the justification of facilitating a party deemed terrorist and its violent deeds related to the combat against terrorists.

Moreover, the technicity of the Norwegian peace-making also enables the assessment of local conflicts, such as the ones in Colombia and Libya, by means of facilitating a party deemed terrorist and engaging in 'the war on terror', insofar as Norway articulates them through a Liberalist peace and a Realist security as the framing of "peace nation" versus "war state" illustrates[85]. The emphasis on ownership as a natural consequence of a posture of withdrawal from any attempt to "shape societies for the long term because they [the mediators] rely on wartime leaders to craft agreements and steer transitional processes forward" is one of the objections against a statement for discussion at an Oslo Forum: "The team arguing against the motion emphasized that the role of the mediator is to manage the process through which the parties find an accommodation and that the content of the agreement reached is to be determined by the parties themselves" (ibid, p. 64). According to the demur, the mediator's role is not solely to end violence, but "to promote and defend democracy", which entails a very liberal discourse.

[85] Message to the Parliament. See: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld.-st.-24-20162017/id2547573/

Nonetheless, beyond that, I perceive a self-conscious concern of Norwegian Foreign Policy to redress, through Public Diplomacy practices such as the Oslo Forum, the risk of legitimizing "wartime leaders" by emphasising a "do-gooder" nature of promotion of democratic values, which evinces disputes of the self and attempts to stabilize it by highlighting a peace identity. Moreover, there is a hint of dispute even in face of the impartial and supposedly de-politicized role of the third party, who should not abstain from meddling in the conflicting parties' regimes.

4.2.

The facilitation in Colombia: trust to build confidence

Milliken (1999, p. 233) argues that discourses are systems of "social signification", and, as such, a discourse analysis, although some may think otherwise, cannot base itself on a single text, even if it is a key document, as it could not alone empirically support the social background behind that signification. Echoing Milliken, my delimitation of some narratives in NORAD's Evaluation Department report "A Trusted Facilitator: An Evaluation of Norwegian Engagement in the Peace Process between the Colombian Government and the FARC, 2010–2016" will introduce analysis of official addresses on Norway's role as a guarantor state in the Colombian peace process. Apart from pointing to the use of predicates, which, according to Milliken (1999; p. 232) focuses on the sets of verbs, adverbs and adjectives, the framing of the concept of peace is of utmost importance for these assessments, as the elasticity of its floating movement serves to legitimate sets of different practices.

The assessment begins with the report "A Trusted Facilitator: An Evaluation of Norwegian Engagement in the Peace Process between the Colombian Government and the FARC, 2010–2016", released in August 2018. Javier Fabra-Mata (team leader) and Anette Wilhelmsen, both from the Evaluation Department at Norad, carried out the report, and counted with the following external experts: Christine Bell (University of Edinburgh), Marc Chernick (Georgetown University), Frans Leeuw (University of Maastricht) and Morten Skumsrud Andersen (Norwegian

Institute of International Affairs). The study was based on research of the Norwegian MFA's archives, literature and media review, interviews, and Twitter analysis. The report's (ibid, p. 14) emphasis on trust puts this concept as the nodal point of peace facilitation in Colombia:

> "Because the Norwegian team aimed to contribute to building trust between the negotiating parties, but also because *trust is the crux of a peace process or peace facilitation*, this evaluation also considered the actions and mechanisms by which trust was built during the Colombian peace process" (*my highlight*).

To begin with, positive qualifiers stand in the overall assessment of Norway's engagement in the Colombian peace process, with predicates such as *noticeable* contribution, and the statement according to which it is thanks to Norway's reputation as a *trustworthy* peace facilitator that the country engaged in peace during its secret phase, whereas the Norwegians' *seriousness and professionalism* during that phase explain why the country became a guarantor for the public peace negotiations (FABRA-MATA *et al.*, 2018, p. 6). In addition to mentioning some features that resonate with those of the "Norwegian exceptionalism", such as Norway's impediment to interact with terrorist groups, the availability of financial resources, and its commitment to peace, for the case in Colombia, the report mentions that Norway boasted a "diplomatic peace footprint" (ibid), in reference to Norway's previous involvement in talks between the Colombian Government and the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Army, ELN). Not least, the report (ibid) mentions that "the personal connections established by Norwegians on the ground, their knowledge of the different stakeholders in Colombia, and – more broadly – their ability to navigate a highly complex political landscape, were *significant* in this regard".

The qualifiers tied to facilitation are *multiple and continuous support*, which comprised five forms: *operations*, *support facilitation*, *knowledge facilitation*, *capacity building* and *trust building* (ibid, p.7). The report acknowledges lessons learned from the previous processes (Sri Lanka, Guatemala, South Sudan, Nepal, and ELN in Colombia) as fruitful through not necessarily replicable (ibid). As for the concept of peace, the report correlates it with pedagogy when arguing that Norway could have been more actively engaged in *the pedagogy for peace*, *i.e.*, educational programmes through existing channels (ibid, p. 8), an argument that not

only echoes a liberal peace perspective but also adds a floating instantiation of peace as pedagogical.

Interestingly, the report recommends that facilitators analyse the public discourse related to the peace process, recognising the relation between discourse and foreign policy:

> "A facilitation team's analytical toolbox should include ways to monitor the public discourse in connection to the peace process. When developing their strategies, Norwegian facilitation teams should consider scenario analysis, especially around highstakes situations such as processes for validating peace agreements" (ibid, p. 9).

Furthermore, the report attaches peace facilitation in Colombia to an added importance of *capacity building* and *third-party expertise*, due to the FARCs' shortage of capabilities to match those of the Colombian government, which, resonating with a liberal peace toolkit, should require expertise:

> "There was a clear imbalance in the parties' knowledge on the agenda topics, where the FARC – as an insurgency group – could not match the government's expertise and analytical prowess. While the government had vast resources within and outside its administration, the FARC did not have the same access to knowledge resources on procedural and technical issues and relevant legal frameworks. Consequently, capacity-building and third-party expertise became important to the FARC during negotiations" (ibid, p. 22).

There is a myriad of positive qualifiers for Norway's peace engagement in the case of Colombia as the report (ibid, p. 24) underlines, such as that "Norway's *reputation* was one important reason for choosing Norway, which was seen as the '*go-to nation*' in matters of building peace'. Individuals with first-hand experience of other peace talks facilitated by Norway *vouched for its professionalism*". To this "*reputational filter*", the report (ibid) adds "*the capital, the enabling legal framework and the financial resources*" filters that made Norway eligible to become a guarantor country of the process. Additionally, the facilitation is deemed "*low-key*", which bestows upon it a "*professional and respectful*" style (ibid, *my highlight*).

Again, trust stands out: "the additional element to tip the scales was trust, *i.e.* to be trusted more than other shortlisted candidates (ibid, p. 24) […] Enjoying the trust of negotiating parties is a necessary condition in order for a facilitator to do its job (ibid, p. 46)" This includes Norway's policy on terrorism: "Norway also offered the advantage of being *a democracy not bound by the US and EU lists of designated*

terrorists. Not being an EU member was seen as a crucial criterion, as it considerably simplified tackling legal matters regarding FARC's status as a proscribed organisation" (p. 24). Notwithstanding this advantage, the fact that Norway is a member of NATO is not exempt from suspicions from the FARCs, which reinforces what Dag Nylander (2018) mentioned about having to convince the FARCs that Norway was trustworthy while it conducted the operation in Libya. So does the report:

> "For the FARC, Norway was an acceptable choice as facilitator. According to a member of its Secretariat, "We appreciated Norway's willingness and experience. Some fellow comrades showed reluctance due to its NATO membership, but that was not an obstacle for us to give Norway the go-ahead" (FABRA-MATA, 2018; p. 24).

In practical terms, the report considers that Norway's building up of trust in Colombia comprised the following: "Communicative integrity" (with "transparency" and "confidentiality"); "Delivery on commitments" (on "the macro-level as co-guarantor" and on "a daily basis"); and "Repeated interaction" (with "face-to-face exchanges" in "informal settings", wherein "constant presence was key in cementing Norwegian trustworthiness"). This latter aspect reinforces Norway's way of making a "two-track diplomacy". The report (ibid, p. 48) deems "the value of those informal spaces" as "indisputable", a term that resonates with the aforementioned *habitus* of externalizing consensus. Notwithstanding external criticisms to the colloquial way of Norway's peace diplomacy as the Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue[86] said to exist, in accordance with the report (FABRA-MATA *et al.*, p. 48), these settings helped "the negotiations to be viewed from different perspectives, through personal experiences, expectations and plans".

Ownership is surely a case in point: "The process was designed so that Colombians were in the driving seat and had ownership over the negotiations" (ibid, p. 25). Hearing the victims and the women's voices became *central* to assure ownership (ibid, p. 26, *my highlight*). Curiously, the report caveats that Norway, along with Cuba, sometimes had to play a more muscled mediation role:

> "Norway and Cuba both had roles in providing security to the negotiating parties (in legal, diplomatic, logistical, physical and even emotional domains), delegation members and – more broadly – to the peace process as a whole. Their role was a flexible one – ranging from capacity-building, logistical support, trust-building, witnessing functions and classic

[86] Public Lecture for the University of Oslo's Peace Research Summer School. Oslo: July, 2018.

facilitation to more mediation-like initiatives – depending on the situation and according to the degree of tension and the pace of the negotiations" (2018, p. 25-26).

Let us now focus on texts of the Norwegian Public Diplomacy released on the public page of the Government of Norway, specifically of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Utenriksdepartementet*). In the case at stake, of facilitation in Colombia, peace is tied to reconciliation; dialogue; facilitate/facilitator(s); peace agreement; framework agreement; ceasefire; integrated development policy; agenda points; participation; victim's rights, truth commission and transitional justice; monitoring and verification; confidence-building measures; reintegration; education; gender equality; women, peace and security; health, productive projects; humanitarian mine clearance; human rights; action plan; concrete measures; peace talks; negotiations[87]; implement; efforts[88]; and so forth as will be expanded below.

On the level of predicate analysis, whereby, according to Milliken (1999; p. 232), the attachment of nouns to predications entails particularities, agency, capacities, etc., some excerpts of the Norwegian discourse on the facilitation in Colombia stand out:

"The peace agreement addresses the root causes of the conflict in Colombia, as access to broad political participation and distribution of land. The victims' rights are central to the agreement, and have been a leading principle in the peace negotiations"[89] (*my highlight*).
"Peace diplomacy remains an important pillar of Norway's foreign policy. We are still engaged in ambitious peace efforts aiming to find lasting solutions, for example in Colombia" (SOLBERG, 2018, *my highlight*).

