UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Centre for Peace Studies

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

Did the UN miss with the Protection of Civilians in South Sudan?

Exploring perspectives and perceptions of the UN protecting policies for the United Nations peacekeeping mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)

Andrea Blindheim

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore the different perceptions and perspectives regarding the UN's Protection of Civilians (PoC) policy and the use of the policy in the ongoing peace operation in South Sudan. As the UN is utilizing the PoC policy in the majority of their ongoing peace operations, there is bound to be different perspectives and perceptions of the policy from civilians in the host countries. Therefore, this thesis explores the perceptions from South Sudanese civilians regarding the PoC policy and its implementation in South Sudan.

The study derives from qualitative research conducted in Kampala during August 2019, it includes voices of South Sudanese civilians who have lived within UNMISS PoC sites and civilians who have observed the mission from their homes. The thesis utilized a textually oriented discourse analysis to closely examine the PoC Policy to understand how it operates today. By utilizing human security theory, the study examined the PoC policy through a different lens and understands security as something more than state security. The results suggest that the civilians possess various perceptions and expectations for UNMISS and that their needs move beyond physical protection. As a result, this study concludes that the civilian population might have too high expectations for what a peacekeeping operation is able to conduct and that the present techniques for how to implement the PoC policy is flawed.

List of Abbreviations

CIVIC	Center for Civilians in Conflict
CSBs	Country Support Bases
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DPO	Department of Peace Operations
HSU	Human Security Unit
IDP	Internally Displaced People
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPM	New Public Management
NSD	Norwegian Social Science Data Services
NUPI	The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
PoC	Protection of Civilians
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
TCC's	Troop Contributing Countries
UN	The United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPO	United Nations Department of Peace Operations
UNDPO/DFS	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support
UNPK	United Nations Peacekeeping
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council
USSURC	United South Sudanese Urban Refugees Community
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan

Map of South Sudan

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Because who is suffering? It is the civilians.

We are the victims of the war (Interviewee #1, 2019)

The world's newest country, The Republic of South Sudan, has been turbulent since its birth on July 9th of 2011. South Sudan has in its 9 years as an independent country been through an almost 5 year long civil war, conflicts in its government, several ceasefires and 4 peace agreements (Africa Center, 2019), with the latest being an power-sharing agreement between the Vice President Riek Machar and President Salva Kiir signed in February 2020 (Al Jazeera, 2020). The rivalry between the two leaders sparked the outbreak of civil war in December 2013 which has killed 400.000 and displaced millions of people (Al Jazeera, 2020).

South Sudan has since its independence been in turmoil and with the country's fragile state the United Nations (the UN) saw it as necessary to create a peacekeeping mission to assist in the country. The mission was installed on the same day as the country's independence and is called the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS). The main mandate of the peacekeeping mission is to protect civilians. The policy of Protection of Civilians, hence fort called PoC in the UN is somewhat complicated, but the main idea behind it is that different peacekeeping missions can implement the PoC policy in its peacekeeping missions. This policy is made to provide guidelines and key considerations on how to protect civilians from direct violence physical violence, where the wording of the PoC mandate can differ from mission to mission.

Today do more than 98% of all military and police personnel have a mandate to protect civilians as part of integrated mission-wide efforts (Johnson, 2019, p. 133). One of the reasons why PoC is a big part of nearly all peacekeeping operations is because in environments with violent conflict or war of any kind civilians are in the crossfire, vulnerable and at times targeted by different groups in conflict. According to the UN do civilians account for the vast majority of casualties in situations of armed conflict (DPO, 2019, p. 4). The situation is not any different in South Sudan and civilians all over the country is suffering not only direct physical violence but also food insecurity, lack of medicines, clean water and there

are almost 2 million internally displaced people (IDP) in the country (USAID, 2020; WHO, 2016; UNICEF, IDMC, 2018).

1.1   Problem Statement and Research Question

Whose narrative is being told when the UN discusses the matter of civilians in conflict or war zones and how to protect them? I wonder if the UN and the civilians in the specific area are congruent on the matter of what is needed and how to implement the different solutions to the problem. As I will come back to in the literature review, the academic writing about PoC and UNMISS is usually from the perspective of the UN, other big Western organizations, or academics and rarely from the voices on the ground. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the voices of civilians and their perspective of PoC in South Sudan. I wonder if the civilian's perspective differs from the UN's perspective regarding protection.

To accomplish this, I have conducted interviews with civilians from South Sudan and done a discourse analysis of UN policy documents. For the thesis I am using human security theory because it allows for an exploration of other varieties of security and how security is more than just state security. Thus, one can obtain a broader perception of the term security. The theory is also used to observe how the UN's perception of protection is understood and implemented in its peacekeeping operations. Lastly human security is utilized to explore how UNs protection attempts are perceived from the civilians on the ground who are the recipients of the protection

To explore this topic the research questions for this thesis are:

1. What is the civilian's perception of the protection of civilian's mandate and how does it differ from the UN's perspective of protection?

Which results in the following sub-questions:

2. What kinds of expectations do civilians have for the peacekeeping mission in South Sudan?
3. Do UNMISS and civilians have the same idea of what protection is?

With the research questions I wish to examine if civilian's perception and expectations of PoC is coherent with what the UN is defining as PoC and if the implementation of PoC is

coherent with what civilians think they need to be safe. As will be presented in the literature review, it exists a research gap regarding civilian's perspective of PoC. Therefore, I wish to explore the civilian's perceptions of their own security and their expectations toward UNMISS as an attempt to assist closing the gap in the current research regarding the UN and the PoC policy. Since the recipients of peacekeeping operations are civilians who has little to do with how the peacekeeping operation and PoC policy is formed I believe there are some discrepancies between the two.

1.2   Delimitations

The situation in South Sudan is today very complex and somewhat chaotic. The UN peacekeeping mission is doing the best they can with the resources at hand and the people of South Sudan are fighting for their lives. UNMISS has gotten attention due to the outbreak of civil war in 2013 and how they solved the problem of getting civilians into safety at that point. Back in 2013 UNMISS opened it gates for civilians fleeing the civil war, and so called PoC sites were created several places in the country. PoC sites is not what the PoC policy is all about and for this thesis, the PoC sites will be mentioned, but the PoC policy is more than just these sites. The sites were created as an emergency solution for the mission and are not a permanent solution. This thesis will focus on the whole of the PoC policy and how the policy is implemented in protecting civilians in South Sudan.

A second delimitation to this thesis is the concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). R2P and PoC are dynamic concepts, they share the same concern about civilians suffering from mass human-induced violence, but they have its own nuances and limitations (Vesselin Popovski, 2011. p. 1). R2P does not cover all violations of human rights which is the main limitation for the concept (Popovski, 2011, p. 4). One can say that on the one hand PoC is narrower than R2P because not all war crimes would fall under PoC, because some are not committed against civilians, but on the other hand, R2P is narrower than PoC because it would not apply in every armed conflict, but only where mass atrocities have been systematically planned and committed (Popovski, 2011, p. 4). And as the UN peacekeepers in South Sudan have been entrusted with a mandate to execute PoC, that's what the thesis will focus on and not R2P.

The last delimitation to point out for this thesis is about generalizing the findings for this project. As this is only a Master's thesis with limited space and time, it will not be in the goal

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of the thesis to generalize the findings. As I am a looking for the perceptions and expectations of civilians, I believe their answers will be differ from each other depending on their experiences throughout the peacekeeping operation in South Sudan. Thus, this thesis does not wish to generalize the findings and is looking more towards the interpretations and expressions of individuals and how they have perceived PoC.

1.3   Relevance to Peace Studies

As the UN is mandating 98 % of its peacekeepers with a PoC mandate it will be important to continue documenting the successes and failures of the UN and the policy. These mandates and policies are directly involved in people's lives, if the discrepancy between the thoughts and viewpoints of the civilians and the views of personnel of international organizations who create these mandates and policies are too big one will end up with frameworks that might not be capable of success. As pointed out earlier, civilians count for a vast majority of casualties during violent conflict while also being the most vulnerable part with little agency to address their issues to world organizations, their governments or other actors that are in place to help.

Hence, as the project seeks to further understand the civilian's perceptions and expectations on the topic of protection, this is highly relevant to peace studies as it explores the thoughts and realities of people who sees and feels the implantation of this policy. This project is relevant for peace studies as there are civilians all over the world struggling to stay safe while warring parties are exploiting them. And because wherever one goes where there is conflict or war, there are civilians being forgotten by the international community simply because they do not have the resources or agency to help their own situation

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 will present more detailed background information about South Sudan and UNMISS. Chapter 3 will outline the methodological framework. It highlights the different decisions made throughout this project, including choices of study area, research methodology, data collection methods, and informant selection while also including a section on practicalities, safety and challenges in the field. Chapter 4 presents the theoretical and conceptual framework applied for the thesis. Here the concepts of security, civilian and PoC will be discussed as well as a presentation and discussion on human

security as a theoretical tool. Chapter 5 will shortly go through earlier literature in the field, both academic writing and earlier studies done. Chapter 6 will first present the data from the two policy documents and connect the findings to human security, before the thematic coding of the interviews will be presented. The interviews will then be connected to human security as well. The last section of chapter 6 will discuss if the civilian's perceptions of security differs from the UN's PoC policy, the civilian's expectations toward UNMISS and examine if UNMISS and civilians perceive protection the same way. The last chapter will conclude the thesis and present some last remarks and provide suggestions for further research.

> We are going to have everlasting peace in
> the country (Interviewee #1, 2019)

This chapter will briefly present the history of the two Sudans, separated in 2011 into the North and South (from now: the Sudans). To understand South Sudan today it is important to examine historic events as the country has a long history that begins as far back as the 15th century which still affects the country. First there will be a short introduction of the history of the Sudans. The second part will present South Sudan today. The chapter will then continue to look at the UN peacekeeping history and UNMISS's developments in South Sudan before the chapter concludes ends with a short summary.

2.1 Historical Background for the Two Sudans

The Sudans have a long history, it has been settled by different ethnic groups since the 15th century and the country has suffered many conflicts and wars since its beginning. The Sudans were invaded by Egypt under the Ottoman Empire in 1820 and by the end of the 19th century the Sudan was under British-Egyptian rule (Spaulding *et al*, 2020). The northern part of Sudan accepted British rule quickly, while there was some resistance in the south. Therefore, the British could use their resources to modernize instead as in the south where their resources were used to maintain order. This led to a split in the development between the north and the south which continued for several decades (Spaulding *et al*, 2020). When the Sudans became independent in 1956 several governments found it difficult to win a general acceptance from the diverse political constituencies in the country and especially in the south (Spaulding *et al*, 2020). Conflict arouse between northern leaders who wished to impose Islamic law and culture for the whole country, which the majority of the southern Sudan population opposed. This conflict lead to the first civil war from 1955 which ended with the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 (Spaulding *et al*, 2020). However, the conflict ended only temporarily and the second civil war lasted from 1983 and ended in 2005 with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which ended warfare and generated an outline of new methods to share power, power distribution and security provision in Sudan. Most importantly the CPA stipulated a referendum on independence for southern Sudan that would be held in six years

(Spaulding *et al*, 2020). The referendum took place and a weeklong vote on independence was held January 9-15, 2011. 98,83 percent choose a separate nation, and the independence of South Sudan was declared on July 9th, 2011 (Martell, 2018, p. x)

Our world's youngest nation did not have peace for long. In 2012 there erupts an oil war between north and south. This war lasted for about six months before the leaders were dragged to talk (Martell, 2018, p. 217). Then in December of 2013 did the country erupt into civil war. The explanation for the civil war was a political fight between President Salva Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar (Martell, 2018, p. 222). Soldiers from the two largest ethnic groups in South Sudan erupted into violence. Soldiers from the Dinka ethnic group aligned with President Kiir and soldiers from the Nuer ethnic group aligned with Vice President Machar (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). There was an attempt at a peace agreement in August 2015, but around 9 months later the country again turned to violence. Almost five years after the start of civil war did Salva Kiir and Riek Machar signed a ceasefire and power-sharing agreement in August 2018 (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). The core of the outbreak of the civil war was as mentioned a political dispute between the President and the Vice President of South Sudan, however the alignment of soldiers happened along ethnical lines. This might be confusing and make the civil war appear for some, such as Western media, as an ethnical conflict instead of a political war between the two leaders. According to former Special Representative of the UN Secretary General and head of UNMISS Hilde Frafjord Johnson must the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), UNMISS and the international partners bear some responsibility for failing to prevent the outbreak of violence in South Sudan. Nevertheless, in the final instance, the descend into conflict and civil war was primarily caused by the high-risk behavior of the South Sudanese leaders on all sides (2019, p. 139).

2.1.1 South Sudan Today

The Sudans together were the biggest country in Africa with an area that represented almost 2 percent of the world's total land area (Sikainga *et al*, 2020)). South Sudan alone is the same size as Spain and Portugal combined with a population of 12, 841,000 (Martell, 2018, p. 4, Spaulding *et al*, 2020). The country is landlocked with the neighboring countries Sudan, Ethiopa, Kenya, Uganda, The Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African

Republic. Today the country is divided into ten states which again is divied into 86 counties (Gurton Trust, 2019). The country is made up of 64 different tribes and the population is mainly Anglican and Catholic Christian often mixed with traditional cultural practices. There are some who follow traditional African animist beliefs and there are small groups of Muslims in the country (Cultural Atlas, 2020). There is still unrest in the country as the country suffers from food and water shortages and occasional outbreaks of violence. The civil war has prevented farmers from planting and harvesting their crops which caused a nationwide food shortage. In July 2014 the UNSC declared the world's worst food crisis and famine was declared in 2017. In 2018 more than seven million people could be at risk of severe food insecurity as the country again faced food shortages (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). In 2014 the country was listed at the bottom of the Fragile State Index, which is an annual report published by US-based Fund for Peace (Martell, 2018, p. 277). In 2020 South Sudan is listed as nr 3, with only Yemen and Somalia in front (Fragile State Index, 2020). One can according to Rotberg characterize fragile or failed states as tense, deeply conflicted, dangerous and severely contested by warring factions (2003, p. 5). He continues to state that it is not the absolute intensity of violence that identifies a failed state; however, it is the enduring character of that violence as in Angola, Burundi and the Sudan (2003, p. 5). The intensified character of the political or geographical demands for shared power or autonomy rationalizes the violence in the minds of the main insurgents (Rotberg, 2003, p. 5).

2.2   The UN in South Sudan

The structure of the UN in South Sudan is not comparable to many other countries. For its start in 2011, UNMISS commenced on an ambitious program to support the extension of state authority and build national capacities to provide local-level service delivery by establishing Country Support Bases (CSBs) in 35 counties (Karlsrud, 2018, p. 140). The CSBs were supposed to be centers for UN agencies and humanitarian actors to facilitate peacebuilding and state building on the local level. The progress of in establishing and running the bases were slow, and when the civil war broke out in December 2013, state building was toned down (Karlsrud, 2018, p. 140). Due to the fragility of the state, the UN institution is embedded in each of the country's national ministries through a cluster system and upholds a substantial presence in each of the country's 10 states (Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 95).

The language in the UNSC resolutions, particularly describing the responsibility of UNMISS and its mandate to protect civilians has developed over time in response to the needs that have due to outbreaks of conflict since its independence (Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 95). Here I will present background information about UNMISS and their mandates given by UNSC. There are a couple of different topics to discuss here to understand the peacekeeping operation better and its previous and current mandate.

2.2.1 Principles of Peacekeeping

First, let's review the basic principles that makes UN peacekeeping what it is. It is based on three basic principles, namely consent of the parties, impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate, which are inter-related and mutually reinforcing (UNPK, 2020a). Every peacekeeping operation is deployed with the consent of the main parties of the conflict because it enables the UN to carry out their mandated responsibilities with the necessary freedom of action. Impartiality is central to maintain the consent and cooperation of the main parties of the conflict and it goes both ways, UN peacekeepers are to be impartial in their dealings with the parties to the conflict.

Use of force is more complicated. Use of force is a part of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which contains a framework for "Actions with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of Peace and Acts of Aggression" (UNSC, 2020). This chapter of the Charter allows the Security Council to "determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and to make recommendations or to resort to non-military and military action to maintain or restore international peace and security" (UNSC, 2020). UN peacekeeping operations can use force at the tactical level with the authorization of the UNSC, if peacekeepers are acting in self-defense of their mandate. In some volatile situations, peacekeeping operations have been authorized by the UNSC to "use all necessary means" to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical attack, assist the national authorities in maintain law and order and/or deter forceful attempts to disrupt the political process (UNPK, 2020a). This is a so-called robust mandate. Robust peacekeeping involves the use of force only at the tactical level with the authorization of the UNSC and with the consent of the host nation and/or the main parties of the conflict. (UNPK, 2020a). It is stated that a UN peacekeeping operation should use force only as a last resort. It should always be calibrated in

a precise, proportional and appropriate manner, within the principle of the minimum force necessary to achieve the desired effect, while sustaining consent for the mission and its mandate (UNPK, 2020).

2.2.2   Traditional vs Robust Peacekeeping

Murphy states that UNMISS represents a shift from traditional peacekeeping to what is called robust peacekeeping (2017, p. 368). Traditional peacekeeping has been referred to as cold war peacekeeping where forces are deployed to a war-torn area in order to accomplish several purposes, such as seeking to limit the violent conflict that is taking place in the area. Secondly traditional peacekeeping is affirmed, in part, on promoting an environment suitable for conflict resolution. (Diehl, 2008, p. 4). Traditional peacekeeping has also usually been associated with Chapter VI of the UN Charter, which deals with "Pacific Settlement of Disputes" (UNPK, 2020b). Whereas robust peacekeeping has been implemented for missions with more difficult terrain with lack of security and a breakdown of law and order which seriously complicated the ability of peace operations to achieve their goals (Diehl, 2008, p. 55). In recent years robust peacekeeping have been associated with Chapter VII of the UN Charter (UNPK, 2020b)

2.3   UNMISS and the PoC Mandate

When UNMISS first was established it was mandated in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter. In 2011 UNSC authorized UNMISS to "use all necessary means, within the limits of its capacity and in the areas where it unites are deployed, to carry out its protection mandate" (UNSC, 2011, p. 5). In addition to UNMISS's mandate, in respect to a country's sovereignty, the UN and the government of the host country creates a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). This agreement outlines the parameters of the mission's activities, this was also done in South Sudan. The SOFA agreement between UNMISS and the government of South Sudan states that: "Without prejudice to the fact that all such premises remain territory of South Sudan, they shall be inviolable and subject to the exclusive control and authority of the United Nations" (Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 105).

