

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND
PEACEBUILDING: AN ANALYSIS OF PEACEBUILDING INTERVENTIONS
IN LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE THROUGH THE WORLD SOCIETY
FRAMEWORK

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

BURAK TOYGAR HALİSTOPRAK

Department of International Relations
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
December 2015

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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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BURAK TOYGAR HALİSTOPRAK

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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

December 2015

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür Özdamar
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Pınar İpek
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Haldun Yalçınkaya
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Balkan Devlen
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Selver Şahin
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan
Director

ABSTRACT

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PEACEBUILDING: AN ANALYSIS OF INTERVENTIONS IN LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE THROUGH THE WORLD SOCIETY FRAMEWORK

Halistoprak, Burak Toygar

Ph.D., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür Özdamar

December 2015

Although the world society (WS) framework appears to be an important cornerstone in the theoretical triad of the English School (ES), it is the least developed concept amongst others (Buzan 2004). This dissertation's objective is to contribute to the literature which aims to develop and revitalize the WS framework, which is one of the three pillars of the ES of International Relations (IR). It uses this theoretical approach in the analysis of peacebuilding intervention practices. The dissertation proposes three specific parameters which constitute the progress from the international to world society framework. In this regard, changes in the (1) normative context, (2) agency and (3) identity appear as themes which differentiate the WS framework as a distinct theoretical category. The dissertation develops the argument that the progress from the international to world society overlaps with the change in the nature of intervention which have been evolving from traditional peacekeeping to new peacebuilding. The empirical sections of the dissertation focus on the peacebuilding experiences in Liberia and Sierra Leone. These cases are analyzed with specific references to the parameters emphasized in the theoretical chapters. Both qualitative analysis and quantitative content analysis methods are employed in the empirical chapters. According to the results, I suggest that the peacebuilding interventions are better understood and explained through the lenses of the WS framework compared to the international society framework which remains rather state-centric in terms of its normative context and agents. The results also challenge several long established arguments in the peacebuilding literature which suggest that

the normative center of the peacebuilding is built upon the understanding of human/individual security.

Keywords: English School, World Society, International Society, Intervention, Peacebuilding, Peacekeeping, Human Security, Societal Security, State Security, Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Civil War.

ÖZET

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER TEORİSİNDE İNGİLİZ OKULU VE BARİŞİNŞAASI: LİBERYA VE SİERRA LEONE MÜDEHALELERİNİN DÜNYA TOPLUMU ÇERÇEVESİ İÇİNDE ANALİZİ

Halistoprak, Burak Toygar

Ph.D., Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Özgür Özdamar

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‘Dünya Toplumu’ kavramının, İngiliz Okulu’nun teorik üçlüsünün önemli bir köşe taşı olmasına ragmen, diğer kavramlara göre en az geliştirilmiş kavram olduğu görülmektedir (Buzan 2004). Bu tezin amacı, Uluslararası İlişkiler yaklaşımlarından İngiliz Okulu’nun üç ayağından biri olan dünya toplumu (DT) kavramını geliştirmeyi ve yeniden canlandırmayı amaçlayan literatüre katkıda bulunmaktır. Tez, barışınşası müdahalelerine bu kavramsal çerçeve içerisinden yaklaşmaktadır. Tezde, uluslararası toplum kategorisinden dünya toplumu çerçevesine geçişi açıklayan üç spesifik parametre sunulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, (1) normatif bağlamda, (2) faillikte ve (3) kimlikte meydana gelen değişimler, dünya toplumu çerçevesini farklı kavramsal bir kategori kılan temalar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Tez, uluslararası toplumdan dünya toplumuna ilerlemenin, barışı korumadan (peacekeeping) barışınşasına (peacebuilding) doğru evrilen müdahale çerçevesi ile örtüştüğü savını geliştirmektedir. Tezin ampirik bölümleri Liberya ve Sierra Leone’de yaşanan barışınşası deneyimlerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu örnekler, tezin kavramsal bölümlerinde geliştirilen parametreler çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Ampirik bölümlerde hem nitel yöntemler kullanılmış, hem de nicel içerik analizi yöntemine başvurulmuştur. Sonuçlara göre, normatif bağlam ve failleri açısından devlet-merkezci kalan uluslararası toplum çerçevesi ile karşılaştırıldığında, dünya toplumu çerçevesinin sunduğu bakış açısının barışınşası müdahalelerini daha iyi anlamamızı ve açıklamamızı sağladığı görülmüştür. Sonuçlar, barışınşası literatüründeki, bu müdahale tarzının normatif merkezinin insan/birey güvenliği üzerine inşa edildiğini savunan köklü tartışmalara sorgulamamızı sağlayacak veriler ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İngiliz Okulu, Dünya Toplumu, Uluslararası Toplum, Müdahale, Barışınşası, Barışı Koruma, İnsan Güvenliği, Toplumsal Güvenlik, Devlet Güvenliği, Afrika, Liberya, Sierra Leone, İç Savaş

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Early English School scholars' accounts on the World Society.....	31
Table 2: Three Parameters in Two Approaches.....	36
Table 3: Evolution of Normative Agenda Across Three Categories of the English School.....	72
Table 4: Evolution of Identity Across the Categories of the English School.....	89
Table 5: Interviewee List.....	130
Table 6: Hypotheses on Liberia Case and Their Results.....	244
Table 7: Hypotheses on the Sierra Leone Case and Their Results.....	314
Table 8: Hypotheses and Results.....	321

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Distribution of Coded References According to Sample Type.....	190
Figure 2: Distribution of 429 References to Different Referent Objects.....	191
Figure 3: Ratio-based Distribution of the References to the Referent Objects.....	193
Figure 4: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	194
Figure 5: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	195
Figure 6: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	196
Figure 7: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	196
Figure 8: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	197
Figure 9: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	197
Figure 10: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	198
Figure 11: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	198
Figure 12: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	199
Figure 13: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	200
Figure 14: Distribution of 343 References to Referent Objects in the UN Sample.....	201
Figure 15: Ratio-Based Distribution of Reference to Referent Objects in the UN Sample.....	202
Figure 16: Distribution of the 86 References to Referent Objects in the NGO Sample.....	203
Figure 17: Ratio-Based Distribution of the References to Reference Objects in the NGO Sample.....	204
Figure 18: Distribution of the coded references to Sample Type.....	220
Figure 19: Distribution of References to Agents.....	221
Figure 20: Ratio-Based Distribution of References to Agents.....	222
Figure 21: Distribution of References to Agents in the UN Sample.....	224

Figure 22: Ratio-Based Distribution of References to Agents in the UN Sample.....	225
Figure 23: Distribution of References to Agents in the NGO Sample.....	226
Figure 24: Ratio-Based Distribution of References to Agents in the NGO Sample.....	228
Figure 25: State: Positive or Negative Agency.....	229
Figure 26: State: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	230
Figure 27: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency.....	231
Figure 28: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	232
Figure 29: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	233
Figure 30: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	234
Figure 31: Individual/Society: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	234
Figure 32: Individual/Society: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	235
Figure 33: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency.....	235
Figure 34: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency (Ratio-based).....	236
Figure 35: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	237
Figure 36: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	237
Figure 37: Distribution of Coded Normative Agenda References According to Sample Type.....	275
Figure 38: Distribution of the Coded References to Referent Objects.....	276
Figure 39: Ratio-based Distribution of the Coded References to Referent Objects.....	278
Figure 40: Normative Agenda in the UN Sample.....	280
Figure 41: Normative Agenda in the UN Sample (Ratio-based).....	281
Figure 42: Normative Agenda in the NGO Sample.....	282
Figure 43: Normative Agenda in the NGO Sample (Ratio-based).....	283
Figure 44: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	285
Figure 45: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	285

Figure 46: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	286
Figure 47: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	286
Figure 48: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	287
Figure 49: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	288
Figure 50: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	289
Figure 51: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	290
Figure 52: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?.....	291
Figure 53: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based).....	291
Figure 54: Distribution of Agency References to Sample Type.....	297
Figure 55: Distribution of Agency References to Agents.....	299
Figure 56: Ratio-based Distribution of Agency References to Agents.....	300
Figure 57: Agency in the UN Sample.....	301
Figure 58: Agency in the UN Sample (Ratio-based).....	302
Figure 59: Agency in the NGO Sample.....	304
Figure 60: Agency in the NGO Sample (Ratio-based).....	305
Figure 61: State: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	306
Figure 62: State: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	307
Figure 63: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	308
Figure 64: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	308
Figure 65: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	309
Figure 66: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	310
Figure 67: Society: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	310
Figure 68: Society: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	311
Figure 69: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency.....	312
Figure 70: Profit-seeking Organ.: Positive or Negative Agency (Ratio-based).....	312
Figure 71: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency?.....	313
Figure 72: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based).....	314

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACS: American Colonization Society

AFL: Armed Forces of Liberia

AFRC: Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

AFSL: Armed Forces of Sierra Leone

APC: All People's Congress

BIN: Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization

CENTAL: Center for Transparency and Accountability in Liberia

DDRR: Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Rehabilitation

ECOMOG: Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

EO: Executive Outcomes

ES: English School

ICC: International Criminal Court

IGNU: Interim Government of National Unity

INCHRA: Independent National Commission on Human Rights Act

INPFL: Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia

IO: International Organizations

IR: International Relations

LHRC: Liberia Human Right Commission

LNP: Liberia National Police

LURD: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy

MODEL: Movement for Democracy in Liberia

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NDI: National Democracy Institute

NGO: Non-governmental Organizations

NPFL: National Patriotic Front of Liberia

NPP: National Patriotic Party

NPRC: National Provisional Ruling Council

NTGL: National Transition Government of Liberia

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PRC: People's Redemption Council

PSL: Parliament of Sierra Leone

RUF: Revolutionary United Front

RUFP: Revolutionary United Front Party

SLPCF: Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework

SLPP: Sierra Leone People's Party

SMC: Statement of Mutual Commitments

TI: Transparency International

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

TWP: True Whig Party

UK: United Kingdom

ULIMO: United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy

ULIMO-J: United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy Krahn Faction

ULIMO-K: United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy Mandigo Faction

UN: United Nations

UNAMSIL: United Nations Mission to Sierra Leone

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNIPSIL: United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone

UNITAF: Unified Task Force

UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia

UNOMIL: United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

UNOSOM: United Nations Operation in Somalia

UNPC: United Nations Peacebuilding Commission

UNSCOB: United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans

US: United States

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WANEP: West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

WIPNET: Women in Peacebuilding Network

WS: World Society

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The English School and World Society	1
1.2. Bridging the World Society with Peacebuilding.....	6
1.3. Research Questions	10
1.4. Contribution of the Dissertation.....	12
1.5. The Organization of the Dissertation	14
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	17
2.1. General English School Literature	17
2.2. The Literature on World Society.....	24
<i>Critical Accounts</i>	32
2.3. Intervention Literature	37
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES.....	51
3.1. Change, Transition and Transformation in International Politics.....	54
3.2. Changing Parameters Constituting the World Society.....	61

3.2.1. Normative Agenda	62
3.2.2. Agency	73
3.2.3. Identity	83
3.3. The Nature of the Intervention at Stake: The Gulf War as A Practice of the International Society	89
3.4. Assumptions and Hypotheses	110
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY	114
4.1. Case Selection	115
4.2. Methods.....	118
4.2.1. Case Study Method	118
4.2.2. Interviews.....	121
4.2.2.1. Interview Template	125
4.2.2.2. Interviewee List.....	130
4.2.3. Content Analysis	131
4.2.3.1. Data Collection and Sampling	135
4.2.3.2. Variables	137
4.2.3.2.1. Normative Agenda	137
4.2.3.2.2. Agency	138
CHAPTER 5: INTERVENTION IN LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR AND POST- CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING	140
5.1. Historical Background	142
5.1.1. A Brief History of Liberia.....	142

5.1.2. The Civil War.....	151
5.1.3. Interventions in Liberian Civil War	156
5.2. Peacebuilding Operation in Liberia	167
5.2.1. Normative Agenda	172
5.2.1.1. Strengthening the Rule of Law in Liberia.....	174
5.2.1.2. Supporting the Security Sector Reform	179
5.2.1.3. National Reconciliation.....	181
5.2.1.4. Normative Priorities in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis.....	187
5.2.2. Agency	205
5.2.2.1. Agents in the Statement of Mutual Commitment	207
5.2.2.2. Other Agents of Liberia Peacebuilding Intervention	210
5.2.2.3. Agents in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis...	218
5.2.3. Identity	238
5.3. Hypotheses and Discussion.....	244
CHAPTER 6: INTERVENTION IN SIERRA LEONEAN CIVIL WAR AND POST- CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING	248
6.1. Historical Background	249
6.1.1. A Brief History of Sierra Leone.....	250
6.1.2. The Civil War.....	257
6.1.3. Interventions in Sierra Leonean Civil War	260
6.2. Peacebuilding Operation in Sierra Leone	265

6.2.1. Normative Agenda	267
6.2.1.1. Normative Priorities in the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework	268
6.2.1.2. Normative Priorities in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis.....	274
6.2.2. Agency	292
6.2.2.1 Agency in the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework	293
6.2.2.2. Agents in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis...	296
6.3. Hypotheses and Discussion.....	314
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION.....	319
7.1. General Discussion.....	320
7.1.1. Implications Derived from Different Literatures	324
7.1.2. Implications for a Sound Theoretical Framework of World Society	326
7.1.3. Bridging the Theoretical Framework with Practices	333
7.2. Directions for Further Research	339
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	342
Appendix 1: Liberia Content Analysis Dataset.....	367
Appendix 2: Sierra Leone Content Analysis Dataset.....	369

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The English School and World Society

Many aspects of current world politics show that we are passing through a period in which principles of international relations have been evolving. International Relations (IR) literature is focusing on the debates about basic concepts of the field more than ever before. The concepts which were the constants of the international system, such as sovereignty or power are now argued to be undergoing a change in their form and content. This evolution of the international politics can be examined under three categories.

Firstly, as mentioned above, the concept of sovereignty is intensely debated. The concept undergoes a change that triggers a discussion on whether the founding principle of the international system is in decrease (Keohane 1995; Finnemore 2001;

Sorensen 2002). The concept of sovereignty have incrementally come to be the major ordering principle of the politics among states since Peace of Westphalia (1648), and it became the main determinant of world politics especially in the post-World War I era, in which empires are replaced by nation states. Yet, the rise of international organizations especially in post-World War II era limited the unfettered sovereignty space of the state actors. Accordingly, IR literature started to focus on the question that whether sovereignty will continue to remain as the main ordering principle of world politics. The question of sovereignty is handled by making reference to the topics such as humanitarian intervention and peacebuilding operations. In this regard, although state sovereignty formed the main normative base of the world politics for a long time, we are passing through a term in which the idea of state sovereignty remains secondary to several other normative agenda items in some cases.

Second, and related to sovereignty issue, the nature of foreign policy underwent a significant change. Classical views on international politics tended to "black box" the state (Hudson 2005), which illustrates states as unitary actors. Yet, several lines in the literature underlined that international politics is not simply the sum of state interactions, rather the decisions that shape the world politics are products of processes in which different institutions and individuals take active part. Furthermore, more intense emphasis is put on the non-state actors, global civil society and transnational organizations (Lipschutz 1992; Risse-Kappen 1995; Risse 2007). Today, international politics is not a field in which only the states interact, but it appears as field in which states face challenges and sometimes cooperate with non-state actors. With the effect of "communication age", not only non-state institutional bodies, but also even ordinary individuals create a new space of agency in which

they can make an impact on the political processes. Therefore, it is possible to suggest the concept of agency as a topic currently undergoing a form of change.

Third, identity contents of the agents are also intensely at stake. In traditional approaches to the world politics, the identities of the agents were often taken for granted. Considering that the discipline of IR was matured mainly in the Cold War era, it was understandable that the discipline was not deepened into the debates on identity, because, states had appeared as the primary agents of the world politics. The security concerns of the term constructed the state agents as self-regarded entities which focus intensely to the instinct of survival and the pursue their absolute interests *vis-a-vis* other state actors. Therefore, the assumption that agents of the world politics have fixed identity motivations which shape them as self-help actors were not questioned by most of the mainstream perspectives. With the diversification of the agents in world politics, different identity motivations started to be adopted by the agents of the world politics. Several agents which gain political significance within the context of the post-Cold War era correlated themselves with global causes which provided them a ground to construct more transnational forms of identity. In this regard, issues such as environment, peace, human rights started to constitute a new content for such identity motivations. In other words, both the content and scope of the identity underwent a change.

The English School, as a theoretical field, reserved the core of its literature to the discussions which are directly related with these three points. The emergence of the discipline of IR has been based on the so-called "founding dichotomy" (Dunne 1998). This dichotomy consisted of two distinct views of international politics, one figuring international politics as a field based on power struggle and the other underlining the possibility of cooperation and harmony among the actors of

international politics. The ES, on the other hand, presents a theoretical framework which is available for telling these dichotomously positioned stories at the same time, without necessarily preferring one over the other (Dunne 1998: 8). The ES formulates international politics through three major concepts: (1) International system is basically about power politics and built upon a Hobbesian understanding of international politics. (2) International society is about institutionalization of shared interests and identity among states and based on of a Grotian form of rationalism. (3) World society is based on individuals and non-states actors as a reflection of Kantian understanding of international politics. The ES suggests the argument that focusing on only one of these understandings causes overlooking other significant features of international politics. As a result the ES prefers not to tell Hobbesian, Kantian and Grotian stories in opposition to each other (Buzan 2001).

Amongst others, the world society approach appears to be the least developed concept of English school (Buzan 2001; Buzan 2006). Although it is identified with the Kantian view of world politics, there are many unanswered questions about what the ES scholars mean when they refer to an alleged world society. For example, how it differentiates from international society is a point which attracts significant scholarly interest. The literature has been discussing what the conditions of transformation from international to world society are. As related, it is also discussed whether it is a continuum from international society to world society or they co-exist as different features of world politics. Is world society something to replace national and international societies? Is a decisive break from nation state system necessary to speak of a world society in actual world politics? Recently, these questions trigger the ES literature to pay more attention on the concept of world society more than ever in the theory's history. As Buzan argues (2004: 6-62), the concept of world

society should be rescued from being used as the "theoretical dustbin" of the English School, into which scholars put every unresolved question of ES.

This dissertation project focuses the concept of world society with such a motivation. The world society approach appears to be a field which is not theoretically well-developed. Yet, it also presents a potential to understand the ongoing totalization and recently emerging cobweb set of interaction in the world politics. Although the concept has been represented as the marginal wing of the ES and remained secondary compared to international society within the theory, today international society remains as sort of a limited approach to understand and explain several features of world politics due to its state-centric ontology (Buzan 2004: 12, 33). Besides, it is not only a theoretical gap that attracts my intention, rather I argue that the world society approach has a practical explanation capacity for current world events.

With this in mind, this dissertation is built upon following question in its most general sense: What are the parameters of transformation from international society to world society? What is the relationship between international and world society? In other words, how does world society differentiate from international society? The literature includes many different views on what world society is about. Buzan (2001; 2004) suggests that world society has an ontological setting that is built on individuals and non-state actors, while international society is built on a state-centric ontology. Dunne (1998) argues that what differentiates world society from international society mainly lies in the strong normative agenda of this approach. Little (2000) correlates the world society approach with the agenda of global governance. Neumann (2001) suggests that the world society has an explanatory potential for the practices of globalization. All these perspectives on the world

society show that the concept can be used to understand and explain many different aspects of world politics. Yet, as also Buzan notes, since the concept is theoretically underdeveloped, it begs for a clarification of the conditions for the existence of world society. The prominent aim of this dissertation project is to make a modest contribution to this need in the literature.

1.2. Bridging the World Society with Peacebuilding

Not so different from the abovementioned change in the general course of world politics, the nature of the interventions have undergone major changes over the last few decades. Intervention has long been a debated topic in the IR literature. Considering that modern sovereignty has become the major constituting element of the post-Westphalia order, it is not surprising that the intervention constitutes the core of debates in the literature. In the post-First World War era, intervention was considered as a destabilizing practice (Vincent 1986: 17; Linklater 2010: 5); because intervention appeared in the form of one state's aggression to others. In other words, intervention was not different from invasion. This is why Vincent (1974) defined the primary principle of the modern society of states as the non-intervention principle. In this sense, the society of states cultivated the mechanisms to keep the non-intervention principle as the primary normative priority of modern world politics.

Within the context of Cold War, intervention has undergone a change in its nature. As different from the inter-war period, several intervention practices were conducted not with pure expansionist motivations but with some other purposes. In

this sense, the United States' (US) intervention to Vietnam stands as an example of an intervention practices in which a super power intervened to a country which is located far away to itself with the aim of preventing the potential rise of a certain ideological direction in that region. This incident triggered new debates on interventions and their legitimacy in the literature. Apart from this, the world politics faced another new motivation for intervention in 1980s. The humanitarian crises especially in the African continent ignited a debate on whether the international community has a responsibility to intervene in these crises in order to stop bloodshed (Donnelly 1984; Jackson 1986; Wright 1989). The debate was signaling a quaking in the normative center of the world politics. While the primary normative priority of the previous era was to protect the state sovereignty, now actors of world politics were facing a new moral motivation for intervention that has the potential to challenge the superiority of sovereignty over other normative causes. 1990s have become a term in which such debates got even more intense since several interventions have been carried out (such as Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo) in order to stop the bloodshed in these countries. Although several critiques were raised against these interventions and their legitimacy, the change in the normative priorities of the world politics has been the main driving force in these intervention practices.

The change in the nature of the intervention continued further in the late 1990s and 2000s as well. It was now widely accepted that the international community is not immune from the responsibility for the prevention of humanitarian crises. Yet, the content of the intervention was at stake. This is when peacebuilding framework entered into the agenda of world politics as a new form of intervention.

As stated in the Brahimi Report (2000)¹, international community was now held responsible for the construction of a peace environment which does not only secure the statehood in a given context, but also provides security to ordinary human beings by rendering them free from fear and want. In other words, the international community was not only responsible for the immediate ceasefire between warring parties in those crises, but it is now attributed a broader responsibility to construct the environment for stable and permanent peace and social cohesion in the intervened countries. Besides, in this new form of intervention, new agents were defined as natural stakeholders of the operations. The international community was supposed to share its responsibility with local state actors along with non-state stakeholders. In this context, non-state actors and civil society were constructed as partners in the intervention process. In many cases, non-state actors (NGOs, transnational solidarity movements) which were organized around a global cause have participated actively to the peacebuilding processes. Such global/transnational causes have facilitated the cultivation of transnational forms of identity definitions of which borders go beyond national, regional and institutional boundaries of so-called old world politics.

Within this context, this dissertation argues that there is a significant overlap between the dynamics of progress towards an alleged world society context and dynamics of change in the nature of intervention. It suggests that a great explanatory potential exists in this overlap and the dissertation intends to reveal this potential in order to bridge these two fields. The overlap provides an opportunity to bridge the world society branch of the English School to peace studies and the debates on peacebuilding interventions. Though several studies emphasized the explanatory

¹ Brahimi Report is a report presented by Lakhdar Brahimi, the chairman of the commission working on the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, on 13 November 2000. The report suggests major reforms for the peace operations conducted under UN mandate. For more information, visit : http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/brahimi_report.shtml

potential of the international society approach for the traditional peacekeeping interventions, the bridge between the world society framework and broader peacebuilding interventions have not been built yet.

With this in mind, this project aims to use the theoretical framework informed by the world society approach in the analysis of the peacebuilding interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. These two neighbor countries have long suffered from the turmoil caused by severe civil wars which lasted more than a decade. Series of international interventions to these civil wars were shown as the forerunners of a new intervention framework, which later institutionalized and categorized as peacebuilding interventions officially under the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (UNPC). In this regard, this dissertation's argument underlines that this new intervention framework, namely the peacebuilding interventions, can be considered as practices fitting better into the world society context instead of state-centric and limited framework of the international society. Three supportive points are suggested for this argument. Firstly, normative context is built upon a non-state-centric security agenda in these interventions. In other words, non-state security is an integral part of the normative center of these operation that emerge as new peacebuilding practices. Secondly, agents of these operations are not only states and international organizations formed by state actors, but also civil society actors and several other bodies outside of the state sphere are considered as stakeholders of the intervention practices. Finally, preliminary observations support the argument that identity motivations of the agents are not limited to state identities but more complex set of causes are determined as constituting elements of identity construction process. These three reasons seem quite fitting to the context constituted by the dynamics of progress from the international to world society. Therefore, an analysis of the

peacebuilding interventions to Liberia and Sierra Leone through the lenses of world society approach will contribute to both theoretical maturation of the world society approach and creation of a ground for a better analysis of these peacebuilding cases.

1.3. Research Questions

Within this context, this dissertation aims to answer to following research questions. These questions can be categorized into two groups. In the first category, a set of research questions are designed to address the theoretical emphasis of the dissertation. These theoretical questions serve the aim of clarification of the conceptual basis of the world society framework. In this respect, the primary research question in the theoretical category is designed as follows: "Is it possible to propose specific parameters changing from the international society to world society framework?" Continuing from the same path, the following question intends to enable this research project to specify the parameters of progress in the English School tradition: "which major parameters constitute the progress from the international to world society?" By providing answers to these questions, it is aimed to present a comprehensive survey of different arguments on the world society which do not generally talk to each other and connect them in a manner which would constitute a consistent and simply understandable theoretical framework.