It is also noteworthy how peace, as a floating signifier, attaches meanings to hitherto empty signifiers. Here is a case of when Norway's peace discourse attaches to environment:

"'We are impressed and strongly support Colombia's vision for a green future and peace-building. We hope this will be a model for other countries on how post-conflict development and environmental principles can be reconciled, while also contributing to a sustainable and lasting peace', says Norway's Minister of Climate and Environment, Vidar Helgesen"[90].

[87] See https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utenrikssaker/fred-og-forsoning/land_for_land2/engasjement_colombia/id2522231/
[88] See https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/avtale_godkjent/id2522325/
[89] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/avtale_godkjent/id2522325/
[90] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/colombia-to-build-environment-friendly-peace/id2523734/

Moreover, the same text attaches peace not only to environment, but also to poverty reduction and development:

"The governments of Colombia and Norway […] share their plans for the implementation of the peace agreement and how to reduce rural poverty and promote economic development without damaging the country's unique rainforest and nature" (GOVERNMENT.NO, 2013).

It is nonetheless interesting to note the caveat according to which the government makes against an automatic correlation between peace and environment protection, since peace can also be attached to natural degradation:

"However, the decades' long conflict has also in many ways contributed to protecting Colombia's unique natural forests from major infrastructure developments, large-scale agriculture and/or other types of investments. Experience from other countries shows that when conflicts end, there is great danger that the pressure on the forest and natural resources increases significantly. This risk is also present in Colombia" (ibid).
"The peace accord newly signed between the Colombian government and Farc-EP, and recently approved by Colombia's Congress, brings along opportunities for Colombia to build a sustainable future, pursuing a green growth that does not go at the expense of one of the world's most diverse rainforests. At the same time the peace process brings along new challenges"[91].

Norway deems that political and economic inclusion and participation are also inducive to peace in Colombia:

"Minister of Foreign Affairs Børge Brende said: 'The peace agreement aims to resolve many of the fundamental challenges that initially led to the conflict by facilitating wider political participation, access to land and alternatives to coca production.' Norway will continue to assist the parties in the implementation of the agreement, he added"[92].
"[The agreement] prepares the way for broader political participation, better access to land, and stronger efforts to tackle illicit drugs. The rights of civilians affected by the conflict have been given a central place in the agreement"[93].

Norway's perception of peace in Colombia is that it also propitiates investments and therefore growth:

"Colombia's government is committed to ensuring that development takes place in the most green and sustainable way possible. Now it should be appropriate for increased investments in the country, also from Norwegian business.

[91] This excerpt refers to the "Media Invitation to High level event: Colombia - Peace, Climate change and forests". Although the challenges are not explicit here, they imply the previous discursion according to which peace can bring about pressure on natural resources for the building of infrastructure. See: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/invitation-to-the-press/id2523011/
[92] See: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/colombia/id2509733/
[93] See: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/dialogue-colombia/id2514371/

- Norway has helped create peace in Colombia. Now I hope that increased investments, perhaps also from Norwegian business, can facilitate growth and employment opportunities in the country. A healthy and responsible business sector creates jobs and prosperity and helps to secure peace in the future, says Prime Minister Erna Solberg, who spoke during an event in Davos today"[94].

The following excerpts wraps up Norway's colligation of peace to participation, sexual abuse and justice not only in Colombia, but also in general:

"Today's discussion is not about victims. It is about survivors: resourceful women, men and children.
They must be protected. They are entitled to justice. And we need their participation – if we are to build resilience and peace. They must be enabled to take part in rebuilding their societies" (ibid).
Norway's peace in Colombia equally relates to humanitarian aid:

"Through the UN and Norwegian humanitarian organizations such as Norwegian People's Aid, Caritas and the Norwegian Refugee Council, Norway makes significant contributions to the implementation of the peace agreement in Colombia"[95].

Peace, in Colombia, also suits health:

"The health cooperation fits well with Norway's extensive involvement in the peace process in Colombia […] Many of those who are affected by the conflict are struggling with psychological challenges and post-traumatic stress. Through a health cooperation we hope to contribute to improvements in the health system as an important part of the reconstruction of the country[96]".

As we can see, even when it comes to the narratives on Norway's efforts for peace in Colombia only, peace as a concept is open to an articulatory constellation of uses in accordance with purpose, context or sector. This happens because Norway's peace identity representation is never fully complete, or, as David Campbell (1998, p. 12) elaborates, the permanent tension between demands for identity and the practices to constitute reality render states always "in a process of becoming", permanently in need for reproduction and therefore "with no ontological status". At the same time, and drawing on Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau's (1985) teaching on floating signifier, peace assumes different meanings and encompasses a wide range of enabling conditions even for the case of facilitation in Colombia because is a signifier that, to borrow Dirk Nabers' (2009) term, enables "displacements" of its frontier of signification by incorporating a panoply of

[94] See: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/colombia/id2527196/
[95] See https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/fredsavtale-colombia/id2580035/
[96] See https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/historisk-helsesamarbeid-mellom-colombia-og-norge/id2580843/

otherwise unrelated empty signifiers. This floating movement exists thanks to the incompleteness of the articulatory relations that Norway attaches to peace, in particular, and to the fact that peace, as a concept in general, is not conclusive nor exhausted with a single signified.

4.3.

Disturbances of the order: A virtual instantaneity for a real continuity

Referring to Derrida's conception of the "constitutive outside" of an identity or an order, Harvey (2001, p. 254) underlines that "the fact that borders must conceal the traces of their ignoble beginnings also means that they remain permanently threatened by that which has been excluded". Assuming that Norway's self-image as a peace nation counts even more domestically, the anxiety of configuring Russia as a hidden other that informs Norway's politics for NATO ultimately neglects another hidden other: Norway's warfare, which stands as an other to a national identity representation of peace, and which is "narratively performed in order to give it its symbolic boundaries" (GUILLAUME, 2011, p. 35). In the case of Libya, the symbolic boundaries of this "war of position" (LACLAU, 1900; LACLAU and MOUFFE, 1985) stood in the Norwegian Parliament, the *Storting*.

Dissent and denial point to the possibilities of having, with regard to Norway's domestic repercussions of the Libyan campaign, what I call "an internal constitutive outside". Like I argued previously, differentiation is not exclusive to external abjections insofar as it can entail the configuration of an internal outcast. Hansen's (1996, p. 477) reference to the effacing of history of "inconvenient examples" blurring "the homogenous identity" is a good case at point here. But, contrary to wiping out the milk already spilled, the revisit of the Libyan stain should display a disputed self that constantly updates its peace identity representation to even corroborate oxymorons of the type of "peace through war". Just like Skånland (2009; p. 42) reminds us of the positive effect that the Oslo Process might have had on the whaling negotiations, positive undertakings equally contribute to subside negative repercussions stemming from unrelated actions, and it is under that frame

that the peace nation representation in Colombia is set against the background of the war state in Libya.

As written in the blog of the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, the ensuing result from *Norwegian politicians' decision via SMS that "Norway should spearhead the war against Libya" was "civil conflict, chaos, and refugee flows from what used to be one of Africa's most functional states"*[97]. It points out that, by the time the Council of State approved the engagement and thus fulfilled constitutional requirements for Norway's decision, Norwegian fighters were ready to set off the country's coast towards Libya, which led the report committee to call for a more rigorous and inclusive debate on further engagements of this kind. As the report (2018, p. 19) confirms, the Norwegian decision-making processes went very quickly, with many oral clarifications, which may have affected the committee's assessment of the scope of the documents, especially in the period between February and March of 2011.

Janne Haaland Matláry and Magnus Petersson (2013) explain that Norway is among the countries that still can deploy troops through the Foreign Policy Prerogative, and that, although there is a custom to consult Parliament, there is no formal need for its approval. In practice, an agreement is necessary afterwards. These authors convey that "the broad consensus on contributing to NATO operations was broken only by one party, SV"[98]. Loodgard (2011) claims that Libya is "the most obvious example" of Norway entering war "without significant debate", with a failing political system and much responsibility falling on the *Storting*.

PRIO's blog (2018) reminds us that "some ministers have since come forward and expressed regret, but the commission underlines that the decision was unanimous and that no disagreements were recorded". This portrayal of consensus stands out once we look into Nora Knoph Berg-Eriksen's (2013, p. 18) review of how Norway has historically "presented as crucial to appear united to the outside world", being consensus discursively constructed as of paramount necessity to protect Norway.

[97]Available on: https://blogs.prio.org/2018/09/the-norwegian-libya-commission-an-important-report-but-were-still-missing-answers/

[98] Opposition to Norway's membership to NATO, although minor, remotes to 1961, when dissidents of the Labour Party established the Socialist People's Party and flagged "no" to NATO as one of its main mottos.

Berg-Eriksen (ibid) argues that, being a dominant representation, consensus retroactively feeds more consensus "in a loop" movement through the materiality of the discourse and institutionalization, being "The Enlarged Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense" (EPCFAD) often noted as an arena for consensus becoming institutionalized since issues such as those pertaining to consultations of military interventions pass by the government towards the Parliament through this Committee, and thus gain broad anchoring in this arena.

Even though there may have been opponents to the decision of engaging in Libya, Kristian Harpviken believes the politicians saw it as "the only possible course of action" and "as being first and foremost a response to the threat of genocide and the legacy of Srebrenica"[99]. This is of particular importance to the framing of concept of peace as a floating signifier also for justifying the engagement in Libya, since, according to this reasoning, a humanitarian cause urged a swift decision. Norway's decision to pull out of the operation in August, on the verge of military intensification, was also swift after the Socialist Left Party and the Centre Party voiced concerns. In accordance with Harpviken, "to pull out so early on was a dramatic decision, and I think that this is under-communicated in the report"[100]. This foreclosing is curious and stands out as a subjugated knowledge. Even so, the report (ibid, p. 78) justifies the withdrawal as follows: "Based on the hearings, the committee has assumed that there was an understanding that the military operations should cease when the threat to civilians no longer existed and the Security Council's requirements for the Gaddafi regime were honored". All in all, this resonates a hegemonic framing of intervention discourse, even in Norway, as humanitarian-driven. It equally discloses the decision as if it was the only possible course, which reinforced depoliticization, *i.e.*, as if it were not a political choice[101]. But this portrayal shows quite some inconsistence given the ontological insecurity the intervention entailed.

[99] ibid
[100] ibid
[101] The prompt decision seemed more like as if "there is no alternative", to make a parellel with the acronym TINA, created by Herbert Spencer, which later bacame British Prime Minister Margaret Thatche's slogan in the 1980s and is currently used to designate investment decisions that lead to surges in the stock market.