In the beginning UNMISS was mandated to support the government of South Sudan in order to consolidate peace and facilitate long-term state building and economic building (Murphy,

2017, p. 368). These assignments fall under the concept of peacebuilding, which by former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is presented as the "creation of a new environment", and there is a general agreement that at the minimum, the purpose of peacebuilding is to prevent the recurrence of conflict (Diehl, 2008, p. 8). Coupled with this broad peacebuilding dimension UNMISS was also to focus on PoC, human rights, and to contribute to the creation of security conditions conducive to the delivery of humanitarian assistance (Murphy, 2017, p. 368). This includes to protect civilians "under imminent threat of physical violence, in particular when the Government of South Sudan is not providing such security" (UNSC, 2011, p. 4). Zambakari *et al* states that this first resolution gave little guidance and parameters for the involvement of UN peacekeepers in protecting civilians (2018, p. 95). Johnson confirms this statement when discussing the progress of PoC. She states that for a few years there was limited guidance on how PoC mandates should be implemented (2019, p. 133). The 2011 resolution recognized that the primary responsibility for protection lied with the government, this is seen by Murphy as a method to downplay the PoC role and lower the expectations for the mission (2017, p. 368). First in 2014 after the outbreak of civil war in December 2013 did the UNSC renew the mission with a stronger language to describe both the role and the parameters of peacekeepers (Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 95).

The civil war sent thousands of people fleeing their homes and sent the country into a big humanitarian emergency which is still ongoing. In December 2013 did civilians flee to UNMISS bases in hope of security, and it was then decided to open the gates for civilians and create PoC sites. This decision put a massive strain on the mission which required an urgent response in terms of resources and priorities (Murphy, 2017, p. 368). Thus, in May 2014, UNSC Resolution 2155 came along. This resolution emphasized specifically the PoC aspects of the mandate and provided stronger wording for the peacekeepers. The UNSC authorized UNMISS to use all necessary means to perform their given duties (UNSC, 2014, p. 4). It also raised the roof for military personnel from 7000 in the original mandate to 12,500 in the renewed mandate from 2014 (UNSC, 2011, p. 3, UNSC, 2014, p. 6). This signaled a change in the expectations of UNMISS forces as well as shifting their primary focus away from peacebuilding activities. The new resolution also reiterated the commitment to documenting human rights abuses, facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and providing

assistance to external entities that were brought in to implement the peace process (UNSC, 2014, p. 5).

After the resolution from May 2014 there have been smaller changes to UNMISS's mandate. Protecting civilians, both inside and outside the PoC sites, have become their number one job. Since 2014, the troop ceiling did raise again on two occasions, and the last update from August 2016 remain the same today, with a maximum of 17,000 troops (UNSC, 2016, p. 5). Despite these changes and raising the number of troops to UNMISS there are still questions regarding the UN's ability to comprehensively carry out its mandate in a conflict zone. Their job is still necessary as there of March 16th, 2020, are 187, 966 civilians seeking safety within UNMISS PoC sites located around the country (UNMISS, 2020).

2.4   Summary

To quickly sum up, UNMISS represents a shift in UN peacekeeping history due to its change from traditional peacekeeping to robust peacekeeping, due to the volatile environment in its surroundings. The peacekeeping operation in the country is not comparable to many others as the UN is embedded in the national ministries, due to the country's fragile state. UNMISS is mandated by Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which allows the UNSC to determine the existence of any threat to peace. UNMISS did not only change in its form, but also in mandate. From their start as a mission with focus on peacebuilding activities to mainly focusing on protection of civilians as a result of civil war and other smaller conflicts in the country. This was seen as necessary due to the situation in the country with a civil war going on and other conflicts and violent attacks that has followed. The mission has increased their maximum limit of troops multiple times and since 2016 the maximum has been 17, 000 troops.

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework

They are doing their best (Interviewee #7, 2019)

The objective of this thesis is to examine the perceptions of the civilians on the topic of Protection of Civilians (PoC) and if their views on PoC are different than the objectives from the UN. To manage this, I have chosen to obtain qualitative data through interviews combined with a textually oriented discourse analysis of UN PoC policy documents because I believe these methods would best help gather the information needed.

This chapter is devoted to thoroughly explain the methodological choices that have been made and any justifications that are needed. The chapter first provides an overview of the study area and the logic of utilizing a qualitative approach, before a short introduction to the ontological and epistemological choices are done. It moves on to the research methods employed, semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis, where the process of selecting informants also will be explored. Further this chapter provides an overview of the data analysis and reflections from the researcher on ethical questions and security considerations. Lastly there will be a section on the limitations I had for this thesis.

3.1   Study area

Ideally, the study area for this thesis would be saying Juba, South Sudan, but since the country have been and is experiencing various conflicts and have a turbulent environment it was seen as unsafe for me to go there to conduct my research. Hence, I instead went to Kampala, Uganda, which I believe to be the next best thing, because not only is Uganda a neighboring country. Uganda is also one of the most refugee-friendly countries in the world and the third largest refugee-hosting country in the world (Spiegel International, 2017, UNHCR, p 6, 2019a). United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) numbers from December 2019 counts 861,590 refugees in Uganda from South Sudan (UNHCR, 2019b).

Kampala was chosen as my study area because it is the capital city of Uganda, it is seen as a safe place to stay and since I didn't have any sources before leaving I saw it as a good place to

start for contacting different organizations that might be helpful in getting in contact with civilians from South Sudan. Another reason Kampala was chosen is my previous knowledge of the place since I spent 6 months in Kampala as an exchange student for my BA in development studies in 2016. This was helpful as I still had some contacts from my time there and I saw it as good opportunity to maybe get help from some familiar faces while in Uganda. Kampala was also chosen because I thought it would be hard to get in contact with civilians from South Sudan that still are seeking help in refugee camps, so my plan was to contact civilians who lived there privately or who was in contact with smaller non-governmental organizations. How this panned out will be further explained in the interview section.

3.2   Methodology

Any choices that I have made for the data collection, which tools I have used to analyze and interpret my data stems from which kind of methodological approach that have been chosen. For this thesis I could have either used a quantitative approach, a qualitative approach or a mix of the two. Both approaches are useful, and their distinction represents a useful means of organizing different methods for social research (Bryman, 2012, p, 35).

For this project I have chosen a qualitative approach as its understanding of social life and the general tendencies qualitative approaches show will give my research the depth I am hoping to achieve. Quantitative research use approaches which seeks solid answers through a hypothetical-deductive approach, uses numerical data and has a preference for natural science approaches.

Qualitative approaches to research usually emphasize words rather than quantification in the data collection and data analysis. As Bryman points out a qualitative research strategy is usually broadly inductivist, constructionist and interpretivist. But as this is general tendencies, it means that qualitative research does not have to or will subscribe to all three of these features (2012, p. 380). Through qualitative research it is possible to explore a wide selection of dimensions of the social world, such as the understandings and experiences of the research participants. One can explore social processes, discourses, institutions and the meanings that they produce (Mason, 2002, p. 1). Furthermore, it has been argued that the qualitative approach celebrate richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity (Mason, 2002, p. 1).

Thus, as this project seeks to examine the individual experiences and perceptions of civilians from South Sudan, it is this kind of depth, richness and complexity I am looking for. Therefore, I have concluded that applying a quantitative methodology to this research could have limited the views and the possibility of interpretation of the civilians interviewed. Additionally, since the research area involves individuals and the nature of the research topic, I saw it as necessary to use an open methodological approach that allows adaptability and sensitivity to the local context, which became evident during fieldwork, as cultural dimensions played a part and also my own security. Due to this a qualitative methodology has been used to study the views of civilians from South Sudan on the topic of protection of civilians. To use semi-structured interviews to conduct this research was chosen because the flexibility of the interview and the loose structure which helps go off script and gives the interviewee the chance to mention topics that she or he sees as relevant and important (Bryman, 2012, p 470). And I chose to use discourse analysis for the policy documents due to its focus on the construction of language, and the attention being payed to the effects of our choice of words to express or describe something (Flick, 2014, p. 446). Both will be further explained in the methods section of this chapter.

Any choice made with concern to methodology will have its weaknesses. It is argued that qualitative research is subjective, unsystematic and the close relationships made between researcher and the people that are studied. Another weakness is these tendencies mentioned cause a problem for the replication of a qualitative study. Lastly it is also argued that it is difficult to generalize qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, p. 405). For this research project generalizability is not the main objective. This research is and will be part of on-going social processes, which means that the process of civilian viewpoints and worldviews will continue to exist after this research project is closed. Thus, the setting for this research and the people I encountered can only give current, interpretive results. As stated by Mason about qualitative research "it has an unrivalled capacity to constitute compelling arguments about how things work in particular contexts" (2002, p. 1).

In some regards this can be a drawback, but it does not necessarily mean that the research findings have no value. Even though the analysis drawn from my data might not be suitable for broad generalization, it will contribute to a greater understanding of some of the current viewpoints of the PoC mandate from a civilian perspective.

3.2.1 Ontology and Epistemology

To further understand the choice of a qualitative approach to this research, I will use some time to look at my ontological and epistemological views in social research. This is because ontology and epistemology both forms part of the context to which social research and its methods operate (Bryman, 2012, p. 5). Ontology can be a difficult concept to grasp but put shortly it is the nature of reality and what we know about being. The central point is the question of whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors (Bryman, 2012, p. 32). The former explanation will be referred to as objectivism and the latter constructionism.

For this research project, I will take a constructionist stand because it is a position that emphasizes that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. This implies that both social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision. A constructionist approach invites researchers to consider the ways in which social reality is not something external, but an ongoing accomplishment of social actors (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). Thus, for a research project whose aim is to explore and try to understand the views and perception of individuals this position seems appropriate. This position gives opportunities to interpret data and view both data and interviewees as social actors whose beliefs are constructed from their points of view from life and experience. I believe this position will give a more holistic view and make me able to understand the answers given to me in a broader matter. Further, this position will help guide the analysis of data material through its believe that the categories we employ to help us understand the natural and social world are social products. Meaning is constructed in and through interaction (Bryman, 2012, p. 77). And these are all elements that will be important when doing a discourse analysis.

Epistemological issues are a little easier to grasp as the concepts are not so abstract as it concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge, how knowledge is acquired and how we know what we know. A central issue here is the question of whether the social world can and should be studied according to the same principles, procedures and ethos as the natural sciences (Bryman, 2012, p. 70). For this research project I

will use interpretivism as my position. This position stems from writers who have been critical of the use of the scientific model to study the social world. The belief here is that the subject matter of the social sciences, people and their institutions, are fundamentally different from the natural sciences (Bryman, 2012, p. 71). This position rests upon the view that a strategy is needed that respects the difference between people and the objects of natural science. Hence, this position requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning (Bryman, 2012, p. 73). For my research project this position will be used due to its focus on understanding and interpretivism. I believe that using this strategy will help guide me in interpreting and analyzing my data in a way that gives a deeper understanding of the society and the individuals I am looking at as qualitative research is concerned with thick descriptions to describe their research. This can also be very helpful in a discourse analysis, where language, setting, and culture among other factors will be important parts to the analysis.

These two positions together will guide me and my research in trying to use the aspects explained above to achieve a deeper interpretation of the individuals, the society and institutions around and be able to give a more holistic picture of the situation at hand. Another reason for these ontological and epistemological choices is connected to the theoretical choices for this thesis. This thesis will utilize human security theory, because it is a theory where the individual is in the center. The theory has different definitions and there is not a wide agreement on what it should constitute, which enables me to look at wide explanations of what security and protection is. This theory requires some interpretation and can be used in different ways depending on the situation at hand.

3.3   Methods

3.3.1   Qualitative Interviews

To obtain rich and relevant knowledge, this study applied qualitative interviews as the main method for obtaining data. Since the aim of this thesis is to explore the perceptions of civilians, I believe interviews will allow for in-depth knowledge about the social world based on the individual perspectives where the informants can express their experiences and thoughts about the specific topic, PoC in South Sudan, in their own words (Bryman, 2012, p. 494).

Format wise, a semi-structured interview format was chosen because I wanted the setting to feel more like a conversation and unformal, and to help guide the interview to a certain extent, while at the same time keep the possibilities open for flexibility and spontaneity of the conversation between the interviewer and the interviewees. This gave opportunities to explore parts of this research topic which I as a researcher had not given much thought or before doing my fieldwork had deemed less important than other topics. For this part of the research an interview guide was developed, to help ask some questions and cover certain topics, but was also held open ended for the sake of flexibility of responses and also different experiences that where obtained through the interviews and in the field.

During the fieldwork, nine interviews were conducted with nine different informants. All of the interviews took place at the informant's convenience and lasted around 30 minutes, depending on the schedule for the informants and their willingness to share. All informants were given consent forms, either in writing or in oral form in accordance to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). All interviews were audio-recorded, which allowed a thorough analysis of the conversations, and later also transcribed by me. During the interviews I took notes, which proved to be helpful since some of the recordings have some disruptions due to traffic or other loud noises from the area. Some might say that the number of informants is too small and will not be enough to provide enough information. Here I would like to emphasize that the project is only a Master's thesis and can only obtain so much. Using a small number of informants "is the way in which analytic, inductive, exploratory studies are best done" as Crouch and McKenzie highlights (2006, p. 496).

3.3.2   Discourse

The second data collection method for this research project is discourse analysis. This was chosen because it analyzes issues that are closer to the topics of social sciences (Flick, 2004, p. 450). Here I will present what a discourse is and what a discourse analysis is.

Discourses are understood by Dunn and Neumann to be systems of meaning-production that fix meaning, however temporarily, which enable us to make sense of the world and to act within it (2016, p. 2). There are some key points to identify for discourses, which I briefly will go through there.

First, language is an important factor for discourses. Language can be viewed as a set of signs which are part of a system for producing subjects, objects, and worlds (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 2). Language is social. Through a language's collective codes things such as objects, subjects and realities are given meaning and equipped with identities (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 2). One must remember that language does not explain the world as much as it constructs it and the concept of discourse is an attempt at capturing how that happens (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 2). Dunn and Neumann suggest that discourses should be regarded as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Therefore, when one speaks of a discourse it may involve reference to certain groups of texts, but also the social practices to which those texts are linked (2016, p. 2-3). The second key point is that discourses are both structured and relational. This entails that they are structured because they produce a field of intelligibility within the social realm and relational in the sense that this structure has no permanence, center or fixity (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 3). Thus, to understand how particular "reality" becomes known and is acted upon, scholars can analytically investigate the structure of a particular discourse (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 3). The third key point is that discourses are both open-ended and incomplete. They are as Dunn and Neumann explains it, emergent (2016, p. 3). The partial fixity allows us to "know" the world and act within the world based upon what one "knows", but at the same time a discourse is always fluctuating and never completely closed (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 3). The last key point is the link between knowledge and power. The view that discourses are productive of what can be known and acted upon underscores this link (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 3). The purpose of discourses is to give the impression of "truth" by naturalizing meanings and identities by fixing particular representations (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p 3).

Discourses are based on interpretations and there are several key factors in play. One has to remember that discourses and attempts to fix meaning to anything are always temporary (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 125). For this thesis discourse will be defined as Dunn and Neumann presents it, namely as systems of meaning-production that fix meaning, though temporarily, and enable us to create sense of the world and to act within it (2016, p. 2-3).

3.3.3 Discourse Analysis

Then, what is a discourse analysis? It has been described by Taylor as "the close study of language in use" (in Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 4). A discourse analysis is an examination of how and why things emerge the way they do, and how specific actions become possible. Discourse analysis tend to interrogate the ways in which specific systems of meaning-production have been generated, internalized, and/or resisted and often attention is focused on continuity, change, or rupture within specific discourses (Dunn and Neumann, 2016, p. 4).

One part of the objective for this research is to examine and try to understand the policy document for PoC. For this purpose, a discourse analysis has been chosen. This allows me to examine and ask questions about the document, since this approach is applicable to forms of communication other than talk. This kind of approach is more flexible, and as Parker points out: the meaning and doing of written texts has been useful in drawing attention to the ways in which a seemingly smooth text can be taken apart, and to the different implications of different types of statement within it (2004, p. 308). This allows us to examine and acquire a deeper understanding of for example who is talking, which terms are being used, attempting to identify the kind of language being used, how different terms are defined and to get a closer look at how one defines "us" vs "them". It gives the possibility to discover a general direction of how the policy is written. This is an analytical strategy with a conjecture that language is an irreducible part of social life and connected with other components of social life which means that a social researcher always has to take account of language (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2).

The documents used in this analysis is one policy, namely the policy of The Protection of Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping. This document has only come out in two editions, even though UN peacekeeping operations have been mandated to protect civilians since 1999 (United Nations Department of Peace Operations/ UNDPO, 2019, p. 3). The first official policy document for PoC came out in 2015, while the revised edition came out in 2019. Before that, every peacekeeping mission with a PoC mandate has used previous experience to guide their PoC mandates (UNDPO, 2019, p. 3). For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen these two documents as they are the official PoC policy, and I believe that for the objectives

of this thesis, they are a valuable source to examine UNs point of view and how they might understand protection differently than civilians from South Sudan.

3.4 Informant Selection

For this project finding informants was a key part of the research. Before going to Kampala, I contacted different organizations which I thought would be able to help me identify informants with relevant information. I did not hear anything back from any of them, so I went into fieldwork without a plan on how to get in contact with possible informants. I had, before going to fieldwork, thought of this scenario and saw a possibility of using snowball sampling. After arriving in Kampala and still not hearing anything back from different organizations in the area I decided that for this project, snowball sampling at that point seemed feasible and to be the best alternative. One uses the snowball approach to widen the possibilities of informants for the researcher, this is done as the researcher will make contact with one small group of people who are relevant for the topic and will use the informants to make contact with others (Bryman, 2012, p. 202). This study has thus utilized a non-probability form of sampling to be able to sample participants that are relevant to the research as the main technique to find relevant informants for the interviews

To get in contact with South Sudanese civilians in Kampala turned out to be an easier task then what I first foresaw. After some conversations with locals I quickly learned that different people from different countries in the region who do seek refuge in Uganda, mostly keep to themselves. The South Sudanese are no different and it seems like they usually live in the same area of town. At that point I thought that it would be a challenge to get an into their community, but luckily an old friend helped me get in contact with a school run by and for South Sudanese young adults and adults. I was lucky to get the opportunity to spend some time at the school and gain access to the community. Through snowball sampling the teacher and students introduced myself to other possible informants and their network. Relying solely on these students could however cause my research to become somewhat one-sided, because this is a closely connected community and consists of individuals who see each other on a regular basis. The students are close in age as well and many of them come from the same areas in South Sudan. Therefore, I wanted to seek out possible informants from other communities as well to maybe acquire other views and other experiences from different

people and places. I came in contact with a soccer coach through my passion for sports who through soccer knew a full soccer team of South Sudanese players. These guys were not comfortable with being interviewed but gladly helped me get in touch with an organization called United South Sudanese Urban Refugees Community (USSURC). Here I was able to conduct some more interviews with older individuals.

The use of only one sampling method can be problematic and might hinder the identification of important factors than the ones discovered by the one group of informants, however through the possibility of going to more than one place to meet different people with different background I do believe the research have some diversity in the sample of informants. Additionally, one must be aware of the potential power of the gatekeepers and how they can influence the research by leading the researcher towards informants they believe will help the organization or their own motives (Bryman, 2012, p. 151). Without sounding too naïve I do believe the gatekeepers I met did not have any intensions with helping me reach the informants or guide either the questioning or whom I talked to.