The second set of questions address empirical concerns. To observe the transition from international to world society in practice, this dissertation will focus on the cases of peacebuilding interventions. In this regard, the empirical part of this

dissertation project aims to test the theoretical predictions against actual political practices. With this in mind, peacebuilding practices in Liberia and Sierra Leone are selected as the cases against which the theory is applied and tested. The primary research question in this field is as follows: "Can peacebuilding practices be understood and explained through the lenses of the world society approach?"

Besides, the empirical section is also concerned with the inner questions of the peacebuilding literature. Peacebuilding interventions are correlated with new security agendas such as human/individual security in the literature. The argument that peacebuilding inherently aims at providing the human security is taken for granted in many early studies, although critiques about specific peacebuilding practices for their limited capacity to address such a broad security agenda emerge later in the literature. Besides, there is a wide consensus in the literature about the argument that NGOs practice a high degree of agency in the operational procedures of peacebuilding. Though critiques of such illustrated peacebuilding framework are presented in the literature, testing these two assumptions against actual peacebuilding cases are rare if not absent in the literature. In this respect, a major research question followed in this dissertation is as follows: "Is the normative evolution to human-centrism and the rise of non-state agency observable in actual peacebuilding practices?"

Addressing to these questions, I develop the argument that peacebuilding cases can be considered as practices that can be understood and explained better in the context of world society throughout the dissertation. In other words, I aim to show that the international society framework remains rather limited due to its state-centric context in all three parameters, whereas the world society framework provides a better analytical tool as the three parameters evolve into a non-state-

centric direction. In this regard, I analyze the cases with specific reference to three parameters of the progress from the international to world society. Beside the classical case study approach, I also employ content analysis method to analyze the data collected specifically for each case and present the results of these analysis in order to understand whether there is sufficient degree of shift in the normative context and agency.

1.4. Contribution of the Dissertation

This dissertation aims to making contribution at three levels. Firstly, as stated earlier, the world society approach appears to be the least developed pillar among the cornerstones of the English School's theoretical triad. By building a consistent and sound framework of the world society, it is aimed at contributing to the theoretical maturation of the world society framework. In this sense, it focuses on the points of differentiation between the international and world society frameworks. By proposing three changing parameters from the international to world society, it serves to the purpose of clarifying the constituting elements of world society as a distinct form of political interaction among the agents of world politics. To clarify the conceptual grounds of the approach, built a functional and consistent theoretical framework on this ground and connect this theoretical framework to the broader literature of the English School are among the major aims of this dissertation.

Secondly, as stated in the beginning, theoretical frameworks produce merit only when they are equipped with an explanatory capacity for the real world

practices. With this in mind, this dissertation uses the built theoretical framework for the analysis of specific peacebuilding practices. In this regard, peacebuilding cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone are analyzed through a theoretical approach informed by the world society approach. The literature on the world society is a growing branch. Still, the studies on the concept remain at pure theoretical level and refrain from the empirical application. Besides, though the literature is abundant of studies employing the international society framework in their analyses on the humanitarian intervention cases, it is a very rare approach to use world society framework for such analyses. By using this approach, two possible areas of contribution emerge: (1) specific peacebuilding cases are analyzed through the world society approach which is a more apt perspective for humanitarian intervention context; (2) by using the theory in an empirical analysis, theoretical maturation of the framework is supported.

Thirdly, as Buzan stated in his very recent article (Buzan 2015), the English School in general, several concepts of the School in specific have a great potential to be connected with other fields such as security studies. By building a bridge between the English School and peace/security studies, it is possible to open a path to conflate the theory with the practical side of the security studies subfield. Such a bridge between these two distinct fields can help the rejuvenation of both.

Apart from these possible contributions, the dissertation uses a method (content analysis) in its search for the referent objects in the normative agenda and agency references, which is a rarely used approach. Though the referent objects of the normative agenda and agents have long been debated in the security studies subfield, using such a quantitative method in the search of these two is not a widely used approach. Therefore, if the study produces desired outcomes, it can also

contribute to the security studies discipline with a new direction in the field of method.

1.5. The Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into six subsequent chapters. The following chapter presents a detailed survey of the literature in order to specify the theoretical and empirical gaps to which this dissertation aims to address. In this regard, the chapter starts with a review of the English School literature and it focuses on how the world society approach is formulated by different scholars of the School. I underline that the works on the concept do not form a consistent literature; because most of the works do not connect to each other through accumulating conceptual knowledge. Then, the chapter unfolds a discussion of the intervention literature and focuses on the evolution of intervention understanding in detail. This section examines how intervention mentality evolved from traditional peacekeeping which aims at upholding a state-centric peace agenda to broader peacebuilding intervention which is argued to be aiming at addressing non-state security objects as well.

Chapter 3 builds the theoretical backbone of the study. It aims to form a consistent theoretical framework informed by the world society approach and clarify the conceptual grounds of this framework. The chapter starts with a detailed discussion of what constitutes progress in world politics in general and how it is handled in the English School tradition. On that sense, the section introduces the "transmissive" understanding of progress, which is the approach to the progress adopted in this dissertation. The chapter, then, focuses on the constituting parameters

of the progress from the international to world society contexts. In this regard, three parameters, namely the normative context, agency and identity, are elaborated and how the change in these parameters forms a conceptual context of which borders transcend the international society framework is discussed. After the clarification of these three parameters and their contribution to the formation of the world society context, the chapter unfolds a case study, which is selected as a crucial case of international society practices. The case of Gulf War and intervention to Iraq by international coalition is presented as an intervention incident which appears as a typical international society practice. The main objective here is to explain how intervention practices emerge in the context of international society. Since this dissertation focuses mainly on interventions which are considered as world society practices, this crucial case study clarifies the differences between the contexts of international and world society framework. The chapter is closed with the proposition of bunch of hypotheses to be tested against actual peacebuilding cases.

Chapter 4 introduces the methods and procedures employed in the analysis of empirical sections. It starts with a justification of the case selection. Following this justification, methods are introduced and the procedures of these methods are clarified. In this sense, procedures of data collection, sampling criteria, dataset building and coding categories are discussed in detail. At this point, it should be noted that the methodology chapter introduces also an elite interviewing procedure and presents a draft interview template. Within the writing process of this dissertation, several interviews are conducted with several representatives of NGOs in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Yet, since both the numbers and capacity of the interviews remained limited, they are not used in the analysis of empirical studies.

Two subsequent chapters focus on the case analyses through the theoretical framework built in previous chapters. Chapter 5 examines the case of intervention to Liberian Civil War and this intervention's evolution into a broader peacebuilding operation. It starts by historicizing the path to civil war and introducing the historical background of the turmoil in the country. Then, how intervention is conducted and the actors taking part in the intervention are discussed. Following this comprehensive summary of the civil war, political context and intervention, the analysis of these practices with specific reference to three constituting parameters of world society is presented. In this regard, results of the content analysis shed light to questions regarding the parameters of normative context and agency. A similar path is followed for the analysis of the peacebuilding intervention in Sierra Leone in Chapter 6. Through these two subsequent chapters, it is possible to see how two intervention incidents converge and diverge at several points though they are both considered as cases of new peacebuilding framework.

Chapter 7 summarizes the general findings of the dissertation and underlines the concluding remarks. There I emphasize the benefits of bridging the world society with intervention literature in terms of its contribution to the theoretical maturation of the framework. Besides, a discussion is presented with specific reference to hypotheses. By revisiting each hypotheses proposed in Chapter 4, it is specified whether they are confirmed or infirmed based on the findings of the analyses. The dissertation is concluded by proposing new directions for further research and emphasizes several research agenda items both at theoretical and empirical levels.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. General English School Literature

The English School tradition is the product of a series of planned meeting of a committee consisting of several scholars in late 1950s. The British Committee on the Theory of International Politics consisted of not only IR scholars but also historians and political scientists. The first chairman, Herbert Butterfield was himself a historian from Cambridge University. The Committee was funded by Rockefeller Foundation in the US. It gave birth to a new approach to world politics, which reaches beyond the dichotomy of realism versus utopianism. Rather, the product of the Committee's work adopted different features of world politics which were overlooked by two leading approaches. Jackson (1992: 271 as cited in Buzan 2006: 6) summarizes the conversation within the Committee as:

"a variety of theoretical inquiries which conceive of international relations as a world not merely of power or prudence or wealth or capability or domination but also one of recognition, association, membership, equality,

equity, legitimate interests, rights, reciprocity, customs and conventions, agreements and disagreements, disputes, offenses, injuries, damages, reparations, and the rest: the normative vocabulary of human conduct."

This definition captures the inclusive nature of the theoretical tradition that is worked on by the Committee. The name English School (ES), interestingly, is first used by Jones (1981) in his harsh critique of the School. Jones argues that the tradition which came out of the British Committee meeting appeared to be too inclusive to be called a cohesive theoretical body. Yet, it would be faltered to take the English School as just a simple "catch-all" approach in international relations theory. Buzan suggests that the theoretically pluralist approach of the school is one of the core elements of its distinctiveness (Buzan 2006: 6). This pluralism renders the theory to be capable of addressing different aspects of world politics. This capability mainly arises from the original categorization of world politics into three: international system, international society and world society.

Buzan (Buzan 2003; Buzan 2006) correlates each of these categories with different pictures of the world politics. International system is mainly about an order of world politics which is based on power struggle. Thus, it reflects the Hobbesian understanding of world politics. In an international system, states form a structure in which one actor's action affects others. Thus, it is possible to speak of an interaction among the units of an international system. Yet, this interaction is shaped by Hobbesian motivations which envisage actors as power-seeking units. Hence, the international system approach neatly captures the early/classical realist perspective on the world politics. Building on this, Buzan notes that "[i]t is based on an ontology of states" (Buzan 2006: 7).

International society, on the other hand, is not only based on a limited form of interaction but it also includes dimensions of institutionalization and identity

construction. It is built on a Grotian rationalism, which is elaborated by Wight (1977). This position underlines that states are capable of building institutions in international politics, and this institutionalization facilitates protection of shared interests of state actors. According to this, states agree on a certain degree of conditions for co-existence. Besides, international politics appears to be a field in which constitutive elements for shared identities are found. Similar to international system, main ontological unit in international society is states, yet they do not simply interact in the form of "billiard balls" but also are units that are capable to form a society of states.

Finally, world society is generally associated with Kantian revolutionism. Buzan asserts that the world society approach "takes individuals, non-state organizations and ultimately the global population as a whole as the focus of global societal identities and puts transcendence of the states-system at the centre of IR theory" (Buzan 2006: 7). The literature generally agrees on that the world society approach has a strong normative sentiment (Little 1995; Jackson 2000; Neumann 2001). As different from the first two approaches, the world society approach is not merely based on a state-centric ontology, rather individuals and non-state actors hold a significant place right at the center of the approach.

Building on this brief introduction, Devlen and Özdamar argues that the ES is an eclectic theoretical body, which synthesizes realist, rationalist (in a Grotian sense) and Kantian views on international politics (Devlen and Özdamar 2010: 45). Although this eclecticism provides a theoretical pluralism to the ES, international society approach is generally taken as the most important contribution of the theory to the IR literature. It stands somewhere between Hobbesian realism and Kantian revolutionism. The international society approach, which is built on Grotian

rationalism, argues that states can and do build an international society of which members are bounded by the norms of this society. One of the founding figures in the theory, Bull formulates international society as

"a society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working common institutions" (Bull 1977: 13).

Bull argues that the international society approach is the best category among others, as it defines the general characteristics of world politics. It has real reflections on actual political life and it can be observed throughout the history. "Even in periods when international politics is best described in terms of a Hobbesian state of war or a Kantian condition of transnational solidarity, the idea of international society has survived as an important part of reality" (1977: 43). This historical emphasis provides the theory a potential to constitute a bridge between IR theory and the discipline of history (Linkater and Suganami 2006: 7). Although this historical emphasis mainly focuses on the European international society (Bull and Watson 1984; Watson 1992), the theory also recognizes that international society is a dynamic conception, as it can expand or narrow down.

The argument that states form an international society does not necessarily challenge the argument that international politics is anarchic. The international society approach recognizes that international politics is an anarchic field. Bull's choice of title to his seminal work, *Anarchical Society*, is consciously addressing to this point. Yet, international society is presented as a mechanism which relieves the possible outcomes of the anarchic structure of world politics.

The international society approach recognizes that the primary actors of the international politics are states (Devlen, James and Özdamar 2005: 173). Thus, it is possible to agree with Buzan's argument that the international society is based on state-centric ontology. This state-centrism can be derived from Bull's remarks on the goals of international society. According to Bull, first and utmost goal of the international society is the preservation of the society itself. To do so, international society should serve as a mechanism which guarantees the maintenance of the independence or external sovereignty of its acting parts, in other words, states (Bull 1977: 16-17). The goal of peace is also present; yet, the concept of peace is limited to the absence of war among member states of international society. At this point, it is important to note that Bull accepts that "Hobbesian premise that sovereigns or states are the principal reality in international politics" (1977: 26). As a result of this state-centrism, the peace, which international society is expected to protect is not a Kantian understanding of peace.

On that sense, it is fair to argue that normative dimension in the international society approach is indexed to states, rather than non-state actors and individuals. In the early figures of the ES literature, these normative concerns can be observed. Wight argues that although international politics has several characteristics of Hobbesian perspective, it would be a shallow approach to argue that concern for virtue has no place in their actions. He believes that the Grotian rationalism also includes how states ought to behave. Yet, as Bull argues, Wight's theoretical stance is also close to a loose form of realism. Thus, main normative agenda of international society is to maintain the survival of its interacting parts, namely states. Similarly, Butterfield's arguments are built on a strong amorality (Dunne 1998: 75). According to him, morality is a matter of individual conscience. If the researcher focuses on a

"whig interpretation of history", s/he can easily understand that major groupings of states throughout the history have gathered with the major motivation of protecting the survival of state actors.

As similar to its theoretical pluralism, the English School presents a methodological pluralism as well. Buzan argues that one of the most significant premises of the ES is that it can be studied with a long range of methodological spectrum (2001: 475). Looking at the founding figures of the School, one can argue that the early literature is shaped by scholars preferring classical analysis over positivist or "scientific" approaches. Bull, in his famous polemic with Kaplan (1966), notes that political knowledge includes motives that are subjective and these motives are not measurable in the sense that a physicist measures natural phenomena. Yet, in the later literature of the theory, the methodological stances of the scholars started to be diversified. In this sense, Little (2000) argues that tripartite structure of the ES, consisting of international system, international society and the world society, provided an opening to three different methodological stances. He associated the international system approach with positivism, as it mainly focuses on material power struggle, the international society approach with hermeneutic and interpretivist/constructivist approaches as it focuses on international society as value-oriented constructions, and finally the world society approach with critical and post-positivist approaches due to its strong normative agenda.

To wrap up, the general features of the English School theory can be summarized with four points. Firstly, the ES represents a theoretical effort which is willing to not to miss one feature of world politics when focusing on another. It does not reject the arguments presented by the theoretical views constituting the "founding dichotomy" of the IR discipline. Yet, it also prefers not to situate these views in

opposition to one another; rather it tells these narratives of world politics as supplementing one another. Hence, each view in the tripartite categorization of the School represents a different picture in the world politics. This wide perspective provides the School a theoretically pluralist structure.

Secondly, most developed category in the School's theoretical arguments is the international society approach. Without rejecting that power politics holds an important part in world politics, the ES underlines that states do not only act to be part of the power politics, but they also form a society under which shared interests and common institutions are built. Yet, the School does not put forward this argument to refute the argument that international politics is anarchic. Rather, Bull (1977) and other founding figures of the ES theory recognize that anarchy is a structural fact of world politics.

Thirdly, the international society approach, which is taken as the major contribution of the ES to the IR theory literature, is a state-centric perspective. As Bull (1977) and Wight (1991) put frankly, states are the primary actors of international politics. Bull furthered this argument by underlining that main goal of the international society is to protect the sovereignty of its state members. Thus, the international society approach attributes a normatively motivated dimension to international politics; yet, the referent object of this normative motivation is state members of international society. This can be taken as the major point that differentiates the international society approach from the world society approach, a point which will be discussed further in the next section of this literature review.

Finally, the ES is not canalized into solely one methodological stance; rather it has been studied with scholars using significantly diversified epistemological

orientations. As a result, the theory presents opportunities for further research by utilizing different methods and methodologies. In other words, methodologically pluralist characteristic of the theory makes it attractive to researchers coming from different traditions, such as Linklater, a scholar more into post-positivist research agenda, and Buzan, who prefers to define his studies under structuralist wing of IR theory.

2.2. The Literature on World Society

The world society approach falls at margins in the English School literature. As mentioned above, it is often associated with Kantian revolutionism. According to leading figures in the literature, the world society approach is based on individual and transnational actors (Buzan 2001; Buzan 2006), is strongly motivated with a normative agenda (Bull 1977), should be discussed also by making reference a political setting which Bull calls world order, revolutionist and envisages a cosmopolitan world (Wight 1991). Yet, as Buzan and many others in the literature argue, it seems to be the least developed concept of the English School theory. What constitutes world society and what differentiates it from international society is not clearly developed in the literature. While the literature focused diligently on the what international society is and how it operates within the international politics, world society remained as a field in which unresolved and controversial questions of the English School were dragged into. Since the international society approach is a more matured area in the theory's literature, a discussion of the world society should also

engage with the question of what is the relationship between the international society and world society approach.

Before focusing on the world society accounts in the classics of the ES literature, it should be noted that some versions of the world society approach has been discussed in fields such as political theory, sociology, ethics and international law. Amongst others, Kant's perpetual peace theory seems as the main source of inspiration for the IR scholars discussing the idea of the world society. In Kant's theory, there is an obvious belief in the human nature in the sense that it is capable of finding out what is good for the whole humanity. Therefore, Kant's perpetual peace argument intends to constitute the core of a theory built on a cosmopolitan community-building perspective (Ion 2012). A liberal optimism and a normative emphasis built on individualism holds the central focus of Kant's version of cosmopolitan world community. For Kant's ideas the world community perspective, ethical concerns are prior to political concerns, because the political setting sought by Kant is built on an ethical consciousness of the individuals constituting cosmopolitan world community.

In IR theory literature, the ES is not the only theoretical field in which the idea of the world society is discussed. For instance, Carr focuses on the idea of world order by associating it with the concept of utopia. Carr recognizes that "political science is not only of what is, but of what ought to be" (Carr 1946: 5). In other words, he sees the normative dimension embedded in the theory. He notes that "wish is the father to the thought" (1946: 8). Yet, he also underlines the dangerous liaison between the utopia and theory, because utopia intends to impose its own moral setting over the analytical agenda. For Carr, morality is relative in the social analysis; if the theory focuses on to find out a global morality, it should be aware of that

global morality is shaped by the superiors of international politics. Thus, morality is often used as the justification of superiors for their interventionism. As a result, when Carr mentions the possibility of international solidarity as a version of world community, his approach is mainly critical of it.

Similar to E.H. Carr, the founding figures of the English School discussed the world society approach with an emphasis of its normative dimension. It should be noted that although these figures started the discussion of the world society in the English School literature, each of them attributed a different content to the concept.

Wight (1991) discussed the world society by associating it to the international society concept. In Wight's theory, main emphasis was put on the discussion of what international society is. As for the world society, Wight places the concept rather in the revolutionist wing of the IR theory. For Wight, this revolutionism is cosmopolitan rather than internationalist (Wight 1991: 41). In other words, a cosmopolitan culture is a prerequisite to speak of a community going beyond the international society. However, as Buzan notes, it is unclear who the agents and referent objects of this cosmopolitan society are in Wight's theory. Although he distinguishes between the categories of international and world society, it is understood that Martin Wight believes that the existence of a world society requires a major transformation in world politics. He argues that "there can be no world society without a world state" (1991: 32). In other words, Wight's world society does not seem an anarchical structure like international society. This is why Wight situates the world society approach into revolutionist wing of the IR theory. Yet, he draws a different picture about the world society when he reframes it as a cultural subject. Wight mentions the world society under cosmopolitanism with a reference to idealist conception of *civitas maxima* (1991: 45). Although he argues

before in the same book that revolutionist theories seek a total dissolution of the international relations, this time he argues that a world society in the form of a common culture is prior to international society. The world society consisting of common cultural elements makes the international society work smoother. In other words, the world society as a cultural unanimity is constitutive of international society, which is the category that Wight thinks best reflects the main features of world politics. As a result, we can mention two different images of world society discussed by Wight. One is a political setting that Wight argues to be seeking dissolution in the world politics and motivated by a revolutionist agenda. Wight locates himself in a distance to this perspective. The other one is more about a cultural category which facilitates the construction of an international society. This one, Wight argues, does not require a major transformation from international society; rather it provides international society with a better ground to operate in world politics. This is also important to note that Wight frames the concept of society as a "site for cooperation, as well as conflict" (Dunne 1998: 59).

Compared to Wight, Bull has a deeper insight into world society's content. Bull is a scholar who worked tidily on his definitions. Since he has a clearer definition of the international society, it is also an easier task to determine what world society is not in Bull's texts. Bull argues that if we are willing to make a society definition going beyond the borders of international society, it is because of the tension between the imperfections of nation-state and possibility of a more just order. In this sense, the main concept that opens Bull's theory to the debate on the world society approach is the justice. The possibility of a just international order has always been a central question in Bull's theory. As mentioned earlier, there is no question in Bull's mind about which actor is the primary one in international politics.

Without a doubt, the starting point of international relations is the existence of states in Bull's theory. Thus, whenever he makes an introduction to the normative questions that can be discussed within the context of the world society, he also adds that all these questions should be discussed with reference to state sovereignty.

Bull (1977) introduces the debate on the world society approach mentioning the world order. By world order, Bull refers to "those patterns or dispositions of human activity that sustain the elementary or primary goals of social life among mankind as a whole" (Bull 1977: 20). What differentiates this order from international order lies in the referent object. He argues that while international order is among states, it should not be overlooked that states are consisting of men and in some cases man can be "grouped in such a way that they do not form states at all." There may be other categorizations in which mankind prefer to group into. Thus, world order is a form of society that is organized beyond the states and engaged with deeper questions regarding the greater society of all mankind. Bull notes that no actual political system corresponded to what he calls world order until early twentieth century. With twentieth century, the organization of nation-states in a global scale, Bull argues, can be a form of world order. At this point, it is important to understand that the world society in Bull's theory does not necessarily require dissolution of the nation-states which are the principal actors of international society. He does argue that world order is different from world political system and it can be achieved by entities other than states. However, since Bull's main concern for international politics is to maintain order in it, he adds that a world order which is based on the normative motivations of all humankind should not require a decline in the world political system that is based on state actors. World order is more

fundamental, primordial and prior to international order. Still, it can operate while world political system that is based on states constitutes the core of world politics.

In this sense, we see that with Bull, early literature abandons the argument that the idea of world society does and should challenge the existence of states and transform the anarchical international system. To sum, Bull argues that

"the modern international system in fact reflects all three of the elements singled out, respectively, by the Hobbesian, the Kantian and the Grotian traditions: the element of war and struggle for power among states, the element of transnational solidarity and conflict cutting across the divisions among states, and the element of cooperation and regulated intercourse among state" (1977: 41).

This shows that although there are tensions between the features of world and international society, they do not necessarily destructive of one another.

Among Martin Wight, Hedley Bull and John (RJ) Vincent, Vincent seems to be the one who has a deeper account on the world society debate comparing to others. Buzan argues that the goal in Vincent's approach is not to clarify the concepts of the English School theory. Rather his main focus was the tension between state and its engagement with human rights. Vincent was "searching for a way out of the pluralist frame set by Bull" (Buzan 2006: 40), in which state sovereignty is prioritized over other issues in world politics. Vincent's introduction to the world society approach has several similarities with Wight's conception of it. Before a wide discussion of the world society approach, Vincent enters into the issue by associating it with global culture, as Wight did. He notes that "the spread of a global culture makes international society work more smoothly" (Vincent 1986: 151). Still, his approach to international politics actually seeks deeper normative concerns in the world politics than present in international society conception set forward mainly by

Bull. Vincent underlines that the conception of international society should be reconsidered in a manner to include "the individual and certain actors and institutions in world politics whose concerns have been regarded conventionally as falling outside the domain of diplomacy and international relations" (Vincent 1978: 20).

Vincent's main contribution to the study of the ES has been to determine the main working condition of international society. He argues that international society is mainly based on the principle of "non-intervention" (Vincent 1974). The order in the world politics is maintained by international society as it is capable of guaranteeing the protection of this principle for its members. This is also important in terms of understanding what the world society overreaches. While international society, in Vincent's opinion, protects the external sovereignty of its state members by imposing the principle of non-intervention, the world society is occupied with the problems of individuals and other agents whose problems fall outside the conventional international relations. This position frankly overlaps with the argument that international society is state-centric and Bull's suggestion that the main goal of the international society is to preserve the state's existence. This clearly shows that there is a normative tension between international and world society approaches. Therefore, it should be noted that one of the main parameters of the transformation from international to world society is the change in the normative agenda.