This section will depart from exploring narratives of the report *EVALUERING AV NORSK DELTAKELSE I LIBYAOPERASJONENE I 2011* relevant to the present assessment of peace as a floating concept in Norwegian discourse. First, it is necessary to introduce the background for the elaboration of the report. According to the report (2018) itself, on April 18, 2017, the *Storting* asked the government to evaluate the Norwegian efforts in Libya in 2011. Conservative politician Jens Petersen led the committee to assess Norway's contributions to the Unified Protector Operation in Libya and the decision process that led to the engagement. The report confirms the Norway lacked information before engaging in Libya and that the country's decision based on what other countries and NATO knew[102]. Even so, Norway spearheaded the campaign, and, alongside seven countries, dropped 588 bombs between March 24 and August 1, 2011, which helped rebels topple Gaddafi, leaving Libya unstable up to date[103].

The framing of peace as a floating concept, for the case of Libya, requires exploring the drives behind the decision-making process that led Norway to participate in the Unified Protector Operation on March 23, 2011, when Norway formally decided to engage in NATO's campaign. To do so, this section will delimitate narratives of peace contained in Chapter 6 of the report at stake. The report committee for Libya presents in this Chapter how authorities understood the crisis of Libya based on the existing information, as well as discussions within the government and Norway's visions on NATO that informed the decision.

The report (2018, p. 65)[104] reveals Norway's overarching value of democracy:

> "In February 2011, there was a clear hope in the Norwegian political environment that the Arab spring would develop in the same way as the dramatic upheavals in Europe in 1989. In much of the academic and political environment was the perception that a wave of democracy would wash over the Middle East and North Africa. It was a definite experience of facing a crucial historical moment, and hope was that political change would happen through popular opposition to authoritarian regimes".
> "The 1970 Security Council Resolution of 26 February 2011 caused a strong impression on Norwegian decision-makers. The resolution condemned the Libyan authorities of systematic attacks on the civilian population, characterized the attacks as crimes against humanity and referred the situation to the international crime court. At the same time came a series of condemnations of the Libyan regime's violence against civilians, including from the EU, the UN Secretary General, AU and UN Human Rights Council".

[102] ibid
[103] ibid
[104] All transcripts of the report are my translation from Norwegian to English.

This snippet hints at Norway's drive to engage as corresponding to the very values the country stands for, which, drawing on Brent Steele (2008), led Norway to ontologically secure its sense of being and of self-identity even if incurring into risks to its physical security. More than that, the excerpt implies the understanding of war for peace all the more because peace is a floating signifier that, in this passage, underlies a sense of solidarity with Libya's *civilian population*, the advocation of international law that positives *crimes against humanity* and a liberal-institutionalist inclination as the condemnations *from the EU, the UN Secretary General, AU and UN Human Rights Council* may have some share of the influence upon Norway's decision to engage in the operation.

Also, during this period, as the report (ibid) unveils, "several Norwegian newspapers managers and chronicles argued that Norway had a responsibility for stopping Gaddafi's brutal behavior in Libya". A brief search on texts calling for Norway's action in Libya in this context revolves around an urge to stop the abuses[105]. The report (ibid, p. 67) repeats this reasoning in further passages:

"In the reports from Norwegian foreign service missions in the beginning of March, concern was particularly emphasized for the humanitarian situation in Libya […] Several foreign service missions reported that Gaddafi would not give up. A number of scenarios was presented, from Gaddafi's short-term elimination by the opposition, to the conflict developing into a chaos and finally turning Libya into new Somalia […] The exclusion of Libya from the UN Human Rights Council on 25 February was one important milestone. Norway participated in a core group of countries who supported the suspension proposal because of serious and systematic human rights violations […] Just before Resolution 1973 was adopted, the Norwegian reported NATO delegation that US authorities considered 'a huge danger of massacre' in Benghazi. Several people have subsequently criticized the opinions of the actual threat Gaddafi represented. It has happened both in countries that participated in the NATO operation and in countries that stood outside. The use of terms such as genocide and references to Rwanda and Srebrenica have become particularly criticized for being misleading; this on the basis of the number of killed in the various conflicts, and of different assessments of the extent that Gaddafi's abuses forces could have done in Benghazi if the international community had not intervened".

In the following passage, it becomes clear that military warfare is an instrument for peace, being synonymous with the facilitation of a political solution to the conflict:

"The goal was to protect civilian and facilitate a political solution of the conflict using a wide range of instruments. Use of military power was considered necessary to lay pressure on Gaddafi so that the threat to civilians should cease. Regime change was considered one

[105] See https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/debatt/i/JJW67/Et-varslet-folkemord; https://www.nupi.no/Skole/HHD-Artikler/2011/Libya-vanskelige-dilemmaer

of several possible outcomes to the conflict, and as a risk accepted and recognized at the time of the decision" (ibid, p. 78).

The report, to a certain extent, implicitly questions the scope of the then unprecedented Responsibility to Protect principle that informed both the 1973 UN Resolution and the NATO operation: "The absence of a clearly defined form of finalization and of a definition of what it means to protect civilians is, according to the committee's assessment, a weakness both in the coalition's operational plan and in the Norwegian decision-making basis".

The diplomatic tone of the report forecloses critical modes of assessment on how Norway engaged in such an active war. In this regard, Harpviken (PRIO Blogs, 2018) argues that the report does not

"problematize why we – going completely against Norwegian tradition – acted so zealously and went in with heaviest instruments weapons in its military toolbox, and why we did so earlier than nearly anybody else. It is impossible to interpret this in any other way than that strong voices in the government were eager to show that Norway was "best in class" within NATO. To some extent, Norway had learned from experiences in Afghanistan – where it was never able to properly exhibit that one was a loyal ally who was willing to deliver because one ended up in the middle of it all among many other players".

Once one ponders that Norway's hovering reason for the enterprise in Libya was rather to profile itself politically within NATO, an organisation that in turn has a historic connotation of peace for Norway, one cannot forget the harbinger of complications a humanitarian justification to fully engage with an organisation also seen as related with peace can bring. Among the lessons learned from this process, Harpviken (ibid) mentions that:

"If you want to show off and demonstrate how great an ally you are, the danger of making rash decisions increases. […] Another issue is that there is a discrepancy between being a zealous participant, and not having much influence on the upper political and strategic level. That's a structural dilemma for a small ally like Norway".

4.4.

Peace floats on military aircraft: NATO as "a Peace Organisation"

For the object at stake, Norway discursively constructs the enterprise in Libya as either a mistake given the restricted outlook of the circumstances or as security-

driven, subsuming security under peace policy, a reasoning that remotes back to Norway's justification to become a founding member of NATO on the grounds that NATO is a peace institution. Leira (2015, p. 37) reminds us that "NATO was seen primarily as a peace project, aimed at ensuring security and allowing for constructive peace work in areas where superpower tensions were lower".

Although Norway is not part of the European Union, it is a founding member of NATO. Leira (2013, p. 347) contextualizes this decision by adding that, even though Norway's neutrality beliefs were shattered due to the 1940 German invasion, "Norway attempted to steer a middle course between the Western powers and the USSR", but because of the mounting Soviet pressure upon smaller European states, Norway became one of the original signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. Leira (2008) tells us that

> "When Foreign Minister Halvard Lange presented foreign policy in January 1949, in the midst of the broad debate on Norwegian membership in NATO, he emphasized that 'Norway's predominantly interest is peace', and that 'Norway's entire foreign policy tradition unequivocally makes it clear that we have no other desire with our participation in international politics rather than making the contribution we can to the peace, tolerance and cooperation of states and peoples between them'".

Leira (2013, p. 347) denounces "an obvious moral driving force" underlying this justification, "and an implicit acknowledgement that Norway has a mission; making the world a better and more peaceful place" (ibid). In addition to NATO's membership being a good pretext for "covering Norway's back" so that the country could stick to its mission of saving the world, Norwegian governments tried to balance NATO membership with efforts at dialogue with the Communist powers and self-imposed restrictions on Norwegian NATO-membership" (ibid), such as ban on permanent US bases on its territory. The implicit goal of Norway's membership to NATO, then, "was to pursue peace where it did not conflict with security, and to increase the sphere for peace in general" (LEIRA, 2008), or, thinking the other way round, "security concerns and alliance would trump peace policy if they were in conflict" (LEIRA, 2013, p. 347).

Norway's uniqueness is not so unique once set aside its neighbouring countries in Scandinavia. In that sense, Browning (2002, p. 51), when describing Finland, draws on the metaphor of a physician, a positive image that "carries moralistic tones", who, rather than judging, tries to diagnose and cure, standing aloof of great power

politics. Like Finland, Norway had to remake its self-image once abandoning neutrality and becoming part of NATO's alliance. Norway equally had to adapt to the context of NATO's existential crisis with the end of the Cold War and its ensuing reconstruction from "being ostensibly a military alliance" (BROWNING, 2002, p. 56) towards a self-reconceptualization in cultural terms, the essential identity and history of which is now 'understood as one of cultural, or even civilizational commonality centred around the shared democratic foundations of its members'" (WILLIAMS & NEUMANN, 2000, p. 367; BROWNING, 2002, p. 56). This civilizational drive aimed at creating a Western value-led order might have contributed, just like Browning argues for the case of Finland, to the naturalization of Norway's adherence to NATO.

Additionally, the current crusade against terrorism reinforces the hero image of a do-gooder state at the same time this morality receives sanctions from Barack Obama's recognition as a state that "punches above its weight" (CARVALHO & LIE, 2015). As such, Obama's marked tribute to the Norwegian denting efforts in the NATO-led bombing in Libya as "a humanitarian mission" (ibid) unveils Norway as a small state that counts, whose high status is necessarily owing to its "involvement in international peace and security – be it through humanitarian or military means" (ibid). Obama (2009)[106] equally makes direct references to peace and NATO when receiving the Nobel Peace Prize:

> "I understand why war is not popular, but I also know this: The belief that peace is desirable is rarely enough to achieve it. Peace requires responsibility. Peace entails sacrifice. That's why NATO continues to be indispensable. […] That's why we honor those who return home from peacekeeping and training abroad to Oslo and Rome; to Ottawa and Sydney; to Dhaka and Kigali – we honor them not as makers of war, but of wagers – but as wagers of peace".