3.4.1 Informants

The nine informants thus range in age from early twenties till early forties, and their home place range from the Upper Nile district, to the capital city Juba to the west part of the country. Eight out of nine informants fled to Kampala after the December 2013 civil war broke out and one right before in 2012. The aim of gathering information from a variety of informants was to gain a broader and more holistic understanding of the topic. These different perspectives were expected to provide a realistic and comprehensive impression of the perceptions of civilians on the topic of PoC. Additionally, a broader field of informants gives me a broader view of how perspectives differ between civilians and will potentially assist in the aim of looking at the PoC policy, its language and its understanding of civilian needs.

The majority of the civilian informants were happy to participate in the project. There were few who had issues with sharing their own experiences and perceptions. My Norwegian background did also help me in this context with people being very grateful for the help they have received through agencies such as the Norwegian Refugee Council and wanted to give something back, and the group of students saw great solidarity in helping a Masters student, something that was expressed multiple times from different informants.

A drawback from the informant sample is that the majority of the informants are male. In the sample there are seven men and only two women. Why it turned out that way, I have a hard time explaining when in both the communities I sought out informants, there were many women around that I had a chance to interact with. The female students were around as much as the male students and the classes were nearly divided 50/50. One explanation for this is that one way I gained trust and access with the possible informants was through soccer. We had lively discussions about the Premier League, players and which team will win the league this season. In these discussions there were no women other than myself, and I did find it harder to connect with the women at the school than the men, the women seemed more skeptical of me and my role as researcher in general. At USSURC the gatekeeper first introduced me to the women and the work they were doing to provide for themselves and for skill training. I had a chance to interact and use some time with them, but hardly any of them was interested in speaking with me. Here to, the men seemed more interested and willing to talk to me. One explanation to the uneven distribution can be that when the men assisted in meeting more informants utilizing the snowball sampling method, it could be natural for them to introduce me to other men in their class or neighborhood. This gender imbalance can certainly be a weakness for the project, yet many of the respondents on different occasions spoke on behalf of their families and shared narratives from other family members and friends – also female.

3.5   Data Analysis

3.5.1   Thematic Coding

After acquiring the data, the raw data material must be managed. One part of this is to transcribe the interviews, while being attentive to possible hearing mistakes that might affect the meaning of the informant's replies (Bryman, 2012, p. 56). The preparation of the data in transcription also enables the researcher to discover certain themes in the data and point out core themes that stands out. The process of coding is done by breaking the data down into component parts where those parts are then given labels (Bryman, 2012, p. 56). The format of semi-structured interviews is claimed by Mason to allow the researcher to develop unexpected themes (2002, p. 72). Therefore, this project will utilize a thematic coding of the transcribed interviews. The underlying assumption here is that with different individuals, from different

communities, there is bound to be differing views to be found. And thus, coding the transcriptions by themes seems like a good way to explore if there are any recurring themes and to see if there are different views to come across.

One of the problems with coding is the possible problem of losing the context of what is said. The process of picking parts of text out of the context where they originally appeared one can lose the social setting. Additionally, the narrative flow of what informants said can get lost. Thus, as a researcher one must be aware of the fact that one can fail to do justice to what one saw and heard through the interpretation, analysis and theorizing processes. One can risk contaminating the words and behavior of the informants (Bryman, 2012, p. 621).

For the second part of my data the policy document will be analyzed. For this project I have chosen what Fairclough describes as "textually oriented discourse analysis" (2003, p. 5). This approach uses a detailed analysis of texts, which seems to be a good fit for this project. Fairclough's point of view is that texts can be part of social events, and thus have causal effects. This means that texts can bring about changes. Texts can generate changes in our knowledge, our beliefs, values and attitudes and it can also cause longer-term causal effects, in terms of shaping people's identities. Texts also have the ability to start war, contribute to changes in education, or to changes in industrial relations (2003, p. 8). Thus, this approach will allow me to look at what the text is saying, how it is saying it and what kind of changes, if any, the text is contributing to. A discourse is more than just language according to Bryman it is constitutive of the social world that is a focus of interest (2012, p. 528).

One drawback from this approach is that as one looks at a part of a text and place it in a certain social event, some of the meaning can be lost. The viewpoint of the policy writers and the viewpoint of this researcher can be different and thus the analysis of the data can be different from what the initial meaning of the policy document maybe was.

3.6   Further Reflections: The Role of the Researcher

There is no secret that the researcher will cause an impact to the conduction of the research in one way or another. Any researcher will have to make certain choices for their project, and this is no different. I have been aware of my position as a researcher and how I have influenced the research, either by the way I have determined the direction of the research or

the choices I have taken. This is based on the belief that a researcher should seek to understand their role in the research process, because a researcher cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating (Mason, 2002, p. 7). It is with this regard this section highlights the role of the researcher when conducting fieldwork, both when it comes to ethical, practical and security considerations.

3.6.1 Safety in the Field

No matter where one goes to conduct research it is important to consider different sources of insecurity that can affect both the researcher and the informants involved. For this project, the risk assessment started early with a change of the research area because of the situation in South Sudan. After coming to a conclusion that going to Kampala seemed like a good choice, another risk assessment began. I was fairly confident about going to Kampala due to my prior knowledge of the place and did few safety preparations before actually going. The main concern was how my access to move around alone would be. Travelling to Uganda is generally considered safe, but one is generally asked to be cautious when one is out after dark. When traveling around in Kampala the main concern was the traffic since it is heavy traffic and hard to move around without using BodaBoda (motorcycle taxi). Since I was a lone researcher without many contacts in the country, I chose not to leave Kampala. There are refugee sites in the northern part of Uganda on the border to South Sudan that I had an idea of visiting, but without any contacts with either the UN or non-governmental organizations (NGO's) working in those areas that turned out to be both difficult to achieve and unsafe. I was aware of that the fact that parts of my initial plans could change. Hence it was important for me to start with a broad and flexible research design. Prior to the fieldwork and during the fieldwork I was prepared to do alterations if necessary. This proved to be a smart move when no organization did reply, and I was on my own for the most part. The flexible research design allowed me to make changes when necessary and move around in a safe matter. This could have influenced the type of data collected, but I chose to listen to locals with far more experience with the country.

Another reason for staying in Kampala was in respect of the possible informants. In conversations with friends and locals the general thought was that the refugees that has made it to Kampala are more settled and in less danger of speaking against the regimes in their

home country. This made the choice of finding possible informants in Kampala the better choice and in line with the principle of harm to participants. As a researcher one should anticipate consequences for research participants that can be seen as harmful, and also consider the possibility that the informant experience may be disturbing (Bryman, 2012, p. 136).

This knowledge of safety for both myself and the informants and the flexible research design made the data collection safer and more feasible to conduct.

3.6.2   Outsider

While doing research in a community in a different part of the world, it is logical to assume that the researcher will be seen as an outsider, which again can impact both the research and the people who are involved. This situation can affect the behavior of the informants, as well as their willingness to assist the researcher. If this is not sufficiently recognized it can lead to misinterpretations which again can lead to misperceptions of the data.

Therefore, have I recognized my role as a complete outsider, because as pointed out by Eaves and Kahn that even though the researcher may be accepted by insiders, the researcher remains an outsider. The ethnic background, race, social class and gender of the researcher are all factors that contribute to the identification of the researcher as an outsider (2000, p 39). As I am a female student from Norway there were few similarities between the researched and me as a researcher. At some occasions age, gender or our occupation as students were identifiers that could make me somewhat of an insider. As such these factors were not of crucial significance for the research topic and could only have limited impacts on the findings. But as already discussed, gender did possibly influence the access of informants. A factor yet to be mentioned is age. Age could have had the similar effect, especially regarding the level of understanding across generations and concerning trust building. The age gap between some informants and myself did not seem to cause any particular effect, as the conversations and interviews conducted were used to gain some personal information about the informants, their situations and believes and thus also created a way for me to be able to interpret their answers more in line with their own perceptions.

With the informants and others I talked with during the fieldwork their perception of me was often one as a wealthy foreigner, for some this perception led them to believe I could help them come to Norway as a refugee. This did not become clear before after I was back in Norway and phone calls and messages with questions started coming in. It is not clear to me if these informants were willing to be a part of the project because of this one factor. In general, I was welcomed in by friendly people because as noted earlier my Norwegian roots and the gratitude South Sudanese feel for Norway. This became an advantage as it helped open doors for conversations, informants and general good will from the people I met with.

As an outsider I attempted to be as polite as possible and gain an understanding of cultural appropriateness. To attempt to reduce the obvious status as an outsider I tried to acquire knowledge of local cultural norms, behavior patterns and the social situation for the South Sudanese in Kampala. I was observing the context and was seeking advice on appropriate behavior, especially in form of dress code and patterns of greetings. As the cultural and ethnic diversity of South Sudan is very large, this is a difficult task to indulge and made it difficult to understand when to or not to follow different cultural norms. The main rule I adopted was to be polite and to pay attention to body language and context.

3.6.3 Power Dynamics between Researcher and the Researched

The relationship between interviewer and interviewee can be a form of hierarchical power (Bryman, 2012, p. 491). In this situation it can be interpreted that the interviewer is claiming a right to ask questions and thus placing the interviewee in a position of inferiority (Bryman, 2012, p. 491). At the same time the interviewees have power in what information they give out and their own expectations (Mitchell, 2013, p.1257). Such power relations can be unequal and must be taken into consideration throughout the process. Within this project there are some power dynamics which possibly could influence the results of this research. Here these will be assessed.

When this project has not used any informants with special positions of power within their societies the main issue of power dynamics for this project would be between me as the interviewer and interviewees. Here the researcher has a responsibility to be observant about their own position as it is frequently assumed that the interviewer is setting the agenda and in control of the data (Mason, 2002, p. 80). Thus, with loosely constructed interviews the

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thought was that participants could be involved in the process, both practically and content wise. This was important for me because of the impact it can cause on the research. I believe that if the environment around the interview feels more comfortable it will help the informants talk about topics that might be harder to talk about. If the informants were not comfortable answering questions we swiftly moved on to another topic.

None of the informants requested something in return for their participation, but as noted earlier, some informants wanted help or help on how to get information about the process of coming to Norway later on. These requests were answered to in a polite matter.

3.6.4 Remarks from the Researcher

I have been aware of my position as an outsider, and the way I have influenced the research. At the best of my ability I have tried to possess as much knowledge as possible to do justice for the interviewees and our conversations. On that note, I would like to acknowledge some shortcomings of my own before I started this process of interviewing and analyzing them. The process of making an interview guide for the semi-structured interviews seemed an easy task at the time when I was in the middle of a process of obtaining as much information as possible on topics such as PoC, the UN, UNMISS, its critique and several attacks on the civilian population. On paper UN's duty to protect seemed fairly simple and it infuriated me that thousands upon thousands of civilians were tortured, sexually exploited, kidnapped and killed while the UN and the international community "did nothing". I had read through numerous UN reports, Security Council resolutions and policies to understand their approach and ended up with a very technical viewpoint of their activities and policies. This shows in the interview guide and in the first interviews I conducted where the questions were too technical and detailed after UN reports and resolutions. I did not change the questions per se but tailored them and did some changes to the phrasing of the questions when I understood that the interviewee did not understand the question. I acknowledge that the technicality of some of the questions may have confused the interviewees and stopped a good flow in our conversations. However, after I understood this flaw and changed the phrasing the interviewee and I had fewer problems in our conversations.

3.6.5 Limitations

First of all, this is a Master thesis and can only contain so much. It is with this regard that I will here shortly go through different limitations for this project.

The first obvious limitation is my ability to go to South Sudan. This limitation was maybe not as critical as I first thought, when I believe that informants that live in Kampala may have felt freer to be honest about their perceptions of the UN and the work they have been doing. Being in South Sudan could be a restrain on possible informants and their willingness of speaking of an ongoing peacekeeping mission in their own country. This limitation might also affect the research as the perceptions and opinions I did get insight into may not be the same as if the research took place in South Sudan.

Additionally, I have limited space in the thesis, and I have limited time to do my research, which will not enable me to get answers that is generalizable. I only had a month conducting fieldwork and getting to know the different communities, which can be seen as too little time. With more time on my hands I could maybe get to know my informants better and get more heartfelt information from them, even though I feel confident about their genuineness. With more time and space, I could also have conducted a more thorough document analysis with more documents about PoC and the nature of the mandate, but for this I feel confident that the two official policy documents are sufficient to get a picture of the main ideas of the mandate.

The thesis will not be generalizable for the entire civilian population of South Sudan. Even though that is not the aim of this thesis, with more time and space I could have conducted if not many more interviews at least some more and have longer conversations with each of them.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological choices that has shaped this project. It has presented the qualitative approach and the different approaches of methods used for data collection, namely semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis. Additionally, it has presented the methods used to gain access to the study area and the informants. Further, it presented the methods for analyzing the data before reflecting on the role of the researcher, the potential impact on informants and safety precautions.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

I thought we were supposed to be safe (Interviewee #3, 2019)

In this chapter I will first explain why one needs theory, then give a short introduction to human security, before going through the different concepts that are important for this thesis. Lastly, I will present and argue why I have chosen to use human security theory.

I have chosen human security for my project since it focuses on the individual more than the state, and thus offer a broader way of looking at security. This creates a link between theory, the methodological approaches and methods as shown in chapter 3 as it is focused on the social world and the meaning produced in different aspects of the social world. As Flick *et al* describes, one needs theory as a part of a qualitative study because methods and methodologies are based on theoretical considerations and should thus serve in the formulations of theories (Flick, *et al*. 2004, p. 65).). It continues: "The specific descriptions of life-worlds should contribute to a better understanding of specific cultural phenomena and forms of action, to assist in the recognition of structures and patterns of their social reproduction and their particular rationale" (Flick, *et al*. 2004, p. 65). In sum, the theory used for this project aims at a better understanding of protection of civilians.

4.1   Concepts

The conceptual framework for a study is, according to Maxwell, "the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories that supports and informs your research" (2012, p. 39). This framework is used to explain the main things to be studied; the key factors and concepts and the presumed relationship among them. Maxwell sees this in a broader sense, and he refers to the actual ideas and beliefs that the researcher holds about the phenomena being studied (Maxwell, 2012, p 39).

There are other scholars who believes that using definitive concepts in social research becomes a straitjacket on the social world, because the concepts comes to be seen solely in terms of the indicators that have been developed for it (Bryman, 2012, p. 388). I choose to understand and utilize a conceptual framework for the thesis to provide focus and structure to

the project. It can offer clarity to the concepts that are being examined in the project and it reflects the theoretical assumptions and concepts adopted in the study. It also reflects upon the expected relationship between the concepts that will be explained.

The conceptual framework is primarily a conception of what is out there in the field the researcher plans to study, what is going on with these factors and why (Maxwell, 2012, p. 39). Thus, the different concepts I will go through in this section are civilian, protection of civilians and security.

4.1.1 Protection of Civilians (PoC)

PoC have become a big part of UN peacekeeping missions and is influenced by mass atrocities in the 1990's. The first mission with an explicit PoC mandate was in Sierra Leone in 1999 (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support/ UNDPO/DFS, 2017, p. 12). After that, the attention for PoC mandates grew bigger, and from 2017 all the largest UN led peacekeeping missions have had a PoC mandate (UNDPO/DFS, 2017, p. 14). The framing of the mandate was guided by a set of legal and practical principles and rooted in both the UN Charter and by international law. Today it is still a priority mandate by the UN, which means that "PoC must be prioritized in decisions regarding the allocations and use of available capabilities and resources" (UNDPO, 2019, p. 7).

PoC is complicated. Because it is used in different contexts, it also has different terms e.g. PoC policy, PoC mandate, PoC action. To best explain PoC one can say that as a concept the PoC policy is a framework for what is to be done for the mandate to succeed. A mandate in UN language refers to the "decision that gives a body authority to carry out its functions" (Dag Hammarskjold Library, 2019). Peacekeeping missions have several mandates in one mission, as mandates are the activities a mission is expected to carry out. The different mandates given to peacekeeping operations comes in the format of resolutions formed by the UNSC (Dag Hammarskjold Library, 2019). A PoC action can be explained as a plan on how to implement the PoC policy on the ground and the actions peacekeeping operations take to achieve their mandated tasks to protect civilians.

It can be viewed as a recipe where the mandate would be the order of a cake from the UN. The PoC policy would be all the ingredients needed to make this cake, PoC action would be the step by step for how to make the cake. Thus, PoC is a concept on how to best implement PoC mandates in UN peacekeeping operations.

The PoC policy is, as mentioned in the Methodology chapter, based on prior experiences within the peacekeeping operations of the UN. For this thesis, PoC will be understood as defined in the policy document from 2019, where peacekeeping operations with PoC mandates are required to protect civilians under threat of physical violence. This can also be understood as under imminent threat of physical violence for specific missions (UNDPO, 2019, p 5). To ensure an operational definition that take these characteristics into account, the PoC mandate in UN peacekeeping is defined as:

> "without prejudice to the primary responsibility of the host state, integrated and coordinated activities by all civilian and uniformed mission components to prevent, deter or respond to threats of physical violence against civilians within the mission's capabilities and areas of deployment through the use of all necessary means, up to and including deadly force" (UNDPO, 2019, p. 6).

One part of the PoC policy is what the UN calls the three tiers of PoC Action, which uses different instruments that fall under three distinct tiers. The tiers are mutually accommodating and reinforcing and are implemented simultaneously, in accordance with specific mission mandates and in light of the circumstances on the ground (DPO, 2019, p. 9). Action under all three tiers will emphasize prevention and pre-emption, and also the primacy of the host state's responsibility to protect civilians (DPO, 2019, p. 9).

The three tiers are as follows:

Tier I: Protection through dialogue and engagement:
"Tier I include active, structured and regular dialogue with perpetrators or potential perpetrators of violence against civilians; conflict resolution and mediation between parties to the conflict; advocating with the host government, its security institutions and other relevant actors to intervene to protect civilians…" (DPO, 2019, p. 10).

Tier II: Provision of physical protection:

> "Tier II encompasses activities by all mission components to physically protect civilians, whether through protective presence, interpositioning, the threat of use of force, or facilitating safe passage or

refuge. Notably, Tier II includes activities by uniformed components involving the show or use of force to prevent, deter, pre-empt and respond to threats to civilians … "(DPO, 2019, p. 12)

Tier III: Establishment of a protective environment:

> "Tier III activities are frequently programmatic in nature and designed committed resources for peacebuilding and conflict prevention/resolution objectives… Tier III activities help create a protective environment for civilians, prevent the (re-)emergence of threats of physical violence, support the legitimacy of the host state and its capacities to protect civilians …" (DPO, 2019, p. 16).

This is how PoC also will be understood in this thesis, as the thesis aims to look at how the UN's perspectives might be different from the civilian perspective. I see it as fruitful to follow the UN's understanding of the concept as it is the UN who is implementing these concepts in their peacekeeping operations around the world. By comparing the UN PoC policy with interviews with civilians there is a possibility that one can find a gap or different viewpoints between the UN's understanding and civilians on the ground.