At this point, it should be noted that the term "world society" is a later invention which is coined by the second generation scholars of the School such as Chris Brown, Barry Buzan, John Williams, Iver Neumann. In fact, the term is very rarely used in the early literature and references to a societal form which transcends the international society are used as tool to define what international society is not. Therefore, the term of "world society" entered into the English School literature as

the third pillar with the efforts of the later scholars. Another result of this is that the term was not clearly defined by the founding figures of the ES like they did for the international society; because the international society framework constituted the theoretical core of the ES in the early literature. They referred to different concepts such as "common culture", "world government", "Kantian revolutionism", "moral internationalism" when they attempted to define a societal structure of which boundaries go beyond the international society. Second generation scholars used these references as the early sentiments of the world society and reflected on the envisagement of the School's founders. Building on this review, accounts on the world society in the early ES authors are illustrated in Table 1.

Author	Account on the World Society
Martin Wight	-Loosely defined. -Positions the WS in the revolutionist wing. -Two different notions of WS: • As a political setting: Refers to a world government. Not anarchical. • Cultural category: Refers to common culture (<i>civitas maxima</i>) as a prerequisite of coherent society of states. -WS as a political setting requires dissolution of the society of states. -WS as a common culture is needed for the constitution of society of states.
Hedley Bull	-More elaborate insights on the concept. -Correlates it with the pursuit of more just order. -WS as a category normatively distanced itself from the imperfections of nation-states. -May coexist with other categories as different aspects of world politics. -Idea of WS can be self-defeating if it undermines the international order. -Positions himself closer to pluralist international society school.
John Vincent	-WS (or solidarist ES) as a way out of the pluralist frame set by Bull. -Correlates it with global culture of rights and values which is prior to international society. -Not destructive of society of states. -WS as an extension of solidarist international society.

Table 1: Early English School scholars' accounts on the World Society

This review shows that the early literature focuses on the world society approach from different perspectives. While, Wight sees the world society approach as an alternative to and destructive of state-based international society, Bull and Vincent do not envisage a world society conception to replace the international society. Another point is that the main parameter changing from the international to world society is the transformation of the normative agenda from a state-centric one to a human-centric agenda. Finally, building on Vincent's work, considering that the main principle of international society is non-intervention, interventions with human or other non-state referent objects should be studied with an approach overreaches the international society approach.

Later literature can be divided into two: those who criticize the deficiencies of the English School about the world society, and those who see a potential in the world society approach and focus on developing it.

Critical Accounts

Jones (1981) calls for a closure of the School due to its ambiguity in its key concepts. The first criticism directed by Jones to the School was that although the early names in the ES literature criticize so-called scientific and positivist methods which started to be used in the field, the School failed to develop a complete philosophical and epistemological position (Jones 1981: 4). As mentioned earlier, this situation was noted by different scholars in the literature, but later it started to be celebrated as the source of the methodological pluralism in the English School. Other point made by Jones is about the failure of the School in determining the boundaries between its key concepts. Although Jones' points seemed to be valid, his case for the

closure of the School was not followed in the literature, on the contrary, the ES literature continued to be developed by those scholars who believe in the potential of the concepts suggested by the School.

Brown (2001) presents a critique by arguing that the world society approach has many commons with the theoretical propositions suggested in the literature before. Burton's Cobweb Model (1972), Brown argues, makes similar points with the world society approach of the ES, by building a model focusing on states, international organizations and also international non-state actors, such as transnational organizations. Yet, Brown notes that the major novelty introduced by the world society approach emphasized in the School is the norms employed by the English School's theoretical position. In other words, Brown agrees with the early literature of the ES in the sense that the world society approach has a unique normative agenda, which seems to be the main point that differentiates it from the international society approach.

Supportive Accounts

More recently, the interest in the world society approach is revived in the literature. Neumann (2001) argues that the world society should not be discussed as a sole theoretical issue, because it has significant explanatory capacity for the ongoing practices in world politics that are shaped by the effects of globalization. Especially, Neumann argues that the debates on peacekeeping/peacebuilding interventions should be related to the world society approach. He also continues to follow the path in the early literature by discussing the possibility for a pluralist world society, which simply implies a conception of world society that does not envisage a world without

states. Another point mentioned by Neumann is the fact that NGOs taking active part in the shaping of current world politics (Neumann 2001: 505). According to Neumann, the world politics is passing through an era in which non-states actors converging to the center of policy-making and interact intensely with state actors. This is a fact which, Neumann thinks, the world society approach is built for bringing explanation. As a result, one of the main questions of studies focusing on world society should be on the effects of this fact on the states. He adds that the ordinary people's interactions with political practices are one of the major elements that make up world society (2001: 507).

Williams (2005) relates his discussion on the world society approach to the theme of change in the English School. He clearly asserts that if the ES literature is willing to clarify its world society category, it should focus on the question of what constitutes a real change from international to world society. His answer to this question lies in his criticism to the international society approach's limitedness in bringing a solution to the problem of territorialization of the diversity. He argues that the international society has never brought a viable settlement to the problem of how to live together in conditions of society (2005: 22). The world society approach, in Neumann's conception, should be based on a pluralist understanding. This is an understanding both challenges the imperfections of state sovereignty but at the same time not destructive of existence of states in world politics. In this sense, it diverges from Kantian world society conception which is based on homogenization of the global society instead of diversification. Williams asserts that "diversity may actually be positively desirable as well as practically unavoidable" (Williams 2005: 28). Yet, according to Williams, most important feature of the world society approach is its recognition of "non-territorializable identities." In this view, the world society

approach provides a ground for those who falls outside of the ontology of conventional international relations to achieve political significance without working through the state agents (2005: 31). Finally, he marks an empirical area as significant for those who study the world society in a practical manner: peacekeeping/peacebuilding operations.

Buzan is perhaps the most dominant figure in the current literature on the world society approach. Buzan asserts that there is an obvious ontological tension between international society and world society. International society is built upon a state ontology, while world society is based on ontology of individuals and non-state organizations. Therefore, Buzan agrees with Weller's argument that the world society approach is the key to link the globalization to the English School (Weller 2000). Buzan asserts that the world society approach presents an opportunity to build a new structural theoretical framework going beyond the neo-realist or neo-liberal approaches to structural IR theory. According to him, the objects and agents of this new structural theory are individuals as well as states, transnational actors (or coalitions built by them) as well as international organizations.

Building on this literature review, three parameters of change can be mentioned as the source of differentiation between the international and world society wings of the ES:

- First and of utmost importance parameter of change lies in the normative agendas of the two categories. While international society is normatively built on state-centric priorities, world society's normative agenda is human-focused.

- Agency is another changing parameter. While the agents of international society are states and institutions that are formed by state actors, world society provides a political significance to those who do not work through state mechanisms. This does not mean that state agency disappear from the world politics. It remains as an actor, yet, it enters into a high degree of interaction with non-state actors and individuals. Sometimes it co-operates with those actors, while sometimes state agency is significantly challenged by them. As a result, ordinary individuals and non-state organizations such as transnational solidarity movements gain a significant agency in world society.
- Identity is another important parameter that can facilitate the observation of change from international to world society. While national identities come forward in the international society approach, the world society approach creates a field appropriate for the cultivation of transnational identities. Transnational solidarity movements are units that gain political significance in the world society approach.

Table 1 summarizes the general points that differentiate between the international and world society approaches.

Parameters	International Society Approach	World Society Approach
Normative Agenda	State-centric	Human-centric/Society-Centric
Agency	States/International Organizations	States/International Organizations/Non-State Actors (Transnational Solidarity Movements)/Individuals
Identity	National	National/Civilizational/Transnational

Table 2: Three Parameters in Two Approaches

2.3. Intervention Literature

As presented above, the main feature that the society of states is built upon is the principle of non-intervention and sovereignty. Sovereignty and non-intervention principle constitutes a shield against the external interference in domestic affairs of states by other states and international actors. Besides, it is considered as the main principle that keeps the society of states as a functioning international order. In other words, the international society deepens to provide its members the guarantee of being protected against the external intervention.

Intervention, yet, still remains one of the most contested issues of world politics. Although the international society preserves the sovereignty of its state members, intervention is organized as a tool of international society through legal documents. Besides, the academic literature intensely discusses the place of intervention in world politics and its relationship to founding principles of international society, namely the sovereignty and non-intervention.

In its most general sense, intervention in world politics can be defined as the penetration into a state's sphere of sovereignty by other states. Generally, this penetration is framed as intervention as it uses military force (Bull 1984). A military intervention by a state into another state's territory is an obvious violation of the norms and non-intervention principle of the international society. Article 2 of the United Nations' Charter underlines that "[t]he Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members" and it forbids its members to act in any manner that endangers the sovereign rights of other members. In other words,

unilateral intervention by a state to another is framed as invasion, an illegal act according to current international society.

However, the intervention discussion in IR today reaches beyond the abovementioned classical and limited conception of intervention. World politics have been witnessing intervention incidents in the post-World War II era with various pretexts and normative agendas. Mainly, intervention is considered today as a response to severe civil wars in which dramatic civilian losses cannot be prevented. Stedman (1996) notes that civil wars of post-Cold War world are unlikely to come an end without the intervention of outer world, especially in ethnically disputed and deeply divided regions. Even if conflicting parties achieve ceasefire through negotiations, in most cases, conflicts recur even in a harsher manner. Under these circumstances, the most commonly used pretext for intervention in post-World War II international politics have been that interveners aim at restoring the peaceful environment in conflictual regions (Chandler 2001). As a result, current literature on legitimate intervention as a tool of international politics takes the concept of peace and humanitarian agenda as the reference point for intervention. Yet, the concept of peace itself is contended. As the concept evolves throughout the last few decades, the nature and forms of the intervention have been subject to an evolution.

At this point, two forms of intervention can be mentioned: peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Peace has been a concept that is often referred in a manner that its definition is clear and fixed for all. Yet, the concept has been subject to debate. In its simplest term, peace refers to lack of violence. Such a simplified conception of peace has been the focus of early security studies. In early pieces of security studies, state has appeared as the natural and ultimate referent object of security. Wolfers illustrated security as a physical protection against the “external” of which borders

start where national territories finish, although it has a subjective nature and one's security may constitute a threat for another (Wolfers 1952: 483). As a result, the ultimate goal of security appeared as protecting the state, because its territories determine the unit which will be secured. This security conception was also important to determine the scope of peace, because this narrow understanding of security also prioritizes a peace conception in which inter-state conflict is prevented.

Peacekeeping is built on such a limited conception of peace (Jett 2000; White 2000; Bellamy et al. 2004). It intends to develop and maintain an environment in which belligerents come to negotiate and seek the conditions of sustainable peace. To explore its conception of peace, how it appeared should be elaborated.

Actually, the roots of peacekeeping can be dated back to foundation of United Nations. UN was envisaged to be an institution that is capable of providing a collective security. Horror of the Second World War was influential in the demand for a collective security and a form of peace in which great power clash is absent. Yet, the tension between two major members of Security Council, USSR and the US caused major deadlocks in the Security Council and rendered it ineffective in the solutions of immediate security problems. As a result, necessity of employing practical mechanisms in the solutions of conflicts appeared. Traditional form of peacekeeping was born into such a context. In 1950, General Assembly met in the "Uniting for Peace" summit and adopted an alternative approach to the role of UN in the settlement of conflicts. Accordingly, UN adopted alternative methods such as observer missions, which can be defined as forerunner of peacekeeping in the following years. In those observer missions, ceasefire processes were monitored. First UN observer mission was sent to Balkans (UNSCOB) upon the request of

Greece in 1947 (Bellamy et al. 2004: 98). The mission was to monitor the fragile peace process between belligerents (communist and non-communist parties).

Although traditional peacekeeping was employed in conflicts that generally happened between two neighbor states, it was envisaged as the continuation of collective security project (Weiss, Forsythe and Coate 1994: 19-21). Within the context of Cold War, local inter-state conflicts had the potential to bring Great Powers into clash. Therefore, traditional peacekeeping aimed at prevention of direct superpower confrontation rather than seeking a general and collective prevention of conflict. In other words, collective security was far from being “collective”, so narrowly defined and it mainly meant avoiding great power confrontation.

Traditional peacekeeping is built on three principles, so called “holy trinity” (Bellamy et al. 2004: 96). Firstly, the principle of consent refers to that a peacekeeping operation is employed only upon the request of conflicting parties. “Success of peacekeeping missions depends upon the consent and positive contribution of the disputants” (Bellamy et al. 2004: 96). Fortier (2001) argues that peacekeeping is a set of operations that is based on political will of the parties. In other words, logic of peacekeeping relies on the assumption that belligerents have a political will to resolve the conflict (Bellamy et al. 2004: 101). Second principle of peacekeeping is impartiality. A peacekeeping operation is supposed to remain impartial even if one of the parties pursues obvious destabilizing goals and violates international law (Durch 1993: 12). Third principle of traditional peacekeeping is non-use of force. According to UN report on peacekeeping, peacekeeping forces “achieve their objectives not by force of arms” (UN 1990: 4 as cited in Bellamy et al. 2004: 96). Building on these three principles, traditional peacekeeping takes place in the period between a ceasefire and a political settlement. Being employed after

ceasefire is provided; it aims to cultivate the degree of confidence between belligerents necessary to establish a process of political dialogue (p.97).

According to these features of peacekeeping, three limitations of it can be asserted. Firstly, logic of peacekeeping is founded on a Westphalian framework which privileges state sovereignty. Especially consent and non-use of force principles are strongly related with this Westphalian logic. In early practices of peacekeeping, a peace operation is employed without triggering a debate on state sovereignty. Consent is sought because it is aimed not to show the peace sought by peace operation as an intervention which would harm parties' state sovereignty. Non-use of force is internalized as a principle not to harm the state's monopoly over legitimate use of force. Second limitation of peacekeeping emanated from the UN collective security framework (Weiss, Forsythe, Coate 1994: 17-41). Although the word "collective" connotes a wide range security agenda, it only provides a horizontal widening in the security conception. That is to say, collective security aims to secure international system in which states interact on the basis of sovereignty (1994: 17). Finally, traditional peacekeeping is mostly founded on the notion of preventive diplomacy, which aims to prevent resurgence of ceased interstate conflicts that can cause direct great power clash. As a result, international community's decisions to intervene a conflict have been founded on an implicit discriminative process in which peacekeeping operation is employed only if the conflict is risky for the maintenance of stable relations between great powers.

These limitations result in two sets of problems. Firstly, mechanical problems emerge due to the pragmatic nature of peacekeeping. Since traditional peacekeeping is developed as a method to provide an immediate environment in which parties come to negotiate, it does not seek a general political settlement to the problem (Jett

2000: 77). Peacekeeping is not a strategy to propose a final settlement. Thus, it does not encourage a long term conflict resolution agenda, and its peace efforts remain at very introductory level. Furthermore, according to MacGinty and Robinson (2001: 30), since traditional peacekeeping initiates an introductory peace and “do not look at the long-term effects of the operation” (Ratner 1997: 155), it triggers territorial partition which creates further security dilemma between parties. Second set of problems, on the other hand, emanates from peacekeeping’s very assumptions. Since it operates within the logic of Westphalian sovereignty, it is blinded to intrastate conflicts, massacres and focuses on interstate conflicts. Besides, since it is not a strategy that seeks a final solution, the secured unit by a peacekeeping operation remains as states. Once the violent conflict stops, states pursue conformist policies to protect the status quo of minimal peace environment. Therefore, while state is secured through a peacekeeping operation, a broader peace agenda in which different dimensions of security is addressed is overlooked.

Practitioners of peacekeeping were well aware of the limits and problems with traditional peacekeeping (Peou 2002: 54). In late 1980s concept of “wider peacekeeping” is initiated as a method to achieve broader peace and security (Bellamy et al. 2004: 128). In this phase, operations were based on wider tasks including both traditional methods such as monitoring and also peace support operations and peace enforcements. Wider peacekeeping differentiated from traditional one on three points. Firstly, unlike traditional peacekeeping, wider peacekeeping may also occur in the context of an ongoing conflict. Secondly, it tends to include ‘new wars’ such as intra-state forms of conflict, rather than focusing only on inter-state conflicts. Finally, peace forces are assigned duties beyond monitoring,

including separation and disarming the belligerents, creating environment for elections and delivering humanitarian aid (2004: 129).

It is arguable that wider peacekeeping intends to employ more effective means to carry out a peace agenda. Yet, it would be flawed to argue that the narrow peace conception was challenged by wider peacekeeping. At this point, it is important to note that wider peacekeeping also relied on Westphalian logic of sovereignty and internalized the so-called 'holy trinity' –consent, impartiality, non-use of force- of traditional peacekeeping. As a result, peacekeeping aimed at a very limited notion of peace. As discussed earlier, due to its reliance on Westphalian logic and it derives from the notion of collective security, its major referent object remains as states.

In 1960s, peace studies underwent an era in which the abovementioned limited understanding of peace is questioned. Galtung's (1969) categorization of peace into two, namely the negative and positive peace conceptions, created a discussion about how effective are the intervention strategies of international society in providing a peace that grant wide range security. With early 1990's means of peace were to be regulated in accordance with the aim to achieve a broader peace. This can be taken as a consistent response to changing security environment of post-Cold War era.

Peacebuilding can be assessed as a reconsidered tool to achieve a broader peace within the newly appearing security environment of post-Cold War era. According to an argument that is voiced loudly in the literature, appearance of peacebuilding and its effort to broaden the aimed peace is highly related to the concept of human security. Peou (2002) argues that peace operations intending to

enhance the limits of peace concept should be considered as part of the “novel concept of collective human security”. In a similar vein, security and development literature includes an argument that peacebuilding is one of the important tools of achieving at least a certain degree of human security in conflictual failed states (Small 2001; Hubert and Bonser 2001; Scholey 2006). According to Scholey (2006: 179), peacebuilding aims to achieve a peace in which “freedom from fear” is provided, which is a significant element of human security. Similarly, Canadian Foreign Minister Axworthy in 1994-1996 stated that what is thought of as peacebuilding should include an enhanced vision of peace extending beyond military security and dealing with the impact of conflict on children and even struggling with gender discrimination (Small 2001: 80).

Correlating peacebuilding with human security and presenting it as a means to achieve human security has the inherent presumption that peacebuilding attempts to reshape the referent object of intervention within a human-focused understanding, which is a position absent in peacekeeping. Thus, further elaboration of peacebuilding is worth for examining the efforts for a broader peace.

Although there is no exact consensus about what constitutes peacebuilding, in Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace* report (1992) that was presented to United Nations General Assembly, he argues that peacebuilding should be considered as a method to “deal with the full range of concerns involved in the transition from protracted violent conflict to stable peace” (Bellamy et al. 2004: 235). Boutros-Ghali defines peacebuilding as "a major instrument for securing peace in post-war situations." This definition is significant in terms of framing intervention as a tool not only used during conflicts, but also a strategy that is legitimate for using in post-conflict situations. In time, the intervention under the context of peacebuilding

is designed so to address the problems in justice and social structure deriving from the failure of the sovereign state agents in the region, and granting the rights to interveners to act as the sovereign for a time period. "Peacebuilding is based on the conviction that violent conflict do not automatically end with the signing of a peace accord or deployment of peacekeeping forces" (Berghof Glossary 2012: 62).

It is important to note that Boutros-Ghali underlines the limited nature of the peace aimed by peacekeeping and proposes peacebuilding as a method to deal with the roots of conflict and achieve a more stable and broader peace (1992: 32-33). Thus, it is fair to argue that redefining the peace is one of the triggering motivations in the official proposition of peacebuilding. Furthermore, in the report presented as the *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace* in 1995, General Secretary stated that human-centered goals such as institutional reforms for guaranteeing human rights constitute the agenda of peacebuilding (1995: Article 47). Hence, peacebuilding is built on the assumption that "merely creating a space for reconciliation or providing military security is not sufficient to ensure stable peace in the long term" (Bellamy et al. 2004: 236). Similarly, Chandler (2001) argues that the context of intervention and peace operations have been evolving from state-centered to human-centered approach. He asserts that state-centered approach to intervention and peace operations is a major tool to preserve the non-intervention principle of the international society. For instance, Chandler gives the example of "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States" as a proof to the argument that main attempt of UN Charter system was to construct a law-based international society of states. Yet, human-centered approach to intervention challenges this perspective. Not only restoring the security of sovereigns but goals such as "empowering vulnerables" which expands into post-conflict situation and

conflict prevention becomes major points in the agenda of changing forms of intervention (Chandler 2001: 5).

Peacebuilding, as different from peacekeeping, takes place both after ceasefire. "Peacebuilding is more civilian than military in content" (Chandler 2001: 5). It may continue to operate even after a political solution reached. Besides, it is employed sometimes when there is no prior peacekeeping operation. Unlike traditional peacekeeping interventions, peacebuilding involves wide variety of international actors such as national relief and development agencies, NGOs and international financial institutions (Paris 1997: 55). With the introduction of peacebuilding, the 'holy trinity' of peacekeeping was left behind. Especially consent principle of peacekeeping is not a prerequisite within the peacebuilding framework. Four aspects of peacebuilding are identifiable (Bellamy et al. 2004: 235-237).

First, since peacebuilding aims at a stable and broader peace, it continues operate after the conflict is over and even political settlement is agreed. A peacebuilding operation seeks to be recognized and enforced by international society as a legitimate tool to construct the general environment for peace and integration of the intervened state. On the other hand, it is not only employed in a post-conflict settlement period but possibility of conflict is a legitimate cause for a peacebuilding effort. Second, it aims to handle the roots of the conflict at all levels including societal dimension. If necessary, it employs the strategies to deal with problems such as ethnic hatred, which are mostly related with societal dynamics. Third, societal reconciliation is an important strategy of peacebuilding to soothe the societal problems such as ethnic hatred. Hence, "peacebuilding aims to return refugees and displaced people to their original homes" (2004: 236). Fourth, peacebuilding efforts are also concerned with the material conditions for cultivating a stable peace.

Connected to these discussions, it is also argued that new forms of intervention do not merely seek stabilization of a war-shattered region, but they also enforce and uphold a general foundation, which is market economy (Paris 1997). Paris calls this approach to intervention as liberal internationalism. He notes that peacebuilding operations are not merely operations of conflict management, but they are also "instances of a much larger phenomenon: globalization of a particular model of domestic governance" (Paris 2002: 638). "Without exception, peacebuilding missions in post-Cold War period have attempted to 'transplant' the values and institutions of the liberal domestic core into the domestic affairs of peripheral host states" (2002: 639), which Paris sees as a new form of *mission civilisatrice*.

These four aspects lead us to further implications. Firstly, as mentioned in the first aspect of peacebuilding, long-term stay of peacebuilding forces is not only because it intends to monitor the situation regularly, but also the result of its reliance on statebuilding. Statebuilding and strengthening institutions are significant motives of peacebuilding operations (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 32). This statebuilding vision is shaped by a notion of nation-state developed within a republican line of Western stateness (Barnett: 2006). Similarly, Krause and Jütersonke (2005) argue that peacebuilding is a form of social engineering that is used during state formation process.

That is to say, peacebuilding operations rely on the very assumption that a stable peace is only possible within consolidated Western notion of state settings. Furthermore, building effective police forces and judicial system is crucial integral parts of statebuilding (Barnett 2006; Krause and Jütersonke 2005). Training of the civil servants including the security forces is often considered as a natural part of peacebuilding operations. In this regard, what is constructed is not solely the

statehood but also the capacity of state institutions. Secondly, civil society building becomes another important strategy of peacebuilding as it sees Western model of civil society as a necessity of a stable peace (Shaw 1997). It is not only institutional setting that reinforces stable peace but civil monitoring is considered of vital importance. Thus, peacebuilding also deals with cultivating an effective civil society. Finally, the logic of peacebuilding is based on the assumption that liberal market economy provides the best material foundations for a consolidated peace (Malone and Wermester 2000). Thus, economic reconstruction in accordance with the essentials of liberal market economy is considered to be crucial within peacebuilding agenda in war torn societies.

Building on these features of peacebuilding, it is fair to argue that the new conception of peace in peacebuilding efforts turned to be inclusive of human-centered approaches considering both official definition (Boutros-Ghali 1992) and the means it employs. In other words, peacebuilding is proposed to struggle with the limitations of peacekeeping deriving from its state-centric nature. Yet, critiques of peacebuilding argue that peacebuilding is a failed attempt to achieve a sufficient change in the referent object as humans both in theory and practice.

Firstly, peacebuilding is not based on three principles of peacekeeping, which constitute the Westphalian state-centrism of peacekeeping. Thus, it is argued that peace conception in peacebuilding is not established on a Westphalian state-centrism. Yet, the critiques suggest that this argument is flawed. This is true that peacebuilding is not as committed as peacekeeping to state sovereignty. However, this does not constitute a rejection of state sovereignty nor it is not an aim for peacekeeping. Rather, peacebuilding is a method to form a new and proper Westphalian nation-state. As mentioned above, lack of a strong nation-state is considered to be the source

of the conflict within the logic of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding interventions are built upon the understanding which presents Westphalian nation-state as a solution to conflict. Rubin (2006) defines peacebuilding as an operation led by a multilateral entity to reinforce the very notion of nation-state. Furthermore, peacebuilding appears as an act of “stabilization of periphery” in line with Western practices of nation-state (2006: 176). In other words, the very nature of peacebuilding inherently takes peace-security relation within the logic of order. Therefore, the assumption that peacebuilding represents a theoretical departure from state-centrism is controversial.