By the same token, Norway's official discourse postulates that Norway's membership to NATO is among "the cornerstone of Norwegian foreign and security policy"[107]. It is noteworthy that Norway shifted from the UN towards the NATO the major part of the country's contributions at the end of the 1990s. Towards the end of the 1990s, Norway moved away from contributing to UN operations and

[106] Available on https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2009/obama/26183-nobel-lecture-2009/.
[107] UTENRIKSDEPARTEMENTET. Norway and NATO: permanent delegation of Norway to NATO. Available on: https://www.norway.no/en/missions/nato/values-priorities/peace-stability-sec/. Access on: February 7, 2019.

instead prioritized NATO operations. Elin Marthinussen Gustavsen and Andreas Forø Tollefsen (2018) explain that the driving factor to this rearrangement came from the UNs crisis relative to the failures in Rwanda and Bosnia.

4.4.1.

Norway's NATO: a dove for war and peace

[Image: 'Armoured Peace Dove', by Banksy][108]

The prospects that NATO's relevance could diminish in face of the "world's only superpower" is one sound reason that led Torgeir Larsen (2002, *my translation*) to argue that the United States could militarily live perfectly well without tiny Norway, as the Prague Summit's decision to set up a global emergency force to be able to go to war with the United States on short notice proved (ibid). However, it is exactly this military weight that refrains the United States as a superpower from playing "the role of confidential facilitator in peace processes" (ibid, *my translation*). It is as if Norway wanted to prove its might as a facilitator, in the hope that the country would count on the United States in face of Russia within NATO.

[108] This image is a graffiti dating from 2005 and located near the city of Bethlehem, the wall of separation between Israel and Palestine. See: https://prezi.com/lz63r3acrncz/banksy-the-armoured-dove/. The same image also features the cover of a book on Norwegian peace engagements by Mona Fixdal, *Fredsmegling: i teori og praksis*.

For Larsen, writing in 2002, peace was then more important than NATO membership as an international door opener for Norway. Larsen (2002) explains that the peace workers have abounded, standing on the right side of politicians, dissipating some sort of nostalgia of when interests equated to the defense of flags and peace and reconciliation were "a soft luxury venture" (ibid). At the same time it increases Norway's prestige, the engagement in peace serves to remove focus away from Norway's "real interests, such as the neighboring areas, the EU and NATO" (ibid).

As I will analyze in this chapter, there remains a hidden other in Norway's commitment to NATO, which somehow informs its campaigns within it: Russia. Norway counts on the reciprocity of its NATO's allies in face of its bordering big neighbour, and, once excavating some teachings from Ontological security, the very reinforcement of peace in Norway's discursive practices of is identity representation may convey some sort of anxiety to redress stains to that peace self-image while engaging in warful campaigns. Lodgaard's (2011) description of Norway as a peace nation and a war state both resonates to its peace idealism and its power politics of war but also conveys some willingness towards an imaginary tradition at the same time it is in a warful state of affairs. As Neumann argues, despite being engaged in war for more than a decade, Norway's emphasis on this exceptionalism corroborates the depiction of the country as a peace nation, whereas Sweden and Denmark have traditionally been "war states".

Lodgaard (2011) argues that, although both the right to self-defense and the UN resolution informed the removal of the Taliban regime, the international law that drove the bombing of Libya "is questionable". It does not come as a surprise that Norway's attachment to it is a cause of concern for Norwegians' self-awareness, especially once history puts into perspective Norway's past as championing for the consolidation of international law. Despite being the kickoff stage for the doctrine of "Responsibility to Protect" populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, the Security Council's resolution went beyond lawfulness to the extent of forcing a regime change through the use of force (LODGAARD, 2011).

Lodgaard (2011) exposes Norway's internal dissent as to the tilting of expenses towards the US and NATO's political interests. Whereas some favour the "Alliance guarantee", others think that the money to engage within NATO should be spent for better enforcement of Norway's rights in the north, beginning with the staffing of the frigates. Again, there is an underlying fear of the hidden other that Russia stands for in the North. Moreover, such dissent equally points to Norway's internal doubt on whether it should rely on NATO for its security in the North or whether the country should invest on it directly and for its own sake.

4.4.2.

Russia: a not so hidden other

Diez (2005, p. 628-629) summarises some strategies pertaining to the construction of self and other. Following the Copenhagen School of Security Studies' theory of securitization, some exhort to representing the other as an existential threat by means of a speech act that legitimizes extraordinary measures at the same time it constructs the referent object as threatened. Secondly, we perceive representations of the other as inferior, which Diez (ibid) deems a "weaker version of 'othering'" that conversely constructs the self as superior to the other. Thirdly, there is the "representation of the other as violating universal principles" by portraying the standards of the self not simply as superior but also of "universal validity, with the consequence that the other should be convinced or otherwise brought to accept the principles of the self" (ibid). Finally, Diez points to the "representation of the other as different", which precludes inferiority or threat constructions, though still is not an innocent practice since it imposes identities on others. All in all, it is the preferred practice in the sense that it does not legitimise harmful interference with the other". (p. 629).

Referring to the period when Norway was part of the union with Sweden, Leira (2015, p. 28) deemed threat not as stemming from Sweden, but rather from Russia, "and directed against civilization as such, of which Norway is a self-evident part". More recently, Norway balances certain pragmatism with cooperation in the relations with Russia. It is worth noting that Norway's importance for NATO resides not solely on its strategic location, but also thanks to its close relation with

Russia, which reinforces Norway's bridge-building stance also when it comes to security. Bridge-building, attaching to the floating concept of peace, is also the link to Norway's security policy within NATO when it comes to Russia. Such balance is evident in the official discourse[109]:

"Russia continues to move away from democratic and liberal values. We see a more unpredictable Russia, where the willingness to surprise and take foreign policy risks is greater than before. The government has condemned Russia's violation of international law in Ukraine and will continue to work with allied and like-minded partners on the reactions to Russia's internationally-violent acts in Crimea and Donbas. Ukraine's reform work is politically and financially supported.

At the same time, Russia is our neighbour, and the neighbourhood is a constant and important factor in Norwegian foreign policy. We want a good neighbourly relationship with Russia. We achieve this best by sticking to our Russia policy: Norway must be predictable, consistent and clear to Russia. We shall promote cooperation and contact where there is common interest, while continuing to stand up for our values, principles and interests. There is no contradiction here.

Much of the bilateral cooperation, which is in the interests of both countries, works well, including fisheries management, environmental protection and nuclear safety. Good and open channels are important to have when we face challenges that require common solutions. The influx of migrants and asylum seekers over our common border in the north last fall was such a challenge. Good solutions were found through contact and collaboration based on previously entered into agreements. Since the end of November, no migrants have entered Storskog.

The cooperation between the two peoples and regional cooperation in the north are still important components of our relationship with Russia. The Arctic Council is central to ensuring stability and cooperation in the Arctic. The Arctic states' compliance with the law of the sea and constructive cooperation in the Arctic are messages that are constantly important to convey to the outside world. Russia and Norway have many common interests and have jointly led key projects in the Arctic Council. Cooperation in regional forums in the north, including in the Barents Council and the Northern Dimension, are also important contributions to continued stable development in the north.

The Armed Forces' presence and activity is a central part of the Government's efforts in the north. Although the danger of a serious crisis still needs to be considered small, it is crucial that we from Norway are vigilant, have good situational understanding and high operational ability.

In the relationship with Russia, clearness must be combined with action by NATO to avoid dangerous incidents and tensions. Here, Norway is a driving force. Norway supports regular meetings in the NATO-Russia Council".

It is noteworthy that, alongside with Russia, Norway is an active player in the Arctic, an area ever more strategical since the melting down of polar ice caps has opened new routes for oil, gas and shipping. This is particularly important when it comes to informing Norway's policy within NATO. Andreas Østhagen, Gregory Levi Sharp, and Paal Sigurd Hilde published in 2018 a study in The Polar Journal

[109] Meld. St. 24 (2016 –2017) Melding til Stortinget Felles ansvar for felles fremtid Bærekraftsmålene og norsk utviklingspolitikk.

wherein they argue that Norway pursues policies within NATO in quite a different manner than its fellow Nordic countries, given Norway's common borders with Russia and its strategical importance for the North Atlantic[110]. Contrary to Canada, for instance, Norway's Arctic security policy and its NATO policy are directly devoted to managing the constant threat of bordering Russia. The steep increase in the military activity in the Arctic coupled with Norway's fear that its sovereignty over Svalbard[111] could stage rising tensions stemming from the Arctic's valuable new routes[112] have paved the way for Norway envisaging a fiercer role of NATO in the region by lobbying its NATO partners for the collective defence of Norway rather than interventions outside its borders[113]. In accordance with The Arctic Institute, both the Norwegian Cost Guard and the Ministry of Defence fear that events may spiral out of control in the Fisheries Protection Zone (FPZ) that Norway established around the Arctic Archipelago of Svalbard in 1977. By the same token, the Russian Ministry of Defence deemed the region to be a potential site of escalating conflict with Norway and NATO[114]. Notwithstanding these tensions, there is mounting agreement between Norway and Russia that the prior interest is to manage crises in order to preserve mutual cooperation on a diverse array of themes.

[110] See Humpert (2018).

[111] With a geopolitically strategic location on the Barents Sea, Svalbard comprises an archipelago with the northernmost permanently inhabited population in the world, and stands on Russia's main passage to the Atlantic of its Kola Peninsula based nuclear submarines and warships. Norway has sovereignty over it, and the 1920 Svalbard Treaty gave the other 45 signatory parties, including Russia, the right to pursue economic activities on the islands, allowing scientific bases in the region, with a prominent presence of Russia. Russia seeks to maintain its presence on the archipelago, with Spitsbergen (the largest and only permanently populated island of the Svalbard archipelago with Longyearbyen as the main town) as the base. According to figures of the Wilson Center, Norwegians comprise the majority in Svalbard, with 2500 of inhabitants, and Russians represent the second biggest presence with around 500 people. In the continent, the Norwegian city of Kirkenes borders Russia. Even though the 1920 Treaty determined that Svalbard would be a demilitarized and neutral area, Norway's decision to become part of NATO has ever since drawn criticisms on the side of Russia, which accuses Norway of pursuing military exercises on or around Svalbard as part of NATO missions. See Closson (2018).

[112] See Fouche & Solsvik (2018).

[113] Norway's land border with Russia totals 196 kilometres, and Russia's main northern base is just 100 kilometres from the border. NATO follows with concern Russia's build up in the Arctic, with the creation and reopening of six military bases, which could reduce the alliance's freedom of navigation. See Fouche & Solsvik (2018).

[114] See Østhagen (2018).