4.1.2 Civilian

To keep it simple and include as many individuals as possible, the definition of civilians will be broad and use the UN's own definition. This is done to be in line with how the UN has determined the scope of the PoC mandate in UN peacekeeping in all contexts where:

> "everyone is to be considered a civilian, except if persons can be recognized in one of these three categories: members of the armed forces, members of an organized armed group with continuous combat function; and civilians directly participating in hostilities, for such time as they do so. In case of doubt, whether a person is a civilian, that person shall be considered a civilian" (UNDPO, 2019, p. 6).

Thus, any one person is a civilian until they are recognized to belong to any one of the three categories mentioned.

4.1.3 Security

As the UN and their peacekeeping operations around the world have this focus on human security, how one defines security needs to be discussed. One of the two most common concepts used in world politics is security, and there is a broad field of definitions of the concept. It is difficult to find a definition that covers the different aspects of what seems to be important when talking about security. The concept is referred to in form of national security,

human security, state security and so on. An important question to ask when talking about security is whose security? Williams states that without a referent object there can be no threats and no discussion of security. The concept becomes meaningless, as there can be no threats or any discussion on security without something to secure (Williams, 2008, p. 7). There are many definitions that focus on state security or freedom from war, for example by Ian Bellamy, Walter Lippman, Giacomo Luciani or Richard Ullman (in Collins, 2016, p. 3). For the aim of this thesis I search for an explanation or definition of security that contains a section with security for the people and the broader sense of how security can be more than freedom from war.

One very broad definition is from Makinda which states that "security is the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions and values of society". His definition includes the conservation of the society of states and the structures, principles and institutions which are associated with it (1998, p. 282). This definition can be understood to include both state security and security for the individuals depending on the readers viewpoint and interpretations. A second definition of security is from Wolfer that I would say is close to our newly found perspective of human security: "Security, in any objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (1962, in Collins, 2016, p. 3). Again, a broad definition, but as this thesis aims to understand perspectives of civilians, a definition is required that can include the security for individuals.

For this thesis security will be understood as preservation of the norms, rules, institutions and values of society and absence of fear that acquired values will be attacked. Security will also be further discussed in the next section where the theory used for the thesis will be presented.

4.2   Theoretical framework

4.2.1   Human Security

As the world saw more of so-called new threats, as terrorism, counter-insurgency and civil war, in the 1990's and early 2000's, a new theoretical paradigm emerged, to which the UN had a major role in developing. The concept came to life through the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report, marking a milestone in the field of security studies and security policy (Gjørv, 2018, p. 222). After 1994, the UN

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has given out different reports on the matter, with The Commission on Human Security (termed The Commission from now on) giving out their Human Security Now Report from 2003, the Human Security Unit (HSU) report from 2014-2017 and the UN Human Security Handbook from 2016, to name some.

This theory is based on a belief that we are moving away from a state centered security paradigm to a belief that the individual should be placed at the core of international security (Penny, 2018, p. 1). Human security made clear the opportunity of thinking about security outside the limitations of the state both in academia and in policy. It offers a framework for debate about humanitarian intervention (Gjørv, 2018, p. 222). By emphasizing the human aspect of security ordinary people's fears, needs and priorities were highlighted, showing that the security and interests of ordinary people not necessarily are the same as the security and interests of states (Gjørv, 2018, p. 222). For this thesis, the theory of human security will be used to understand the UN policy on PoC since human security is said to have emphasis on protection strategies (Human Security Unit, 2014, p. 11).

The theory will help recognize several aspects of how the concept of human security is utilized on paper for policies and how PoC is implemented on the ground. It will also be utilized to see if there is any coherence between the UN's viewpoint of what is important for human security and what civilians think is important for them to feel and be secure

Despite the growing interest, human security is a contested theory with no consensus of what it really means or what focus it ought to constitute (Hampson, 2008, p. 230). There are many different scholars with different viewpoints. Even within the UN system there are different beliefs on how to understand the term. With different scholars there are different definitions or ways of explaining human security, depending on how it should be achieved or what it should constitute. According to Owen one can classify the academic debate in two categories – one broad and one narrow conceptualization (Owen, 2004, p. 375). Scholars for the narrower focus (Krause, Mack, MacFarlane) point to conceptual clarity, pragmatism and analytical rigor as reasons to focus human security on violent threats (Owen, 2004, p. 375). Here it is argued that a broader conceptualization will make a list of "bad things that can happen", and the broader approach will contain so much that it renders causal analysis almost impossible (Owen, 2004, p. 375). For the broader conceptualization there are scholars such as

Leaning, Alkire, Thakuar, Hampson and Winslow & Eriksen (Owen, 2004, p. 375). They suggest that human security implies more than safety from violent threats and argue that the wider range of issues, such as poverty and disease, will fall under the human security term. These scholars argue that with broadening the security paradigm beyond threats to the state, the subsequent analytical and normative difficulties constitute an unavoidable consequence (Owen, 2004, p. 375).

The concept of human security has not been left uncriticized, with scholars stating that it has become a concept containing everything and nothing (Gjørv, 2018, p. 222). Owen describes it as a concept without a clear theoretical grounding, little political precedent, no consensus-commanding definition and a highly uncertain future (Owen, 2004, p. 374). Human security, as a conceptual framework, have been criticized by some for both its inadequacy to provide a resource for understanding global security politics and the processes through which political communities give meaning to security (Gjørv, 2018, p. 222). Scholars like Krause, Buzan, MacFarlane and Mack points to the fact that labelling all potential harms to individuals as security threats will make it impossible to prioritize political action. As these scholars imply, security is the label given to the highest priority issues. And making everything a security threat will in effect prioritize nothing (Owen, 2004, p. 378-379). Human security has been accused of failing to alter the security considerations and practices of states, who are seemed to be key actors, and also of being co-opted to serve as a tool of neo-liberal power-brokers that preserve Western-dominated interests, predominantly through the use of military interventions (Gjørv, 2018, p. 222).

In the UN, the conception of human security is described as a complement to state security (Human Security Now, 2003, p. 2). The Commission and HSU explains that human security seeks to protect people against a broad range of threats and empowering them to act on their own behalf and that human security is a crucial and comprehensive framework for addressing widespread and crosscutting threats (2003, p. 2, 2014, p.6).

In the UN system their conception is of the broader conceptualization with two main approaches. One from The UN Development Programme and one from The Commission. Both apply the concepts of "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear", which according to The Commission "are interrelated building blocks of human, and therefore national,

security" (2003, p. 4). From there, the two units differs slightly. The UNDP 1994 Human Development Report announced that "human security is not a concern with weapons – it is a concern with human life and dignity" (1994, p. 22). It continues with defining human security as: "safety from the constant threats of hunger, disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions to the patterns of our daily lives – whether in the home, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment" (1994, p. 3). The Report makes seven categories of human security: personal, economic, food, health, political, environmental and community (UNDP, 1994, p. 24-25). The Commission on the other hand offers a more thorough definition of human security, and justifies a shift in security thinking in the 21st century, on the grounds that many states fail to accomplish their security responsibilities and some states endanger the security of their own citizens themselves (Nuruzzaman, 2006, p. 291). The Commission defines human security as protection of "the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment" (Nuruzzaman, 2006, p. 291). It continues defining human security as:

> "protecting fundamental freedoms — freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity." (2003, p 4.)

The Commission abstains from making categories, and thus leaving the interpretation of the matter of what human security is for different societies and different people, as what is vital and what people considers to be of essence of life will vary across individuals and societies. This is also why the concept of human security has to be dynamic (The Commission on Human Security, 2003, p. 4).

4.3   Summary

Human security is a chaotic world of definitions and explanations on what it should conceptualize. The major strands one can take from the different approaches is that it is a people centered approach, where freedom from fear and freedom from want is discussed and on how much human security can entail before it renders itself a useless term. And where the critique ranges from theoretical and conceptual disputes to how it is a concept containing

everything and nothing and also being an approach to perpetuate Western dominating interests.

For this thesis, human security will be used in a broader way, and look more towards The Commissions non-categorical approach where it is dynamic concerned with human life and dignity and protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are essence of life and leaving the matter of interpretation to the individuals of different societies. This approach corresponds with the thesis's wish of interpreting individual thoughts and perceptions on the matter of protection of civilians and what is important to them when being protected.

Chapter 5: Literature Review

> It is not because we admire to live here, it is because something is
> forcing us to be there (Interviewee #2, 2019)

This chapter will present existing literature in the field of UN peacekeeping operations and PoC. It consists of two main categories to represent the literature in the field. The two different categories are academic writings and reports from various organizations. The chapter will examine critique aimed at the UN, different challenges in implementation of peacekeeping missions and other observations made in the process.

UN peacekeeping operations have a long history within the UN with the origin of the PoC mandate reaching back almost to the beginning of UN peacekeeping (Willmot and Sheerer, 2013, p. 520). Thus, there are a vast number of papers, reports and documents on this field, but seeing that this is only a Master's thesis I will only have so much time conducting a full on review. Hence, the goal of this literature review is to cover the main critique of UN peacekeeping operations, UNMISS and their mandate to protect. I will go through the two categories one by one, starting with academic writings, then examine different reports.

5.1   Academic Writing

In academia and the world in general there exists a consensus that the UN has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security in the world (Alex J. Bellamy & Paul Williams, 2007, p. 194). At the same time there seems to be a consensus in academic writings about UN's failures as well. In academic writing the main topics discussed in the literature is critique of the UN in various forms. The UN is being questioned for some of its choices while the literature also points to difficult situations on the ground. UNMISS is amongst the most challenging present-day peacekeeping missions of the UN and it plays a critical but complicated role in South Sudan. However, despite the substantial activities of UNMISS and the enormous resources provided to support it, there exists only a minimal body of literature which examines the institutions and its practices (Murphy, 2017, p 367, Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 95-96). Existing literature on UNMISS and the PoC mandate seems to focus on four major themes; discussions about the outbreak of civil war in December 2013,

various critique of the UN, the lack of consensus in the UN system and the gap between the mandate and the implementation of civilian protection on the ground.

Scholars such as Murphy (2017), Ylonen (2014), Malan and Hunt (2014) and Zambakari *et al* (2018) are raising awareness on the December 2013 conflict and how it ignited a civil war. As this is a very challenging peacekeeping mission these scholars have in detail observed and examined both the structures at work and the ongoing mission in South Sudan. Zambakari *et al* points out that UNMISS plays a critical role in South Sudan and that the mission has faced both critique and praise for its solutions when conflict broke out and its ability to protect civilians (2018, p 95-96).

Others have focused on the UN Security Council and the lack of coherence in the institution. Hultman suggests that since protecting civilians from violence in war-affected situations is seen as an international norm, the UN Security Council has an interest in publicly acting in line with this norm. She suggests that because the norm to protect is so strong the legitimacy of the Security Council depend on its ability to take action when international or human security is threatened (2013, p. 60). Nadin *et al* continues this with stating that the credibility of the enterprise is prefaced on the notion that missions seek to actively protect civilians. There is an expectation from both the international community and the local communities that peacekeepers, if present in conflict situations, will protect civilians (2014, p. 104).

Several scholars point to the fact that there is no one definition being used, or one strategy the institutions agree on using and at the same time there is an ongoing debate about what peace operations should be for, because there is no stable consensus in the Security Council on what the UN should be doing (Bellamy, Williams, 2007, p 5). Nadin *et al* backs this up with stating that there is no unified definition of what protection of civilians entails within the UN system, which makes it difficult for peacekeepers to know who they are meant to protect and what kind of protection they need to provide (2014, p. 114-115). Johnson points to an independent report on the protection of civilians in the context of UN peacekeeping operations where it is stated that missions largely lacked a clear definition of PoC and suffered from poor planning and implementation of protection mandates (2015, p. 1).

This is thus coherent with scholars who point out the gap between the mandate and the implementation. In the case of UNMISS, this is pointed out several times by different

scholars over time. As mentioned earlier, UNMISS's mandate was changed in 2014, after the December 2013 outbreak of civil war. With the 2014 resolution Malan and Hunt says it placed "a high level of expectation on the mission's capacity to deliver on its very broad civilian protection mandate" (2014, p. 18). This recurrent theme has given examples from the field several times, and as Karlsrud writes in his book The UN at War:

> there is a fundamental mismatch between the tasks given to UN peacekeeping operations, and what they are able to do on the ground. It is clear that UN peacekeeping operations are struggling with increasing gaps between its foundational principles and the mandates given by the UNSC (Karlsrud, 2018, p. 2)

Nadin *et al* and Malan and Hunt all point to different times when the gap between the mandate and implementation has occurred. Nadin *et al* writes that recent reports have noted that UNMISS have felt stretched, weak and outnumbered which makes the use of force "only a paper option" (2014, p. 113). And it is said that "UNMISS had difficulties translating its PoC mandate into a viable concept of operations" (Malan and Hunt, 2014, p. 3). Johnson points to the same difficulties when she states that the results on the ground are at best mixed. According to Johnson the gap between what is asked for and what peace operations deliver has widened, especially in the more difficult environments (2019, p. 136).

Lastly, I want to turn the focus to the different criticism made by scholars on the topic of UNMISS, the protection mandate and various challenges UNMISS has dealt with. A big challenge for the mission when the conflict of December 2013 erupted was the thousands of civilians in sudden need for physical protection. The mission was not ready for such a number of civilians to come their way, which can be seen by the way UNMISS solved the problem. It has been reported that some contingents proved reluctant to leave their posts to protect civilians in danger (Murphy, 2017, p 373). Due to the surprise of the conflict UNMISS was not prepared and became overwhelmed by the number of civilians seeking shelter and UNMISS was incapable to stop violence against civilians outside of their provisional PoC camps due to their lacking capacity to deal with a crisis of this sort (Murphy, 2017, p. 373).

As mentioned earlier UNMISS felt weak and stretched due to the vast area of land that is South Sudan which made it difficult for displaced persons throughout the country to reach the UN so the need for security outside the main protection sites continued to be critical (Murphy, 2017, p. 376). UNMISS failed repeatedly to protect local communities and to bring stability

to the country's hard to reach areas largely due to its lack of capability to respond to violent outbreaks and fighting over difficult terrain (Ylonen, 2014, p 103). Another issue has been the reluctance of some Troop Contributing Countries (TCC), where several of them has emphasized using politics over the use of force. Political robustness was, by TCC's, seen as a better option for protecting people than buying tanks for peacekeepers. The use of force was justified only for the self-defense of peacekeepers themselves (Nadin *et al*, 2014, p- 108-109). In Malakal in 2016 conflicted erupted, where 40 people were killed and many more wounded. According to a Board of Inquiry that was set up to look into the incident found that peacekeepers from Ethiopia abandoned their posts during the attack, and that "Rwandan peacekeepers asked for permission in writing to fire their weapons as the base was under attack, even though peacekeepers are obligated to use force to protect civilians" (Karlsrud, 2018, p. 140). The Board of Inquiry came to a conclusion that there were "unrealistic expectations as to the level of protection that UNMISS could feasibly provide…" in Malakal at that time (Karlsrud, 2018, p. 140).

Another challenge for the mission has been that the Government of South Sudan is one of the perpetrators of violence against civilians (Murphy, 2017, p. 367). In Malakal in 2016 a conflict erupted, where it later was proved that government soldiers were involved. This creates some dilemmas for UNMISS because there exists minimal guidance on how to address these tensions with government forces and there are no tools for accountability and reinforcement that UNMISS possesses when the SOFA agreement is violated by the Government of South Sudan (Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 105). Both the mission's mandate and the SOFA are created on terms that are negotiated with the Government of South Sudan, who is repeatedly partaking in the conflict that break out and seeks to benefit politically from decreasing UN involvement and presence in South Sudan (Zambakari *et al*, 2018, p. 105).

5.2 Reports

I will now use some time to go through different reports on UNMISS. As the mission is still running its course, there have been many non-governmental organizations in the field of peace, security and civilians who have done their own research on the mission and the civilian population. Organizations like Center for Civilians in Conflict (CIVIC), PAX and Small Arms Survey are some of them. These organizations have documented several of the conflicts

in South Sudan, with statistics on e.g. security and violence while CIVIC have done several studies on recent violence in different bigger cities in the country. The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), the Stimson Center and the Australian Strategic Policy Institute are among research centers with reports on UNMISS and the PoC mandate. I have chosen to add these reports to the literature review because it highlights the issues on the ground in a different way then noting that it exists a gap between the mandate and the implementation.

As with academic writing it seems like different organizations and centers agree about struggles concerning the UN. Sharland and Gorur states that as the South Sudanese government is unable to fulfill their responsibility to protect civilians, this responsibility falls to UNMISS, which has faced difficulty and struggles to project the force needed to protect civilians beyond the PoC sites (2015, p. 9). Willmot and Sheeran continues this with pointing to the lack of clarity on key aspects of the PoC mandate, which raises several challenges for consistently advancing the PoC agenda and practically realizing civilian protection objectives (2013, p. 535). Some of the challenges come from misunderstandings of the mandate, the role of various actors and others from the deep-rooted difficulty in reconciling some of the protection activities (Willmot and Sheeran, 2013, p. 535).

The challenges of resources and mobility is recurring in the literature. Mission resources such as budgets, personnel and assets, rarely match the range of responsibilities a peacekeeping mission is mandated to perform or the number of protection threats spread across the country where it is deployed (CIVIC, 2019, p. 2). The different obstacles to mobility in South Sudan are diverse, it is not only because of the vast areas and rainy seasons that creates bad conditions on the few existing paved roads and render the dirt roads impassable for many months at a time (CIVIC, 2019, p. 2). It is also due to policies and procedures in the institutions, where some policies make it troublesome and costly to deploy or relocate staff temporarily and the unwillingness to cooperate by the South Sudan government to mention some (CIVIC, 2019, p. 2). Sharland and Gorur states that the issue of access restrictions continues to be one of the most substantial challenges hindering protection efforts in South Sudan (2015, p. 11).

Another challenge for the mission was their preparedness to protect civilians, as the December 2013 conflict showed. And despite different changes, both the mandate change of

2014 and additional personnel, civilians have continued to be attacked, subjected to atrocities and abuses across the country at the hands of both government and opposition forces (Sharland and Gorur, 2015, p. 11). It has been reported that many of the attacks have been ethnically targeted and intended to drive civilians from specific territory and the lack of a mission presence have been seized by armed groups to undertake attacks in different areas (Sharland and Gorur, 2015, p. 11). For civilians, the security situation is changing almost daily, and they can leave the PoC sites and return home, but for many civilians their perception of PoC is that UNMISS only is mandated to protect in the PoC sites. The mission has responsibility of maintain safety and security of and within the PoC sites and civilians interviewed by CIVIC had a positive view of the UN mission, however there exist almost an universally misunderstanding of the PoC mandate, where civilians believe that the PoC mandate include protection responsibilities outside of the PoC sites as well (2016a, p. 45). Implementation seem to be part of the core issue and even though the UN Security Council has explicitly made PoC the first priority of UNMISS and other peace operations, experience has shown that this is difficult to operationalize (Sharland and Gorur 2016, p. 8).