Secondly, the very reliance of peacebuilding on liberal peace has its own limitations. According to Jenkins (2008), peacebuilding has its inherent normative commitment to liberal peace. Therefore, it intends to disseminate liberal international norms into periphery. Liberal market economy is a vital integral part of these norms. As Heathershaw puts, commitment of peacebuilding to liberal peace and market economy causes it to “reproduce technical solutions which fail to address the core issues of conflict” (2008: 598). Pugh (2005), in a similar line, criticizes peacebuilding of being an action aiming market liberalization and remain indifferent to structural poverty. Finally, peacebuilding is based on a modernist totalitarianism. It attempts to teach (or assist) non-Western societies how to achieve a true security and peace. An inherent arrogance that glorifies Western values and practices in peacebuilding results in instrumentalization of peacebuilding in expansion of Western practices into non-West.

In addition to these criticisms, Murphy and Weiss (2000) argue that selectiveness of international community in responding to humanitarian disasters (the ones that constitute the agenda of peacebuilding) continues to show that strategic un/importance of the region in which conflict breaks out is the dominating triggering

motivation in peacebuilding responses, instead of humanitarian concerns. They state that “there is very low likelihood of response by major powers with the capacity to respond effectively to such humanitarian disasters in culturally and geographically distant places with little or no geostrategic interest” (2000: 122).

Building on this review of the literature, three points can be mentioned about the intervention in world politics. Firstly, the literature has been focusing the change in the nature of the intervention throughout the whole post-World War II era. This demonstrates that the content of intervention is generically changing. Secondly, the transformation of the concept brought a normative intensity to the discussion on intervention in the IR literature. Based on the literature's evolution, it is possible to argue that normative content of the intervention departs from a state-centered approach and gets engaged with more human-centered approaches. Finally, the transformation of the intervention literature appears to be similar to the change in English School literature. Juxtaposing the two literatures, it is possible to suggest that like English School's discussion on the normative foundations of the international society, the literature on intervention records a change in the practices and theoretical grounds of the intervention. Through this change, agents taking active part in intervention and normative agenda of the intervention practices are opened to discussion in a manner that can be related with broader IR theoretical debates. In this, the English School and the world society approach present vital opportunities to conflate intervention with broader IR theory discussions.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

The previous chapter focused on the main debates that have been shaping the literature on the English School, the concept of world society and the intervention in world politics. This review demonstrated that the concept of world society has some ambiguous points and it is theoretically underdeveloped although it appears to constitute one of the corners in the theoretical triad of the English School. But at the same time, the concept has an explanatory potential for several practices of world politics of which the implications reach beyond the framework of international society (Buzan 2006; Williams 2005).

Building on the points derived from the literature, this chapter intends to propose a sound framework in order to understand the emergence of the world society framework within world politics. To do so, it focuses on three parameters that change from one category to another, namely the normative agenda, agency and identity. It is argued that the tripartite categorization of world politics in the English School occurs as change in these three parameters emerge. The chapter examines the evolution of these three parameters through each categories of the English School. Another focus of the chapter is the observation of the change at practical level. Since

the dissertation handles intervention with a framework informed by world society, the chapter focuses on the evolution of the practice of the intervention.

In this context, this chapter is organized into four main sections. The following section discusses the concepts of change, transition and progress in international politics. The reason that such discussion is introduced in the beginning of the chapter is because the conceptualization of the change is important in terms of understanding what kind of progress happens when we speak off the existence of world society in world politics. Does the existence of world society render other categories irrelevant for current world politics? Is the change that happens through world society a paradigmatic change that introduces a new era in world politics or does it carve out a space for co-existence of different features of world politics? These questions can be addressed better if the term of change is conceptualized in detail. Therefore the chapter starts with a discussion on the concept of change in 3.1. Following this, the chapter discusses the change across the categories of the English School with regard to three specific parameters. First, the normative agenda and the change in the referent object of normative agenda is suggested as a significant parameter of change. The evolution of the normativity from the international system to international society, from pluralist international society to solidarist international society and finally from the international society to world society are elaborated in detail. Secondly, the agency is suggested as another significant parameter that changes across the categories of the ES. Here, the main emphasis is on the emergence of a network that is presented by the world society, which provides significant degree of agency those who do not operate through state mechanisms. In other words, the agency does not only lie with states and entities formed by states but also with non-state actors in the complex agential network of world society. Finally,

the identity is handled as the third parameter changing across the categories of the English School. Here, it is mainly argued that the constructivist perspective on the identity provides a viable framework in order to understand the identity motivations within the world society framework. While the pre-given forms of identity is internalized by the actors of international systemic approach, it evolves into different constructions as the progress is in direction to world society. Additionally, how transnational understanding of identity comes into prominence in the world society framework is discussed here.

The chapter continues with 3.3. that examines the nature of intervention and its evolution with regard to three parameters. Under this section, third party interventions that occur as peace operations are scrutinized. The section underlines that the evolution of interventions develops in a manner that state sovereignty remains secondary to human security in the normative agenda, a situation that overlaps with the evolution from international society to world society. In this regard, the section focuses on the intervention to Iraq following its occupation of Kuwait in 1990, namely the Gulf War. Here, it is argued that the Gulf War appears as a typical kind of intervention that would be considered in the international society framework. In other words, the Gulf War is handled as a crucial case of the intervention practices of international society framework.

Finally, 3.4 intends to generate several hypotheses to be tested against the cases. Testing methods for these hypotheses will be elaborated further in the chapter about methodology.

3.1. Change, Transition and Transformation in International Politics

The international system, international society and the world society are concepts which were designed to illustrate different pictures about the operation of the world politics. The literature review chapter discussed how each of these concepts depict the world politics. At this point, a significant point to underline is that the English School literature does not take the features suggested by each category as mutually exclusive aspects. Rather; each of these represents different aspects of world politics. Rise of the international society does not require dissolution of the international system. Similarly, it is not necessary to assert that the international society is no longer a viable concept once one aspect of world politics is explained through the existence of the world society. Transitivity among these concepts constitutes the theoretically pluralist structure the English School's approach to this triangular depiction of world politics.

Still any intersection of the world politics that is explained with these three categories represents some kind of "progress". In other words, some form of change happens within the world politics when a political development represents a transition from the international system to international society. Here, the main point to remind ourselves is that the English School represents a theoretical stance which puts a normative stance on the progress in international politics. Therefore, a progress from pure systemic relations to a societal form is not only a fact that is argued by the ES but also a desired stable context for proper relations among the interacting units of international society according to the scholars of the ES.

As a theoretical framework reserving a room for progress, "change" holds an important cornerstone in the theoretical arguments of the English School. International politics become subject of a change as it swings across these three categories. An international political practice that is correlated with the international society -but not international system- framework is a phase of world politics which is formed through a certain degree of change. A similar progress is at stake when we correlate a practice with the world society instead of the international society framework. This situation prompts several legitimate questions about change in world politics: What is "change" in the world politics? How can "change" in world politics be analyzed analytically? Therefore, this chapter starts out by focusing on the concept of change in world politics.

The issue of change has been a point of attraction in the IR literature ever since the discipline focused on the main dynamics of the world politics. "Change" has not only been attempted to be analyzed, but also predicted and foreseen.² The discipline has passed through several bifurcations once the opinions on change were the focus of discussion in a specific wing of the literature. Sometimes, the change altered the system in its roots such as happened from the transition from multipolarity to bipolarity and from bipolarity to unipolarity. Sometimes, dominants in the system have changed and sometimes new actors have entered to the system. Therefore, what we call change in world politics is not a process that gives rise to the same results every time; rather change occurs in different forms and shapes by causing diverse outcomes. In this regard, the question about what constitutes change in world politics needs to be further elaborated. According to Rosenau, "change

² The studies for predicting possible changes in international politics gave birth to several interdisciplinary literature as well as new subdisciplines such as Foreign Policy Analysis. For more information see Hudson 2005.

means the attrition of established patterns, the lessening of order, and the faltering of governance, until such time as new patterns can form and get embedded in the routines of world politics" (Rosenau and Czempiel 1992: 1). In a similar vein, Dictionary Reference defines change as a phenomenon that "makes the form, nature, content, future course of something different from what it is or what it would be left alone."³ These two definitions are in parallel in the sense that they both conceptualize change as a phenomenon that transforms the context fundamentally in its roots. In other words, the change here targets directly the international order and transforms it into something different from what it was before.

Order is an important concept in order to understand the nature of the change. Once change happens, the order that is the target of the change evolves into something different from its previous appearance. Yet, the question here is whether the previous form of order remains irrelevant following the change happens. In Rosenau's words "one is also impelled to ask whether the change reflects a decay of the old order" (Rosenau and Czempiel 1992: 19). The answer to this question is embedded in the definition of the change. If the definition of change is made on a ground that causes an absolute departure from the order existing before change, the relevant context that appear following change renders the former context irrelevant and inviable. Gilpin's account on the concept is an example of such absolute change understanding. He argues that

"an international system is established for the same reason that any social or political system is created; actors enter social relations and create social structures in order to advance particular sets of political, economic, or other types of interests" (Gilpin 1981: 9).

³ Dictionary Reference, available at <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/change>

International order, according to Gilpin, exists and operates in accordance with the interests of states. His conceptualization of international system also shapes his approach on the change in international politics. According to Gilpin (1981:10) fundamentals of international politics remain same as the 300 years before despite some changes in the form of statecraft, technology and economy. He underlines that the change in a given social system will be led by most powerful ones in that system in a way the change serves to their power accumulation. In this regard, Gilpin's approach to change is built upon an agent-centric understanding. That is,

"...the study of international political change must focus on the international system and especially on the efforts of political actors to change the international system in order to advance their own interests". He continues, "the process of international political change ultimately reflects the efforts of individuals or groups to transform institutions and systems in order to advance their interests. Because these interests and the powers of groups (or states) change, in time the political system will be changed in ways that will reflect these underlying shifts in interest and power" (Gilpin 1981: 10).

This understanding represents an approach to change which takes it as an absolute transformation and leaves no room for transitivity between compartments of history. In Gilpin's account, there is no considerable change in the political system in last 300 years, because states continue to be the primary players in the formation of international system. Reading this from other way around; we could be speaking of a change only if states' dominance over the international system was challenged and diminished by another form of unit. Then, the change would bring a brand new era in which dynamics of former become irrelevant for the newly formed context.

Yet, such a conception of change is a hard one to fit for a theoretical framework built in context of social sciences. Our object of inquiry, world politics in this dissertation, is hard to fragmentize into completely different compartments which were crystallized through sharpened and absolute break offs. Rather, world

politics have passed through changes which altered some features as well as provided ground for continuation of some other features of the pre-change context. Therefore, in accordance with the nature of its social context, the change in world politics needs to be conceptualized on a ground that promote a non-absolute approach that enables transitivity between post and pre-change status quos. To deal with this problem, Roseanu and Czempiel suggest a distinction between the change in normative order and the change in analytic order (Rosenau and Czempiel 1992: 13). According to this distinction, apart from its physical existence, a normative content is also embedded in the international order. In this regard, international law, international institutions and their members represent the analytical content of the international order. This analytic content constitutes the empirical existence of international order. Normative order, on the other hand, represents a world of meanings in which empirical reality is judged with the different normative commitments. The normative order provides morally motivated questions about the operation of empirical order and answers to these questions.

Distinguishing between the normative and empirical orders does not necessarily mean that they are positioned against each other always. Rather, there may be times that empirical reality is total reflection of dominant normative content. An example of such an overlapping is the Gulf War which is elaborated in detail in 3.3. Considering that the Gulf War took place during international political context which is mainly built upon a strict non-intervention principle, the international society took an action against the violation of this non-intervention principle and legitimated this action through United Nations Security Council Resolution 687⁴. In

⁴ UN Official Webpage <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/596/23/IMG/NR059623.pdf?OpenElement> (Last access: 02.01.2015)

other words, the normative order, which was prioritizing the sovereignty of states, overlapped with the empirical reality represented by the UN authorization of the action against Iraqi government. Yet, such overlap is not always the case. While empirically discerned order may cry out for a specific action, the normative order in which that action is interrogated may handle that critically and challenge the empirical reality at hand. This is the aspect that makes the transitivity in change possible. Even if the empirical reality remains the same, one can still argue a framework for change by focusing on the alterations in the surrounding normative content.

A similar distinction is suggested by Wheeler (2000). Wheeler handles the international politics with reference to concept of legitimacy embedded in it and distinguishes descriptive legitimacy from the normative legitimacy (Wheeler 2000: 26). Positive law, agreements and state practices are the sources descriptive legitimacy. Normative legitimacy, on the other hand, is related to the questions which are produced in an ideational world of meanings, asking whether these practices are desired. The question of whether we should save the strangers with humanitarian intentions can, in this respect, be answered through these two perspectives. One can argue that descriptive legitimacy remains still the same and non-intervention is maintained as the founding principle of international society. Another perspective, which is also defended by Wheeler, would suggest that normative legitimacy have evolved in a way that it attributes legitimacy to humanitarian intervention in a broader context.

The English School's approach to change is built on a similar transmissive conception of change. Two main points are worth to be noted. Firstly, the ontological stance of the English School enables such a conception of change. Manning's

emphasis of communal imagining is the reflection of this ontological stance (Manning 1962: 19). Wheeler notes that the progress towards the international society is built on the communal imagining which provides an ideational dimension to the existence of international society:

"If we want to understand how international society becomes possible, then it is necessary to recognize that the practices that constitute it have no real-work existence independent of the 'communal imagining' that conjure them into existence" (Wheeler 2000: 22).

In this sense, the same distinction between the physical and ideational existence of international politics is provided in the works of founding scholars of the ES (Manners 2003: 243). Therefore, the progress in the world politics becomes possible in the ideational dimension even if the empirical reality resists to the progress. Secondly, though the ES has been contributed by scholars with different theoretical and methodological affiliations ranging from mainstream to critical, positivist to post-positivist wings, one common point of the whole English School literature is the fact that it is built on a certain understanding of progress. In other words, the English School scholars obtain the presumption that the progress is possible in world politics. The change in the ES is mainly built upon this understanding of progress. The theoretical triad of the ES derives from this belief in progress. The argument that states do not only form a system but also a society is the outcome of this progressive conception of world politics. At this point, one thing to bear in mind is that the change in the ES is not an absolute illustration as mentioned in the beginning of this section. Rather, as underlined in the literature review section, in Wight's words, each category of the English School represents a different picture of world politics. As Williams (2005: 22) suggests, the progress towards the world society does not necessarily cause the finalization of the dynamics of the international society; instead

ethically more desirable forms of pluralist international order may very well be existing in the time that we present world society as a more viable framework for current international politics. Therefore, a scholar of international society does not necessarily argue dynamics of systemic relations no longer exist, instead; the main argument is that international politics is not a sphere solely shaped by systemic features but it evolved in a manner that a society of states exist with a certain degree of shared values, interests and institutions.

With this in mind, the stance of this dissertation on change utilizes from the abovementioned transmissive accounts on change. Thus transmission between the pre and post-change context is essential in this understanding. In other words, the argument that certain practices of the world society are apparent in world politics does not necessarily render the dynamics of international society irrelevant. That is, the institutions and practices that constitute the international society may remain even when a progress towards the world society takes place. The argument that the world society is a viable tool to understand and explain the peacebuilding practices is not jeopardized due to the fact that the institutions and several dynamics of the international society is present. Then, the task is to find out which features of world politics are at stake during this progress towards world society. The next section focuses on the evolution of these parameters that generates such progress.

3.2. Changing Parameters Constituting the World Society

Built on the previous section, it is possible to suggest that one should focus on the constituting parameters that make a specific category relevant for the understanding

and explaining the world politics in order to observe the difference between two categories.

Within the context of the framework that this dissertation suggests, three main parameters change as the transition from international to world society. In other words, the world society that is framed in this dissertation comes into existence through a change in these three parameters. These three main parameters that are considered to be changing are normative agenda, agency and identity. These are elaborated further below.

3.2.1. Normative Agenda

The argument that the international politics is not solely about sole systemic relations among its interacting units but also based on a societal context is mainly the product of certain normative change in the international politics. The international society, in the sense that Bull frames, goes beyond the international system mainly because it is embodied with a normative content which is agreed upon and followed by its members. Therefore, the normative agenda of any political context can be considered as a constitutive element for that context. What makes the normative content even more significant is the fact that a change in the normative agenda of a political context has a transformative power and is a determinant source of change. Considering that the world society provides a specific type of political context which differs from the international society as an ideal type, the normative implications of this ideal type belongs to a different world of meanings in which state-centered normative priorities remain secondary. Hence, what follows is an elaboration on how

normative agenda have been an integral element of change and transformation in the English School's classification of international politics, and how it will play a leading role in this dissertation's framework of world society.

Debates on normativity have been a conceptually flexible sphere of IR theory literature. The terms related to normativity, such as 'norm' and 'normative' have often been used interchangeable with other related terms such as values, judgment, ethics and morality (Aksu 2003: 4). Although such flexibility provides a comprehensive ground to the researcher in order to conduct research on the normative domain of political context, it also brings with a difficulty because the normativity and the terms 'norm' and 'normative' suffer from definitional blurredness. Despite the comprehensive debates in the literature about the normativity embedded in international politics and its theory, the term is used with reference to various different connotations.

Building on such a comprehensive context in which normativity is scrutinized, the approaches to the term 'normative' in the literature can be classified into three. The first approach to the 'normative' embedded in the theory deals with the word's immediate meaning, which is "should" and "ought to" dimension. This approach may simply be called normative theorizing (Aksu 2003). Here the major aim of the theory is to develop a theoretical framework in which a specific normative agenda can be understood, explained and further systematized. Therefore, the theory developed through this approach does not only deal with what is out there, but also what should be there in the theory and practice of world politics. In this approach, the researcher apparently has a definition of 'good' in mind. Accordingly, normative theorizing develops within the context of the researcher's normative commitment to the good in his/her mind (Brown 1992: 27). Different spheres of IR theory literature

are abundant with normatively committed studies. For instance, Linklater and Suganami (2006)'s approach to English School can be classified as a normatively motivated study. The way Linklater and Suganami use the theory is basically an instrumentalization of theory for achieving the 'good' in practice. Especially Linklater clearly defines his motivation for his theory as "how far can world politics be changed for the better?" (2006: 8). Humanitarian intervention literature is also shaped mainly by those studies seeking a theoretical framework for already accepted and supported specific normative agenda. Wheeler (2000), for example, argues that the normative change in world politics already developed in a way that it renders humanitarian intervention a responsibility on the shoulders of international society. Therefore, Wheeler aims to offer a theoretical framework that facilitates understanding the practice of humanitarian intervention.

Second approach to the normativity issue in IR is mainly characterized by an empiricist understanding of theory, which is an opposing view to the abovementioned understanding of normativity. In this camp, "the task of normative theory is to discover, describe and explain empirically the communal standards and perceptions as to right and wrong. The task is, further, to explain the relationship between norms and other phenomena" (Aksu 2003: 4). The theory takes the agents of international politics as norm-following actors. Therefore, the theory is developed with an empiricist understanding in order to frame the relationship between the actors and norms of international politics. Here, norms are taken as independent variable which makes impact on the decisions, actions and non-actions of the actors. It distinguishes from the first approach in its claim of objectivity. That is, norms are not for the researcher to commit and follow in his/her writing of theory; rather the task is to inquire objectively about their impact on the international politics. This

approach is a typical example of "world-mind dualism" (Jackson 2010), which puts a distance between the observer and the observed for the sake of objectivity. Conventional constructivist accounts in the IR literature can be shown as the examples of this approach to normativity. Amongst others, Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) argue that the inquiry about norms in international politics and actors' compliance with these norms should and will be the main point in the constructivist research agenda. Similar approach is embedded in Gaddis' approach to theory. According to Gaddis (1992-1993) the units of analysis in international politics are conscious entities with the ability of reacting to surrounding environment. Therefore, values inevitably become the subject of theorizing in IR. Yet, the task of the analysts is to put a distance between self and observed, and observe the social reality shaped by norms and values with an objective approach.

The third approach to the issue actually focuses on the relationship between norms, values and the research from a different perspective that mainly criticizes the second approach. According to this approach, the researcher is an integral part of the social context in which he or she exists. Therefore, there is no value-free or objective theorizing in this approach to normativity. Jackson (2010) calls this approach to "world-mind monism", which argues that the observer and the observed constitute together the social reality which concerns the social research. Here, it is argued that there is no escape from normativity in any field of theory even though this normative stance can be implicit (Aksu 2003). In this regard, this approach would take the first account mentioned above as the explicit normative theorizing while the second one is implicitly normative although it rejects to be so.

Considering that the issue of normativity is understood and handled through such different lenses in the literature, it is fair to argue that each of these lenses

highlight a significant feature of the theory that is neglected by the others. In this sense, the approach of this dissertation to normative agenda issue is closer to the one articulated in the second perspective. Although I refrain from taking normative agenda solely as an independent variable that determines the course of international politics, it is acknowledged as one of the significant parameters that crystallizes the boundaries between the English School's three categories. Therefore, this study's approach to norms and normativity is informed with an "theory about norms", rather than "normative theory" understanding (see Buzan 2004: ch.1). The change in the normative agenda has a significant input in the formation of the English School's conceptual triad and is taken as one of the transformative parameters that forms a category going beyond the limited international society framework, namely the world society. How it does so is expanded on further below.

The English School can be considered as a theoretical attempt intending to "carve out a 'normative' space" (Bain 2007: 558) in IR theory literature. The category of international society that is considered to be the most concrete contribution of the ES to the literature is mainly based on a normative content. The content of the normative framework adopted by international society has long been subject to contending perspectives. Yet, one thing that could be put pertaining the normativity in the ES is that the way normativity is approached has made a determinant impact in the relationship between School's three prominent concepts. The normative agenda contributes to the differentiation of the international society from international system. Furthermore, it also forms the debate between pluralist and solidarist international society framework.

To start with the normativity's role in the interplay between international system and international society, it is necessary to focus on the concepts' general

definitions. International system mainly implies to a set of relationship among states in which one's decision make an impact to others action as well. The main content of such relationship is the power politics amongst states. Systemic analyses place the structure that is shaped by the international anarchy to the center of its focus. In this context, the behavior of each unit is an outcome of the broader structure and this moves are important inputs in the calculation for decisions by others (Buzan 2004: 98). The theoretical approach that figures out the international politics in terms of mere systemic analysis deals with the each decision taken in the system with a strong reference to the system that represents "physical mode of interaction typical of the mechanistic, realist-style analyses of the balance of power as an automatic process rooted in the relative material capabilities of states" (Buzan 2004: 99). In a similar vein, Watson (1997: 1) calls set of relationship among states system of states "when a number of political entities are closely involved with one another." Given such definitions, it is safe to argue that the theoretical category of international system intends to take the picture of international interplay among actors that are free from values and norm-based analysis. Rather, the "international" is the sphere in which positions are determined through material capabilities of actors and decisions are taken accordingly.

At this point, it may be necessary to note that all these references to systemic mode of analyses do not necessarily render international system framework fully non-normative. As Dunne notes (1998), each of the categories of the ES represent a distinctive moral stance, and international system amongst others is committed mainly to a "non-perfectionist ethics" (Dunne 1998: 9). Therefore, it is critical to note that the term normativity should not necessarily connote a value system that privileges human/society-centric or non-state-based understanding. Statism and state-

centric normative agenda may very well constitute a normative content in the theory. However, it is safe to argue that the international system framework takes a rather agnostic stance on the normative debates. Building on this and the abovementioned conception of international system category, it is fair to argue that analyses that utilize this theoretical category refrain from pushing a specific normative agenda forward.

The picture that is taken by the founders of the ES through the category of international society, on the other hand, is based on the some understanding of morality. Here, turning back to the definition of the international society is needed in order to see its normative side. Once again, the definition of Bull and Watson (1984: 1) provides an informative perspective here:

"a group of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behavior of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognize their common interest in maintaining these arrangements."

This definition does not only mention a systemic interaction among the units, but also introduces some form of moral understanding based on consent and common interest in the operation of the interplay, which, in the end, form a society of states. Accordingly, what makes international society different from the pure systemic approach is that its framework provides a ground for recognition of "some moral minimum" (Bain 2007: 559). Furthermore, the idea of society of states requires a normative grounding which goes beyond mere relying on the existence of common interests and obliges states to follow the path determined by this normative content. Therefore, in Wight's words, normativity in international society framework becomes the "law behind law." This normative emphasis is supported with the assumption that

units of the international society are normatively conscious entities, thus, are sensitive to normative environment in which they interact (Linklater and Suganami 2006: 8). In other words, unlike the international system framework, the international society has a progressive structure in the sense that its normative ground provides various mechanisms that render progress possible (Mayall 2009). This demonstrates that stronger references to normative content in the international society compared to international system can be considered as one important signifier in the formation of the category.

It is not only the relationship between international system and international society that is determined by the change in the normative agenda, but normativity also shaped the literature about the debates on the international society framework. The main distinction between pluralist and solidarist wings of the international society framework relies mainly on the debate on the normative priorities of the international society. This is manifested in Hedley Bull's famous statement that "order is not merely an actual or possible condition or state of affairs in world politics, it is also very generally regarded as a value" (Bull 1971: 269). Besides, it is the main value treated as the general principle of the international society. Therefore in its most basic sense, the distinction between pluralist and solidarist approaches to international society lies in the difference in the commitment to the ideal of solidarity among the members of international society.