[Image: The Arctic Circle (author unknown)]

Svalbard has heeded NATO's agenda since Russia's annexation of Crimea from Ukraine in 2014, with Norway voicing concern over Moscow's frequent naval exercises in the Arctic, and over the possibility of Russia blocking the "GIUK gap" (an area in the northern Atlantic Ocean between Greenland, Iceland and Britain), thereby refraining NATO from acting[115]. In response to Russia's steeping aggressiveness in the region, Norway staged, between October and November 2018, the Trident Juncture 18, a big military exercise to test NATO's response to an attack[116]. The Trident Juncture, which stood as the biggest drill that NATO conducted in 20 years, equally served to test Norway's ability to receive and handle

[115] FOUCHE, F; SOLSVIK, T. Russian buildup worries Norway before big NATO military exercise. Reuters, October 2, 2018. Available on: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-norway-arctic-nato-russia-idUSKCN1MC123. Access on: February 11, 2019.

[116] The Telegraph. NATO holds biggest exercises since Cold War to counter Russia's growing presence around the Arctic. Available on: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/10/25/nato-holds-biggest-exercises-since-cold-war-counter-russia-arctic/.

support from its NATO allies[117] as well as "put in the spotlight Norway's ability to handle a real military situation"[118].

The boost of military presence of NATO and Norway, on the one hand, and of Russia[119], on the other, has bred ground to a security dilemma, with Russia accusing Norway of breaking a Cold War policy of not hosting armed forces in its territory unless under attack[120].

Behind broad foreign policy consensus, with Norway's ruling coalition also backing the drill, internally Norway witnessed certain opposition. Organisations such as the Norwegian Peace Association, the campaign group "Norway out of NATO", the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions in Oslo[121], and left-wing parties SV and Rødt held protests in Oslo, Trondheim, Bergen and Kristiansand. The fact that people flocked into the streets holding banners such as "Neighbours as friends - not enemies. Peace and dialogue go to Russia"[122] and "Stop NATO's war exercise in Norway" unveil disputes of an identity representation of peace.

[117] Since NATO has only operated in deserts, the alliance alleges the need to update winter trainingss, therefore soldiers learnt how to ski, for example. See: https://www.lifeinnorway.net/trident-juncture/
[118] Ibid; also: https://forsvaret.no/en/newsroom/news-stories/trident-juncture-kicks-off-in-norway
[119] Russia responded with drills close to NATO's exercises.
[120] CLOSSON, S. R. Kennan Cable No. 37: Good Fences Make Good Neighbors: Russia and Norway's Svalbard. Wilson Center, Nov 20, 2018. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/kennan-cable-no-37-good-fences-make-good-neighbors-russia-and-norways-svalbard. Access on: February 11, 2019.
[121] See https://nation.com.pk/27-Oct-2018/nato-s-biggest-exercise-since-cold-war-draws-protests-in-norway
[122] See https://www.presstv.com/DetailFr/2018/10/28/578350/Norway-NATO-military-exercise-protest-Oslo

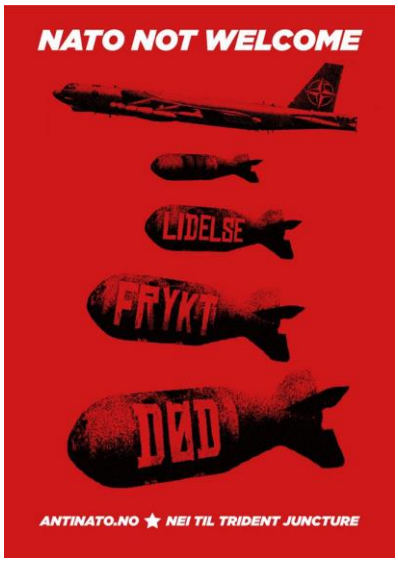

Image 1: author unknown [disorder, fear, death]

Image 2: source lifeinnorway [“stop war exercise Trident Juncture” Norway Out of NATO campaign of minority left-wing party Rødt, picture taken in Trondheim]

4.4.3.

22nd of July: a day to remember an episode to forget

On the 22nd of July of 2011, Anders Behring Breivik parked a van full of explosives in front of the government’s building that houses the prime minister’s office. When the van exploded and killed eight, Breivik was heading to the Labour’s Party summer camp on the island of Utøya, where he killed 69 teenagers. The mass murderer argued that “the massacre was necessary to stop a looming civil war as

Muslims take over Norway"[123]. Instead, Norwegians answered "hatred with love", as Prime Stoltenberg had claimed.

Shortly after the attacks on the 22nd of July, when the authorities still did not know the perpetrator, the then Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg's first address was:

"There is a message from all over Norway:
You must not destroy us.
You should not destroy our democracy and our commitment to a better world.
We are a small nation, but we are a proud nation.
No one will bomb us to silence.
No one will shoot us to silence.
No one will ever scare us from being Norway.
Tonight we will take care of each other.
Give each other comfort, talk and stand together.
Tomorrow we will show the world that Norwegian democracy is getting stronger" (*my translation*).

This excerpt, with emphasis on "democracy" is telling not only of the concept as an empty signifier that requires fulfillment by the floating signifier of peace as threatened, but equally of Norway's suspicion that the attack came possibly from the Islamic state. By referring to Laclau and Mouffe's allegory of discourse as "a fishnet", Øyvind Bugge Solheim (2012, p. 6) emphasizes the importance of the relational aspects of discourse by pointing to Stoltenberg's framing of "democracy" as tied to "openness", two nodal points that conform "equivalence chains". Stoltenberg's address also reinforces Norway's status, pride and morality of a do-gooder: since the country is engaged in rendering the world better, it is also "a proud nation" (ibid). Moreover, there is an underlying sense of solidarity, which, in turn, draws on humanitarian discourse[124]. According to Frank Aarebrot, this speech stroke a chord, an "almost Churchillian note"[125] that touched people.

[123] Available on: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/09/movies/22-july-review.html; https://www.irishtimes.com/news/breivik-transformed-into-obsessive-1.719945
[124] Available on: http://www.humanitarianstudies.no/2016/12/01/resettlement-in-contemporary-norway-lessons-from-a-discourse-analysis-of-the-norwegian-debate-on-the-syrian-refugee-crisis/
[125] Available on: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/apr/15/anders-breivik-norway-copes-horror

[Image: Rose March in Oslo / Credit: @AP]

Since the attack happened at the same time Norway as engaged in Libya and was still contributing to NATO's efforts in Afghanistan, conservatives mistakenly linked the aggression to a possible Jihadist reaction despite of no clue on whether jihadist groups based in Norway identified with Muammar Gadhafi or his calls for suicide efforts against NATO (HITCHENS, 2011). The aggressor Anders Breivik left a 1,500-page manifesto, where his echoing of Norway's hegemonic use of the concepts of peace and dialogue stands out, but which he transmutes for violence: "The time for dialogue is over. We gave peace a chance. The time for armed resistance has come". It is also worth quoting a portrayal of Breivik's testimonial as resembling Al-Qaeda declarations. The terrorism specialist Thomas Hegghammer, of the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, tells that Breivik's manuscript showed a reverse attempt to mirror Al Qaeda by also giving detailed accounts on the Crusade, "a pronounced sense of historical grievance and calls for apocalyptic warfare to defeat the religious and cultural enemy"[126]. Such depictions render the other Breivik more like the other Islam, in a reverse metaphoric movement of the like "my enemy's friend is my enemy"[127].

Assuming that the language of terrorism convolutes intersubjective understandings that constitute social actors as contested and contingent (SOLOMON, 2015, p. 72),

[126] Available on: https://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/24/world/europe/24oslo.html
[127] Reference to the popular saying "my enemy's enemy is my friend".

likewise, Norway's avoidance to frame Breivik's aggression as terrorism denotes that this de-constitution is socially constructed and historically contingent. Just like the war on terror discourse gains currency because of resonance – *i.e.* through identification processes that express identity and mount to a common sense (ibid, 2015, p. 72-73) –, the very opposite happened to Norway, with official discourse utterly banishing expressions of a violent reaction and of the language of terrorism. Rather, the prevailing discourse framed Breivik as a lunatic, a psychopath, or a "lone wolf" (RANSTORP, 2013), therefore depoliticizing the crime.

Such silencing of the attack as a terrorist act is central under a Post-Colonialist perspective. The avoidance of naming[128] what goes astray from a consensual way of portraying a peace image goes in tandem with the disqualifying of Breivik's discourse and with the reinforcement of Breivik's religious and cultural content of peace. That is, when Breivik mentions, in an extremist discourse, that "the time for dialogue is over"[129] and that Norwegians "gave peace a chance"[130], there is an underlying notion that Breivik too is embedded in Norway's peace discourse. But Norway, picturing its transparency, does not name what is not transparent and what can unveil non-peaceful stances, and therefore distracts the internal challenge of multiculturalism, for instance, from its centre, based on a Christian ethos with a missionary and humanitarian tradition. In that sense, it is useful to resort to Campbell (1992; 1998), who argues that a state lacks an ontological foundation. Because of this shortcoming, any dissonance is depoliticized (Breivik as a psychopath) as it brings to the surface what is dormant and little problematized.

This depoliticization reveals the social aversion to conflict and to dissonant voices, as if consensus were fundamental to social control. However, at the same time there is an aversion to conflict, Norway depends on conflict to ascertain itself through peace, but does so without eliminating its aversion to internal conflict by throwing a conflict (such as that ensued from multiculturalism) that cannot be internal onto a person subsumed as a psychopath. Norway sees external conflict, in turn, with technical clad, with the terms that the country needs in order to make conflict ideal

[128] The very name "Breivik" became unpronounceable in Norway, as if it was like Harry Potter's Voldemort's name that can't be said.
[129] See http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2084901,00.html
[130] Ibid

for peace. All in all, this resonates to Laclau's first writings on attempts to expunge politicization, to sanitise something dirty and undesirable against a notion of purity as is peace in Norway.

Forgetfulness not of the date but of the aggression adds up to the fact that, surprisingly, the following parliamentary election in 2013 saw the victory of a right-wing coalition between the Conservative Party and the rightist-populist Progress Party, elected for the first time with significant 16.3% of the votes and striking the press and the opposition with the new acceptance of the very same party in which Breivik, the perpetrator of the attack, was active in (ibid). This adherence may point somehow not to a discourse of terror, but to some resonance, although in a lesser extent, towards Breivik's Eurabia rhetoric, which illustrates either the political phenomenon of anti-Islamic rightist extremism or, more broadly speaking, a growing mainstream discourse on anti-immigration[131] (ibid).