The work CIVIC have done on reporting on violence has been from bigger PoC sites in South Sudan, where in Malakal it is a unique situation because it housed a large number of IDP's from three different ethnic groups: the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk (CIVIC, 2016b, p. 4). The violent outbreak in and around the Malakal PoC site happened in February of 2016, where soldiers burnt down the camp deliberately and systematically (CIVIC, 2016b, p. 6). It is reported that UNMISS had major problems in protecting civilians, little transparency regarding what went wrong and little accountability for the units and individuals who failed to perform (CIVIC, 2016c, p. 82). In July of 2016 there was violence in Juba, where CIVIC reported on the shortcomings of UNMISS's response. Here they state that the response of UNMISS in Juba mirrors the problems with its performance in previous attacks, including Malakal. One of the major issues again was lack of transparency, accountability and implementation of lessons learned helped contribute to repeated failures (CIVIC, 2016c, p. 82).

While examining the critique of the mission it is easy to overlook the positive sides of the job UNMISS has been doing. There is no doubt that with opening their gates, UNMISS saved thousands of lives, UNMISS is unique in terms of how they have dealt with protection of

civilians under immediate threat of violence (Stamnes, 2015, p. 1). Civilians in different places in the country are happy with some of what the mission have done for them, which is evident from one of CIVICs reports where they have interviewed civilians (CIVIC, 2016a, p. 18-19). PAX has also done some research on civilians and their perceptions on their own security and can report that in some areas of the country, more than half of their respondents claim that their personal security situation has gotten better from the year before due to less violence and crime in their areas (PAX, 2018, p. 3-4).

5.3   Summary

Despite a minimal amount of literature on the topic it seems to be a wide consensus both in the academic world and with different organizations on the different issues regarding UNMISS and the PoC mandate. It can be said that UNMISS has some major difficulties in protecting the civilian population and that some of the challenges they face lies with the institution while other lies with the mission itself. There is an international norm to protect civilians from violence in conflict situations and the legitimacy of the UN lies with its capabilities to protect. With this norm one can argue that the UN is exaggerating their mandates for peacekeeping missions so it on paper looks better and the UN is doing what is expected of them. I believe that the main issue is the lack of consensus on a definition of what PoC should contain and the challenges on how to implement the mandate. A second major challenge for the mission is the Government of South Sudan who seems to be partaking in the violence to politically benefit from minimizing UN presence in South Sudan. These challenges of UNMISS shine through when the civilian population have misunderstood the mandate of UNMISS and how far its mandate actually does reach. However, it is easy to forget the positive sides of UNMISS when examining the different challenges of the mission, for many civilians the mission has been their savior, due to UNMISS's presence in some of the areas in the country.

Lastly, I want to mention the fact that a majority of the reports from different organizations focus on the ability to protect inside the PoC sites, which is only a small part of a wide mandate to protect. There seems to be a trend in the literature to focus on the PoC sites instead of the whole mandate, which in the end leaves out a part of the population and other narratives about the situation in South Sudan. A second observation is the lack of literature on

civilian's perspective. As one of the major problems of the missions seems to be the implementation of PoC, how come there is little literature on the receiving end of the protection mandate? This is where I want to contribute with my research to examine the perceptions and expectations of the civilians on the matter of protection.

We don't have any protection resources. In South Sudan
people are going to be killed (Interviewee #8, 2019)

This thesis attempts to explore the different perceptions of the Protection of Civilians (PoC) policy through the examination of the two UN PoC Policy documents and qualitative interviews with South Sudanese civilians. This chapter seeks to bring together the theoretical framework of human security, the discourse analysis of the PoC policy and the empirical data collected during fieldwork in order to address the research questions. The discoveries will be presented and analyzed in two main parts.

The first section presents the data from the PoC policy, which as mentioned comes in two separate documents, the first from 2015 and the revised version from 2019. This section will present the findings and their connection to human security will be discussed as I go through the categories. Lastly there will be a conclusion for the data presentation and analysis made of the policy documents. Section two will present the data from the interviews with South Sudanese civilians. The third section will discuss these two data clusters in accordance with the theory of human security and examine the research questions for the thesis.

Before moving on, I would like to remind the reader of the main points of human security. As discussed in the theoretical framework, this thesis will understand human security in a broader sense and use the non-categorical approach of The Commission to explain what is important for human security. This means that human security implies more than safety from violent threats and encompasses a wider range of issues such as poverty, disease and food insecurity. If we look at The Commission's definition it entails protecting people from critical threats and situations and creating the building blocks for survival, livelihood and dignity.

6.1 PoC Policy

The analysis of the UN PoC Policy documents has, as previously mentioned in the Methodology chapter, been executed as a textually oriented discourse analysis. I have examined the policy documents looking for similarities and differences both in the documents as one unit, and as two different units of texts. This has been done to examine wording or

phrasing in the documents and to explore the possible changes in one document to another. The UN PoC Policy is immense with a large area of responsibility. The policy states that Protection of Civilians is indeed a priority mandate, a whole-of-mission activity with a comprehensive approach that is grounded in international law (DPKO/DFS, 2015 p. 2-7). That missions with a PoC mandate are supposed to be proactive and efficient (DPO, 2019, p. 4, 12, 25). The policy is somewhat complicated to read as the language in the documents is in a typically UN way of writing, with the use of grand words to emphasize their role, scopes, goals, expectations etc. The two documents are very alike, yet with small changes in wordings and some sections that have either been removed or edited.

The data presentation is divided in different categories where I will present and explain the data analysis. The first category will present some remarks made while examining the two documents, the second will present findings regarding the UN's credibility and legitimacy, the third will explore different phrasings used. The fourth category, which I have chosen to call *single wording*, will examine where the words "shall" and "should" are used in different settings. The last category discusses the operational concept of PoC action, namely the three tiers of PoC Action. Lastly there will be a summary of the findings presented.

6.1.1 Remarks

What first caught my attention reading the documents is the lack of agreement on a definition of PoC. This is first stated in the policy from 2015 where in a section of establishing the PoC mandate says that the "language varies slightly between Security Council resolutions" (DPKO/DFS, 2015, p. 5). This is yet again confirmed in the document from 2019: "While there is no UN-wide definition of "protection of civilians", there is a common objective shared by UN actors … "(DPO, p. 5). In light of human security, one can argue that this move gives the UN bigger leeway on how to interpret PoC and what is needed to ensure PoC in different peacekeeping missions, as there will be social and cultural differences influencing peacekeeping missions around the world. Thus, one can argue that the lack of agreement does not guide policy makers to interpret PoC in one rigid way which again serves peacekeeping personnel with a chance to interpret PoC according to the situation they are in at the moment. On the other side, a lack of an UN-wide definition can be seen as a sign of their immobility to come together as an organization to discuss serious matters to agree on what the UN believes

should be the main criteria of PoC. This might be a matter of politics where the members of the Security Council are trying to create the safest conditions for the peacekeeping personnel the respective countries are contributing with. As previously mentioned, the legitimacy of the Security Council depends on its ability to protect and the credibility of the organization is prefaced on the notion that missions seek to protect civilians.

The second remark is about path dependency. Path dependency is according to Page commonly interpreted as "that current and future states, actions, or decisions depend on the path of previous states, actions or decisions" (2006, p 88). In the 2015 policy document it seems like tasks, thoughts and processes to be established as important for PoC point towards path dependency. The 2015 document states:

> The majority of the tasks mentioned in this policy are well-established activities in UN peacekeeping and many of them have been mandated and implemented for well over a decade. This policy defines how these multiple lines of activity can support the protection of civilians, both directly and indirectly (DPKO/DFS, 2015, p. 4).

The document does not use the phrasing path dependency, but converts it to experience, which has a positive connotation. This phrasing is edited in the second document, but it is still there. This use of previous experience to further the development of the PoC policy is also stated in the policy document from 2019. This document does not state that the majority of tasks are well-established in UN peacekeeping, but instead claims that previous operational experience has formed "the core of doctrine and guidance on the protection of civilians in UN peacekeeping" (DPO, 2019, p. 3). Here the policy has evolved from learning by doing to a formation of a doctrine. It continues with stating that since 2015 UN peacekeeping practice on PoC has "continued to evolve to reflect evolving operational and contextual realities and to develop new approaches to effectively implement the PoC mandate" (PDO, 2019, p. 3). The 2019 policy "incorporates best practices and lessons learnt from peacekeeping operations, developments in Security Council practice and the recommendations of internal and external reports and investigations into the protection of civilians in UN peacekeeping" (DPO, p. 3). The latter document is clearly building on experience from the first document, which again draws from previous experience from UN peacekeeping operations. This can be seen as evidence of path dependency.

The matter of path dependency is for me an important point to made. As the first peacekeeping mission to in some capacity implement a PoC mandate was in Sierra Leone in 1999 and the first UN policy for PoC came in 2015. The policy document states that the tasks presented in the policy are well-established activities in UN peacekeeping. UN peacekeeping is a significant part of the UN system, and understandably their mandates and activities will be built on previous experiences and activities they have required. Path dependency can be a sign of activities that have been working are still perceived to be working and thus used again. Path dependency can also be a sign of taking the path of least resistance, where the policymakers use previous concepts and strategies because it has been presented as a solution before and thus can be it again. Path dependency can render protection strategies helpless, if following the same old path. As I have taken a constructionist stand for this thesis, I believe that social phenomena are in a constant state of revision. Threats change, the insecurities the civilian population change, and their perceptions will change dependent on where the UN peacekeeping mission is operating. Thus, I do not believe this to conform with human security since the UN PoC policy utilizes old solutions used in the UN system, which can be seen to ignore changes in civilian's security situation.

6.1.2 Credibility and Legitimacy

As touched upon in the literature review, the international norm *to protect* is guiding how the Security Council is acting when international human security is threatened. The Security Council's legitimacy and credibility lies with its ability to act in these scenarios. The two policy documents do also in some way phrase their duty to protect in a way that comply with this. In some parts it is more evident than others, but with a critical eye one can claim that the phrasings are done to protect the institution's and the department's legitimacy and credibility. There are particularly two observations made where this is shown in the two documents. The first is a section in the policy document from 2015 about expectations management. Here it is referred to previous missions where "failure to live up to unreasonable expectations is a major liability vis-à-vis the mission's credibility among the local population" (DPKO/DFS, p. 34). This particular section is removed from the 2019 document, however, the essence is the same in a section about public information activities and strategic communication where it states that "communications must be used to manage expectations about the role and capacities of

the mission" (DPO, p. 12). The 2019 document does the same as the 2015 document, but maybe in a more subtle way, when the word credibility is removed from the phrasing.

The documents stresses that managing the expectations is a vital part of peacekeeping operations since their credibility with the local population is important for their relationship with the civilian population. Here one can assume that it is more valuable for the UN that their missions have its credibility in place rather than to try to understand the expectations from civilians in a conflict or war damaged country. Thus, the message to peacekeeping soldiers is to communicate what the mission can and cannot do to manage the civilian's expectations of their safety and protection matters.

One can also argue that this is in line with the concept of human security since it entails more than physical safety. Human security is about human life and dignity. To present the missions case to the civilian population and explaining what exactly their mandate is and what they are able to do, can be seen as an honest and open approach to communicate the situation to the civilians. It can be seen as an attempt to give the civilians enough information so that they can use existing community-based approaches to help themselves if it becomes necessary. Information can be nearly as important as food for different groups to survive, and if the group in question knows exactly what to expect, they can help themselves before it is too late in a case of emergency. However, the use of this phrasing can also be used as an approach to manage the expectations of the civilians. If there is an evaluation of the operation and the peacekeeping operation has done what they conveyed to the civilians, the civilian population might be satisfied with the help they have been given, because the expectation managing has guided their perceptions of what a UN peacekeeping operation can help them with.

The second remark in this category is about accountability and credibility. This is one remark that was only found in the 2019 document. The matter in question is about the policy's statement of "achievable goals". This is found in the "Performance and Accountability" (DPO, 2019, p. 18-20), where the policy states that:

> "**All relevant personnel** in missions with POC mandates shall include specific and achievable goals and/or actions related to their responsibility for the delivery of the POC mandate …Performance of personnel shall be monitored and evaluated accordingly" (DPO, 2019, p. 19, emphasis in original).

One can argue that the wording in this section assists the relevant personnel to contain their own expectations for what they might be able to do, because their actions and goals will be evaluated by the UN. If the personnel in a mission set goals for their specific work areas that are easier to achieve and then achieves them it will then look better on paper when an evaluation is done. Is the wording chosen to lower the expectations of personnel on a mission so that it does look better for an evaluation or is the wording chosen since the missions are supposed to be efficient and pro-active? And thus, one can argue that this phrasing is used to boost the DPO and the UN's credibility and legitimacy. The correlation between this category and human security appear to be weak. The obligation seems to benefit the UN to manipulate a good result on paper to further the credibility of peacekeeping missions and its reputation in the organization. The UN's role in developing human security might be used to argue for this in the sense that human security emphasizes the human aspect of security. The achievable goals and evaluation can be seen as the UN's way to develop the concept further, to understand which approaches in the existing system works and which do not. So, the development of the theory contains approaches, techniques and strategies which have shown to improve the situation on the ground for civilians. There is however no mention of the reason behind the evaluation.

6.1.3   Phrasing

This section will present the category called phrasing. This category consists of words in the policy documents that stood out to the me as they all are somewhat connected to western ideas or ideology for management styles or how to implement democracy.

The first case in this category is when the document state that: "A POC threat is considered imminent as soon as the mission has a **reasonable belief that a potential perpetrator displays a hostile intent** … "(DPKO/DFS, p. 17, emphasis in original document). In the terminology section reasonable belief is defined as: "A belief that a reasonable person would logically and sensibly hold on the basis of the conditions and circumstances as they are known to him or her at that specific point in time" (DPKO/DFS, p. 19). The first thought that comes to mind is that this phrasing presents a reasonable person as someone internal to the mission, who can identify a threat. A second thought is that this phrasing is trying to make a certain way of thinking the "right way" of thinking, by guiding their personnel to understand

the UN policy document and the policies and guidelines that are to be read in conjunction with this policy document in a certain way. One can thus argue that this phrasing is guiding how UN peacekeeping personnel should interpret what an imminent threat is. This wording is removed from the second document, and one does not find "reasonable belief" anywhere in the 2019 document.

To me the phrasing "a reasonable person" presents someone internal to the peacekeeping organization, someone who can identify a threat in a matter that is compliant with UN ideas and guidelines. According to the 2015 document a reasonable person is someone who can draw logically and sensible conclusions with the information at hand (DPKO/DFS, p. 19). To utilize this phrasing can be seen as an attempt at implementing one certain way to understand what an imminent threat is. It is difficult to find a connection to human security for this phrasing. I do believe the connection between this phrasing and human security can be found in the 2019 document, as the phrasing is removed from that document. The connection is still weak, but one can argue that the UN acknowledges that guiding their personnel to understand what a threat is will exclude other perceptions and interpretations of what can be seen as a threat. As a threat in the eyes of human security will be different from situation to situation due to the individuals that perceive the treat will understand what a threat is differently. I do not believe that human security is differentiating between individuals that believe they are in grave danger, and will here point out that any one person who believe their life is in danger has the right to believe so, and in line with human security will have a right to be protected.

The next case of phrasing concerns two words that caught my attention for a reason that might not seem to have anything to do with human security, but as I believe, might have some effect on guidelines and implementation of activities for peace operations. The words we are talking about are "pro-active" and "efficient". These words are being used on several occasions throughout both policy documents to describe how peacekeeping personnel are supposed to go about protecting civilians. "Uniformed mission components must have a **proactive posture and mindset**" (DPO, 2019, p. 12, emphasis in original) and "proactive and timely measures must be taken to eliminate or mitigate the threat … "(DPO, 2019, p. 13) are two examples of the use of the term proactive. Senior leaders have a responsibility to "exercise his or her full authority to ensure proactive, coordinated, efficient and effective implementation of POC mandates" (DPO, 2019, p. 25). The 2015 document claims that "effective

implementation of the POC mandate is key to creating a secure and stable environment" (DPKO/DFS, p. 5) and "effective POC requires focused and joint civilian-police-military planning for all POC actions … "(DPKO/DFS, p. 18).

I would like to point out a couple of different points regarding this phrasing as it is somewhat diffuse. The PoC document does not offer a definition to the phrasing, but what does a pro-active mindset imply? Does it imply that UN peacekeepers are supposed to be trigger happy and react to all kinds of threats? Seen through human security this can be problematic as the peacekeepers can create a greater danger to the civilians and themselves as the government can see it as UNMISS is choosing sides in the conflict, which can create bigger difficulties for UNMISS to execute their mandate. The phrasing can guide the peacekeeping personnel in a way that creates a greater danger to themselves and the civilians, and as such this is not line with human security.

The second point is that the words are seemingly fitting well with a management trend that numerous Western nations adopted in the 1980's and 1990's, namely New Public Management or NPM for short. NPM is not one reform or system on how to do business in the public administration sector but can be described as a system which uses almost every management tool, also for the public sector (Kapucu, 2006, p. 891). Kapucu explains NPM and its reforms as "deliberate policies and actions to alter organizational structures, process and behavior to improve administrative capacity for efficient and effective public-sector performance", where most of the NPM related contributions have been shaped by an Anglo-Saxon perspective (2006, p. 890.891). The connection between NPM and these two words is maybe not obvious, but here we will connect the use of these words with a previous topic, credibility and legitimacy. NPM became a dominant discourse for the public sector (Kapucu, 2006, p. 892), and one might say that the UN as an international institution would have to follow trends to still be seen as a credible institution that continues to develop its practices and procedures.

Thus, I believe that these words on how to implement PoC might be a result of this Western management trend and can guide both the UN's way of thinking or focus for their peace operations and how peacekeeping personnel are interpreting their own role and the mandate they are working with. As previously mentioned, it is difficult to connect UN's credibility and

legitimacy to human security. This is also the case here. With a critical eye one can argue that the use of these words and the use of NPM strategies are used to show the international community that the UN is following the current trends in organizational theory. However, the demand for efficient peacekeeping is a positive part of the PoC policy. To be efficient in a situation where human lives are at risk is in accordance with human security's concern of human life and dignity.

This point moves us over to the last point to be made in this category. Namely the use of "the rule of law". The rule of law is in both documents connected to several aspects of the policy. In the 2015 policy the concept of the rule of law is first presented in Tier III activities, where the policy states that the different missions may be mandated to strengthen the rule of law (DPKO/DFS, p. 9). It is also presented in a section about prevention of violence where it states that missions will among other objectives promote the rule of law (DPKO/DFS, p. 10). In the 2019 document building the rule of law is presented as one of many mandated tasks a mission might contain (DPO, p. 3). Further on the rule of law is again presented as one of the activities connected to Tier III activities as either the establishment or re-establishment of the rule of law (DPO, p. 16). The 2019 document uses a wording that is non-existent in the 2015 document, namely *a key aspect*: "A key aspect of Tier III is strengthening the **rule of law**" (DPO, p. 16, emphasis in the original).