Pluralist wing defends more atomistic and autonomic societal structure relying on the sovereignty of its members, whereas solidarists imagine more penetrable units due to their normative stance about the solidarity among the interacting units. Suganami notes that the degree of commitment to the normative ideal that solidarity among the members of international society determines the

difference between pluralist and solidarist wings of international society (Suganami 2002). Here the choice at stake is between the order and justice. By order, the main reference is obviously to the non-interference principle in the international society (Vincent 1984; Jackson 2000; Bain 2003). As mentioned earlier, since the units are assumed to be normatively conscious and sensitive to the normative context in which they interact, they respond to the normative requirements that form the order in international arena. Justice, on the other hand, connotes a much deeper source of normativity. In Grotius, the source of the justice is ascribed to God (Bull et al. 1990; Yasuaki 1993). Modern international society relies more on secular forms of sources for the normativity based on justice. For instance in Wheeler (2000), the idea that we ought to save strangers is based primarily on a "self-evident moral truth" which requires no further explanation for the source of normative commitment (Bain 2007: 561). One way or another, it is obvious that once the normative priorities of the context is at stake, the ES theory puts categorical differences between the wings that adopt these diversified normative priorities.

As it was a significant parameter changing from one category to the other, normativity plays its role as well in the relationship between international society and world society. Along with two other parameters, normativity seems to be a significant sphere that constitutes world society as a distinct category. As discussed above, the evolution of the normative agenda from pluralist to solidarist international society proceeds in the sense that it is enriched with the commitment to set of values that go beyond basic non-interference principle. Still, it is important to note that the degree of commitment to the solidarity among the units of international society does not necessarily render state priorities irrelevant. As Bain notes, neither pluralist nor solidarist arguments do not challenge the grounds on which state-centrism of

international society is built. In his words, "either pluralist values are conditional on the fulfillment of solidarist values or solidarist values must be accommodated within a pluralist framework" (Bain 2007: 562). The change in the normative agenda between the international society and world society frameworks is much more profound.

The main difference between the international society and world society frameworks lies in that while the utmost priority in international society is to preserve the non-intervention principle, which is considered to be a state-centric priority that maintain the current structure of international politics, the world society framework grants a broader sphere for the normative agenda of which the main referent object is not always states. The change in the normative agenda from international system to international society is a transition from a world of sole self-interest and survival to a world of commitment to co-existence and non-intervention principle. The society of states introduces a normative content mainly occupied with state references. Therefore, the referent object of the normative agenda in the international society is mainly states that constitute the society. Yet, the network that world society presents does not merely rely on the state units. The normative construction of the world society, therefore, is mainly evolved into a human and society-centric framework. In other words, the referent object in the normative agenda of a practice that appears in the context of world society are not states but individuals and the society constituted by these individuals.

International System	International Society		World Society
	Pluralist	Solidarist	
Normative Agnosticism >>	State-centrism based on the preservation of non-intervention principle	>> State-centrism challenged by humanitarian concerns	>> Individual & Society-centrism

Table 3: Evolution of Normative Agenda Across Three Categories of the English School

The abovementioned shift in the referent object of the normative agenda has several implications on the operational aspect of world politics. First of all, it is necessary to note again that none of these three categories is destructive of each other. Rather, as Wight puts clearly, each of the three categories represent a different feature of the world politics. With this in mind, it is possible to argue that a shift in the normative agenda from state-centrism to human/society-centrism introduces new and more complex questions into world politics. To exemplify, the intervention issue, which will be the focus of the empirical section of this dissertation, can be considered as a problematique that is affected by the shift in the normative agenda. An intervention practice with a normative agenda that includes strong references to state sovereignty of a member of international society is fitting perfectly to the international society framework, which is mainly built on the non-intervention principle. The world society framework, on the other hand, would be a more viable tool to understand and explain another case that is based on a broader framework of intervention, such as peacebuilding interventions, which address problems such as human security. Hence, the rise of world society as a new approach to world politics

supplies new and more complex questions for students and practitioners of international relations to deal with.

3.2.2. Agency

Similar to the normative agenda, the agency is another significant parameter that constitutes the theoretical direction of a framework. The question of "who practices agency" has been one of the founding debates of the discipline. While mainstream theories argue that the primary agents in the world politics are states and entities formed by states (Carr 1944; Morgenthau 1948[1985]), the wing of the literature that have a critical stance on mainstream view argues that it is not only states but also individuals (Bieler and Morton 2001; Erskine 2003) and non-state actors (Risse-Kappen 1995; Bieler et al. 2004) have a significant agency in the current operation of world politics. Another important debate in the literature problematized the relationship between the agents and the structure and point out to the mutual constitution between those two. Apart from the theoretical affiliation of the scholar, the change in the primary agents of world politics is considered to be a significant change in the subject matter of IR discipline. Similarly, the change in the agency is also part of the progress understanding embedded in the English School. Therefore, this section focuses on how agency plays a role in the change in IR, and how it played a crucial role in the constitution of the progress from international system to international society and from international society to world society.

Once again, focusing on the definition of the concept is a good way to start out. It is interesting that the concept of agency, as a subject matter of important debates in the literature, is rarely defined. Even in those deep meta-theoretical discussions problematizing the constitutive relationship between the structure and agents, agents are simply defined as the actors of that context. The main tendency in the literature is to use the concept of agent interchangeably with being actor. Accordingly, agency becomes the course of actions that comes out of the practices of actors. According to this assumption, the agents in a given political system are those who have the capacity to act in order to shape the general frame of that context. In this regard, agency simply lies with those who are accepted as the actors of the game. Yet, a deeper digging into the concept may demonstrate that agency is not simply equal to being an actor; rather it may have broader implications.

According to Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, agents are the purposive formations that are constituted by human beings and the organizations formed by them. The agency that they practice is capable to reproduce or transform the political context in which they socialize with other agents (Evans and Newnham 1998: 3). In Wendt (1987), agents are described as, again, purposive social actors which are positioned in relation to one another. Wendt's criteria for a construct to be an agent is that it ought to be an individual choice-making unit which is responsible for the actions it took (Wendt 1987: 339). Therefore, according to Wendt, states are the rightful primary agents in the current world politics. In such definitions, the abovementioned tendency to equalize agency with being an actor is apparent. Agents are the sovereign subjects and the source of agency is correlated with the legitimate right of sovereignty as a unitary actor in these accounts on agency (Doty 1997). Yet, this assumption is partially correct in the sense that agency is somewhat broader than

just being an actor, because the assumption that agency lies only with those who are accepted as legitimate sovereigns is built upon the very presumption that states are unitary actors. This assumption is criticized in the literature; for instance by lately developed subfield of Foreign Policy Analysis for black-boxing the state (Hudson 2005: 2). According the critiques, it is not states but human beings who take foreign policy decisions. Therefore, agency is not only the property of states as the sovereign subjects of world politics, but also of individual human beings as the practitioners of politics.⁵ In this regard, states may still continue being the primary actors of world politics, yet agency is distributed to a broader sphere in which individuals take place as well. Besides, states are agents and structures in which individual human beings are constrained at the same time (Benjamin and Duvall 1985: 21 as cited in Wendt 1987: 339). Hence, practicing agency is not simply the synonymous with being an actor of world politics.

With this in mind, this dissertation defines the agency on a broader ground which does not reduce it to simply being an actor. In this sense, the definition of the agency proposed within the context of this dissertation is as follows: practices and activities in a specific area with the capacity of making an impact on the course of the events; determining, broadening and reshaping the context when necessary; and most importantly producing concrete and tangible actions with observable results. Accordingly, agents are the units that perform the agency in the sense framed above. Building on this definition, agency is not equalized simply to being an actor, instead; it is conceptualized as form of activities with political significance and agents are those who possess this political significance in a specific political context.

⁵ At this point, one can argue that those people who are considered to be practitioners are actually representing states, therefore cannot be regarded as outside of the state identity. Yet, this argument is mainly part of the discussion about the identity of the agents, which is elaborated in 3.2.3.

Following this, the question of why agency can and should be taken as a parameter that constitutes change in International Relations begs elaboration. The questions about who the agents are in world politics and the answers given to this question have been shaping crucial debates in the literature. Though the answer to the question was taken for granted in most of the accounts and no specific elaboration on it was provided, the assumptions on the agency constituted further construction of the theoretical framework. For instance, the early debates between realists and liberals were affected from such assumptions on agency. In realist camp, all variants acknowledge the state as the central to world politics. States are the units which seek a higher measure of security, and the course of world politics is shaped through this desire for security. "Desire for security explains why international politics exist at all" (Jervis 1998: 981). In other words, states, as the central units of world politics, and their desire for more security are not only the reasons of policy outcomes in world politics, but they are also the reason to the existence of the world politics. Therefore, it is the states' agency that constitutes the core, change and further impetus in the world politics. This assumption becomes apparent in the billiard ball analogy. States are illustrated as billiard balls with perfectly overlapping motivations interacting in international political sphere. Thus, what we call international politics is the sum of these billiard balls' run into one another. Here, one can question whether realists overlook the role of statesman in the composition of this picture. Actually, Morgenthau (1948) does not overlook, even builds his realism on the role of statesman. In his illustration, the statesman follows and should follow⁶ the national interest without other motivations. Therefore, Jervis argues that although

⁶ This "should" dimension is argued to be constituting the normative dimension embedded in the realist theoretical framework. For more information see Jervis 1998; Guzzini 2004.

statesman holds a place in the realist theory, he does not attributed the agency for the fact that realism envisages selfless leaders (Jervis 1998: 989).

In liberal arguments, on the other hand, states are not simply illustrated as billiard balls. Both first and the second image, which are the domestic and individual levels, are taken into account in the liberal framework as significant determinants on the third image, which is the international politics. How may this be an argument on the agency? In the very liberal argument that the states in which democratic processes prevail will follow a peaceful path in their foreign policy (Doyle 1986; Doyle 1997), states are not the only units which possess agency, though they are assumed to be primary and central. This signifies an agency understanding which goes beyond the approach simply equalizes agency to being an actor, an approach summarized in the beginning of this section. In this regard, democratic institutions and individuals leading those institutions are attributed a significant agency in the liberal theory. According to that, citizens leading politically important constructs are rational units but they are also capable of cultivating a moral sense in the foreign relations (Doyle 1986: 1154). Contrary to the realist camp, which envisages selfless leaders, liberalism acknowledges the agency of the individual which is rational but also equipped with moral sensitivities.

These debates demonstrate how the theoretical positioning in the literature evolved with respect to the agency. Besides, the agency is not only the matter of theoretical debates but also the literature on the practice discussed the issue as those who possess the agency in actual politics change. Especially with the end of Cold War, the agency started to be possessed and practiced not only by states and organizations formed by states but also non-governmental organizations increased the impact of their political activities (Goodhand 2006; Heins 2008). Though the

recognition of the legitimate agency practiced by non-state actors was a serious challenge for the international society which was mainly built in a state-centric form, the initiations taken by non-governmental organizations gave birth to serious international developments with binding results for states, such as Kyoto Protocol and Ottawa Treaty (Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention). As Boli argues, the non-governmental organizations have been an important part of world politics since late 19th century, yet their freedom from state patronization gained momentum with the rise of the critics following the World War II and even consolidated further with the end of Cold War. Therefore, the genuine agency practiced by the non-governmental organizations became an integral part of daily routine of world politics mainly after the end of Cold War era. (Boli and George 1999).

Considering the place of agency in the literature, I am aiming to show that the agency and the question of who possesses the agency have been crucial points in the discussion of change in the International Relations. The agency has been one of the main points in these discussions, because as the possessors of agency change, the literatures both on the theory and practice of world politics recognized that the course of international politics is also at stake. Then, the next task is to look at the evolution of the stances on agency within the English School and how it is changing from the international system to international society and who will be the agents in the world society as a differing feature of it from the international society framework.

The agency is a cornerstone in the English School's progressive conception of world politics. The most important and consolidated invention of the School, the international society, is an argument on the agency as well as the normative dimension elaborated earlier. Proceeding one by one is crucial to track the evolution of the agency across three categories. The category of the international system is

apparently the one in which most manifest arguments are developed on the question about the possessor of the agency in world politics. In the framework of the international system, the agency lies with the states. Once again, turning back to the definition may be necessary: International system is illustrated as set of relations among states in which one unit's move is realized as a calculated response to others' move in that system (Watson 1990: 101; Watson 1992: 28); units in it are selfish and seekers of more security (Bull 1977: 17); and it is merely based on power politics (Buzan 2004: 10). In this regard, international politics which is conceived through the framework of states system is the result of the power based interaction among the states. Three points in this definition determine the possessor of agency: the international politics is shaped through the moves of states; power politics is the result of states' selfish nature and finally the power is not only the currency of politics but it is also the property of states. Therefore, the framework of international society in the ES attributes the agency to state units. Here one point should be clarified. The international system in the ES is not the equivalent to the system emphasis in Structural Realism proposed by Waltz (1979). The international system in the ES is proposed as a reference point in the definition of the international society. The systemic approach in the Structural Realism exhibits rather an agnostic position about the state's agency. In that, the operation of the international politics is mainly the result of the structure's imposition on its interacting units (Gilpin 1990: 115). In other words, though the states' agency is not elaborated; Waltz sees the system and its constraints on states as the main source of agency.

The international society, on the other hand, presents a more complex story about the possessors of the agency. The framework can be examined by distinguishing it between the early and current literature. The early literature is

mainly composed of the theoretical arguments developed by the founding fathers of the School. In the foundational pieces of the School, the agency is attributed to the states (Devlen, James and Özdamar 2005: 175). International society, in the end, is a society of states, a construct which is ontologically built upon the states as the constituting unit of it. The society of states provides the minimum standards for preserving the statehood as a worldwide principle, and the further operation through the mechanisms of this society is mainly practiced by states (Vincent 1988: 197). Once again, statesman is an important unit holding an important place in the operation of international society; yet the "classics" of the School do not challenge the realist arguments that statesman will and should follow the national interest. Therefore, the selfless leader conception of realism is also present in the founding pieces of the School. In this regard, agents of the international society peremptorily appear to be the state.

The current literature presents, however, rather a complex set of arguments on the agents of international society. When we refer to current literature, it is fair to argue that it mainly overlaps with the solidarist conceptions of international society. Although pluralist-solidarist debate appears mainly on the ground of a normative discussion, it also has a dimension about the agents of international practice. Brown (2001) argues that the framework of international society is presumed to possess some kind of moral agency. In other words, international society is envisaged as "some kind of collective agency-possessing body" (Brown 2001: 87). Here, it is possible to argue that the agency is collectivized within the scope of international society. The international society in the solidarist arguments is a mechanism that preserves the "norm-governed nature of the relations between states." In other words, in the solidarist literature, international society exists as a different construct from

states, which is impossible to reduce it to the "guardians of state rights". Rather, solidarist international society attributes the agency mainly to itself. The agency is exercised by the organs of the international society. Though these organs are formed by states and the individuals representing states, the solidarist international society frames these organs as differentiated units from states entities. Therefore, the agency practiced by these organs is not the property of states but it is the exhibition of moral and empirical agency of the international society itself. This makes the solidarist international society a self-referent body in the practice of agency. The fact remains that this self-referential conception of the international society is criticized in the literature. The idea that it is still the states that practicing the agency, with state priorities, on behalf of the international society. "When the international community is described as 'acting', it is actually states that are exhibiting agency, whatever community-oriented explanation they may give of their deeds" (Brown 2001: 87). Overall, the agency in the international society framework is practiced mainly by states (as in the early literature) and the society itself as a distinct construct (as assumed in the current solidarist literature).

What does change about the agency within the scope of world society? Earlier, it is touched upon Buzan's argument that the main tension between the international and world society is about the ontological units on which these categories are built upon. According to this, the world society presents a complex framework in which state agents form a structure together with the individuals, transnational solidarity groups and other non-state actors (Buzan 2004: 10). In such a framework, world politics is not an area which is solely shaped by state actions, rather individuals and transnational movements appearing as non-governmental organizations are attributed certain degree of capacity of political reproduction. In

short, the agency in the world society framework is argued to be shared by states, individuals, NGOs and other institutionalized transnational entities. Besides, the agency is not reduced to the capacity of being actor in the world society framework. Main reason for this change in the agency is the fact that the world society acknowledges that individuals may exist as different units from state organs instead of being extensions of them. Therefore, the individuals taking part in a political practice is equipped with the capacity of acting with their own distinct agenda. Accordingly, the NGOs and other institutions formed by those individuals are not taken as minor manifestation of world politics mainly shaped by state priorities as argued in the realist literature.⁷ Rather, they have the capacity to impose their own agenda on other actors of the world politics. In this regard, the agency of these actors in the framework of world society grows into be a phenomenon that may give birth to tangible political results. Thus, as conceptualized in the beginning of this section, non-state agency in the world society has a potential to contribute to the reproduction of the overall political context as well as being reproduced by it.

Such a change in the agency within the scope of world society brings about important practical results. Actually, the agency is presented as an independent variable together with normative agenda and identity parameters that constitute the world society framework. Yet, there is another causal relationship between two of these parameters. Considering that "agents bring their structures with them" (Wight 1999: 110); it is possible to argue that rise of new agents in the world politics resulted in that their distinct normative agenda gain significance. In other words, the

⁷ Such an approach is present in realist literature on the role of international organization in world politics. Realist argument on this can simply be summarized that international organizations are mechanisms in which power politics is dominant. The agendas of IOs are shaped by strongers and their activities serve to the national interests of those who possess the this agential power in world politics. For more information on the realist stance on the role of IOs see: Abbott and Snidal 1998; Barnett and Finnemore 1999.

evolution of the normative agenda from state centrism to individual/human centrism elaborated in 3.2.1. can be acknowledged as an outcome of the introduction of new agents into world politics with their capacity to act through the mechanisms of agency. In this regard, it is fair to argue that the parameter of agency appears to be an independent variable that gives result to the challenge of state-centric normative agenda as a dependent variable. In return, such a change in the normative agenda reproduces the agents in the manner that it constrains or enables them to act in a certain way. In short, a mutual construction process takes place in the interplay between these parameters that constitute the world society framework en masse.

3.2.3. Identity

The third parameter of the progress towards the world society is proposed to be the identity. As the two other parameters elaborated above, the change in the identity motivations of the agents have the potential to transform the context. Identity appears to be a significant determinant for the operation of a political context within the literature which takes political action as a result of identity. Especially with the rise of constructivist arguments in the literature with 1990s, the identity is used abundantly as a tool in the analytical reasoning. In accordance with that, different conceptions of identity have been developed in the literature. Part of the literature has defined the concept as a phenomenon that is categorically inherited to the actors, while some others focused to the constructed nature of the identity. Constructed or inherited, as the arguments on the identity motivations of political agents are

reconsidered as a response to changing nature of the international politics, the progress in the world politics becomes more observable. Therefore, this section aims to present a debate on the identity, how it is conceptualized and how the change in the identity makes an impact on the progress towards world society framework.

Two major approaches in the definition of the identity could be cited. First, the traditional approach to identity defines it on a pre-given basis. In this wing of the literature, identity is not something acquired but it is embedded in the physical existence of the actor. This approach to identity is manifested in what Wendt calls corporate identity (Wendt 1994: 385). This form of identity mainly "refers to the intrinsic, self-organizing qualities" which constitute the existence of the actor. In other words, identity is an organic category with pre-determined features that may change from one actor to the other depending on the actors' affiliation with a specific category. Therefore, specific patterns of behavior can be expected from the actors in a given structure of conditions (Fierke and Wiener 1999: 723). In this regard, identity is included in the analysis as an independent variable with a constant and pre-determined bunch of features. Identity, in this approach, appears to be a pre-given and static category which determines the preferences and actions of the actor. The second approach, on the other hand, builds on the argument that identity is an outcome of a dynamic and social construction process. A social actor develops its social roles and preferences concertedly with its identity, which is not only a reason but also a result of another social process. In other words, identity appears to be a social object that makes its impact on the preferences of the actors, and those preferences are inseparable from the social identity (Abrams and Hog 1990: 21). In accordance with that, Wendt defines identity on a social basis and argues that it is not

only about what an actor is but also related with "sets of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking perspective of others" (Wendt 1994: 385).

Utilizing both approaches to the identity, this dissertation acknowledges that identity includes both pre-given and constructed elements. While a specific identity category may include a package of specific features accepted by both obtainers of that category and other actors, it is also open to further evolution due to its dynamic nature. In this regard, this dissertation builds its understanding of identity on such a definition: Identity is a category of perception that is adopted by the actors of a context; used by them in the making sense of their self and others; it is partially inherited endogenously and partially emerge as a product of a construction; built and reshaped dynamically by the self and the surroundings of the actor. Such a definition enables this framework to conduct an analysis of the progress from one category to another with reference to identity as a parameter which is open to reformation through socialization (Zürn and Checkel 2005) as well as some features of it being present in the existence of the agents.

I suggest that identity is another parameter of progress in the English School and the appearance of new identity motivations shall take a crucial part in the constitution of the world society framework. Therefore, this section continues with the examination of the identity's evolution throughout the progress from the international system to society and from the international to world society.

Firstly, the English School's portrait of world politics through the lenses of international system framework engages with a pretty simplistic form of identity. Identity in the political context that is shaped solely by systemic dynamics represents a primitive form of the concept. As touched upon above, the traditional approach to

identity is based on an essentialist understanding that reduces identity to physical existence of the actor. According to that, the identity of an actor is the result of what the actor is. That is, identity is only a category with a constant content and this content applies to all other actors belonging to the same identity category. In this regard, international system is where actors with state identities hold the ascendance. In this context, states are expected to exhibit similar patterns of behavior due to the source of their identity is fed from the same category, which is statehood. Being selfish and pursuing national interest in a self-regarded way originates from the statehood. In this regard, state identity is constant, as all other identity categories, and not open to socialize and evolve into a broader context. The intensity of interaction among the units of international system is fairly low, if not absent. The international system is a sphere where actors contact to each other in accordance with the necessities of their nature. Since the identity is reduced to an essentialist understanding, the lenses of international system do not present a framework that includes identity as a factor that makes sense for the operation of international politics. The preferences of the actors are given, hence, the actions that are the results of preferences are foreseeable. In this regard, the mass that is called international system constitutes a form of collectivity (James 1993), and yet very low degree of interaction happens in this collectivity; therefore the identity remains the same as it occurred to be. That is, a state will act with the motivations of state identity without even having an identity consciousness, and it is not capable to grow up into a more complex form of identity.

The framework of international society introduces a progressive identity understanding going beyond the essentialist conception. The progress towards a societal form of relations among states comes about with the presupposition that

identity is not only gained with the existence; instead it is perceived and acquired consciously by the actors. In other words, the international society framework enables states (as the main agents of the world politics) to grow a consciousness about their own identity motivations. Therefore, the main difference of the international society framework from international system is that the acquirer of a specific category of identity possesses a conscious agency in the making process of identity motivation. Identity is not a self-emerging equipment as it is proposed to be in the international system framework, rather it is the product of a consciously conducted process that is shaped by different agencies. The novelty of international society about the identity lies in its framing identity as a consciously acquired perception. Since the states are attributed an agential power in the making of identity, the concept becomes open to further progress. In accordance with that, the progress in the identity, along with normative agenda and agency, plays a crucial role in the construction of the argument that the relations among the states relies on a societal type of interaction.

The interacting parts of the international system are states and they take on the state identity without consent and consciousness. Since the international society enables identity consciousness, states are capable of growing a societal identity. The identity in the international society framework transforms into a collective concept. In some cases, the states initiate to construct an identity affiliation relying on a claim of moral responsibility (Reus-Smit 1999: 25). Such an identity construction enables them to cultivate a culture of communicative action (Reus-Smit 1999: 28), as well as rendering their identity being defined on a collective basis. In other cases, an identity imagination is developed with reference to civilizational commonalities. This process is not only an imagination about the self but also includes a framing of the other

(Neumann 1999: 24). Through this stance on identity, international society becomes a political context of which members are capable to cultivate collective forms of identity going beyond their identity affiliations that they gained intrinsically. In this regard, international forms of identity come into the picture once the international politics is handled with the lenses of international society framework. As related with the previous section, international organizations as agency-possessing bodies are also equipped with the capacity to construct and extend an identity affiliation independent from its constituting members.

Finally, the critical question appears to be how identity, as a parameter of progress, evolves once the world society framework takes place. Similar to progressive understanding of the identity summarized above, the identity is defined as a dynamic process which is open to evolve and reproduction through the political interaction taking place within the world society framework. Yet, the main difference in the identity between the international society and the world society is the fact that identity motivations in the world society may reach beyond the national and civilizational borders. As in the interplay with two other parameters, namely the normative agenda and agency, the identity conceptions in the world society may well be defined on a transnational basis. Given the Buzan's argument that the world society relies on a mixed ontology including both state and non-state units, it is fair to argue that the identity in it becomes transcendent of the states system. It does not necessarily mean that the state identities become obsolete and irrelevant in the context of world society, rather world society opens an ample zone of maneuvering to those actors and agents equipped with transnational identities. In this regard, this dissertation argues that the world society is built on a complex context in which actors with state identities interact with those others with non-state identities that is

constructed beyond national and international borders. As Buzan argues (2004: 115), the structure emerging through the world society relies on the interaction of the actors taking on identity motivations at different levels, namely individual, state and non-state including transnational aspects.