At the same time, the sheer absence of narratives on terror in those discourses framing the domestic attacks put Norway's reaction on a stark contrast to related stories of terror in other countries, as Norwegians resonated to a peace and love narrative by herding down the streets with roses and torches. Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg and Crown Prince Haakon Magnus resorted to a reaction of strengthening democracy and uniting against hatred. A second speech of Stoltenberg, made on the 25th of July, unveils this movement:

"- Dear everyone, For a vision! I now stand face to face with the people's will. Thousands of thousands of Norwegians, in Oslo and across the country, do the same tonight. Conquering the streets, the squares - the public space with the same defiant message: We are broken, but we do not give up. With torches and roses, we tell the world.
[…] Evil can kill a human being, but never defeat a people. Tonight the Norwegian people write history. With the strongest of all the world's weapons, the free word and democracy, we are heading out for Norway after July 22, 2011. It will be a Norway before and after July 22. But which Norway we decide for ourselves. Norway should be recognizable. Our response has grown in strength through the incomprehensible hours, days, and nights we have behind us, and this is confirmed tonight. More openness, more democracy. Firmness and strength. It is us. It's Norway.
[…] Out of all that evil we paradoxically see the sprout of something valuable. What we see tonight can be the largest and the most important march that the Norwegian people have made since the Second World War. A march for democracy, unity and tolerance. People across the country are standing shoulder to shoulder at this moment.

[131] Linn Marie Reklev, in an article by the Norwegian Center for Humanitarian Studies, argues that prevailing discourses on the Norwegian refugee and asylum system include anti-immigration elements. See: http://www.humanitarianstudies.no/2016/12/01/resettlement-in-contemporary-norway-lessons-from-a-discourse-analysis-of-the-norwegian-debate-on-the-syrian-refugee-crisis/

> […] Each one of us can make the tissue of democracy a little stronger. We see it here.
> […] The massacre at Utøya is also an attack on young people's dream of contributing to a better world.
> […] My call is simple. Get involved. Take care. Join an organization. Participate in debates. Use the voting rights. Free choice is the jewel in the crown of democracy. By participating, you say a resounding yes to democracy.
> […] I am infinitely grateful to live in a country where people in a critical time take to the streets of flowers and light to call democracy. And to honor and remember those we have lost. We will take this with us when we start the work on shaping Norway after July 22, 2011. Our fathers and mothers promised each other 'Never again 9 April[132]' We say 'Never again July 22'[133] (*my translation*).

Stoltenberg's address begins by calling out the "people", a concept that is deeply embedded in Norwegian discourse for more than a century (LEIRA, 2005; KNUTSEN *et al.*, 2016), and was inspired in former Anglo-American references to collectivity[134]. The portrayal of Norwegians' peacefulness reminds us of the activist Bernhard Hanssen's (1901, p. 40) claim that "We Norwegians believe to be a peaceful people, we love peace and work for peace" (*my translation*). The trauma of the Nazi occupation also stands out of the speech, with the Prime-Minister hinting to Norway's WWII resistance by restoring Norwegian values of free speech, openness and democracy. As Åshild Kolås (2017) notes, although the level of political violence of the 22nd of July was of an unprecedented magnitude since the Nazi occupation, there are no allusions that Norway was at war, with neglections of the aggression being a kind of terror war against Norway's becoming a multiculturalist Eurabia.

Bhabha (1990, p. 5) mentions the "interruptive interiority" of narratives that happens when constitutive contradictions [like an attack perpetrated by a Norwegian, for instance] render the national text "discontinuous and interruptive". In this regard, Kolås (2017) argues that, despite Bhabha's thought of "foundational fiction of nationhood" could be a result of the 22nd of July episode, Kolås doubts that it represented a watershed in Norway's national texts and meanings. Although the date is remembered, the meaning of terror is forgotten especially when debates highlighted Breivik's profile as a psychopath, which, as Kolås argues, functioned

[132] Date of Norway's Nazi occupation.
[133] Available on: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/statsminister-jens-stoltenbergs-tale-pa-/id651840/
[134] Despite being a monarchy, Norway's focus on the people has been a constant since remote times when Norway tried to differentiate itself from Sweden and Denmark's nobility.

to depoliticize the event as political terrorism. Moreover, Stoltenberg's discourse unveils that, since there was no real battle on ground, the emphasis on how Norway would respond to violence was rife with symbolism (ibid). Kolås (ibid) concludes that the "the best reaction to the event that 'changed everything' was therefore not to change at all, but to remain as before". In accordance with the author, this inertia proved to have a shortcoming in the long run: "The prime minister's key message failed to satisfy the need to make 22 July matter, whether in the sense of learning from past mistakes, becoming more alert to vulnerabilities, or reconfiguring the Norwegian national identity".

I argue, however, that the prevailing "*'nation-state' discourse", which emphasises* "internal national affairs, the preservation of national culture and togetherness, and a focus on Norway's role as an independent nation-state"[135] together with a "notion that Norway gets international praise for its efforts" (SKÅNLAND, 2009, p. 43) serve to hide the shame of an attack being perpetrated by a Norwegian at the same time they heed attention to Norway's features of democratic freedom and liberal peace as the very *leitmotif* of the country's emergence as a nation-state. Like Milliken taught us, I frame, by juxtaposition, Norway's different reaction to a terrorist attack wherein an emphasis on a solidary peaceful response and on a depoliticized stance reinforce a sense of being peaceful. Also, this reasoning rescues the subjugated knowledge of political drives behind the attack, which had been foreclosed and which has hidden Norway's internal dissent on immigration policies and multiculturalism, thereby silencing dissent to reinforce a united peace identity representation.

By drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's (1985, p. 153) concept of politics, I hereby argue that Stoltenberg's addresses following Norway's domestic aggression shows the hegemonic attempt to articulate meanings by erasing a political practice and by constructing reality as natural and traditioned, thereby depoliticizing the politics of this attempt thanks to resonance to customs, beliefs and traditions.

[135] See: http://www.humanitarianstudies.no/2016/12/01/resettlement-in-contemporary-norway-lessons-from-a-discourse-analysis-of-the-norwegian-debate-on-the-syrian-refugee-crisis/

4.4.4.

The dark side of the high noon: the black swan of peace in the land of the Midnight Sun

In order to draw a circle around Norway's double-edged self, I heed attention to the fact that, at the same time a delegation of Norway was in Colombia trying to establish some advancements of the peace process, there were Norwegians involved in the military campaign in Libya. Only three months later, an internal aggression raised doubts on whether it would be a retaliation against Norway's actions in Libya. The Norwegian involvement in Libya under NATO's auspices followed preceding contributions from Norway in NATO's campaigns in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. The undertaking against Libya, however, makes a dent against this background. When joining the international forces in 1999, Norway did not throw any bomb on Kosovo. The total amount of bombs that Norway dropped in Afghanistan during both the Operation Enduring Freedom and ISAF was only seven. It does come as an awe once we face the numbers for Libya, where Norway deliberately threw 588 bombs (JAKOBSEN, 2013). With regard to the Norwegian contributions to these military operations, Nina Græger contends that these last two decades have seen a crescendo in debate on whether these "military contributions strengthen Norway's position in NATO, towards the United States, and if they weaken Norway's self-image as peace nation, a humanitarian 'superpower' and an international law advocate" (*my translation*, p. 77).

Illustrative of this escalation of anxiety relative to the ontological security of Norway's self-image as a peace nation, is an assortment of Norwegian articles debating this duplicity of peace and war, all dating from 2011. Therefore, in a research-led website by the University of Oslo, Kristian Kristian Juel (2011) points out that "Norway is a large exporter of arms, engaged in biased peace mediation and is at war", leading him to summarize some historians' arguments according to which "Norwegians are not particularly peace-minded and Norway has no special peace tradition, historian believes". Under the title "Peace Nation and War State", NUPI's senior researcher Sverre Lodgaard (2011) states that "Norwegian foreign policy has long been contradictory", which leads him to raise the following questions: "Does Norway's participation in war shake its image as a peace nation?

Does the self-image and the image of others sharpen our image, or does the peace and reconciliation policy outweigh the state of war?"[136]

2011 may be a year that, in hindsight, epitomizes what traditional literature on the Norwegian Foreign Policy to Peace portrays as a blending of, on the one hand, a Liberalist promotion of peace as a global public good and, on the other hand, a Realist strategy to step up Norway's positioning in the international arena, in that both ideals and interests converge as drives for the promotion of peace and the justification for the use of force. (STOKKE, 2014; GOETSCHEL, 2013; ROTTEM, 2008). Kristian Stokke (2014, p. 23) situates this convergence between Liberal values and Realist interests in Norwegian Foreign Policy in 1990:

> "The discursive merging of ideals and interests that emerged in the 1990s has thus been institutionalized in foreign policy, but in a manner that subsumes peace engagement under a broadened notion of interests. This means that future involvement in conflict resolution and peacebuilding may to a larger extent be justified, designed and evaluated with reference to Norwegian interests, including the need to remain relevant and exert influence within arenas and alliances that are important for Norway's economic and security interests. In practice, it also means that Norway's peace engagement has been opened up for a combination of orthodox and conservative approaches to liberal peacebuilding. Norway's active participation in the joint military intervention in Libya in 2011 shows, on the one hand, that there is a new willingness to use hard power to end conflict and impose liberal peace".

Even if Norway can be said to frame realist undertakings within NATO under Liberalist values, I contend that nor the Liberalist neither the Realist perspectives can surpass the dichotomous relation between ideals and interests as a means to account for how the Norwegian Public Diplomacy discourse renders its facilitative role in the Colombian Peace process a technical expertise, which, by prioritizing ownership, generates impartiality towards a party deemed terrorist at the same time the country justifies the use of force against another terrorist, based in Libya. Liberalist theory cannot explain the Realist interests that drove the peace process in Colombia, such as the risk of escalating violence to broader scopes, whereas Realist theory cannot account for values underlying the bombing of Libya, such as cooperation within NATO. Other than that, even when combined, these conventional approaches cannot properly assess the way that Public Diplomacy, taken as a Foreign Policy Public discourse, handles instabilities of Norway's peace

[136] See RORG (2016).

identity representation as comprised in its foreign policy practices and articulations and how these co-constitute one another.

Leira (2013) also illustrates Norway's tendency to merge realist interests and cultural values into its defense policy: "In the very same year Norway joined NATO, it clearly reaffirmed its primary interest in peace". By the same token, Svein Vigeland Rottem (2008) describes the Norwegian defense policy as "catch-all oriented",

> "where the legacy of realism is entangled within an idealistic understanding of international politics. Norway tries to build bridges over transatlantic gaps, not only because it is in the state's material or overall strategic interest, but also because it is inherent in Norwegian political culture, which provides the backdrop for the nation's defense policy and in its foreign policy more broadly speaking".