For an international organization such as the UN, one might say that the implementation of the rule of law would undoubtedly be a part of their goals for peacekeeping operations. But the rule of law is a product of historical developments over centuries, it is connected to the rise of the liberal democratic form of government in the West and their fundamental means of governance and legal systems (Valcke, 2012, p. 3-4). This is what makes the phrasing interesting in the policy documents. With the use of the phrase the rule of law in different policy documents, one can argue that the UN is seeking to push a Western ideology through their PoC policy documents to different areas of the world where the rule of law might not be that strong. With using this phrasing in documents that guide UN personnel's activities in missions with a PoC mandate it may be seen as the UN is guiding nations and areas where peacekeeping personnel is deployed to understand questions about their governance systems and legal framework in one particular way. For any peacekeeping mission there are peacekeepers from a range of different countries, with different backgrounds and different

perceptions of what rule of law is, which also can cause confusion between peacekeeping personnel. South Sudan contains several different ethnical groups which most likely also have different perceptions about what rule of law is. If UNMISS is supposed to be for South Sudan, implementing a Western ideology cannot be seen to conform with human security for me, as it can reduce the possibilities of local solutions.

On the other side the rule of law can be connected to human security through the rule of laws ability to prevent unfair prosecutions and its principle where all people are subject to and accountable to law that is fairly applied. As human security is concerned about creating building blocks for people's survival, livelihood and dignity, the concepts of the rule of law is coherent with the concepts of human security. One can however also argue that implementing the rule of law in non-Western countries can be seen as a new wave of colonization where Western ideas are being pressed upon nations and local solutions are being set aside. This aspect is not coherent with human security as people's fundamental freedoms will diminish.

6.1.4 Single wording

This category consists of two different words. The two words in matter are "shall" and "should". From analyzing the two documents, I found a trend in the language used in the policy documents regarding how these words give guidance. This is apparent regarding how to interpret the implementation of the PoC mandate on the ground, how to assist civilians, how the words are used to guide mission personnel and how it guides the strategic planning of missions with a PoC mandate. I have chosen to call this a trend because it is recurring in both documents for both words. The objective of this category is to show how the UN are phrasing the policy documents, putting different levels of obligation for different tasks mentioned in the policy document.

6.1.4.1 Shall

In the Merriam-Webster dictionary the auxiliary verb "shall" is described as "used in laws, regulations, or directives to express what is mandatory" (Merriam-Webster, 2020a). For the policy documents, the word "shall" is as mentioned above used in mainly two different ways. Here I will present some examples from both documents to show a trend and the different use of the word.

Both the 2015 and the 2019 documents are very clear when defining a civilian and who are to be considered a civilian, the wording in the two documents are somewhat different, but it states the same. The 2015 document phrases it as: "Any person who is not or is no longer directly participating in hostilities or other acts of violence shall be considered a civilian, unless he or she is a member of armed forces or groups" (DPKO/DFS, p. 5). While the 2019 document states: "In case of doubt, whether a person is a civilian, that person shall be considered a civilian" (DPO, p. 6). In both of these cases "shall" is used to emphasis the mission's obligation to perform certain tasks for the civilian population: "Prevention activities shall be conducted in areas where no clear threat to civilians has yet been identified" (DPKO/DFS, p. 9). "Peacekeeping missions shall first seek to prevent forced displacement by addressing threats in villages or places of habitual residence" (DPKO/DFS, p 12). This continues in the 2019 document where peacekeeping operations "shall anticipate, prevent, track, minimize and address collateral damage and other direct and indirect harm to the safety and security of civilians or civilian objects and infrastructure" (DPO, p. 13). For Tier III activities missions "shall help establish security conditions to facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistance and the provision of host state services" (DPO, p. 17).

The second trend identified addresses the mission's personnel and the UN bureaucratic system. For the 2015 document this comes to show by statements such as: "When supporting host states or other non-UN security forces, peacekeeping operations shall respect the UN Human Rights Due Diligence Policy on UN Support to non-UN Security Forces" (DPKO/DFS, p. 6). It is used to emphasis the obligations of the personnel, who they are supposed to report to, and which UN documents or policies they must follow. As shown here: "from the start, all missions with a POC mandate shall establish POC planning and coordination fora at the strategic, operational and tactical levels" (DPKO/DFS, p. 18). This is also a recurring trend for the 2019 document, where the personnel's obligations are being addressed. As with the 2015 document, it is when addressing different plans mission personnel is to create the phrasing is used. As seen with the establishment of contingency plans: "Contingency plans shall be developed in advance to enable rapid response" (DPO, 2019 p. 13).

For the implementation of the PoC mandate the word shall is also used to order missions with PoC mandates to establish different forums and strategies:

All missions with a POC mandate shall establish POC **planning and coordination forums** at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. They shall also deploy and appoint **POC Advisers and POC focal points** to support the mission leadership in coordinating all POC activities Missions with a POC mandate shall develop a **POC strategy**, either as a stand-alone document or as part of the mission concept (DPO, 2019, p. 17, emphasis in original).

The use of the word "shall" have been utilized to express obligations for reporting, planning and forums. It has also been used to define the mandatory directives for what is expected in form of protection activities towards civilians in missions with a PoC mandate.

6.1.4.2 Should

This category is made up of the word "should", the use of the word and its connotation to the policy documents. Merriam-Webster describes that "should" is used to "express what is probable or expected" (Merriam-Webster, 2020b). "Should" does not carry a bond of obligation or to be mandatory as "shall" does. This is something we will get back to in the discussion, here the data will be presented. "Should" is mainly used to express what is expected or can be done to protect civilians and to show what the leadership can be expected to be given in terms of activities or tasks. It has been utilized to express a weaker level of obligation, for activities that missions can implement to protect civilians.

The first trend to be presented here is a tendency to phrase some of the activities for UN personnel in peacekeeping missions with a PoC mandate as an option. The language is used to emphasize the mission personnel's tasks or activities in a way that it does not appear to be as important. For example, in Annex A of the 2015 document, it is stated in a section about PoC strategy that: "other UN entities in the mission area with protection mandates or programs should be actively involved in the development of the strategy" (DPKO/DFS, p. 1). This trend where other UN entities or other cooperating organizations are to be involved, the wording of the document is phrased as such several times, as with a section about the UN Headquarters in Annex A: "Parameters of the mission strategy should be discussed with the Integrated Operational Teams and the PoC coordination team. The strategy should be shared in draft for comments" (DPKO/DFS, p. 3). It continues with: "POC strategies should also reflect and be aligned with the military and police concepts of operations, rules of engagement and directives on the use of force" (DPKO/DFS, p. 5).

This trend is apparent in the 2019 document as well, where the word "should" have been used for the same purposes for example when addressing a need to share or discuss planning or strategies with other entities: "In order to advance the protection of civilians, the mission should advocate that protection and human rights concerns, including those related to gender and children, should be integrated into peace processes and peace agreements" (DPO, p. 10), or when addressing the need of an after action review: "Operations should be followed by an after-action review which analyses the impact of the operations, including community perceptions and identifies lessons learned for future operations" (DPO, p. 14). It is also used in background information on how strategic coordination: "As such, to ensure coherence in UN support, there should be strategic coordination at both UN Headquarters and mission level on the protection aims of UN actors operating in the same area" (DPO, p. 5).

As with "shall", the wording is used to emphasize the role of UN personnel and their responsibilities toward the civilian population. The 2015 document seems like it is recommending a community-based approach: "actions to protect civilians should be planned in consultation with women, men, girls and boys of the local community" (DPKO/DFS, p. 7). Sometimes the phrasing is used to include the civilian population, that is apparent in a section about the local population in Annex A: "Their perception on the security situation should be one of the most important indicators in defining the success of the mission's role in providing protection. Consultations with the local population should include groups at risk" (DPKO/DFS, p. 3).

The trend continues in the 2019 document where it addresses engagement with local communities: "Engagement with communities should be an inclusive, two-way exercise which begins with listening to communities about their protection needs and capacities" (DPO, p. 11). The phrasing is also used to give the peacekeeping personnel a chance to evaluate the situation at hand by addressing issues of displacement as such: "Peacekeeping missions should first seek to prevent displacement by addressing threats at their origin" (DPO, p. 14).

The goal of this category was to show the difference in the level of obligation used for different tasks in missions with a PoC mandate. This was done to show what I find somewhat peculiar, that some protection activities that affects the civilian population has been set aside

with a lower level of obligation, merely an expectation that peacekeeping personnel interpret the policy in such a way that these activities will be implemented if the situation for them arises. The main issue with this level of obligation for these activities is that when they are put aside, the needed resources to implement these activities may be non-existing or used for other activities that has a higher level of obligation in the policy. It is understandable that some level of obligation has to be stated for activities such as planning and other bureaucratic activities for peacekeeping operations since it is a big entity where reporting and communication will be important for understanding the situation at hand and developing strategies for each mission. However, the mandatory level of obligation on planning, coordination, strategies and forums can be seen as an attempt by the UN to record their activities in order to appear in one particular way for their member states and the rest of the international community.

This is of course a cynical view to possess, but as discussed previously, the UN's legitimacy and credibility relies on their ability to protect. However, I believe that the implementation of PoC activities could reach further if some of the activities suggested to be implemented had a stronger level of obligation to them. Such as community engagement or planning activities together with local communities. It is peculiar that a policy for protecting civilians at risk only expresses an expectation toward their peacekeeping personnel for activities such as community-based approaches. The civilian perception on the security situation is an important indicator for the mission's role in providing protection, as it is their community and their land. The UN's PoC policy states that the civilian perception only should be one of the most important indicators to define a mission's role. This continues where the policy suggests that engagement with communities should be a two-way exercise. These are examples of where a higher level of obligation could have been used and the outlines of different peacekeeping operations may be different, as personnel would be obliged to communicate and cooperate with local communities.

To address this in line with human security, one can say that today's phrasings are not very compatible with human security. The level of obligation for some protection activities are presented in such a way that the perceptions of the civilian population can be excluded in plans on how to provide protection. As human security is based on the individual, where the aspects of security might differ, and their priorities were highlighted. By phrasing some of the

activities with a weaker level of obligation the individual's priorities can be left unheard by the peacekeeping personnel.

One can also argue that the phrasings are somewhat in line with human security. As shown in the data presentation the obligation to establish Tier III activities is one example of this, as human security is about more than just physical protection, and this obligation with Tier III activities contain activities to establish protective environment. There are some activities where the civilian's physical protection is expressed with obligation, and the civilian's physical protection is a part of human security. However, human security is dynamic and about more than just physical protection. Which again makes me doubt its clear connection to human security. It is not sufficient to find only one good example of Tier II or Tier III activities where the level of obligation is mandatory to confirm the connection between the policy and the theory.

6.1.5   The Three Tiers of PoC Action

The three tiers of PoC Action were presented in Chapter 4 and here the aim is to explore their connection to the definition of the PoC mandate and human security. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the three tiers are different instruments utilized to emphasize prevention and pre-emption of violence towards civilians. The three tiers contain activities for more than just physical protection as it includes protection through dialogue and engagement and establishment of protective environments. This implies a line of activities within PoC that are aimed at more than just physical protection as it uses instruments for other activities, such as dialogue with perpetrators, conflict resolution and mediation between parties to the conflict to protect civilians. When used to establish protective environments, the applied activities are aimed to create protective environments for civilians. I would argue that such activities will assist civilians with more than physical protection as it utilizes other tools than just weapons and soldiers. The use of peacebuilding activities such as dialogue and conflict resolution are for me a sign of activities in line with human security. Where the civilian's other needs also come in to play, someone to talk to, assistance with peacebuilding objectives such as creation of protective environments. It presents a more humane capacity from the PoC Policy document, where the civilians needs are put into focus in different way than physical protection.

However, the definition of the PoC mandate states otherwise. As presented in chapter 4, does the definition of the PoC mandate state its obligation to prevent, deter or respond to threats of **physical violence** against civilians (emphasis added). This implies that all activities connected to PoC are for physical protection and renders activities for all three tiers to assist with the physical protection of civilians. In one way does this reduce most of my findings for the PoC policy either useless or false as all activities in the PoC mandate are meant for physical protection of civilians and the view I have taken of human security for this thesis will always regard human security as more than just physical protection. However, the PoC policy document does not once mention human security and I can explore the policy's activities through the lens of human security with a critical eye toward the activities as I believe has been done. I believe the use of human security to search for discrepancies between the UN and the civilians have been fruitful as the theory allows me to understand the protection activities differently from the UN's viewpoint. One can also criticize the use of human security as the theory is developed from Western ideas and which the UN has helped develop. This means that the theory itself is based on what Western powers seem as important when producing protection and security for other nations and populations and can be a liability for the findings. As the wider use of human security includes protecting fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life one can also argue that these will shift from situation to situation and therefore the use of human security enables me to explore the topics of this thesis in line with human security.

6.1.6 Summary of the Analysis of the Policy Document

The analysis of the two policy documents has presented the findings of this thesis in the light of human security. The analysis has attempted to find a connection between the presentation of the policy and the main objectives of human security. For some of the data presented above, there is a clear connection between human security and the policy document. For other sections of the findings there has been harder to find a clear connection between the two. As the UN PoC policy is a guide on how to implement the three tiers of protection and protection related activities, there should be different levels of connection to human security as all peacekeeping operations are different and will encounter different issues in their missions, which can be argued to be in compliance with human security as human security is supposed to be dynamic and allows individuals to have different perceptions of what it is they need.

However, as stated above does the policy focus solely on physical protection and this can cause my arguments to be disputable as the policy does not cover other aspects of security. But as argued do I believe the use of human security to be fruitful to view as it allows for different views than the UN's policy.

As expected, the policy's highest level of obligation has been given to the physical protection of civilians, which is as mentioned just a small part of what human security is. I found myself surprised to the lower level of obligation to activities that seems to be of higher importance to understand the civilian's perception and interpretation of the peacekeeping operations. From the data presented above and the analysis one can conclude that the policy and human security can be seen to conform with each other in some parts of the policy document. There are sections in the policy which can be argued to comply well with human security as their wish to be an effective operation, and a phrase showing their obligation to establish protective environment, even though the original thought for that is to physically protect civilians and does not mention anything regarding other needs civilians might have.

Thus, the conclusion here is that the policy document only somewhat confirms it connection to the theory of human security. Some of the data presented indicates both path dependency, Western ideas and concerns of the UN's credibility and legitimacy and the perceptions and interpretation of activities that is not toward direct physical protection is too weak for me to conclude otherwise.

6.2   Thematic Coding

As stated in chapter 3, the utilized method for the interviews is thematic coding. The goal of the thematic coding is to explore the civilian's perceptions and interpretations of the PoC mandate, security and their expectations for the peacekeeping mission. This section will present the data from the interviews. After transcribing and thoroughly reading the interviews, I have discovered several themes that will be presented in three separate categories. The first category contains themes connected to the civilian's perceptions regarding the UN or UNMISS, their own security and their misperceptions concerning UNMISS's mandate to protect. The second category contains themes regarding their expectations, observations made and challenges. The last category contains positive remarks and critique toward the mission. At the end there will be a conclusion about the coding and findings.

The next sections of the thesis will present data from the thematic coding. Here I will refer to the interviewees with pseudonyms and interviewee number. All informants have been interviewed by me in Kampala during the month of August, 2019, thus this will not be mentioned in the references.

6.2.1 Category 1: Perceptions and Misperceptions

6.2.1.1 Theme 1: Perception of UNMISS

The findings in this category represent the interviewees' perceptions and misperceptions that have been discovered in the interviews. The first theme discovered regards the civilian's perceptions of UNMISS and the UN. All the interviewees immediate response to questions regarding UNMISS were positive ones, where they claimed that UNMISS's activity is good. Adam said: "They do a lot of activities, really protecting people and giving people shelter" (Adam, interviewee #1), while Carl from Upper Nile said: "They are trying harder to make sure that at least we feel safe. Their presence is ok, we're not seeing any problem. Because sometimes when the situation becomes tough, you run to them, then you feel safe" (Carl, interviewee #3). While Peter from Juba says that "they have done their best" (Peter, interviewee #7). When asked to elaborate why UNMISS is doing a good job, several interviewees stated that they provided services the civilians could not find elsewhere. Alice says: "What I like is they provide good education to the people. And then also I like what the citizens need they provide to them" (Alice, interviewee #6). Simon says that UNMISS "provides job opportunities for those who are not working and they provide food for those civilians" (Simon, interviewee #4).

Another perception of UNMISS that became apparent is the civilians view of UNMISS's ability to protect inside PoC sites versus outside PoC sites. While talking about the PoC sites, Philip said that: "They are good", but quickly turned the attention to conditions outside the PoC sites when he pointed out that civilians who are on their way back to PoC sites from e.g. the market can be kidnapped by government soldiers: "They are not so good. When a person is coming back inside the camp around 7 or 8 pm, they can be kidnapped by government soldiers. When you are inside the camp, they don't have chance to catch you". (Philip, interviewee #5). While Peter, positive toward the mission stated that: "They are doing their best, but the country is too long" and he continued saying that: "The UN peacekeeper, where

they came, they are protecting it well. UN they are doing their best, but not all. They just do it within the camp." (Peter, interviewee #7). Oscar from Juba states that: "UNMISS made deployment in various places like in the centers. Basically, they are giving protection to people who are in the camp." (Oscar, interviewee #8).

Even though their first response to question about UNMISS were very similar and positive, throughout the interviews some answers would reveal more details regarding their perceptions of UNMISS. Alice stated that UNMISS sometimes does want the best for the civilians and sometimes not. Her reasons for that statement was that: "Because sometimes they go and cause problem between the people, people they go and fight, there are people who will say that this ones are supporting the UN and others who say that they don't support, so there they will start fighting" (Alice, interviewee #6). Alice also believe that the UN "should just increase on the organization" (Alice, interviewee #6). Peter admits that while he thinks UNMISS are doing a great job he finds that: "there are weaknesses a little bit" (Peter, interviewee #7) which he does not wish to elaborate. The last interviewee, Eva, believes that UNMISS personnel has their own concerns: "I think maybe they are being constrained by their mandate" (Eva, interviewee #9). She also believes there is a two-way problem: "I think there is a lack of knowledge. Especially on the side of the civilians, maybe their expectations might be bigger than what the peacekeepers actually can do. The peacekeepers may be having limitations here and there. There is a lack of general knowledge" (Eva, interviewee #9).

The civilian's perceptions of UNMISS is primarily positive where they praise the job UNMISS has done, while also making remarks about where to improve. There are of course differences in level of enthusiasm for UNMISS and there seemed to be some civilians who are somewhat skeptical to the mission's ability for mobility to move outside town centers.

6.2.1.2 Theme 2: Perception of her/his own security

This theme is based on one part of the interviews where we discussed what is important to feel protected. There were some recurring answers which I thought were difficult to understand. When asked what is important for you to feel protected, on three occasions did the interviewees reply "my life". An answer that is all-consuming and nothing at the same time. When asked to elaborate, more detailed answers were given. Adam, said that: "my activities goes on, if I want to farm I can do it" (Adam, interviewee #1). Several interviewees

expressed this need to go about their usual activities as an answer here. Andrew and Carl both stated that they were free to do whatever they wanted (Andrew, interviewee #2 and Carl, interviewee #3). Simon expressed his freedom to study as important for him to feel protected (Simon, interviewee #4). Some stated that health and that their needs were provided for was important. Philip said that: "If I have good protection, so I think I don't need to go anywhere, because the protection is good and also the security is good. I got all my best needs and that's what I need" (Philip, interviewee #5).