International System	International Society		World Society
	Pluralist	Solidarist	
Pre-given identities obtained with physical existence >>	State identities capable of cultivating broader institutional identities >>	State identities socialized into international and civilizational identities >>	Transcendence of state identities / Emergence of transnational identity perceptions

Table 4: Evolution of Identity Across the Categories of the English School

3.3. The Nature of the Intervention at Stake: The Gulf War as A Practice of the International Society

Since this dissertation handles the issue of intervention to observe a real life practice of the theoretical framework elaborated above, it is also worth focusing on how the nature of intervention has been at stake especially since the post Second World War period. It is possible to observe the change of intervention practices with respect to three main paradigmatic dynamics in the last 70 years. (1) Inclusion of intervention in the international law as a way of preserving the balance of power. (2) Using intervention on a normative ground that prioritizes state sovereignty. (3) Using intervention on a new context in which superiority of state in the normative hierarchy

is questioned, means of intervention diversified along with those practice intervention.

The main tendency in the discipline of International Relations is to mark 1648 as the emergence point of modern sovereignty (Krasner 1993; Osiander 2001). With the emergence of modern conception of sovereignty, the intervention and sovereignty have been taken as two phenomena in absolute opposition to one another. As the principle of sovereignty was consolidated, the intervention of one state or entity to another recognized state was considered a *casus belli*. In a similar vein, both the theoretical literature and the early forms of international law making developed in a manner that they constructed the state sovereignty as the only true order of the international politics. In this respect, Hugo Grotius' works constituted the theoretical backbone of the international law-making initiations that were seeking institutionalization of the state sovereignty through mainly bilateral agreements between the great powers of that era. Therefore, the international political atmosphere was mainly shaped by the intention of framing intervention as an illegitimate and illegal political act in the post-1648 era until the Vienna Congress.

The logic of intervention developed in the Vienna Congress, on the other hand, relied mainly on the intention of including intervention as a form of instrument that would be used in the preservation of the Congress system. The conditions of the intervention were mainly correlated with the logic of preserving the balance of power among the actors of European continent. This introduced the first paradigmatic change about the place of intervention in international politics: inclusion of intervention as a legitimate political act in the international political principles once its conditions appeared. From this point on, the international political dynamics focused mainly on the determination of conditions of legitimate intervention. As put

above, the Congress system was envisaging an intervention framework only when a specific power harshly challenges the balance of power. Because, the main concern was that when a specific country gains too much superiority in comparison to other powers, this would bring with a motivation of aggression that would cause illegitimate intervention. Therefore, the inclusion of intervention as a tool of preserving the balance can be considered as a move to use intervention against the possibility of illegitimate intervention.

With the shocks of the Great War and the Second World War, the international politics drastically turned its face once again to preservation of state sovereignty as the main constituting principle. The bipolar world system imposed states specific course of political actions that were shaped mainly with structural dynamics. While world political structure was divided mainly into two camps, the interaction between the camps was rather limited. The main concern of this era was a direct super power clash that would bring world to a point of nuclear Armageddon. At the very same time, the periphery was experiencing a dynamic and intense political mobilization with the effect of decolonization especially in Africa. This political mobilization in the periphery was carrying the potential of bringing super powers into direct clash due to the polarized atmosphere of world politics. In this context, the intervention to the periphery was considered to be a way of controlling it in accordance with the necessities of the bipolar world structure. Such an atmosphere introduced a new framework for intervention. The intervention of the Cold War context started to be discussed on a different normative ground which deals with the intra-state dynamics in the target country. Though the interests of the international political actors in the periphery were shaped by the motivation of keeping the camps stabilized in a manner that they would not endanger system security, the dynamics of

the conflicts in the countries of periphery made a normative debate inevitable when these countries became the target of intervention. In this context, traditional peacekeeping mentality started to burgeon as a new form of intervention to deal with the instabilities and conflicts in the periphery.

Still, traditional peacekeeping has never envisaged a framework for intervention in a manner that would challenge the constituting principle of sovereignty. As discussed earlier, the so-called holy trinity of traditional peacekeeping shows how it is stick to the Westphalian understanding of sovereignty. Three main principles of the peacekeeping, namely the consent, neutrality and the non-use of force, are the demonstration of the fact that traditional peacekeeping is framed on a ground in which the seeking sovereignty is the main principle. At the very same time, the international political actors were dealing with the problems which occurred due to the several violations of the non-intervention principle. The intervention to Iraq following its invasion in Kuwait was born into such a context. The texts in which the Gulf War was justified was mainly emphasizing the notion of non-intervention and its violation by Iraq. At this point, an interesting point is worth to record. Though the international politics took intervention both as illegal (as in the pre Vienna Congress era) and legal (as in the post Vienna Congress era) actions, the logic of preserving the Westphalian sovereignty remained present and actually as the major background motivation. Nevertheless, the normative context of the post-Cold War era bring with the problematization of the abovementioned normative hierarchy. Hierarchical superiority of the state sovereignty over any other normative and moral dilemma was interrogated when the world was witnessing the major massacres in Africa and the civil wars in the Eastern Europe.

New peacekeeping appeared as a new form of intervention as a response to these new normative questions. The change in the practice was proceeding simultaneously with the new branches in the theoretical literature. The literatures on peace studies, security studies and intervention studies started to discuss non-state centric notions of the concepts at the very same time with new forms of intervention were realized in the practice. The case of Somalia can be considered as one of the first practices that we can observe the new means of peace and security were deployed. Once the United Nations decided that UN's mission should go beyond traditional monitoring in Somalia, United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I) was initiated as a step to secure at least some degree of humanitarian relief in the country. UNOSOM I was considered as an operation equipped with the agenda of a new normative context but still stick to the logic of traditional peacekeeping and normative superiority of the sovereignty over other normative items on the agenda (Clarke and Herbst 1997). UNOSOM I's ineffectiveness once again brings with reconsideration about the use of traditional means and logic in the peace operations. UNOSOM II and Unified Task Force (UNITAF) were initiated as a reconsidered and broadened mission for creating a humanitarian relief in the region. These new missions were rather going beyond of monitoring and neutral peace keeping missions. Therefore, the logic of intervention in the broadened missions in Somalia was reflecting some features of the debates appeared in the literature on the new intervention studies.

Later, 1990s continued to be a term in which intervention and debates on how to conduct an intervention remained at stake. The NATO operations in Bosnia in 1995 and later in Kosovo in 1999 are demonstration of how intervention became one of the leading agenda items of the international politics. All these operations

triggered even further questioning on the peacekeeping's mentality which remains limited due to its acceptance of ascendancy of absolute state-centrism. In 2000, Brahimi Report was a call for international actors to reconsider the peace framework that is aimed by the peacekeeping missions of the United Nations. The report was clearly a call for reforming the peace conception adopted by the international actors and carrying the normative questions produced in the theoretical literature also to the practice.

With this report, it is possible to record the third paradigmatic change about the intervention. The intervention now was started to be debated on a ground that state's normative superiority was questioned and even challenged in the practice. Peacebuilding was born into such a normative context. It was not only the normative background of the peace operations at stake, but also the means of security and the actors taking part in the realization of targeted peace were reconsidered. With peacebuilding, cooperation between the local and the international, cooperation between the state and non-state and finally inclusion of civil society in the operational processes became an integral part of the logic of intervention.

The evolution of the intervention summarized above help us draw out three implications. Firstly, it is fair to argue that intervention, in its evolutionary flux, is no longer seen as the anti-thesis of the sovereignty. International society has very well developed the mechanisms of intervention in a manner to use this tool as a regulatory principle in the preserving and consolidation of the state sovereignty. Secondly, both the normative background which is used for the justification of legitimate intervention and the actors of intervention are not same as those interventions practices realized within the early post-Cold War era. Finally and perhaps most importantly for the sake of the argument developed in this dissertation, new forms of

intervention which clearly challenge the traditional methods' state-centrism in terms of their normative agenda, agents and identity motivations are begging for a new theoretical framework to grasp the social context in which these peace efforts are operated. The argument here is that these new forms of intervention (including peacebuilding) are at odds with the theoretical framework of international society, which is an international body mainly developed for state-centric normative priorities by state agents. These new forms of intervention clearly rely on a new normative content and agents practicing agency in these intervention are not only states. Therefore, the main point that could be derived from the evolution of intervention summarized above is that a framework of world society which go beyond the limited nature of international society would help us grasp and justify those operations that occur in the form of new interventions.

Following this debate, examining a crucial case of intervention that could be evaluated as an international society practice will help crystalizing the category of world society. In this respect, what forms of intervention are appropriate to be handled with the world society framework constitutes the empirical focus of this dissertation. Still, the intervention practices of the international society framework are worth to elaborate on in order to distinguish clearly between the two forms of intervention. The incident of Gulf War appears to be a perfect representation of an intervention practice performed by the agential power of international society, with a normative agenda that prioritizes the main principle of the international society and with those agents that adopts the identity motivations shaped in the international society framework. Serving to the aim of exemplifying an intervention practice that could be considered within the international society framework, below an analysis of the Gulf War of 1990-1991 follows.

The Gulf War is an important turning point in terms of two things. First, it took place in a context when a significant change, the end of Cold-War, was taking place and second, it was representing the largest military gathering since the World War II. The former point attributed a meaning to the incident in the sense that it was a test of newly appearing world order in which clashing parties of the old order reproaching each other. In this regard, the common cause which would bring those parties together was considered to be a facilitator for the so-called newly rising international community to gain a tangible and visible body. The latter, on the other hand, was symbolizing the accomplishment gained in the first serious test of the newly appearing world order. The Gulf War, in this sense, can be considered as the incident that makes international society visible as a body equipped with the capacity of acting together towards the preservation of a founding principle, namely the non-intervention principle. Starting out with a brief historical background of the event is necessary to make sense of the analysis of it through the framework of international society. In this context, two sets of reasons can be noted for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, which triggered the Gulf War of 1990-1991: Historical reasons, and conjunctural reasons.

For the former, the Iraq's long-lasting claim of Kuwait being an Iraqi territory dates back to early 1920s. Under Ottoman rule, Kuwait was a part of the Basra province (*vilayet*), the biggest province in the Mesopotamia region which includes today's Iraq's lands. When Ottomans had to step back from the region, Kuwait was set as an autonomous region which was dependent to the United Kingdom on its external relations with an agreement between the UK and al-Sabah family, which had been the ruling dynasty of Kuwait. After the Great War, the border between Iraq and Kuwait was drawn under British supervision, which at the same time made Iraq as a

landlocked country. Iraqi claim that Kuwait being a rightful Iraqi territory relied mainly on this historical disengagement of Kuwait region from traditional Iraqi territories. This claim was not only the discourse of Baath Regime under Saddam Hussein, but also voiced loudly by the former administrations including former Baath administration and the official discourse of Kingdom of Iraq. Once the Saddam Hussein came to power, his populist/militarist discourse emphasized Kuwait's status on several occasions mainly when the domestic audience is present (Musallam 1996: 87-88).

For the reasons that emerged depending on the conjuncture, the picture became broader and more complex. First of all, it is worth mentioning how Iraq appeared as a "rogue state" in the eye of Western international society. In the Cold War context, Baathist Iraq was an ally of Soviet Union. Due to its stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its support to Palestinian guerilla groups, Iraq was enlisted as a state sponsoring terrorism by the US. Once the Iran-Iraq War broke out, the US official position was neutrality. Still, the US implicitly supplied arms to Iraq in order to balance Iran, which just experienced Islamic Revolution and positioned clearly anti-American (Byman and Waxman 2000: 48-49).

Saddam Hussein's Iraq had also tense relationship with the rest of the Arab world. Saddam's Iraq had never supported the peace between Israel and Egypt, which was traditionally considered as the leading power in the Arab world. Its disapproval of Egyptian position on the Arab-Israel conflict positioned Iraq at odds with Egypt and Syria as well. On the other hand, the relationship between Iraq and Saudi Arabia was rather good due to the Saudi financial and material support to Iraq in its war against Iran. Iraq utilized also Kuwaiti loans during the war. However, once the war was ended, Iraq was harshly in debt to the Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

In this context, Kuwait was appearing as a puppet state in the eye of Saddam Hussein, which was mainly directed by its Western masters. Besides, Iraq was continually blaming Kuwait and United Arab Emirates for them exceeding the oil production quota determined by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). According to OPEC regulations, the barrel price for oil was settled as 18 US dollars and a quota was decided for each petroleum-producing countries in order to keep this price stable (Aarts and Renner 1991)⁸. Barrel price of the oil dropped up to 10 US dollars due to the over-production. Kuwait's use of Rumaila oil field for oil production was contributing this over-production significantly. According to Iraqi claims, the drop in the oil price was costing 7 billion US dollars loss to Iraq annually. Therefore, Saddam's Iraq was putting the major blame on Kuwait for its loss. In this context, Iraq claimed that its debt to Kuwait and UAE due to the loans they provided during the Iran-Iraq War cannot be recorded as debts anymore due to the Iraq's financial losses originating from the drop in the oil price. In early 1990, Kuwait accepted to negotiate with Iraq on a financial compensation for Iraq's acclaimed loss. Jeddah Talks started between parties in July 1990 in which Iraq asked at least 10 billion US dollars for the coverage of its loss. (Musallam 1996: 88). Still, the trust between parties were not constructed and negotiations were used as a way of gaining some time by the parties. At the very same time, American intelligence services recorded that Saddam Hussein ordered his army to mobilize on a close position to border with Kuwait. Kuwait was finding Iraq's demand of 10 billion US dollar harshly exaggerated and set its bargaining threshold on a lower level. Once it was understood that the talks were coming to a deadlock, Saddam Hussein clearly threatened Kuwait with military action. Building

⁸ Middle East Research and Information Project available at: http://www.merip.org/mer/mer171/oil-gulf-war?ip_login_no_cache=82bf3936d768211e120bf989d6f7868e (Last Access 02.03.2015)

on such a background, Iraqi troops entered to Kuwaiti territories on August 2, 1990. The invasion started as an aerial bombing to the capital, Kuwait city. Right after the aerial bombing, ground assault started and Kuwaiti forces started to withdraw towards the capital. It did not take too long for Iraqi troops to invade Kuwait city, which means the fall of Kuwait to Iraqi control. Once it was understood that Kuwaiti forces were now unable to defend the Royal Residence of al-Sabah family, most of the al-Sabah dynasty got their way out of Kuwait and escaped to Saudi Arabia. Saddam Hussein's first attempt in Kuwait was to build "Provisional Government of Free Kuwait", which was considered as a puppet regime dependent to Baath regime in Iraq.

International society was already concerned about the aggressive declarations of Saddam Hussein administration, and the invasion further alarmed them. The US administration was mainly concerned because of the possibility of war spreading into broader region in a manner that would include an aggression to other Gulf States, mainly to Saudi Arabia. The invasion immediately triggered a drastic increase in the oil prices, and the international society was afraid that this increase would be further triggered due to the Iraq's absolute control over the oil fields. Besides, the international actors were thinking that if there would be no response to Iraq's revisionist aggression in its region, this would encourage both Iraq and other aggressive countries for violating the sovereignty of minor countries in their regions.

With these concerns, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) convened to discuss the actions to be taken against Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. UNSC passed the

Resolution 660⁹, which condemned Iraq for its breaching of the international peace and security. The resolution was making reference to Article 39 and 40 of the UN Charter, which authorizes the UNSC to warn and condemn the violator before taking any action. In other words, the resolution was alarming Iraq that if the conditions of the resolution are not met by Iraq, the Council would have taken further action against its violation of Kuwaiti borders. Just three days after from the meeting, UNSC passed Resolution 661¹⁰, which was placing harsh economic sanctions on Iraq. The resolution was envisaging an economic embargo on Iraq. Yet, the first article of the resolution is worth noting in terms of grasping the point that is used as justification for the intervention of the international coalition: "*Determines* that Iraq so far has failed to comply with paragraph 2 of resolution 660 [which was calling Iraq withdraw to its position on 1 August 1990] and has usurped the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait" (UNSC Resolution 661, 6 August 1990). In other words, the legitimate reference point of the action against the Iraqi invasion was to the rightful sovereignty of Kuwaiti government. UNSC started a naval blockade against Iraq on August 25, with the Resolution 665 which was recalling Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait's territories. The resolution 677 was passed as a last call for Iraq to comply with the previous resolutions and once again underlining that the Secretary General should be in contact with the legitimate government of Kuwait, of which authority of administration was usurped by Iraqi invasion. Finally, the resolution 678¹¹ was passed to authorize UN to take all necessary means to stop

⁹ UN Web Page <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/575/10/IMG/NR057510.pdf?OpenElement> (Last Access: 09.02.2015)

¹⁰ UN Web Page <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/575/11/IMG/NR057511.pdf?OpenElement> (Last Access: 09.02.2015)

¹¹ UN Web Page <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/575/28/IMG/NR057528.pdf?OpenElement> (Last Access: 09.02.2015)

Iraq's breach of international peace and security. The resolution was passed on November 29, 1990 and was giving time Iraq until January 15, 1991 for withdrawing from Kuwait. In the meantime between September and November 29 of 1990, Iraq wanted to establish a linkage between the Israeli-Palestinian issue and its invasion of Kuwait, and delivered several times that Iraq would end its invasion if Israel withdrew from occupied Palestinian lands. The linkage between two issue was harshly rejected by especially Western countries. Therefore, Iraq's occupation of Kuwait remained as an act violating the constituting principle of the international system, non-intervention and sovereignty, which was considered as an act breaching the international peace and security under the Chapter VII of the UN charter.

Following the passing of the Resolution 678, the international society started to wait for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait within the time frame determined in the resolution. Yet, at the same time, a coalition building process started in order to include as many as possible number of state in a possible coalition force to intervene Iraq. The number of the countries included was important in terms of showing the how comprehensively the initiation was embraced by the rest of the world. It is also important to note that most of the Security Council resolutions on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait were passed either unanimously or with 1-2 abstention, which showed how Iraq's action was perceived illegal and violation of a basic principle of sovereignty.¹²

Coalition building was not only seeking to include as many as possible nations in the coalition, but also an economic backing was sought. Saudi Arabia readily accepted to become the biggest financier of a possible intervention. King Fahd

¹² The Resolution 678, which was authorizing using "all necessary means" was passed by 12 to 2 (Cuba and Yemen) and 1 abstention (China). There were 10 UNSC resolutions passed after the invasion until the Resolution 678. 4 of the resolutions were adopted unanimously, while others were passed by at least 12 to 1 or 2.

of Saudi Arabia accepted to provide 15 billion US dollars for the coalition.¹³ Throughout the intervention, Saudi Arabia had been the main fund provider of the operation along with the US and the UK. Showing economic and physical presence in the coalition was a matter of integration to the newly appearing political context (Benett, Lepgold and Unger 1994).

Next stop in the coalition forming process was Egypt, which was traditionally considered to be the lead player in the Middle Eastern politics. Egyptian leader, Mubarak was one of the leaders who put personal effort for mediation between Iraq and Kuwait once the tension between two countries was alarming the whole region 6 months ago. According to Mubarak's claim, Saddam Hussein personally delivered him that invasion of Kuwait is not of his motivation. Therefore Mubarak was thinking that Saddam's cheating should be punished by the international society. Syrian support to a possible intervention was already guaranteed due to Hafiz al-Assad's long-lasting tense relations with Saddam's Iraq. Syria had been one of the biggest troops-provider to the coalition by pledging 100.000 troops.

The United States itself marshaled 150.000 troops to the coalition along with a huge budget support (Callanan and Weiler 2008: 3). According to records, the US appropriated 61.1 billion dollars to the operation budgeted throughout the time frame that intervention took place. With the major supports of the UK, Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the biggest coalition of the post-Second World War era was amassed. The coalition was consisted of 34 countries including major European states such as Italy and France, Asian countries such as Bangladesh and South Korea and many other smaller nations such as Singapore, Sierra Leone. As noted above, being in the

¹³ Saudi Arabia continued in the long-run to be the biggest funder of the intervention against Iraq and the post-war reconstruction of Kuwaiti substructure. (Benett, Lepgold and Unger 1994).

coalition, even if on a symbolical scale, was considered to be a tool for demonstration of how the norms of international society was embraced and internalized by partner countries.

The deadline for withdrawal of the troops from Kuwait was passed on 15 January 1991 at midnight. By the time deadline was passed, the international coalition was ready for an intervention with its all economic and military means. The aerial bombing started on January 17. The aerial campaign was broadcasted by CNN and the Gulf War was becoming the first war that was broadcasted live. The aerial operation was named Operation Desert Storm which consisted of over 100.000 sorties. The operation aimed at destroying the military infrastructure in Kuwait so that it would limit the Iraqi army's second strike capabilities. Iraq was known to possess Scud missiles, which are tactical ballistic missiles that were capable to hit strategic coalition targets in its range. Therefore, the aerial bombing also sought to destroy the Scud launchers settled in Kuwait after the invasion as well as the ones settled in Iraqi territories. The operation also included naval bombing which targeted the Scud launchers mainly in Iraqi territories. Iraq's retaliation was happened as expected and Israel and Saudi Arabia was targeted by Iraq's Scud missiles. Throughout the operation, Iraq fired over 80 Scud missiles to Israel and Saudi Arabia territories of which some caused serious damage while most of them dropped unpopulated areas (Callanan and Weiler 2008: 7). Assault of Saddam especially to Israel was aiming to provoke Israel to join the war, which would discourage other Arab states in the coalition to fight side by side with Israel and leave the coalition or change party. Therefore, the international coalition deployed Patriot missile defense system to protect Israel and Saudi Arabia against the Iraqi Scud attacks.

In the second week of the aerial bombing, Iraqi forces were getting familiarized with the instant bombing of the coalition forces which therefore were causing fewer casualties compared to the first week of the operation. In this context, a relatively small Iraqi land force attempted to invade Khafji region of the Saudi Arabia. Along with Qatari forces and the support of the US naval bombing, Saudis drove Iraqi forces out of the Saudi Arabia territories back to Kuwait border. Therefore, the official beginning date on the ground campaign is taken as the Battle of Khafji. Following the Iraqi attempt to invade Saudi Arabia, the coalition forces continued to aerial and naval bombing to destroy the infrastructure of Iraqi forces. In the second week of the February, it was time for a ground assault to declare the absolute victory for the international coalition. In the first plan, the coalition forces focused on the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi invasion. Coalition forces encountered very limited resistance in their entrance to Kuwaiti borders from east coast of the country. In other words, when the ground campaign started to liberate Kuwait, Iraqi administration had already accepted the defeat and showed only symbolic resistance to the coalition. The coalition tasked Kuwaiti soldiers (which escaped from the country after the invasion and mobilized again in Saudi Arabia territories) to liberate the capital symbolically to motivate the Kuwaiti public attribute a trust to their army in the post war reconstruction process. Hence, it is fair to argue that the international coalition was envisaging and favoring the pre-invasion status quo in Kuwait.

Liberation of Kuwait took a time of relatively a short ground campaign for the coalition. The Iraqi forces withdrew to Iraqi territories, which were showing that they wanted to save power for a resistance campaign in case of an invasion of Iraqi territories. Though it was declared that retreating Iraqi forces would not be bombed, during the retreat of the major Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the coalition forces bombed

the convoys heavily and that caused high number of casualties to Iraq. The coalition forces followed retreating Iraqi powers in their journey back to Iraq and turned back to Kuwait border after the Iraqi forces were withdrew until Baghdad. It was February 28, 1991 when the ceasefire was declared by the international coalition.

Built on such a context, the intervention to Iraqi invasion of Kuwait can be examined with reference to the three parameters of change in the English School in order to find out which category it fits best. Here, I argue that the intervention of the international coalition to Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait is a typical intervention practice that would be best understood through the lenses of the international society framework. The argument can be supported once the normative agenda behind the operation is further examined. The normative concerns of the Gulf War intervention are mainly shaped with the reflex of preserving the sovereignty of a member of the international society. The justifications for the intervention signalize this reflex very well. In the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion in Kuwait, the lead force of the international coalition, the US started to deliver declarations to justify a possible intervention in the eye of its public. President George H. W. Bush delivered a speech in the Congress on September 11, 1990 and made clear the major aims of the operation:

"Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition. Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured" (Bush, 11 September 1990, Miller Center Website)¹⁴.

Throughout his speech, President Bush emphasized the significance of the sovereignty for protecting the peace, security and stability in the world politics and

¹⁴ <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3425> (Last accessed 29.03.2015)

also reminded that it is not only the concern of the US but the same concerns are shared by all international actors including the Soviet Union. He quoted from the joint press release that he gave along with Gorbachev of the Soviet Union: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors." With this reference, Bush's aim can be argued to be demonstrating the cause of the intervention is taken as a legitimate cause at comprehensive international scale.

Another important point in the normative agenda of the intervention is to consolidate the physical and imaginary existence of the international society and to set it as a visible capable unit that exists also in the practice. Given the Manning's framework of international society which does not define it only at the institutional level but also frames it as a communal imagining, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq gave international society an opportunity to unite around a cause and realize its cause of existence, which is preserving the state sovereignty. This was also apparent from the speech of the President Bush:

"We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. [...] Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak."