Norway displays a warfare policy as if, being so self-confident in its Peace Diplomacy, it brags credence to "self-righteously" legitimate warful practices even if through peaceful representations such as favoring democracy and human rights. In accordance with Rottem (2008),

> "Norway has been quite active in NATO since the end of the Cold War, participating in NATO operations abroad, such as stabilizing the Balkans and fighting terrorism alongside the United States. The policy derives legitimacy from three directions. First, military intervention is presumed to encourage democracy and human rights; second, the role of the Norwegian defense establishment is said to articulate with Norway's alliance commitments; and third, Norway's defense and security policy is justified in terms of *protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity*" (*my highlight*).

Leira (2013, p. 35) reveals that there is a shortcoming of terms to discuss the use of military force outside of Norway, to the extent that it ends up borrowing "the internationalist terms of the peace discourse", wherein even the *Telemark bataljon*, which is the rapid reaction force deemed as the elite troop, places itself as part of this tradition (ibid). Libya was no exception for such reasoning, since its operations allegedly corresponded to Norwegian peace policy's solidarity and emphasis on civilian reconstruction (ibid), although the rehabilitation of destroyed civil structures such as highways and hospitals was not among Norway's competence in Libya. All in all, Leira (2013, p. 351-352) adds the following caveat:

> "The continued participation in military operations abroad has certainly put the internal self-image of the peace nation under some stress, but the overall framework seems less shaken than one could have expected. One possible explanation is that Norwegian public opinion on foreign affairs seems to accept the principles of R2P; sometimes it might be

right and necessary to intervene in other countries to ensure the greater good. And although Norwegian exceptionalism has traditionally tilted towards missionary activities, there is in principle nothing keeping it away from crusading".

All in all, these considerations point to peace being so technical as to enable Norway to discursively conciliate facilitation of an elsewhere deemed terrorist party and engagement in an abstraction of "war on terror" abroad while silencing any "war on terror" internally. In Colombia, peace was facilitation of a set of empty signifiers, such as gender, environment, and development. In Libya, peace equated with security and carried humanitarian drives. In Norway, peace was democracy and love against hatred of a lone wolf: at the same time it reactivated a self-representation of peacefulness, it also served to silence an internal crisis related to multiculturalism and anti-immigration. Additionally, because of a prevailing peace identity representation, Norway's military engagements lack vocabulary and use the same language as that of peace, reinforcing the usefulness of peace as a floating signifier. The underlying peace, in the war for peace resolve, is the protection of integrity and sovereignty, a constant anxiety in Norway's history whose frequent stabilization resorts to a peace sense of being. All the more, such peace niche serves to ascertain Norway as a morally good and liberal sovereign, which allows interventions to protect civilians.

The following tables sum up the conceptual chains and constellations related to peace in Norway.

Table 1: Object frame according to Hansen's (2006) methodology

One self/ two instantiations	Norway/ peace self x war destabilization
One temporal perspective	2011
Triple coincidence of events	Facilitation in Colombia (continuous)/ NATO's operation in Libya / Breivik's attack
Discursive encounter /intertextual model	Foreign Policy/ Public Diplomacy addresses + wider political debate (foreign policy)
Three events related by time – 2011 – and self – Norway	

Table 2: Norway's Peace Facilitation

Norway's Peace Facilitation	Norway as a guarantor country of the Colombian Peace Process[137]	Attachments to Peace in Colombia
	noticeable contribution	Environment
"two-track diplomacy"	seriousness and professionalism	poverty reduction and development
bridge-builder	"Norwegian exceptionalism"	Natural degradation
go-between	"diplomatic peace footprint"	wider political participation, access to land and alternatives to coca production; rights of civilians
niche diplomacy	multiple and continuous support: operations, support facilitation, knowledge facilitation, capacity building and trust building	green and sustainable development; increased investments
backchannel	Public discourse related to the peace process, recognition of the relation between foreign policy and discourse	participation, sexual abuse and justice; humanitarian aid
dialogue/ dialogic expertise	capacity building and third-party expertise	health cooperation
engagement	"go-to nation"; "reputational filter"; "the capital, the enabling legal framework and the financial resources"	Democracy
ownership	"low-key"; "professional and respectful" style	
do-gooder state	"Communicative integrity" (with "transparency" and "confidentiality"); "Delivery on commitments" (on "the macro-level as co-guarantor" and on "a daily basis"); and "Repeated interaction" (with "face-to-face exchanges" in "informal settings", wherein "constant presence was key in cementing Norwegian trustworthiness")	
Light footprint	reconciliation; dialogue; facilitate/facilitator(s); peace agreement; framework agreement; ceasefire; integrated	

[137] Source: FABRA-MATA *et al*. (NORAD, 2018).

	development policy; agenda points; participation; victim's rights, truth commission and transitional justice; monitoring and verification; confidence-building measures; reintegration; education; gender equality; women, peace and security; health, productive projects; humanitarian mine clearance; human rights; action plan; concrete measures; peace talks; negotiations[138]; implement; efforts (REGJERINGEN.NO)	
Facilitation, ownership and depoliticization		

Table 3: Norway's Peace Operation in Libya

Peace Operation in Libya
to protect civilians; facilitate a political solution of the conflict; use of military power; regime change[139]
"serious and systematic human rights violations" by Gaddafi[140]
concern for the humanitarian situation in Libya
Peace Operation/ NATO as a Peace organization
Democracy
protection of integrity and sovereignty
"peace through war" (LEIRA, 2013)

Table 4: 22nd of July attacks

22nd July attacks
democracy
oppeness
"answer hatred with love"
"'nation-state' discourse"/ democratic freedom and liberal peace

Table 5: Peace as a Floating Signifier and Attachments to Nodal Points and Empty Signifiers

Nodal Points	Empty Signifiers
Global Security Threats	development

[138] See https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utenrikssaker/fred-og-forsoning/land_for_land2/engasjement_colombia/id2522231/

[139] Source: "Evaluering Av Norsk Deltakelse I Libyaoperasjonene i 2011" (2018)

[140] Ibid

Ownership	environment
Lessons Learned	human rights
Security-Development	democracy
Interest of profiling itself	health
Prevention of sexual abuse/ gender inclusion	gender
Justice and International Law	social justice
Sustainable Development Goals and peace, stability and security	security
sovereignty, territorial integrity and political freedom of action	ethics
Dialogue, trust and capacity-building	Sovereingty
“peace through war” (LEIRA, 2013)	

5.

Concluding remarks

The research on the discursive construction of Norway's identity representations unveils peace as a conceptual ground that allows linking peace facilitation, military intervention, and terrorism, as coincidentally articulated in 2011. With this, the thesis explored how Norwegian Public Diplomacy disturbed and stabilised narratives of peace, all the more because the discourse on "Norwegianess" is enmeshed in an identity representation of peace tradition and peace engagement as an attempt of differentiation that has historically formed Norway's sovereignty. In doing so, this thesis has called attention to a correlation between Norway's history as an old nation albeit a recent state, on the one hand, and a representation of a peace nation identity albeit a silencing of a war state practice, on the other. Norway draws on the language of its old nation's constructed identity of peace to translate the need of engaging in war as a means to ascertain its recent state sovereignty. Norway therefore engages in both war and peace by praising peace-encompassing values, for the sake of stabilizing, even if through destabilizations, both its physical security and its sense of identity. Norway's need to ascertain itself as a sovereign state finds in its peace nation identity representation a sense of being: in facilitation, peace involves a panoply of hitherto unrelated concepts, such as development, environment, human rights, democracy, gender, and so forth. In intervention, peace resonates with humanitarian justifications, security, but also democracy, and sometimes development. In terrorism, Norway reinforces its peace identity, and not least democracy. Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe (1985), I deem these conceptual links as empty signifiers, which, albeit slippery, can adhere to meanings thanks to a past fixation that influence contemporary articulations as if they contaminate interpretations. Democracy, being attached to Norway's peace from the times of just war against Sweden to the discursive response to the 22nd of July episode leads me to argue that it is a concept whose fixation has contaminated meanings throughout Norway's history notwithstanding its natural emptiness. As an example, the recent scandal involving the Norwegian Minister of Justice and his partner also evoked democracy in discourse: "Staging threats, arson and vandalism against one's

own home is, in Bertheussen's case, creating the impression of serious attacks on democracy itself" (AURDAL, 2019; *my translation*).

Drawing on Post-Structuralism's contributions on how the making of identity entails delineating what is different, Chapter 1 explained the concepts of state identity and of national identity, in order to assess the practices of foreign policy and identity representation as articulated in public diplomacy discourse, which in turn is politicized, contingent and contested. This theoretical contextualization formed the backbone to address, in Chapter 2, Norway's history as a constructed old peace nation and as an unstable and recent war state. Having suffered occupation three times, Norway operated the making of its national identity by framing a differentiation through peace. The people of Norway would stand out as peaceful, whereas the nobility of Sweden, for instance, would carry the image of a warrior state. But war, from the very beginning of the emergence of Norway as a sovereign state, meant the protection of Norway's territory. Warfare, then, got legitimate resonance with sovereignty, as Norwegians became used to sanctioning war back in the beginning of their sovereign state, as a legitimate means to protect the territory against the enemy Sweden (ULRIKSEN, 2003; LEIRA, 2013; NEUMANN, 2002).

An instrumental overview on how Norwegian narratives, discursive practices and representations of the 2011 "triple coincidence" relative to war and peace were jointly articulated in Norwegian Foreign Policy discourses unveiled the common nodal points of democracy. As explored in the thesis, the three cases reflect a strong uphold on peace: a facilitative peace, a peace operation, a peace reaction. Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) elaboration on "floating signifier" and "empty signifier" provided theoretical and analytical grounds for understanding this panoply of uses for peace, which, by subsuming security, human rights, development, environment and, more generally, democracy, among a broad array of empty signifiers, allows Norway's foreign policy to convey, temporarily, a homogeneous narrative, in an attempt to naturalise an identity of peace by legitimating, under the empty container of peace, what could otherwise be contradictory, and by materializing different instantiations of that identity across all possible fields. At the same time, the adaptability of the concept is what renders its moves along

history possible, remoting to pre-state externalisations and stretching towards tomorrow's foreign policy as a sediment for prospective future engagements.