While others expressed a need for services provided to them by someone or organizations such as the UN and UNHCR. Peter and Oscar were agreeing on this. "I need help from the UN. They have to help and have to put us in a safe place." (Peter, interviewee #7). While Oscar was more specific: "I need UNHCR, because the UN is head of UNHCR, they are the ones inside to give protection to me. I myself cannot. I need UNHCR to give me protection and look for a way forward." (Oscar, interviewee #8). Alice expressed her thoughts as such: "Just the security is good there. To be protected, just like the soldiers they should be good, you should have good people" (Alice, interviewee #6). Eva expressed this: "To me to feel protected we need security. And then we need the presence of armed forces. Like the UN peacekeepers." She continued with this thought:

"Personally, I feel they offer security, people feel psychologically that they are being supported and they are being cared for. When you see a peacekeeper is moving around, or when you see an incident happen and they come and help civilians, you know I feel protected" (Eva, interviewee #9).

The recurring topics for this theme are the civilians wish for freedom from fear and freedom from want in some way or another. Their perceptions of their own security seem to derive from their wishes on what they want to do, such as studying or farming. While also expressing a need for assistance by either armed forces, peacekeeping soldiers or some branch of the UN.

6.2.1.3 Theme 3: Misperception of UNMISS's mandate

This is a rather small theme, where only three interviewees expressed a misperception of UNMISS's mandate to protect. The interview did not contain a simple question of how the interviewees regarded UNMISS and these views where expressed when we discussed other topics. When Adam and I talked about UNMISS's mindset and if he believes the

peacekeeping mission in South Sudan wants the best for the civilians in South Sudan he replied: "Sometimes the rules that are governing them in the mission ties their hands, because they can't retaliate, they can't fire back…. they can't shoot… in 2016, they did not do enough, because they don't have that right to shoot" (Adam, interviewee #1). Andrew expressed his misperceptions of UNMISS's mandate when we discussed an increase in mission personnel and when I asked him about if he knew of UNMISS activity outside the PoC sites he said: "I base it on where UNMISS are. Because UNMISS cannot go after 300 to 500 meters away from their place. So, their best place is basing on their own place where they are, so in that particular place, if you are in that area, I think you will be safe" (Andrew, interviewee #2). The last interviewee who expressed a misperception of the UNMISS's mandate was Oscar. When we discussed the Security Council's authorization for UNMISS to use all necessary means to protect civilians Oscar said: "Basically they are giving protection to people who are in their camp. But if you are not inside the camp, no they cannot. Because most of deployment UNMISS are doing they can patrol at night, they are giving me protection, but not so much" (Oscar, interviewee #8).

Their perceptions of UNMISS's range and mobility is flawed. UNMISS have had and currently do have the ability to both move outside their camp sites and PoC sites (UNSC, 2020, p. 14). In resolutions going back to 2014, where it is stated that UNMISS implement "pro-active deployment and active patrolling" (UNSC, 2014, p. 4). From May 2014 UNMISS was authorized by the Security Council to use all necessary means to protect civilians (UNSC, 2014, p. 4). What causes these misperceptions of UNMISS's mandate can be cause by different matters, as the civilians expressing these views have been living in PoC sites in South Sudan, refugee camps different places in East Africa and their experiences with the mission will frame their viewpoints.

6.2.2 Category 2: Expectations and Challenges

This category contains three different themes, namely the interviewees expectations toward UNMISS, challenges they perceive the mission and their country have and different observations they have made.

6.2.2.1 Theme 1: Expectations

This theme is formed by expressions made by the interviewees regarding their expectations toward UNMISS, either from when they first heard about the mission or from when some alterations where done in the mission's mandate. Their expectations were expressed as a hope for a better future, peace agreements or help to end the war.

Adam, Andrew, Peter and Eva all expressed their hope for peace when we talked about their expectations toward UNMISS. Adam said that: "The UN role in South Sudan, they are supposed to be impartial, and get the waring fractions to the table and give them a credible way of life" (Adam, interviewee #1). He continues to say that they are to have everlasting peace in the country (Adam, interviewee #1). While Andrew said he expected to have peace when he heard that the UN were starting a peacekeeping mission for South Sudan (Andrew, interviewee #2). Peter felt strongly about a peace agreement: "I feel that if they signed the peace (agreement) that the last thing would be people would be free of everything. But without signing peace (agreement) and everything the violence will continue" (Peter, interviewee #7). While Eva were expecting to have "relative peace all over South Sudan. It was told that people could go back to their places and then continue to carry on their normal duties, build the country you know" (Eva, interviewee #9).

Some interviewees expressed their disappointment toward the mission as they expected more from UNMISS. Carl said: "They are doing something, but I feel like they can add more … I thought we were supposed to be safe. They are supposed to work with us, as people who understand, then we work harder to make sure the situation gets better" (Carl, interviewee #3). Carl continued to say that: "We were expecting them to do better than what they are doing now" (Carl, interviewee #3). Andrew expected UNMISS to intervene more and he said that: If they intervened I don't think the war will continue" (Andrew, interviewee #2).

Others were more focused on UNMISS's ability to patrol and keep civilians safe. Either through more patrol or personnel or through dialogue. Eva expected more patrol and said that: "there are more areas where normally insecurities occurs or conflict occurs. It need more attention" (Eva, interviewee #9). And Oscar said that: "I was expecting them to come and listen. To take over South Sudan or protect the civilians from danger. Because we don't have

any protection resources, in South Sudan people are going to be killed" (Oscar, interviewee #8).

The interviewees expectations toward UNMISS are diverse, they are expressing opinions on what they needed from the mission, either from the beginning or from later on. Some has had great ideas of everlasting peace and peace agreements, other are hopeful for the future. Even though their expectations are different, I believe their motivation behind their answers are the same. Their expectations derive from what Adam expressed in our interview where he said: "Come to an agreement, work together and help life of civilians. Because who is suffering? It is the civilians, we are the victims of the war. They are preventing us from farming, they let us be congested in certain areas, they killed civilians in the process" (Adam, interviewee #1).

6.2.2.2 Theme 2: Challenges

The interviewees answers when we discussed different challenges they saw for the mission, for the country and for the civilians are very divided. Their answers range from listing different challenges they saw and what they believed the problem was.

Some expressed that they believed the main security challenge was ignorance (Simon, interviewee #4). Alice said that: "people are ignorant. Civilians, the government and also the soldiers. Some of them like, they just ignore things, they don't take the right way" (Alice, interviewee #6).

Some viewed the challenges to be lack of resources to live a healthy life. Andrew said that: "… there are no human rights here" (Andrew, interviewee #2). Peter and Oscar also expressed the lack of basic needs as a challenge. Peter expressed his grievances as such: "That's challenges like medical care … And their basic needs. These are the main challenges, we don't get everything" (Peter, interviewee #7). Oscar said that: "The main challenges is there are no good access to the medication, shelters, water, school" (Oscar, interviewee #8).

Others again expressed that they saw challenges in the presence of guns and different types of crime that happened. Philip expressed his concerns as such: "The main challenges, these government soldiers they do kidnap, and also they kill, and sometimes they rape women" (Philip, interviewee #5). Eva believes that: "The issue of the armed group is the main security issue" (Eva, interviewee #9). Peter says that: "we don't actually have security … People are

being killed tonight and lot of non-government being killing people. They are killing people in Juba, nobody is acting about it" (Peter, interviewee #7). He continues here to mention a very serious problem for many UN missions when he says: "Some women have been raped by the UN protection officers" (Peter, interviewee #7). This is the first time in this thesis that this has mentioned, it will however no be the last. It will be mentioned again by other interviewees, and it will also be brought up in the discussion.

While others believe that the main challenges come from different difficulties for the UN. Carl points out that there is a problem that: "Some of them are not trained, they need to be trained, so that at least they know what they are supposed to be doing. That way the mission can help a lot" (Carl, interviewee #3). Andrew want the UN to "give more energy" (Andrew, interview #2). While Oscar believes that the UN has some mobility issues: "they've been deployed, but they cannot get access of other areas, because the government even attacking them" (Oscar, interviewee #8).

There seems to be different challenges the interviewees express and believe are haltering the process of peace and the civilian's opportunity to go back to their normal lives. Peters notion on UN peacekeeping officers who have raped women in active duty is a serious problem, not only for UNMISS, but for other missions as well, this is a major issue for the safety of the civilians who are supposed to trust these peacekeeping officers and soldiers with their life.

6.2.2.3 Theme 3: Observations from Interviewees

This theme is made up from statements from the interviewees that were difficult to place in one of the other themes, put that still is important to understand their perceptions of UNMISS. Therefore, this theme is called observations from interviewees. Some of the interviewees expressed some critique while others some praise toward UNMISS. Adam said that he did not feel comfortable with soldiers around and said that: "I don't think UNMISS is the best. The rules tie their hands". (Adam, interviewee #1). Adam expressed that there was a need for UNMISS to increase their numbers as "the country went to anarchy", and when we discussed the mandate change from 2014 he said:

> "There was a change in the mandate, necessary means, that means they should shoot, they should, it can even bring conflict. People were more secure, I felt more secure. But that thing is harsh. It means that it is total unrest in the country. Total anarchy, there is nothing else to be done" (Adam, interviewee #1).

Peter expressed his opinion regarding UN soldiers: "They do the best they can, but not all over" (Peter, interviewee #7), and Oscar expressed a need for more peacekeeping soldiers (Oscar, interviewee #8). Andrew believed that: "we get South Sudan because they intervene. They are the ones who impose these people to bring peace in South Sudan" (Andrew, interviewee #2).

Carl believes that the UN have learned from their mistakes because there is some change after 2013, even though he claims they did not feel the change (Carl, interviewee #3). Philip says that the UN and the civilians have some of the same ideas of protection and that: "some of the peacekeeping soldiers are friendly, they want to be friends" (Philip, interviewee #5). While Alice thinks that UNMISS are doing better (Alice, interviewee #6). Simon feels safer and thinks that UNMISS is helping the situation in South Sudan (Simon, interviewee #4). Oscar expressed that he felt safer when UNMISS increased the number of peacekeeping soldiers the mission could have (Oscar, interviewee #8). And Eva said that: "We felt the more presence of the peacekeepers. Especially when they opened the doors for civilians to seek protection whenever they feel insecure" (Eva, interviewee #9).

Some does feel that UNMISS have brought about change when different amendments have been done to UNMISS's mandate, while others have been more skeptical. Some perceive UNMISS as a group of peacekeeping personnel who are trying their best, but could still do more, while others expressed a positive reaction to more peacekeeping personnel on the ground and felt safer when the number of UN peacekeeping soldiers increased.

6.2.3   Category 3: Positive Remarks and Critique

This category contains two themes, positive remarks and critique that did not fit well with other themes and categories. The first theme of positive remarks is added to present positive thoughts and perceptions from the interviewees which can assist in understanding their thoughts and ideas better.

6.2.3.1 Theme 1: Positive Remarks

The different positive remarks in this theme are based on comments from the interviewees in different settings and times during our discussions or conversations. Some comments are praise to the peacekeepers, their efforts to protect civilians and for different UN activities,

while others are regarding their ability to keep the peace and help the government of South Sudan.

Many have at some point during our conversation said something in the lines of what Adam said: "Those people are good" (Adam, interviewee #1). Andrew agrees with this when he said that: "For me, there is nothing bad I see about UNMISS". Philip is also very positive about UNMISS: "They are doing great, they are protecting those civilians who are there" (Philip, interviewee #5). Peter believes that the UN has "done their best", and he believes that: "most especially in 2011, 2012, 2013, they have done their best for the country".

Some pointed to the different activities that UNMISS are performing and the services they help attain for the civilians. Simon says that: "They help others to go and learn education, provide some education, bring food for them and do other things". Some are not so specific as Simon is, but points to different achievements of UNMISS. Eva is very specific when she talks about different activities: "They have these workshops, carry on the political rights on some legal issues, women empowerment, child protection" (Eva, interviewee #9). Alice praise their attention to the ones in need: "The UN are doing something great there in South Sudan like they can provide food for the needed … and also books for education. And sometimes they also provide teachers" (Alice, interviewee #6).

Some of the interviewees believe that the UN and UNMISS have helped with the peace process. Philip states that: "They really keep the peace, and also they keep the civilians safe" (Philip, interviewee #5). Eva says that: "I have seen the positive sides of that happening in South Sudan because most of the peacekeepers, they have really helped a lot in stabilizing South Sudan" (Eva, interviewee #9). And Carl expresses his beliefs about the government and UNMISS: "They are making the government to at least put aside some being harsh to their own citizens. Being cruel or difficult. The mission is making the government scared a bit, to come down from this ideology of creating crisis" (Carl, interviewee #3). Several interviewees believes that the peacekeeping mission has saved lives, as Oscar puts it: "Their solidarity is very good really, without them people would have to die. UNMISS they work hard, really, they save lives" (Oscar, interviewee #8).

6.2.3.2 Theme 2: Critique

I have chosen to add this theme to present that the interviewees first respond of positiveness to the mission might not be the whole picture of their perceptions and thoughts about this. Many show some critical views to the operation in some form or another. The topics that have been recurrent regard the mission's mobility, their presence, exploitation of civilians, sexual exploitation of women, violence inside the PoC sites and the peacekeeping personnel's effort.

Both Adam and Andrew expressed their views on mobility. Adam said that: "They should be moving where there are problems" (Adam, interviewee #1). Andrew pointed to that if peacekeeping personnel moved around inside the Malakal PoC site the peacekeepers would know the situation, and as he said himself: "the situation there is not good" (Andrew, interviewee #2).

During the interviews exploitation of civilians was brought up several times. Carl expressed his views as such: "Some personnel are exploiting the locals. That's why some within the community, the locals, feel discomfort" (Car, interviewee #3). He continues: "Some of them are a little bit harsh, a little bit difficult to some civilians. Some of them exploit the normal citizens, especially the refugees, those who came as displaced to the camps" (Carl, interviewee #3). Andrew and Adam are both stating that sexual exploitation is happening. Adam believes there are issues inside the PoC sites and when asked to elaborate he just said sexual exploitation. Adam expressed the same when he told me about a peacekeeping soldier who allegedly raped a young girl in Bentiu. Alice said that she believed there is a problem with rape: "There are some soldiers, most especially in South Sudan, like there is a problem of raping women, that thing happened there, like there are some people who go and they rape some women there" (Alice, interviewee #6).

The uneven presence of UN peacekeepers was also a topic. Eva said that: "Because one the issue is that they are not present in each and every place where the insecurities are taking place. So, if they have more personnel to reach people, civilians in a wider perspective, it is a good thing" (Eva, interviewee #9). Peter said that: "Some states they can't reach because of bad roads and insecurity" (Peter, interviewee #7). And others believe there is a need for more personnel in the PoC sites as there have been several outbreaks of violence. Philip said that: … some people also, inside UNMISS … like these Nuer people they can also fight … and

they (UNMISS) cannot control it sometimes" (Philip, interviewee #5). Alice said that: "Sometimes there are some soldiers from the government they come and attack the people inside the camp. That causes problems". (Alice, interviewee #6).

For some, their critique was about the peacekeeping personnel. As Adam said it: "People say they (UNMISS) didn't do enough to protect" and he continued: "The protection was supposed to be exclusively civilians, but there are some military or officers who goes to the PoC sites" (Adam, interviewee #1). Carl believes that: "There are diseases and there is not a lot of support when it comes to psychological support … UNMISS don't do a lot sometimes" (Carl, interviewee #3). Peter expressed that he was disappointed with the mission but did not want to explain why. He later expressed that he believes that: "They are doing their best, some part, but not all … They give, but not the maximum" (Peter, interviewee #7). Adam stated what he believed: "That part to protect is there but has not come to life. It is on paper, but not on the ground" (Adam, interviewee #1).

6.2.4 Discussion of Interviews

The coding of the interviews was done to present what I the believe to be the main points of what the perceptions, interpretations, ideas and thoughts of the interviewees. As mentioned earlier the interviewees were mostly very positive to the UN and UNMISS when we first sat down and talked together about UNMISS. During the interviews all the interviewees expressed thoughts of how UNMISS were in some part not as great as they first let me believe. Their answers on some topics showed that there were some discrepancies between their first positive notions about the mission and how they perceived parts of the mission. Some of the interviewees showed thorough reflections of what was missing while others were unable to give a detailed reason behind their thoughts and ideas.

The interviewees had as expected different perceptions about all the identified themes, what I did believe to find while processing the data from the interviews were a more negative mindset toward UNMISS from the interviewees from the Upper Nile region. This is because, as mentioned in the literature review, there have been several reports from that region on conflicts and turmoil, especially from the Malakal PoC site. However, this turned out to be false. Four of the interviewees are from the Upper Nile region and their views were not more negative or critical towards UNMISS. All nine of the interviewees were expressing different

thoughts on the different topics we discussed, which is also to be expected as they are of different age, from different regions and their stories are all different, thus their perceptions and experiences with UNMISS will be different.

What I find interesting in the interviews are the contradictions several interviewees are expressing in their own thoughts. As shown above, there are several interviewees who are expressing thoughts and show positive perceptions about different aspects of UNMISS's operation, and the same interviewees are expressing a contradiction of that when asked a question about either challenges they believe the mission have or why they believe a situation is the way it is. One example is where some interviewees are praising UNMISS for their activities, and the same interviewees are later saying that UNMISS are not doing enough. From such contradictions one also discovers that they perceive and understand UNMISS's mandate to protect differently. Some interviewees showed some misperceptions about what UNMISS are allowed to do and not allowed to do. Where these misperceptions come from is hard to say, as it can be personal experiences, something they have heard from friends or relatives or it can be the word on the street from other civilians in PoC sites and refugee camps.

Can one argue that the civilian's perceptions of protection are not line with human security? As this thesis utilizes the broader sense and the non-categorical approach of human security, which means that security implies more than safety from violent threats and entails creating the building blocks for survival, livelihood and dignity, I do not believe so. Since every insecurity or fear the civilians perceive or feel leaves them unable to live how they like. There are factors they do not control as there are conflict or war in their regions which stops them from going about their daily life. In that sense one cannot argue that the civilian's perceptions are not in line with human security. This thesis's view of human security is about freedom from fear and freedom from want, it includes viewing protection as the vital core of all humans lives and it is open to interpretation, as said before, people's needs will differ. That is why when the interviewees express their views of what they need to feel protected or how they perceive safety their answers are in line with human security. The interviewees mentioned topics that is on the list of what human security entails, such as freedom to express yourself without the danger of being brutalized by soldiers, having the right to study, to have the basic resources to survive such as food or clean drinking water. As stated before, this

broader sense of viewing human security enables us to include several aspects of a person's life. Which will help civilians who live in a conflict or war zone to express their perceptions and needs, as their needs will be different from situation to situation and over time.