Though there are references to concepts such as justice, it is, once again, critical to remind ourselves that the justice in the framework of international society is equalized to the concept of order. The order is built upon the system of Westphalian sovereignty and the justice of the international society refers to the functional

equality between the state units of the international society. Therefore, the references to freedom and justice in the president's speech can be understood as strong emphasis on the importance of sovereignty in newly appearing international context.

The normative priorities of the intervention are also present in the UN resolutions. The UN Security Council passed 12 resolutions on the Iraq's violation of Kuwait's territories. Starting from the condemnation (Resolution 660), the UNSC emphasized the articles 39 and 40 of the UN Charter, which authorizes the UNSC to maintain the international order in accordance with the principles of international peace and security. Considering the abovementioned equalization of order to peace and security in the framework of international society, the UNSC made it clear that the major motivation behind a possible intervention to Iraq is to preserve the sovereignty of Kuwait that is considered a precondition for peace.

Here, it is important to note that arguing that the normative agenda of intervention in the Gulf War was preserving the sovereignty of Kuwait and therefore it was state-centric is not a critical or pejorative point. Rather, it is pointing to the specific priorities of the international society that turn into a visible practice in the case of Gulf War intervention. In other words, emphasizing this notion of the normative priorities of the international society will help us distinguish it from the world society kind of interventions that will be handled later in the empirical section.

Secondly, the fact that the primary agents in the realization of the intervention are states and international coalition that was formed by states tells us that the intervention can be grasped better with the intervention logic of the international society. Turning back to the theory, we should re-underline that the international society is a political sphere in which states and IOs formed by states hold the primary

agency. Besides, we also touched upon above that the intervention practices that took place in early 1990s were mainly operated by states in order to realize a limited notion of intervention goals, which was argued to be a typical feature of the pluralist international society framework. The theory told us two story about the agency in the international society: (1) International society appears to be an agency-practicing body; (2) Though IOs take action in the international politics, it is still states that take the decision of taking action, therefore states can be considered as primary agents.

In this context, Gulf War intervention stands a perfect instance of intervention practices that can be included in the limits of international society. It is obviously the states and state-formed international coalition that realized the intervention in the Gulf. Then, the question is whether we could speak off any form of international society that practice agency in the operation. As touched upon earlier, the Gulf War was also instrumentalized as an opportunity for international society to test its functionality in the preservation of its constituting principle. The states held the lead command in the making of the decisions that opened the path going to intervention. Still, the theory on the international society puts that international society should be considered as a context in which a societal motivation of action is cultivated within the limits of a certain international culture. In this context, diplomats', states', international organs' and the international lawyers' interaction composes the dynamics of agency in the international society. Thinking in this terms, the Gulf War intervention took place a process in which abovementioned dynamics of international society were present. The legitimacy of the operation was sought and the UNSC was operated as a legitimacy-providing organ. Besides, though the international coalition was composed of 34 countries, the cause of the operation was perceived as legitimate comprehensively among other states that did not join the intervention. In accordance

with the widely-accepted legitimate status of the operation, international coalition holds a considerable representation capacity for the rest of the society of states. Therefore, it is fair to argue that international society appeared to be an agency-practicing body in the context of Gulf War.

Finally, the identity motivations of the agents in the Gulf War intervention are mainly "internationalist", which is considered to be a typical characteristic of international society context. Once again turning back to the theory, the international society is not only of sole interaction among its units, but it is also an identity construction process which uses certain tools of culture as its component. The international coalition in the Gulf War is gathered with such an identity motivation. According to Bush's speech, the international coalition is not composed by the actors whose identity is defined as "Arab" or "Muslim", rather the states that joined to the international coalition took over a general responsibility which should be shared by the all good citizens of international society:

"The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented. Armed forces from countries spanning four continents are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and, if need be, to defend against attack. Moslems and non-Moslems, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from many nations stand shoulder to shoulder, resolute against Saddam Hussein's ambitions." (Bush, 11 September 1990, Millercenter Website)¹⁵

As mentioned earlier, the smaller nations that joined to the coalition was motivated with the aim of demonstration of how they embraced the identity of being a good citizen of civilized international society by gathering around the cause of liberating a small member of this alleged society. According to Pierre, the funds promised by the US to these smaller nations in case of their attendance to the coalition should be considered as another important motivator for these countries to take place in the

¹⁵ <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3425> (Last accessed on 31.03.2015)

coalition (Pierre 2002: 21). However, this could be considered as a step taken by a major member of the international society, the US, to increase the international legitimacy of the coalition and be persuasive for the international/civilizational identity of the coalition.

This analysis of the Gulf War intervention with reference to three parameters, namely the normative agenda, agency and the identity tells us that the intervention practices that emerge within the limits of international society distinguish from those operations shaped by the newly appearing dynamics of the international politics. The Gulf War represents a typical practice that is shaped mainly by the dynamics of international society. Its normative agenda is limited to the retrieval of the Kuwait's sovereignty. The agents taking part in the realization of this agenda are mainly states and the coalition formed by states. These agents are convinced that their practice is a step to realize and consolidate the sense of being a true subscriber to an international identity shaped within the civilized part of the world. Based on this analysis, the argument that the Gulf War can be considered as an intervention practice better fitting to international society framework can be supported.

3.4. Assumptions and Hypotheses

The previous sections elaborated on the general framework of the world society conception developed in this dissertation. In this context, it is argued that the progress in the English School can be tracked down by focusing on the evolution of three major parameters; namely the normative agenda, agency and identity.

Furthermore, it is suggested that the constitution of world society becomes possible as the main referent object in the normative agenda of the intervention replaced by human and human society, the agential power is shared by non-state actors and the identity motivations of the agents becomes more transnational. In this context, this section puts the main assumptions of the theoretical framework and also suggests several hypotheses to be tested in the empirical section of this dissertation.

In accordance with the theoretical framework, three main assumptions of the world society framework are as follows:

A1: An intervention incident can be considered as a practice of world society framework as the main referent object in its normative agenda is settled as human/society-centric.

A2: An intervention incident can be considered as a practice of world society as the agency lies more with non-state agents.

A3: An intervention incident can be considered as a practice of world society as the identity motivations of the agents taking part in it are more transnational.

Along with these assumptions, several hypotheses are proposed for testing against the empirical reality. To do so, hypotheses below are designed:

The first three hypotheses are designed as general hypotheses, which interrogate the general argument of this dissertation. It aims to find out whether the peacebuilding operations can be considered as a practice of world society, in accordance with the three abovementioned assumptions.

H1: Peacebuilding operations are practices of world society rather than international society due to the sufficient observable change in three parameters.

H2: The peacebuilding operation in Liberia can be considered as a practice of transition from international to world society framework due to the limited change in three main parameters.

H3: The peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone can be considered as a practice of world society due to the sufficient observable change in three main parameters.

The rest of the hypotheses rely on the logic of testing whether there is a change in three parameters, which is predicted to be present in the theory, in the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone.

H4: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is human/society-centric.

H5: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is state-centric.

H6: The agency is practiced mainly by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.

H7: The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.

H8: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather transnational.

H9: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather national/international.

H10: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is human/society-centric.

H11: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is state-centric.

H12: The agency is practiced mainly by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.

H13: The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.

H14: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather transnational.

H15: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather national/international.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter introduced the parameters, concepts and their definitions and formed a theoretical framework for the world society that this dissertation employs to understand and explain the peacebuilding operations. According to this framework the parameters of progress that would constitute the world society as a distinct theoretical framework are proposed as (1) normative agenda; (2) agency and (3) identity. Besides, I proposed several hypotheses to be tested within the empirical sections of this study. Chapter 4 introduces and elaborate on the case selection, methods and procedures that are used in the testing of these hypotheses in line with the theoretical framework specified in the Chapter 3.

The following section justifies the case selection. Why peacebuilding operations are proposed to be representing appropriate practices of the world society framework is elaborated, and the selection of specific cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone operations is justified here. In 4.2. methods used in the analyses and the procedures of these methods are introduced. Three main methods are used in the study. 4.2.1. focuses on the qualitative part of the analysis. There I employ a classical case study method, which handles the cases with their details including historical

background, actors and the dynamics of the process in which the operations have been taking place. 4.2.2. elaborates on the interviews that were planned to be conducted during the field research. There, I am presenting the interview template and the questions that I will ask to the interviewees. However, it is also noted that interviews remain as part of a broader study to be conducted when publication manuscripts are derived from this dissertation. Following this, I am focusing on the content analysis. I articulate the procedures of the content analysis, explain the data collection criteria, introduce the categories and variables, and finally explain the measurement criteria of the analysis.

4.1. Case Selection

In this dissertation, the main motivation to study the theoretical framework through focusing on the actual cases of peacebuilding comes from the intention to demonstrate how the practices of peacebuilding more properly fit to the world society framework rather than the international society framework, which is used in the literature more frequently to analyze interventions. In this sense, this dissertation takes peacebuilding interventions as a new form of intervention practice, as it is elaborated in the previous chapter. Accordingly, the cases of peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone are picked to illustrate how the new forms of intervention deviate from the general theoretical and empirical literature in the sense that it is raised upon new dynamics.

With this in mind, the selection of the Liberia and Sierra Leone cases intends to show how the major dynamics, which are presented in the form of parameters, of these cases differentiate from those intervention practices that are analyzed through the lenses of international society in the literature. Two main criteria are used in the case selection in this dissertation. Firstly, the above mentioned case selection strategy is named as "deviant case study" method (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 297) in the literature. Deviant case studies are used to show how the case analysis produce outcomes with implications on the prevailing theory (Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 86). In this form of case selection, the cases deviate from some cross-case relationship which was predicted to be emerging in the theoretical literature. Deviant case selection helps to pursue exploratory or confirmatory aims in the conducting of the study as well as to probe and suggest new explanations for the social fact that is intended to be explained. (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 297). Therefore, the research employing such a case selection strategy may lead to revision of the theoretical framework that the study uses to make sense of the cases (Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 86).

The second criterion in the case selection seeks to observe the parameters layered in the theoretical framework through more than one case. As the literature also puts, case studies may involve more than one case. The main reason to include multiple numbers of cases in the research is to increase the explanatory features of the theoretical implications inferred from the case study. As it provides opportunity for replication, it enables a research to test the theoretical framework more than once through different cases (Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 87). Therefore, the criteria of including multiple cases in the empirical part of a research provides a viable tool for

both studying two similarly constructed cases in depth and testing a newly built theoretical framework of which hypotheses have not been tested often.

The peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone represent both deviant case selection strategy as well as they constitute a multiple case study in which the cases are relevantly constructed to test the theoretical framework in multiple occasions. On the first point, the peacebuilding operations in these countries differ significantly from the traditional intervention practices. According to United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, the operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone are conducted by using the newest techniques in peacebuilding. These operations rely on a significant degree on collaboration between the international and domestic, state and non-state actors, which is a dimension lacking in the previous practices. Furthermore, the operations aimed at a broader peace agenda including building a functioning political system in the aftermath of the operations. In this sense, the peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone were expected to produce different outcomes from those operations that are conducted mainly through traditional methods. Looking at the theoretical literature on intervention, it is possible to observe a tendency to analyze such operations through the lenses of English School's conception of international society. The literature is abundant of studies that explain new forms of intervention with the expansion of international society from the core towards the periphery. Yet, this dissertation challenges this view in the literature in the sense that it proposes the framework of world society as a tool explaining better the newly occurring dynamics of peacebuilding interventions. In other words, since the practice is built upon new dynamics, the theoretical output of the empirical research is expected to deviate from the main arguments of the theoretical literature. Therefore, these cases appear to be a good fit for deviant case

selection strategy that seeks to propose a reconsideration of the established theory literature.

On the latter point, namely the multiple case selections, the peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone constitute a good pair of case selection in the sense that they are relevantly constructed and presenting empirical narratives for the testing of proposed theoretical arguments. The cases are highly intertwined as the civil war in Sierra Leone originated from the military coup in Liberia. Since the conflict in these two countries were highly interpenetrating into one another, the international actors that would take steps in the reconciliation took two cases as if they constitute one practice, and conducted the operations in these two countries together. Still, since the Liberia operation took place earlier, the operation in Sierra Leone was operated through the tools that were informed by the problems that occurred as a result of the Liberia operation's shortcomings. Therefore, the points that were failed to achieve in Liberia operations constituted the main articles of the Sierra Leone operation's agenda. In this regard, these two cases present an empirical opportunity to test the theoretical framework against similarly constructed intertwined cases which also differ on several points.

4.2. Methods

4.2.1. Case Study Method

Case study is considered as a nonexperimental research strategy, which aims at a deep analysis of one specific or multiple numbers of cases by using several data collection methods such as interviews, document analysis and historical observation. Especially with the rise of scientific emphasis in the discipline, such case studies were considered to be a weak and unfavorable research strategy (Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 84), yet with so-called "interpretivist revolution" case studies gain importance again and started to hold considerably big place in the social sciences. Today, case studies are conducted with diverse range of research motivations. According to Yin (1989), case studies are conducted for the investigation of a phenomenon in its real-life existence, and providing detailed information on the subject.

In this context, case studies may be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory depending on the research motivation that they are built upon. Another categorization of the case studies can be made according to its relationship with the theoretical incentives. While some case studies are built upon a theory-free ground which aims at collecting detailed information, explaining a specific phenomenon that is peculiar to that context and suggesting answers to research question that are designed specifically for that case, some other case studies are motivated with theoretical concerns asking more general research questions and aiming at establishing relationship between the case and the rest of the empirical universe in which that case exists. The case studies that are engaged with theoretical inquiries as well can use cases either to test an existing theory or as a theory-building case. Though both are legitimate aims in the methodology literature, the latter is problematic in the sense that focusing on one case and inferring general claims from that is a hard task, if not impossible. Therefore, the representation capacity of the

case that is picked for theory-building case study is of critical importance for deriving general claims from it that would constitute the backbones of a new theoretical proposal.

In this context, this dissertation's empirical focus is result of its engagement with a theoretical concern. The cases are picked in a manner that they speak to the theoretical framework of world society. In other words, the preliminary prediction is that the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone peacebuilding operations would represent proper instances of the practices that occur in the world society framework. Therefore, it is critical to underline that case studies are not just aiming to present a detailed information about these operations, rather they are considered to be in relation with the theoretically constructed framework. Secondly, cases are not used to build a new theoretical framework, which would be the case for a theory-building case study; rather these cases are focused as test-cases which would provide empirical data to test the hypotheses that are proposed in the previous chapter.

Another issue about case studies is concerning the place of history in this kind of research. According to Yin, the distinction between the historical work and case studies should be protected and these two spheres should be considered separated from one another. However, the current literature adopts increasingly an interdisciplinary stance on research methods. Therefore, it is possible to see more studies today of which empirical research rely both on modern data collection and analysis methods as well as not refraining presenting a historical flux in which the case emerge as part. The way that this dissertation handles the historical records relies on a similar stance. Obviously, it is not the aim to keep the record of the history of the peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. And yet, the historical background is important to make sense of the current practice of

peacebuilding, the relationship between the cases and even for observing the hypotheses in its retrospective context. Therefore, the case studies that are conducted do not solely rely on the pure analysis of the raw data, but it also presents the brief and necessary amount of historical backgrounds. The methods that are used in the analysis of the collected raw data are elaborated below.

4.2.2. Interviews

Another method that was planned to employ in this research is conducting elite interviews. However, the data collected through interviews were not used in this dissertation due to several limitations. During case research, three online interviews were conducted with the representatives of NGOs which took part in the post-conflict peacebuilding process. However, both the numbers and capacity of these interviews were not sufficient to provide apt data. Though many institutions and specific persons were contacted, very limited number of response was received. Therefore, conducting interviews in Liberia and Sierra Leone remain as a part of a further research direction. Most appropriate way for conducting effective interviews appear to be pursuing a field research. Still, a preliminary interview template was prepared. Below, details of this method are elaborated.

Elite interviewing aims to derive focused and detailed information on a subject through an individualized conversation with a respondent by asking standardized or non-standardized questions on the subject that the respondent is considered to be part of. The major aim in interviewing method is to relieve the lack

of sufficient understanding on the specific subject that is worked on. In this sense, the person who is interviewed is considered to have a sufficient degree of information on the processes which the researcher aims to explore. At this point, specifying the aim of interviewing is of utmost importance. While elite interviewing can be conducted with the aim of deriving raw data on the subject, hypotheses-testing is also a legitimate aim for elite interviewing. Interviews aiming at collecting raw data on a subject are named exploratory interviews (Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 271). In this kind of interviewing, the interviews are conducted as part of early data collection methods, and if there is any theoretical purpose of the study, the general practice is to build it upon the data collected from the interviews. This strategy relies mainly on a inductive understanding which would instrumentalize empirical data for more general theoretical implications. The second method, on the other hand, are explanatory interviews of which main aim is to test already defined theoretical framework with reference to hypotheses and argumentations (Dexter 2006: 28). In this form, the interviews do not only intend to get a line on the subject, several specific questions are also included in the interview template to test the hypotheses or the general arguments/assumptions of the already written theoretical part (Neuman 2007: 297). Therefore, the interviews are conducted after the theoretical framework of the study is matured. Contrary to the former, these kinds of interviews are employed mainly in deductive research designs. In this context, this research uses elite interview with a deductive perspective that would test the hypotheses proposed in the previous chapter. Thus, the interviews will include questions aiming to test specific assumptions and hypotheses of the theoretical framework.

There pros and cons about elite interviewing. Main problem about picking up an "elite" to interview on the research subject is about the risk of being manipulated

by the respondent who provides over-individualized and biased information on the subject. Secondly, deciding who is an eligible interviewee is a controversial procedure. To deal with these two problematic points, the literature suggests several solutions. For the first point, the ideal solution is to include cross-check questions in the interviewing template. This way helps demonstrating the consistency of the respondent on the subject. Secondly, increasing the number of interviewees helps researcher to explore different perspectives on the same issue across different narrations of it. Apart from the cons, the elite interview method presents significant advantages as well. Even, the literature also includes a wing which shows the abovementioned weakness as the strength of the method. In this respect, getting the personalized and biased information is considered to be a desired outcome of the method. Of course, the duty of the researcher is to acknowledge this biased nature of the data collected through interviewing, and use this data in a manner that it serves to the aim of shedding light to these specific narratives with a scientific stance. Besides, the interviews provide an opportunity for direct contacts with the "insiders". At this point, another problematic point is about deciding who is an elite or an eligible person to interview. The definition of the elite in the literature on this method is used slightly different from its every-day usage. According to Dexter an elite on a specific subject is anyone "who in terms of the current purposes of the interviewer is given special, nonstandardized treatment" (Dexter 1970: 5 as cited in Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 271). In this sense, those elites who are picked for interviewing should not necessarily be those who owns high level political or social power, rather it is preferred that they are part of the functioning processes of the subject matter.

Different types of interviewing are present in the literature. Two extremes of the elite interviewing method are structured interview on the one side and

nonstandardized interview on the other. In the structured interview method, the questions are generally prepared in a multiple-choice format. Survey instruments are used most frequently for fully structured interviews. Most of the structured interviews are conducted in non-interacting relationship between the researcher and the interviewee, as the questions are written and choices are already presented. On the other extreme, nonstandardized interviewing relies mainly on instant interaction between the researcher and interviewee. The parties mainly have a conversation about the subject. In this method, tactics are journalism may be used. The main aim in this kind of interviewing to put out a mapping of the different dynamics mentioned by the interviewee in a comprehensively shaped conversation. Though these two types of interviewing strategy serve to different research agendas, semi-structured interviewing method appears to be taking advantage of the strengths of both method. In semi-structured method, the interview template consists of both open-ended and multiple choice questions. While the open ended questions aim to collect the data on the general reasoning on the subject, the closed-ended multiple choice questions intend to test specific hypotheses. Therefore, semi-structured interviews are capable of supplying data for both qualitative and quantitative analyses. With this in mind, the interviews conducted within the scope of this research use the semi-structured method.

The main intention of the interviews to grasp an understanding on three parameters evolution in the actual practices of intervention that are operated in the context of peacebuilding. Once again, the three parameters, of which evolutions are argued to constitute the world society as a new category, are normative agenda, agency and identity. The first two are elaborated further below as the main variables of the content analysis. Yet, within the scope of interviews, identity parameter comes

into prominence as it is hard to be measured through a content analysis of the documentation on the cases (Sylvan and Metskas 2009: 74). The concept of identity, as illustrated in the previous chapter, is considered to be as a category that composes the general tones of background justifications for the actions. Yet, literature also stresses that it does not necessarily means that an actor will act in a particular way because of the identity category it owns (Abdelal et al. 2009: 3). Rather, the researcher is supposed to take identity as some sort of independent variable that would cause specific motivations for action. Therefore, once the identity is a subject matter in the research agenda, the deeper analysis on the motivations gains importance. In this context, surveying and interviewing are considered to be most eligible methods to derive specific identity motivations. Hence, the interviewing the elites of the non-state sphere of the peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone aims to grasp the main identity motivations of these actors when taking part in this operations.

4.2.2.1. Interview Template

NGOs in Liberia and Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Operations Project

Interview Template

This interview is conducted as part of the empirical chapters of the doctoral dissertation titled "The World Society and Its Practices: Peacebuilding Operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone", prepared by B. Toygar Halistoprak, a doctoral candidate in the Department of International Relations, Bilkent University, Ankara. The interview comprises of 7 questions. There are 4 open-ended questions, while 2 questions are set as multiple choice questions. Besides, one question is prepared as a likert scale.

The interview intends to understand the role of your institution in the peacebuilding efforts in Liberia/Sierra Leone. Besides it also focuses on the identity motivations that motivate the organization you represent to take an active part in the peacebuilding efforts.

The interview is conducted only with scientific aims. Interviews are completely confidential and the information collected through this interview will not be released with specific reference to you without your permission. Rather, interviews are used as a method to collect general but detailed information on the topic.

This interview usually takes no more than 20-25 minutes.

Thank you once again for accepting to give this interview, which will significantly contribute to the originality of a doctoral dissertation and help to understand the nature of peacebuilding efforts better.

B. Toygar Halistoprak, Ph.d. Candidate
Bilkent University
Department of International Relations
Ankara, Turkey
burakh@bilkent.edu.tr, toygarhalistoprak@gmail.com
+90 555 507 42 93

1) What is the main role that your organization takes in the context of Liberia/Sierra Leone? Can you state what kind of activities that your organization initiated, achieved and is still working on?

2) In these activities, what are the main sources for funding?

3) Relationship with other actors:

3.a.) Can you mention about the relationship between your organization and the international actors such as United Nations, ECOWAS etc.?

3.b.) Can you mention about the relationship between your organization and the local actors such as Liberian/Sierra Leonean government and ministries, military etc.?

4) How would you define the main identity of your organization? Which level of identity is more relevant for your organization? (You can pick more than one)

- Local
- National (Liberian/Sierra Leonean)
- Regional 1 (West African)
- Regional 2 (African)
- International
- Transnational
- Governmental
- Non-governmental
- Profit-seeking
- Non-profit seeking
- Other (.....)

Can you mention more in detail?

5) Which identity motivations play the most significant role for your organization to take an active part in the peacebuilding efforts?

- As a Liberian/Sierra Leonean organization, we wanted to help the cultivation of consolidate peace in Liberia/Sierra Leone.
- As a West African organization, we wanted to help the cultivation of consolidate peace in Liberia/Sierra Leone.
- As an African organization, we wanted to help the cultivation of consolidated peace in Liberia/Sierra Leone.
- As a transnational organization, we wanted to help the cultivation of consolidate peace in Liberia/Sierra Leone.

6) How do you define the role of non-governmental organizations in overall peacebuilding efforts in Liberia/Sierra Leone? What are their main contribution to the peacebuilding efforts? Do they significantly contribute to the consolidation of the peace environment or is their contribution limited?

7) In this question, several propositions are offered. Please mark the degree to which you agree or disagree with the proposition below. (1: strongly disagree, 2: disagree, 3: neutral, 4: agree, 5: strongly agree)

Propositions	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
The major aim of Liberia/Sierra Leone peacebuilding operation is to achieve state security.					
The major aim of Liberia/Sierra Leone peacebuilding operation is to achieve human/societal security.					
The relationship between my organization and international actors (UN, ECOWAS, etc) can be defined as cooperative.					
The relationship between my organization and international actors (UN, ECOWAS, etc.) can be defined as conflictual.					
The relationship between my organization and local actors (government, ministries, military etc.) can be defined as cooperative.					
The relationship between my organization and local actors (government, ministries, military etc.) can be defined as conflictual.					
The main source of funding for my organization's activities is individual donations.					
The main source of funding for my organization's activities is international funds provided by UN.					
The main source of funding for my organization's activities is funds provided by other civil society actors.					
We took part in the peacebuilding efforts because we are a Liberian/Sierra Leonean organization.					

We took part in the peacebuilding efforts because we are a West African organization.					
We took part in the peacebuilding efforts because we are an African organization.					
We took part in the peacebuilding efforts because we are a transnational solidarity movement.					