Norway's peace tradition and peace engagement history, as well as the transmutation of the Norwegian foreign policy's peace discourse from defence to the extent of enabling "peace through war" (LEIRA, 2013) articulations, passing through neutrality and engagement, has historically counted on peace as an organizing concept in discourse, wherein the co-constitution of identity and foreign policy has had peace as a conceptual link from the very start of Norway's sovereignty. Hence, I argue that, after the triple trauma of occupation, Norway ventured into an "engagement spree" as a means to ascertain itself as a sovereign state, being the country's foreign policy on alliance membership tied to peace-encompassing values for Norway, such as democracy, human rights, international law, development, environment, and even security, as the discourse on the membership to NATO unmasked. In the context of uncertainty as regards neighbouring feeble new states after the demise of the Cold War, Norway continued to ascertain its sovereign status by means of operating a prestigious niche diplomacy: that of peace facilitation. The underlying politics of status and prestige in Norway's peace engagement is rife with moral justifications and a do-gooder *ethos* that is so embedded in "Norwegianess", that security is also subsumed into peace discourse. Interventions, then borrow the language of peace, and sanction that peace morality on the grounds of humanitarianism.

As emphasized in Chapter 3, a practice of depoliticisation also takes place in discourses related to the technical expertise of Norway as a facilitator. Facilitation is unambiguously the antipode of ownership, which exempts Norway from responsibility of the deeds of a party elsewhere deemed terrorist, at the same time it allows Norway to engage in NATO's "war on terror". In Libya, depoliticisation equates with engaging in the abstraction of "war on terror" when, in fact, the action carries the politics of hiding Russia as the drive to assure a security reciprocity. In Norway, terrorism is depoliticized when the massacre is discursively constructed as sheer insanity, in a response that reinforces a peace identity representation at the same time it masks internal dissents on multiculturalism and immigration.

The framework of peace as a discursive umbrella that floats and serves as conceptual links to hitherto unrelated empty concepts, from facilitation, on one point, to terrorism, on the other, is what also gives an aura of consensus, homogeneity and uniformisation to a foreign policy that needs to secure a recent state through reinstatements of a peace nation. With that in mind, the assessment on Norway's Public Diplomacy required pondering discursive articulations, wherein meanings, subjects, objects and identity manifested co-constitutions of power, knowledge and truths. The adoption of a post-Structuralist perspective permitted to assess how discursive practices, through the emergence, mobilization and fixing of signifiers, render natural a peace identity for Norway, even in face of the construction of enemies as terrorists and taking for granted membership to hard-politics engagements like those ensued from compliance to NATO. The deconstruction of power mechanisms is particularly useful for the assessment of power configurations in Norway between, for the case in question, a status seeking based on peace assertions (NEUMANN; DE CARVALHO, 2015), and its "bandwagoning" of the hegemon in terms of its anti-war policy within NATO (JAKOBSEN; RINGSMOSE; SAXI, 2016). Such deconstruction shows a particular representation of the self as unstable and that silences ambiguities, wherein interventions for peace and via war in foreign policy are (re) productive instances of a subjectivity that aim to stabilise a state's sense of being and security. This process entails specific relations between one self and others in the case of violent subjects that disturb the international order and peace and that Norway has the skills to "pacify" and transform via support for peace and military intervention.

Although Foreign Policy has (limited) capacity to reinforce dominant narratives about the self, and the representation of national identity itself is a fragile and always violent sense of symbolic and real exclusions, the umbrella of peace as a floating signifier is ultimately a "fit for all" concept that sediments diverse narratives throughout history. The slippery, volatile and incomplete way that peace attaches to each other signifier so that it can never fully and exclusively cling onto a single signified is what renders peace discourse so ubiquitous in every field of Norwegian foreign policy and history construction. Since peace can even be attached to war, be it in the defence of territory or to protect civilians, as a floating signifier, peace operates as a panacea that allows constant displacements even of

defence and security discourses based on narratives of peace, as the humanitarianism framed in "peace operations" to protect civilians illustrates.

Since the emergence, mobilization and fixation of discursive interpretations until they become natural and endogenous occur in detriment of the rebuttal, ostracism and obliteration until reaching utter oblivion, so does the reification of a peace identity put in jeopardy possible incongruities with violent intakes. The silencing of dissent, be it voices that oppose Norway's devotion to Colombia when more pressing security issues in the Arctic urge to be addressed, or against the campaign in Libya, in a fear of retaliation suppressed for the sake of a rapid humanitarian response, or of the framing of political terror in the context of internal attack are all part of Norway's importance to depict an unified and strong image based on articulations such as that of "broad foreign policy consensus". The framing of the terrorist as a lunatic is not necessarily wrong, but also delineates the shame of acknowledging that the aggressor was a Norwegian national. As Brent Steele (2008, p.3) reminds us, ontological security-driven action (such as the call to respond hatred with peace) also attempts to change behavior in relation to experienced shame, a mechanism that Steele calls "self-help behavior". This sense of being as an ontological security ultimately serves to reinstate Norway's sovereignty integrity, and discourse hides those hints of a disputed self like every state is.

Given the limited scope of the present thesis, this investigation points to future questionings that were not possible to raise. One of them concerns ontological security seeking mechanisms that revolve around attempts to redress the ontological instantiation of Norway as a peace Nation at the same time the country engages in war operations. On the one hand, the dominant discourse conveys some securitization logic to justify the necessity of Norway's engagement in peace process on the grounds that the abstention from contributing to peace would entail escalations of conflicts into a global scope. By the same token, the instability to Norway's Ontological Security of a peace self-portrayal ensued from war instantiations leads me to question whether attempts at reinstating a peace identity through an increasing engagement in peace is an appropriate answer to address how Norway securitizes not only war – the terror threat as illustrated by the other in Libya – but equally peace, and how these securitization drives even in peace translate anxieties to reinforce a peace self.

We can trace the beginning of an autobiographical continuity of the Norwegian Peace self in the early 1900, when peace emerged as Norway's central concept with Norwegians architects of peace framing this concept in a negative sense as "the absence of war" (KENDE apud LEIRA, 2013, p. 351). Leira illustrates the historic evolution of this negative sense towards a more encompassing positive one with the example of the changing criteria of the Nobel Peace Prize. (BULLOCH apud LEIRA, ibid). Leira situates this development in Norway towards a more positive framing of peace as a steep overlapping of peace, security and development in that Norway followed both a logic of expansion of security assessments like the ones the Copenhagen school incepted, and by means of the Norwegian approach to peace as related to development, to ultimately reach a stage when an even more encompassing reference, such as the deemed "Norwegian Policy of Engagement", has subsumed the concept of peace into a broader perspective. Leira conveys that an "explicit reference to 'peace' has become less frequent over the last decade, with the entire panoply of good causes now being referred to as 'engagement policy'".

As Huysmann (2016) argues, "insecurity is a politically and socially constructed phenomenon". Norway constructs security and insecurity discourses to engage in peace and stabilizes some ontological insecurity to its peace identity representation. This points to a need to investigate further Norway's discursive practices on peace, securitization and identity as a means to assess how a democratic country justifies going to war and promotes peace almost simultaneously. Because of that, a departing question to further this investigation is: *a) To which extent does Norway securitize its peace engagement by defining its necessity as a security measure and b) how does the ontological insecurity produced by a destabilization of its peace self when pursuing war limit desecuritisation, which therefore require more of its peace engagement, in a chain where peace and war become part of its security policy, which translates some pursuit of ontological security in the sense of securing its peace identity?*

Another aspect relates to a juxtaposition between a legitimate self and an ignominious other, which renders power hierarchies possible and deems victorious a particular instantiation of a disputed self. Hansen illustrates that since difference is open to more than one-way definitions, it is the exclusivity of opposition that distinguishes otherness from difference. As Hansen (2006, p.478-479) describes,

"'Relations of difference' construct identity in nonexclusive terms, whereas 'relations of otherness" are built on exclusivity. Relations of identity are never stable, and there is often a temptation to convert difference into otherness, to move from viewing the other as different, and maybe strange, to viewing the other as threatening".

This leads me to continue seeking to investigate whether the othering of Russia is what legitimises Norway to engage in war within NATO without having to incur in it being framed as a war nation.

When I put myself onto this background, I cannot but echo Hansen's (2006, p. 5) reasoning according to which "Foreign policies need to ascribe meaning to the situation" – the meaning of the need to combat a threat posed by the Islam through bombing – "and to construct the objects within it, and in doing so they articulate and draw upon specific identities of other states, regions, peoples, and institutions well as on the identity of a national, regional, or institutional Self" (ibid) – a peace and civilizing self that evokes war for peace and security. Norway´s hegemonic discourses normalize an order of peaceful resolution to conflicts and its anti-terrorism aggression – coined as "peace operations" – by morally relating its resourceful capabilities to all necessary means for peace even if through war, thereby stabilizing a contradiction and equally evincing the bad as the conflict in the case of Colombia and the war on terror in Libya.

Thinking about contributions necessarily implies my speaking place. To that, I resort to Neumann (1999, p. 36), who argues:

"In analyzing the self/other nexus, it is particularly hard not to ponder the ways in which the writer is implicated in what he or she writes about. Writing is also a normative concern, and the question of responsibility cannot be ducked. It is not enough to reflect on what we do (that is, on why we study this or that slice of world politics) and why we do it. We must also pay attention to what that which we do, does. If our analyses are used to facilitate the 'othering' of this or that human collective, say the house of Islam or China, by another, say 'the West', then this raises the question of how we are implicated in the unfolding of world political practice".

My aim with this thesis was not only to contribute to a not-so-well explored Post-Structuralist partake of the Norwegian Public Diplomacy in order to boost a Norwegian self-understanding of how its policies activate otherness, but all the more to engross attempts at shedding light, as Neumann puts it, "to our living in difference and not to some of us dying from otherness". If we ponder an obsession with lessons learned, for instance, as a means to change, I equally situate this project into a myriad of lessons learned, but from a Post-Structuralist underpinning

according to which, as this peace through war is fixated now, it might be different in the future. All the more, studying the nuances of facilitation of peace and the complexities of the fight against terrorism resorts to global geopolitical issues that are central to current debates on peace and security. These debates reflect hegemonic discourses that draw on limited understandings of International Relations, which is why it is necessary to take to road less travelled.

This is why I choose to conclude this thesis with Hansen, to whom Post-Structuralists' most crucial points is to unveil "how what we presently take for granted has been different, how the world is open to various discursive fixations and how we have thought differently about, for instance, health, punishment, international politics or state sovereignty", or, for the case in point, Norway's "peace through war".

6.

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