However, as one of the critiques of the broader aspect mentioned, that prioritizing everything a threat will in effect prioritize nothing. If one is to prioritize every single perception civilians feel is a threat to their security there will be difficulties in the implementation of peacekeeping activities to make sure everyone is safe. One can criticize the UN for not being mobile enough or not having enough resources, but for a peacekeeping mission to keep everyone safe at all times is realistically not feasible as there will be too many threats. If utilizing the narrower approach of human security, one could maybe be able to conclude differently than what I do here. The narrower approach would argue that UNMISS's PoC activities are more successful, as their view leans toward a traditional security thinking, where activities protecting civilians from physical violence would be enough. If I were to use the UNDP 1994 Human development report's seven categories for human security, I also believe I would have gotten slightly different answers as the categories would enable me to pinpoint the interviewees answer to something concrete either in line with or not in line with human security. But as I have obtained an interpretivist view, this would have hindered me in grasping the subjective meaning the interviewees have.

To discuss if the civilian's perception of security is in line with human security is somewhat complicated. One issue is that I interviewed civilians that are not living in South Sudan, which can affect the answers and our conversations. Some of the interviewees left South Sudan before the 2013 civil war broke out, others fled to neighboring countries in the years from 2013-2016 and some left South Sudan as late as 2018 and 2019. This can affect the interviewees perceptions of UNMISS and the current situation in South Sudan since some of their reflections are based on what friends and family have told them and hearsay from others. One can wonder if their very first positive remarks came by understanding that am I a researcher and an outsider to their communities. Some interviewees were more skeptical than others when it came to be having a conversation with me and wanted to be explained in detail where I was from and what this information was to be used for. It is understandable that one is skeptical about discussing UNMISS if one believes it can later be used against you as a person. As I only talked with the interviewees once it is hard for me to say something about

my affect on them over a longer period of time, or about trust between interviewee and interviewer. But no matter if I talked with them once or several times, the presence of a researcher will affect the situation, the environment and the naturalness of the setting. Therefore, one can argue that the setting for the conversations are forced and their answers not one hundred percent reliable.

One can also discuss if a peacekeeping operation is the best alternative for the civilian population, as some of the interviewees brought up a very serious matter, sexual exploitation of women by peacekeepers. As previously mentioned, UNMISS is not the only peacekeeping mission where this is happening. There have been reports about this from other missions as well and has been a recurring problem for many missions. Peacekeepers are supposed to be a symbol of safety and protection and their misuse of power is a major issue for the safety of the civilians. The group of civilians this problem is mostly affecting is girls and women, an already vulnerable group of civilians in many conflict and war driven countries. This problem can affect the women's will to seek help from UN soldiers and their security situation will be worsened, as the people they are supposed to be able to trust have showed themselves to exploit them. Another issue is the predominantly use of military interventions to preserve peace. This is as mentioned in the literature review been one of the critiques against human security as it is seemed to preserve Western-dominated interests.

6.2.5   Summary of the Interview Analysis

For the thematic coding one can say that the interviewees are in some ways positive to what the UN and UNMISS has achieved. All the interviewees had something positive to say about the mission, while for the most part everyone mentioned different aspects of the mission. Several interviewees also critiqued UNMISS for some aspects of the mission, for this part the interviewees were somewhat more coherent. The critique went mostly on the mission's mobility issues and the peacekeepers inability to act when the interviewees were expecting them to. As mentioned in the delimitations of this thesis, the goal is not to generalize the interviewees answers, therefore, I am only able to present their views and thoughts the way they have perceived the reality in front of them. The interviewees are all different individuals with different perceptions of the mission and their country. Thus, the conclusion is that the interviewees have perceived the mission's activity with their own eyes and have understood

the mission's activities, strategies, and communication the way that is right for them. For the interviewees from the Upper Nile district I believed there would be more anger, and it might be, but the four interviewees in this project did not show such fury anger or outrage. But again, that might also be the situation we are in, where a strange white girl is sitting opposite them and trying to have a heart-to-heart with them about their country, their travesties and the UN peacekeeping mission who are trying to keep them safe and alive.

6.3   Discussion of Findings

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the voices of civilians and their perspectives of PoC in South Sudan in an attempt to close the gap in the existing literature, where the civilian's perceptions of PoC is barely mentioned. To accomplish this, I produced research questions to explore the topics of civilian's perceptions and expectations of PoC to compare the civilian's views to the UN's views. The findings for the thesis explore different aspects of the PoC mandate, its connection to human security and presents the civilians own perceptions, expectations and general thoughts about the PoC mandate. This part of the discussion will examine the connection between the PoC policy document and the interviews with civilians from South Sudan and explore if there are any discrepancies between the UN's perceptions of protection and the civilians. The key findings from the PoC policy documents presented a few compatible factors to human security and as discussed can it be said that the findings are not compatible with human security at all since the policy's focus is mainly for physical protection.

Can one argue that the civilian's perception of the PoC mandate differs from the UN's perceptions? I believe the findings from the interviews show a difference in what the civilians I interviewed conceive as important versus what the PoC policy present in the documents. All of the interviewees had an immediate positive response when asked about the PoC mandate and what their individual thoughts were about it. Most of the interviewees acknowledge that the PoC mandate enables UNMISS to help civilians in need of physical protection of some sort, through patrols in towns, their presence with armed soldiers or at the PoC sites where some of the interviewees have stayed for some time before fleeing the country. The interviewees immediate perceptions of the PoC mandate were for me positive remarks of UNMISS saving lives and providing services for civilians. Some interviewees would mention

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services such as basic healthcare and food while others mentioned education. This is an important matter to discuss. The interviewees mentioned services beyond physical protection as activities UNMISS provide for civilians. Whereas UNMISS's number one priority is PoC. UNMISS is one of the biggest peacekeeping operations in the world and does have different mandates in their mission. Therefore, activities that may not be a part of the PoC mandate, such as providing resources for education, are likely to be mixed with activities for PoC, such as providing for physical protection, for the interviewees. This can show that the interviewees do not understand the PoC mandate the same way I do, and the UN do. It can imply that for the interviewees, UNMISS is one big operation who cooperate to provide as much services as possible for the civilians in the country. This can be summed up to be one of the misperceptions the interviewees possess towards UNMISS and the PoC mandate.

The interviewees immediate positive responds are not the whole picture of their perceptions toward the PoC mandate. Throughout the interviews other views were expressed where comments of UNMISS's lack of mobility and focus in city centers came forward. One interviewee expressed his view in a way that is compatible with what many reports about the mission has stated before him, namely that some portions of the PoC mandate is on paper, but not implemented on the ground. I believe that the major difference in the interviewee's perceptions of the PoC mandate and UNMISS is their views on provision of resources and their critique on lack of mobility. The PoC policy does not mention providing resources to civilians as their main objective is to serve physical protection to civilians. However, if the PoC sites and the PoC mandate enable other sections of UNMISS and humanitarian organizations to provide resources such as food, healthcare and education due to their physical protection that can be viewed as a part of the PoC mandate as well. Which again connects the PoC policy to human security, as it provides some building blocks for civilians to give them a dignified life. These remarks of resource provision are also one of the factors that differentiate the interviewees perspectives of the PoC mandate and the UN. The UN's PoC Policy main objective is to provide physical protection either through direct physical protection, dialogue with perpetrators or potential perpetrators or through provision of safe environments for civilians and does not mention anything regarding other types of services.

When the interviewees were asked about their own safety the answers ranged from physical protection from danger to provision of resources so civilians can go about their daily lives

again. For some it meant that they were protected from physical harm by soldiers and for some it meant that they were free to do whatever they like. The answers conform well with what has been defined as freedom from fear and freedom from want as their ideas and perceptions on protection and security contains factors such being able to farm their land or be able to go about your daily life without a fear for your own life, your home, your land etc. The PoC policy document does not spell out all its objectives for what a PoC mandate shall contribute to as missions with a PoC mandate are in different locations with different concerns. Their goal is to serve physical protection for the civilian population within the capacity of the mission. And if their objectives to protect civilians reach so far that the civilians have the ability to somewhat go about their daily life, it is arguable that the mission has succeeded with their mandate, while also obtaining some of the same views about civilian's own protection as the interviewees.

Regarding the civilian's expectations for UNMISS the interviewees answers differed somewhat, but where mostly concerning the same topics such as peace, peace agreements, intervention from peacekeeping soldiers, to communicate with civilians and a solution to their sufferings. Some of the interviewees expressed an expectation for more peacekeeping personnel and that the peacekeeping personnel would intervene more than what they have done. Some interviewees were somewhat disappointed with what the peacekeeping mission has been able to do and perceive the mission's activities and effort to be lacking. One interviewee was very clear when he pointed out that he expected more from the mission than what they have been able to do. Expectations for everlasting peace or interventions from soldiers that would solve all the different issues in the country can be said to show a misperception of what a peacekeeping operation are able to do. There are many different units and entities with various rules and expectations in play for such a major peacekeeping operation, which can be hard to understand if there is a lack of information about the peacekeeping mission's objectives. Their misperceptions can be connected to the PoC policy's communication activities with local communities as most of those activities have got a lower level of obligation than what other protection activities have. And might be a result of low levels of communication between local communities, community leaders and UNMISS to make sure the civilians understand what UNMISS are able to do or not.

UNMISS as a UN peacekeeping operation, following the Department of Peace Operations rules and guidelines and the PoC mandate will have a different view of what protection is than the civilian population. UNMISS PoC objective is solely for physical protection of the civilians, and the PoC Policy and UNMISS's PoC mandate secures the level of obligation for the protection activities UNMISS can implement and carry out. The fact that the definition for the PoC mandate states activities to deter, prevent or respond to threats of physical violence will be the main difference between UNMISS and civilian's perception of what protection is. The interviewees have multiple times stated that they believe UNMISS perform their activities somewhat well, but that their effort is not enough. The interviewees idea of what protection is and what is needed to feel protected goes beyond physical protection. Their basic needs such as food, water and medical care have been mentioned more than once. And I believe the interviewees answers conform well with two of human security's concepts, freedom of fear and freedom from want. How I understand the answers from the civilians will be connected to the broader approach of human security where civilians' needs are more than just freedom from war. Thus, can one conclude that the interviewees perceptions of protection are different than those of the UNMISS, as UNMISS's guidelines define the protection mandate as activities to deter, prevent or respond to threats of physical violence? How the PoC policy defines the PoC mandate today does not correspond with the broader aspect of human security nor the interviewees views of protection today.

However, as mentioned before, if the physical protection of civilians lead to other UN entities or NGO's capability to perform activities which do correspond with human security and the interviewee's views of what is important for their safety and protection, does that imply that the PoC policy in some way also correspond with the civilians views and human security? I do not think so. The policy guides the activities for peacekeeping personnel, and the level of obligation for some of their activities do not conform with human security. When activities that involve communication with local communities or civilians perceptions about their security situation only is given a level of obligation for what they can do and what can be expected of the mission I believe their focus lie with direct physical protection and not activities that can assist civilians with other needs they might have. A second point is that it is arguable that the creation and implementation of a PoC policy is a step towards human security and a focus of the individual in the center. It may of course be, as discussed earlier, an attempt by the UN to secure their own legitimacy as well. But the use of PoC has evolved

side by side with the idea of human security which can be seen to address the international community's concern of offering a framework for humanitarian intervention and placing the individual in the center.

As stated in the introduction does this thesis not wish to generalize the findings from the interviewees to the whole civilian population of South Sudan. The summary of the findings only presents the perceptions and ideas from the interviewees and how I have interpreted their answers. As expected did the interviewees expect somewhat different things from UNMISS, and their perceptions of the PoC mandate where somewhat positive as most of them do appreciate the job UNMISS have done and do believe many civilian lives have been spared as a result of UNMISS PoC activities. The interviewees perceptions of the PoC mandate differ from the UN's view as the civilians are not only concerned about their physical protection but also concerned with provision of services and basic needs.

6.4   Summary

This last part of the chapter has explored the data presentations ability to answer the research questions for this thesis. Here I have presented the findings in coherence with human security and the three research questions presented in the introduction. The aim for the research questions was to explore the civilian's perceptions and expectations of the PoC mandate for UNMISS. Here I have concluded that the interviewees perceptions of the PoC mandate are different than those of UNMISS as the PoC Policy is mainly for physical protection and the interviewees perceptions and expectations imply more than physical protection. Some of the reason why the PoC Policy and the interviewees perceptions and expectations differ can be due to the PoC Policy's level of obligation toward communication with local communities as there is a low level of obligation to communicate their main objectives with the civilians. One can also conclude that with utilizing human security to address the PoC Policy will one never be able to conclude otherwise as the PoC Policy the way it is today focuses solely on physical protection toward civilians.

UNMISS gave me hope (Interviewee #4, 2019)

This thesis has explored the perceptions and expectations of South Sudanese civilians toward UNMISS PoC mandate, compared it to the UN's PoC Policy and viewed the two different actors through human security theory. The study has sought to illuminate the perceptions of the civilian population as this is a under researched topic when discussing the UN, UNMISS, peacekeeping operations and Protection of Civilians. In this regard, the thesis began by presenting South Sudan's historical background in order to understand the landscape for the thesis. The following Methodology chapter outlined the tools and techniques utilized in this research. Furthermore, chapter 4 outlined the conceptual and theoretical frameworks utilized for the thesis, more specifically the theory of human security, where I utilized the broader conception of the theory with special emphasis on The Commissions definition where freedom from fear and freedom from want are important aspects coupled with their non-categorical view of creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. Altogether, these chapters constitute the backdrop of the data presentation and analysis in chapter 6, in which the study's findings where discussed and reflected upon. This final chapter will summarize the empirical findings of the research based on the theory utilized for this thesis.

7.1   Summary

Based on human security theory have the findings for this thesis been presented with a somewhat critical view of the PoC mandate and the activities involved for the PoC policy. It can be said that the PoC policy does not at all conform with human security as it is solely about physical protection. However, as discussed can one argue that the physical protection assists other agencies and units of UNMISS to help the civilian population. The interviewees for this thesis have all different expectations and perceptions of UNMISS and the PoC mandate, which was as expected as people's needs differ in different situations.

Human security is a somewhat vague theory as it does not exist any consensus of what it really means or what focus it should constitute. While also been critiqued for being developed

from Western ideas, as being a tool to preserve Western-dominated interests and failing to alter the security considerations and practices of states who are seemed to be key actors. It has been criticized for its inadequacy to provide a resource for understanding global security politics and with little political precedent. For this thesis I utilized a broader perspective of human security with utilizing The Commissions definition where protecting freedoms that are the essence of live, freedom from want and freedom from fear is central.

I believe UNMISS is constrained by the guidelines for their main mandates, which will ultimately affect the civilians on the ground. As presented in the findings for the PoC policy are there some sections of the policy that do not conform with human security, while others can be argued to be coherent with human security. I believe the major concerns for the PoC policy is the level of obligation for some activities that could be assisting the civilian population and the mission to understand each other better. Some of the issues with the PoC policy will also be the phrasings where it can be argued that there is a Western ideology or path dependency that may be holding the development of the PoC policy back.

The data findings from the interviews have presented views from South Sudanese civilians living in Kampala who all have different expectations and perceptions about UNMISS and the PoC mandate. Some expressed some misperceptions about the mission while others expressed a disappointment toward UNMISS's activities. At the same time the interviewees had all some positive remarks about the mission's ability to physically protect. However, the interviewees mostly commented on their ability to protect inside the missions PoC sites. Something that is a well-known issue of the peacekeeping mission in South Sudan. Their resources do no extend to be able to perform all the activities they are mandated to. Which is one major problem for today's UN peacekeeping mission in South Sudan. The interviewees perceptions and expectations are at some areas expressing what the international community has pointed to before and other times the interviewees have expressed opinions that is hard to come by as the UN and UNMISS does not always cooperate with the civilian population and it can be seen as the interviewees perceptions are laid aside. Some of the interviewees expressed opinions that are coherent with what CIVIC have reported from South Sudan, such as civilians misperception of UNMISS range, their mandated obligation to protect both outside and inside the PoC sites and their remarks about sexual exploitation of civilians. This allows me to conclude that what the civilians I have met with reflects perceptions from a

larger group of civilians. There is not a goal to generalize the findings from this thesis, but it ensures me that the perceptions of the interviewees are worth exploring for a better view of the PoC policy and how it is implemented in South Sudan.

7.2   Concluding Remarks

The way the PoC Policy is constructed today is not sufficient to protect civilians from other harms than direct physical violence. The problem of path dependency and the use of Western ideas to build the policy can be part of the problem. I believe the level of obligation for some tasks such as dialogue and communication with local communities have to be upgraded by the UN. I also believe that to get a detailed answer on questions such as the research questions for this thesis one has to research this further and be able to interviewee civilians that are actually in South Sudan. I do not believe the answers from my interviewees are wrong just because the interviewees are not in South Sudan, but the security situation changes often in countries with conflict and war and the perceptions of civilians in South Sudan might be different.

The topics discussed in this thesis are maybe not new concerns for the international community or the UN as such, as the interviewees touched upon issues and concerns that other scholars and NGO's have reported for some time now. However, there is a need for more thorough research on the civilian's perceptions done in a larger scale than a Master's thesis as civilians are the victims of the war and their inputs can be valuable to obtain knowledge which can be utilized to understand their situation and develop a PoC strategy which is more in line with what the civilians themselves believe they need.

The UN's PoC policy is under continued scrutiny by researchers and the UN themselves. The UN is adapting and editing the PoC policy and publishing new material to understand its key ideas. Just as late as mid May 2020 did UNDPO publish their first PoC Handbook which objective is to serve as a practical guide for mission personnel deployed in a peacekeeping operation (UNDPO, p. i, 2020). Thus, there are still much to research in this field.

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Appendix A: Interview guide

General information

- Name, age, gender, occupation
- Where are you from?
- When did you leave South Sudan?

Experiences with UN

- What kinds of experiences do have with UNMISS as a mission?
- What kinds of experiences do you have with soldiers from UNMISS?

  Protection and security
- What is most important for you to feel protected?
- Do you think UNMISS wants the best for the civilians in South Sudan?
- Do you think UNMISS and civilians as yourself have the same ideas of what is important when protecting civilians?
- According to the UN Security Council Resolution 1996, which established UNMISS, the mission's mandate was: to consolidate peace and security – what do you feel about that statement?
- After the December 2013 conflict in Juba the UN did some changes in its mandate to focus more on POC and gave an increase in the size of its peacekeeping force – did you feel more presence of UN personnel to help with protection of civilians?
- Did you feel safer when the UN had more personnel to work on this mission?
- How do you feel about this statement: The mandate to protect civilians leaves out local civilians who receive little protection and remain vulnerable to extreme violence.
- Now the mission has a clause in the POC mandate stating "authorizes UNMISS to use all necessary means" to protect civilians. Did you feel more protected after that 2014 resolution? Did you "feel" the change in the mandate or did things stay the same for you?
- What do you see as the main security challenges today?

Expectations

- What kinds of expectations did you have when you heard that UN was setting up a peacekeeping mission in South-Sudan?
- Did you feel a change in the mission with more UN forces on the ground?
- What do you think is the main challenges of the POC mandate?
- What do you see as positive with the POC mandate?
- Gives it hope?
- What do you think UN s role in South Sudan should be?
- What do you think is the governments role in this?
- What do you see as South Sudan's future? (conflict, peace, protection/security)

Sum up

- Sum up
- Ask about different statements that might be incoherent
- Something you would like to add?
- Remember that you can withdraw at any time from this process