Personal Information

Name:

Organization:

Position:

Date of Interview:

Nationality:

4.2.2.2. Interviewee List

Code	Name	Affiliation	Country	Date of Interview
I-1	Thomas Du	National Democratic Institution	The United States (Active in Liberia)	06.06.2015
I-2	Gemima Barlow	National Democratic Institution	The United States (Active in Liberia)	09.06.2015
I-3	Michael Murisa	Trust Africa	Senegal (Active in Liberia)	12.05.2015

Table 5: Interviewee List

4.2.3. Content Analysis

This section articulates the procedures of the content analysis in detail and presents the codebook that is used in the conduct of the content analysis. Content analysis method is considered to be one of the main document analysis techniques (Neuman 2007: 110; Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 222). Sometimes researchers need specific excerpts from the text that they work on to demonstrate the presence of their formerly put arguments in the practice. Therefore, analyzing the documents collected according to a specific sampling criterion appears to be a viable option for those researchers who aim to interpenetration between the theory and the practice of the subject matter that they work on. Yet, extracting a specific excerpt from a text may also be used very well for the manipulation of the general picture by reducing it to that specific excerpt. Therefore, catching the general context without an overemphasis of specific themes is of critical importance for a healthy research.

Content analysis is proposed to be one of the methods which carries the capacity to conduct an analysis of the general context with respect to specific themes. The main idea behind the content analysis is to see how specific references are distributed in the general composition of a text. This dissertation uses content analysis with this very aim of seeing how specific references to normative agenda and agency are distributed according to their priorities. In this context, the procedures of this analysis elaborated below.

Two categories of variables are coded in this content analysis. First group of variables are in the normative agenda group, the second set of variables are in the agency group. These are elaborated further below. In this context, the main aims of the analysis are;

1) Testing the pre-defined hypotheses.

1.a.) Testing whether peacebuilding operations can be considered as the practices of world society framework.

1.b.) Testing whether peacebuilding is really a renovated intervention method and is different from traditional peacekeeping interventions.

2) Finding out the normative priorities of the peacebuilding operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

2.a.) Testing whether it is state priorities referred more frequently in the texts.

2.b.) Testing whether it is non-state priorities referred more frequently in the texts.

3) Finding out to which agents the agency is attributed in the texts.

3.a.) Testing whether it is state (specific states, IOs, IO-dependent committees, etc.) agencies are recorded more frequently in the texts.

3.b.) Testing whether it is non-state agencies (NGOs, individuals, etc.) are recorded more frequently in the texts.

Measurement

The main measurement technique is to conduct a frequency calculation. In this calculation technique, the coder records every reference to pre-defined themes or variables. In the end of coding process, "the presence or absence of a given content category can be measured or the 'frequency with which category appears', or the 'amount of space allotted to the category', or the 'strength or intensity with which

category is represented" (Johnson and Reynolds 2005: 224). With this in mind, the coding in this dissertation records each reference to the themes. It does not code strength or intensity of the reference because it brings with a problem of subjectivity.

The main unit of analysis to be coded is the reports published by the UN, UN related official committees and non-governmental organizations which took an active role in the realization of the peacebuilding operations¹⁶. In this regard, categories of content are normative agenda and agency references. Coding is conducted as theme-coding. In this sense, the documentation is coded in the forms of ;

- 1) words;
- 2) word groups;
- 3) paragraphs;

Coding Sheet

¹⁶ Sampling criteria are explained in detail in the next section.

Coder:		Date of the Document:			Date of Coding:		
Document Name:							
Case:							
NORMATIVE AGENDA VARIABLES	Number of References			Total	Intensity (1-Very Weak 2-Weak 3-Neutral 4-Strong 5-Very Strong Emphasis)		
	Achieved (Ad)	Targeted (Td)	Ongoing (Og)		Ad	Td	Og
R1-State							
R2- Specific state organ (military, a ministry)							
R3: Human being/individual							
R4: Human society (Sierra Leoneans; Liberians)							
R5: General security reference							
AGENCY VARIABLES	Positive Agency (Pa)	Negative Agency (Na)	Neutral (Nea)		Pa	Na	Nea
A1: State							
A2: Specific state organ (such as military, a ministry)							
A3: Non-governmental Organization (NGO)							
A4: Human being/individual/Society							
A5: Profit-seeking organizations							
A6: International Actor (UN, ECOWAS etc).							

4.2.3.1. Data Collection and Sampling

Though sampling is a general discussion which concerns both qualitative and quantitative researchers, most discussions on the sampling issue come from mainly quantitative researchers (Neuman 2007: 141). The primary goal behind sampling is to include a limited sample which has the capacity to represent the research universe, so that the research produces accurate outcomes for the inferences and generalizations for the larger group. Two main strategies of sampling are present in the methodology literature: (1) Probability sampling; (2) non-probability sampling. The former relies on a random selection criterion, which have the assumption that any selected unit from the universe would equally represent the general composition of the universe. This view is criticized in the literature in the sense that it endangers the representation capacity of the sample used in the analysis. Latter strategy, on the other hand, mainly relies on specification of several criteria for the sample selection. In this strategy, researcher determines the criteria of sample selection in accordance with the research agenda. This strategy is a modified and improved strategy for sample determination, and preferred more frequently by the researchers who pursue a meticulous path in the methodology. Many different techniques are present in non-probable sampling strategy, such as haphazard sampling, quota sampling, purposive/judgmental sampling, and snowballing, sequential sampling. Amongst others, I use purposive/judgmental method. This method is used in situations in which an expert uses own judgment in selecting the sample with a specific purpose in mind (Neuman 2007: 142).

With this in mind, the criteria used in the selection of sample are explained below:

- 1) The documents need to be published by an organ which takes an active part in the peacebuilding operations.
- 2) Official documents need to be published by the UN or UN related sub-organizations (such as UNIPSIL).
- 3) Non-official documents need to be published by an NGO which took a part in the operation.
- 4) Each documents need to be at least 1000 words length.
- 5) Each coded documents need to include at least 5 references to any of the variables. (Those documents which do not include 5 references will be removed from the sample.

The documents to be coded are selected from two sets of sources. Firstly, UN documentations on the cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia are collected. UN documentations are divided into three. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions that constitute the mandate in the Sierra Leone are available online. These texts are important in order to understand both the legitimacy understanding and the general framework behind the operations. Secondly, Secretary General's reports on the mission in Sierra Leone are included in the coded material. Thirdly, the reports published by United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone (UNIPSIL) are included in the coded material.

Second set of the documentations to be coded are those who are published by the non-state actors taking a role in the mission. In this regard, "Non-state actors project newsletters" are to be coded. Besides, United Nations Joint Vision at Work in Sierra Leone reports are summarizing how UN officials interact and co-operate with non-state actors in the region.

4.2.3.2. Variables

Two sets of variables are coded within the scope of the content analysis. Variables included in the category of referent object intend to detect the references to specific referent objects in the normative agenda of the operations. Variables included in the agency category aims to record which agents are taking part in the practice of the operations.

4.2.3.2.1. Normative Agenda

The variables pertaining to normative agenda aim to infer from the text that which referent objects are addressed more frequently in texts on the peacebuilding operations of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Is it state and state organs which are aimed to be secured in the scope of these operations? Or is main referent object of the peace and security agenda of peacebuilding operations individuals and society formed by individuals? Is the practice of peacebuilding operations consistent with the discourse that is built in the theoretical literature? The variables coded in the content analysis

help understanding these points through an enumeration derived from the frequency calculation. Within this analysis, normative agenda variables are as follows:

Category 1: Referent Object/ Normative Agenda

R1: State (in general)

R2: Specific state organ (such as military, a ministry or UN peace forces)

R3: Human being/individual

R4: Human society (Liberians, Sierra Leoneans)

R5: General peace and security references

4.2.3.2.2. Agency

The variables in the agency category intend to interrogate to which agents the agency lies with in the realization of the peacebuilding operations of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Is it states and state formed international organizations that practice the main agency in the operations? Or is it the non-state agency coming into prominence in the peacebuilding operations? Is the practice of peacebuilding consistent with its theory which argues that it is non-state organs that possess main agency in these operations? If they practice agency, what is its importance in the general flux of the operations? The variable in this category mainly aims to finding out answers to these questions. To do so, five forms of agency variables are included:

Category 2: Agency

A1: State (in general)

A2: Specific state organ (such as military, a ministry)

A3: Non-governmental Organization (NGO)

A4: Human being/individual

A5: Profit-seeking organizations

A6: International organizations (UN, ECOWAS, ECOMOG)

By coding the sample

CHAPTER 5

INTERVENTION IN LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR AND POST- CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING

Previous chapters intended to present a detailed juxtaposition of the world society framework along with the problematique of intervention in world politics. Two main points were stressed. Firstly, the English School is a theoretical framework which acknowledges that there is a room for progress in international politics. In this respect, its progressive understanding can be analyzed by focusing on three specific parameters, namely the normative context, agency and identity. Building on this point, it is possible to argue that the change in these parameters constitute a progress which makes possible to speak of a world society going beyond the international society. Secondly, the way intervention is practiced in the context of world society differs from the way it is operated in the context of international society. The main reason to this difference is that the nature of intervention has been evolving since it appeared as a controversial issue in the international political agenda. Both the means and the motivations of intervention have been in a constant change. New forms of intervention were initiated with a motivation relying on an understanding that places

the human and society in its centre. In this context, it is argued that the progress from the international society to world society overlaps very well with the evolution of intervention and the world society appears to be an appropriate framework to understand and explain the theoretical implications of the change taking place in the intervention mentality.

Considering that peacebuilding represents one of the latest versions that intervention evolved into, the argument built so far suggests that peacebuilding operations represent a typical intervention practice that would be better understood in the context of world society rather than international society. This chapter attempts to test this argument against the case of Liberia peacebuilding operation. The case of Liberia represents one of the very first instances in which new dynamics of intervention that were discussed in the literature took place in the actual practice of intervention. Though the intervention to Liberian Civil War was initiated as a traditional peacekeeping intervention which sought ceasing the direct violent contact between clashing parties, later it gradually transformed into a broader peacebuilding intervention which aimed at a broader, deeper and more durable peace in the country. Thus, it presents a unique opportunity to test the theoretical framework framed earlier against an intervention practice that were affected by the dynamics mentioned.

Serving to this aim, this chapter is organized as follows. Following section focuses on the historical background of the intervention in Liberian civil war. The history of Liberia is briefly summarized as it shaped the sociopolitical composition of the country which later played an important role in the break out of the civil war. Following this brief summary of Liberian history, two successive civil wars are focused. The historical section ends with an examination of how intervention took

place and changed the course of the conflict in Liberia. Following the historical background, 5.2. directly focuses on the question of how the intervention in Liberia turned into a broader peacebuilding operation. This section analyzes the Liberia Peacebuilding Operation with reference to three parameters of world society. For the parameters of normative agenda and agency, the results of the content analysis are presented. Building on these result, it is discussed whether this peacebuilding operation represents a typical intervention practice that could be considered in the limits of world society framework. Section 5.3 presents the concluding remarks on the Liberian peacebuilding experience.

5.1. Historical Background

5.1.1. A Brief History of Liberia

The process that led to a civil war which was intervened by foreign powers in Liberia is quite correlated with the country's history and its establishment. The way societal segments were built in the country is the outcome of the relationship between different classes taking part in the country's societal composition. Therefore, a brief overlook on the history of Liberia is necessary for understanding the historical realities that led to a civil war in the country.

Since its establishment as an independent republic in 1847 until the troublesome era started with coup d'etat in 1980, Liberia had been a stable country

which cultivated close relationship with the West, specifically with the US, and prosperous compared to other African countries. Its ties with the United States have shaped the country's political and social structure which later caused a severe problem of unequal distribution of the country's wealth among different groups (Sherman 2010).

The region which is called Liberia today had encountered European contacts especially in the period between 15th and late 18th centuries. The British, Portuguese and Dutch traders founded trading posts in the country though Liberia was never truly colonized by those countries. Yet, its modern history is considered to start in 1822 through a reverse-colonization story. In 1822, the country was founded by returning freed slaves from the United States (McPherson 2008: 7). Therefore, the foundation of Liberia "was motivated by the domestic politics of slavery and race in the United States as well as by US foreign policy interests" (US Department of State Web Page)¹⁷. By the early 19th century, the hottest debate in the American political agenda was the one on the slavery. As the number of the Africans who were brought to America as slaves increased, the debates on the slavery got intensified in the United States in a manner to include both ethical and practical controversy. In early 1800s, African-Americans started to gain their freedom and the number of free blacks increased. The increase in the number of free blacks triggered several discussions about their status in the American society. Considering that the racist arguments found a broad ground in the US of the 19th century, the political arguments also focused on how to "get rid of" the growing number of the black Americans in the country. Four lines of arguments can be noted (Burin 2005: 14-22). Part of the political elites thought that the black population, regardless of being slave

¹⁷ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/liberia> (Last accessed on 8 April 2015).

or free, are inclined for crime which carried a risk for destabilize the American society. Second group was opposing directly to the abolition for interest-based practical reasons. Another group was emphasizing the effect of free black society in the American economy. According to this group, since the number of free blacks were now increasing, it was inevitable that they were going constitute a cheap force of labor that would cause the drop in the market prices and unemployment of European descendant Americans, who were considered to be the true owners of the country. Another group argued, on the contrary, that keeping black population in the United States would provide an advantage for economy, as they could be directed to specific sectors in which white Americans are not interested. Therefore, this group was suggesting keeping the number of free blacks under control instead of sending them out of the country. Though each of these arguments are at odds with today's multicultural world and built on sole racist assumptions, these were more or less constituting the core of the political debate on the black Americans in the United States in early 19th century (Beyan 1991: 24)

American Colonization Society (ACS) was born into such a political context. The society was established as a civil society organization which seeks the conditions for resettlement of African Americans in Africa in a form of American colony. Though the society was taking a supportive stance on the abolition for more blacks, it was ironically initiated by three white Americans, namely John Randolph, Henry Clay and Richard Bland Lee (Beyan 1991: 29). ACS was found satisfy two groups which were located on the different corners of the political debates on the black Americans and slavery. It was an attempt to bring effective solutions to African Americans as well as to satisfy the groups who were concerned by the presence of African Americans (Beyan 1991: 36). In this context, its major aim was

to provide support in the building of the conditions for a sustainable colony in Africa, which would constitute excitement for those black Americans who are suffering from bad economic conditions in the US. Once the society voiced this view in 1816, the suggestion encountered considerable amount of support from the American political elites including evangelical groups and Quakers. Former American presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison publicly supported the campaigns of the ACS (US Department of State 2015)¹⁸. The society initiated a fundraiser campaigns for its project of "repatriating the black Americans in the homeland" (Burin 2005: 25).

Establishing a colony in the West African coast was a major project which was presented by the ACS to the political agenda. With this aim, the Society sent its three representatives to the western coast of the Africa in 1816 to negotiate with the native people of the region on a piece of territory for the colony. The search focused on the region which is today called Sierra Leone and Liberia. Representatives' goal was to convince local tribe leaders to sell a piece of land for this colony. The search lasted for almost 4 years, which gave no result. Leaders of the tribes were not convinced to sell their lands to an outsider colony. Representatives of the Society turned back to the US with no result. Yet, during the 4 years that they had spent in western Africa, the repatriation campaign found extensive support from both elite and public levels in the US political atmosphere. In this regard, despite the fact that the representatives could not find a place for a colony, the US Congress decided to land in west African coasts to build two colonies. The colony in Liberia was one of these two colonies.

The forerunner for the Republic of Liberia which continues to be a sovereign state today is this colony. The name "Liberia" comes from the Latin root of "liber"

¹⁸ <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/6618.htm> (Last Access: 02.06.2015)

which means free as the colony was founded as a land for free black Americans. In this respect, the country was envisaged to be the "Land of Free" as it was named as Liberia (West 1970: 44). The colony, as it is apparent in the name, was founded as an entity dependent directly to the US, though it has its own constitution. The constitution of the colony was written in Washington, DC, therefore the colony's political system was modeled directly on the American presidential system. The colony attracted the interest of many African Americans. The idea of having a free country in the African continent constituted a point of attraction mainly because of two reasons: (1) African Americans were facing daily and routine racism in their life in the United States. It was not only social but also an economical problem as it left them uneducated and economically disadvantageous vis-a-vis white American population. Therefore, the idea of living in Africa was sounding sympathetic to those African Americans who were suffering from the results of racist atmosphere in the United States. (2) The ACS, especially in the first years of the colony, was telling the stories of how those black Americans who went to the colony successfully are integrated with the people there. The discourse was emphasizing that the black Americans who got familiar with the techniques of modern agriculture and farming are capable of taking the advantages of the virgin lands in the colony. The stories coming from the colony was singing the song of prosperous lives of black Americans returning to Africa.

Though the rumors about the colony in Liberia was drawing a happy picture, the local tribes, which did not form a united state at the time colony was founded, conducted series of assault on the colony, some of which caused serious bloodshed (Schick 1980: 112). The colony was, yet, equipped with technologically advanced weapons for defense against the attacks. As the number of the inhabitants living in

the colony grew high, the colony became the ascendant political power in the country. In 1825, 3 years after its establishment, the colony was accepted as a legitimate political actor in the region by the tribes through series of agreements. The concept of Americo-Liberians was used for those turning back from America to settle in the colony, so-called Republic of Liberia. With the intense economic and political support from the US, the colony turned into a form of state with considerable amount of wealth compared to the rest of the continent, which started to be seen as an island of stability and welfare by the indigenous people of the region.

Until 1846, Republic of Liberia remained as a colony which was dependent on the United States. In 1846, the country declared independence to form a sovereign nation state under the name of Independent Republic of Liberia. Independence of Liberia and its establishment as a sovereign state was recognized by the United Kingdom and France who were the major powers in the African continent. Both the UK and France were taking a worrisome stance about the US activism in Africa. Once Monroe's term of presidency was over in 1825, he left his doctrine, "Monroe Doctrine", to the US as a strong tradition of foreign policy. According to President Monroe's doctrine, the US foreign policy should have been built upon some kind of an isolationism which would keep the US away from troubles from other parts of the world (Falk 1959). In this respect, US involvement in the African politics was already a controversial issue. Once the independence was declared by the colony as free Republic of Liberia, the US reaction to this step had been negative as it was perceived as a betrayal among the domestic audience. The independence of Liberia was not recognized by the US initially. Yet, the ties of the ruling elite, so-called Americo-Liberians, with the US kept the relationship between two countries alive.

Americo-Liberians constituted the key class of the country and had held the both political and economic control of the country until the civil war broke out. The conditions which led to a bloodshed was highly related with the economic and political divergence between the Americo-Liberians, who were holding the political and economic control of the country in their hands, and indigenous people, who were living in a social context shaped by tribal relationships and holding no political significance and economically suffering. Worth to note is that even Americo-Liberians were not forming a monolithic structure. A group, so-called "Mulattos", within the Americo-Liberians was holding the main sources of political power in country. Dunn-Marcos et al. explains the sociological divisions in the post-colonial Liberia as follows:

"In 1923, Abayomi Karnga, a scholar and politician of recaptive parentage, noted that the status divisions among the Liberians eventually evolved into a hierarchical caste system with four distinct orders. At the top were the Americo- Liberian officials, consisting largely of light-complexioned people of mixed Black and White ancestry [also known as "Mulattos"]. They were followed by darker skinned Americo- Liberians, consisting mostly of laborers and small farmers. Then came the captives [also known as "Congos"], the Africans who had been rescued by the U.S. Navy while aboard U.S.-bound slave ships and brought to Liberia. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the indigenous African Liberians." (Dunn-Marcos et al. 2005 as cited in Dennis 2006).

Though the Liberian political model was copied from the American system and the ruling elite had a considerable amount of democratic experience inherited from the American political system, the outcomes of the differences between the Americo-Liberians and indigenous people led the Liberian system to some form of a corrupt system. At this point, it is crucial to mention True Whig Party of Liberia, the political movement that held the power until the coup d'etat in 1980.

Place of the True Whig Party (TWP) in Liberian politics is one of the main dynamics that shaped the Liberia's sociological composition which in the long run caused a triggering of a civil war. The party was known as the political organization of the Americo-Liberians which constituted a small minority in the Liberian society. Though Americo-Liberians were no more than 5% of the general population, they hold the political and economic control of the country in their hand through the True Whig Party's ascendancy in the political system. The party was founded in 1869, 13 years later the independence was declared. From its foundation to the coup d'etat in 1980, the party not only dominated but also ruled the Liberian politics. The party was organized around the ideology of whiggism, which is a movement inspired from American-evangelical messianism (Ellis 2001). Americo-Liberian settlers who controlled the country from its colonial times onwards were also attributed a mission to civilize and unite the local people of the region under the protestant school of Christianity. Therefore, the party's whiggist background helped the party elites to motivate their audience to take a role in politics, mobilize them as politically active subjects and fill the political vacuum in the country by not giving local tribes the chance to take country's political control. In this regard, though Liberian political system was considered to be as a democracy since early 1900s, the authoritarian methods of the Whig Party were legitimized as they serve to the aim of "civilizing" the peoples of Liberia.

In early 1920s, the party's rule in Liberia got more authoritarian with the initiation of its national development plans. According to the plans, different parts of the society were considered for different divisions of labor in the national development. In this regard, Americo-Liberians, which were in minority according to their number, were envisaged to be the ruling class while some tribes were assigned

the task of working in heavy labor such as mining. Besides, the plans also included selling of members of several tribes to Spain and Portugal, which were two countries with authoritarian administrations seeking more force of heavy labor (Olukoju 2006: 12). Therefore, the party was also known for its policies that open the path for forced labor, including child labor, and selling slaves to colonialists coming from Spain and Portugal.

Over the years, as the party sought the status of Americo-Liberians in the economic and political matters of the country, they came to a position that is economically wealthy and politically strong while the other groups in the country were rather subject to the heavier conditions (Ellis 1995: 168) . Though TWP was criticized by the West, especially by the UK and the US, because of its policies that enables forced labor and selling of slave, it was also providing a stable political environment in the west Africa. Indeed, though the differences in terms of distribution of wealth and political power appeared in the country, Liberia was a stable country in terms of politics and economy when it was compared to other African countries. Therefore, TWP survived as a key actor in the Liberian politics and ruled the country until the coup d'etat. TWP's and its elites' survival in the office further deepened the gap between the privileged and disadvantaged segments of the Liberian society. Yet, its policies and the status of the Americo-Liberians in the society also caused the emergence of socio-political reasons that facilitated the break out of the civil war. In the post-Second World War environment, Liberia determined its position in the side of capitalist West. However, its political system did not evolve into a liberal democracy; rather the *de facto* one party system was further consolidated (Ellis 1995). Despite there was no legal regulation that forbids political

opposition, any political initiation that opposes the rule of TWP was marginalized and somehow remained impotent to be a considerable political actor.

The rule of TWP continued until the coup d'etat in 1980. The coup d'etat also started an era in which political crisis threatened the social cohesion of the country and led to a severe civil war in the long run.

5.1.2. The Civil War

The political instability that opened the path to civil war in Liberia was triggered with the coup d'etat against the rule of Americo-Liberians in 1980. With the William Tolbert Jr.'s presidency in early 1970s, Liberia started to reconsider its pro-western stance in the Cold War and converged closer to the non-aligned movement led by Kaddafi's Libya (Tarr 1993). Besides, the country started diplomatic relations with socialist countries including Soviet Union and China for the first time in its history. This change in the foreign policy of Liberia caused louder criticisms by western countries for its highly corrupted and undemocratic political environment. In 1978, the US announced that it stopped financial aid to Liberia until it initiates a political reformation process which would allow political opposition in country. At the same time, the opposition put more effort to be politically visible both at domestic and international levels. Liberian diaspora, which were spread both to western and other African countries were pursuing a policy to create political awareness about the corrupt regime in Liberia in world. At domestic level, especially Krahn ethnic group was leading the political opposition (Tarr 1993: 82).

The warlike crisis that facilitated the coup d'etat in 1980 was triggered after a demonstration organized by the members of Krahn tribe in Monrovia in 1979. Demonstrations started after Tolbert's government proposed an increase in the subsidized price of rice from \$22 to \$26 per 100 pound bag (Woodward 2003: 925). The opposition pointed that this increase was serving to the aim of self-aggrandizement of Tolbert family, which owns large rice farms. The demonstrations started in the streets of the capital, Monrovia. President Tolbert Jr. ordered armed forces fire on the demonstrators which caused death of over 70 people (Sherman 2010: 50). With the harsh criticisms of regional countries and western powers, the political opposition started to several attacks on government targets. The army intervened in the country-wide riots in April 1980 and declared that the government and the parliament is abolished and Tolbert was taken into custody. Not long after, it was announced that Tolbert was executed when armed forces entered into his palace. The overthrow of the Tolbert's government was symbolizing the long-lasting Americo-Liberian's rule over the country. The military coup was led by a master sergeant, Samuel K. Doe, who was member of Krahn ethnic group. Though Doe was a member of military and trained by the American Special Forces, it was argued that he was illiterate when he initiated the coup and assumed the power in Liberia. After a quick trial process for the members of Tolbert's cabinet, almost the whole cabinet was sentenced to death.¹⁹ Following the trial process, Doe formed the People's Redemption Council (PRC), which was practically a junta government. The council assumed the all powers of government and led by Doe himself. Though Doe was a poorly trained person who lacked political capabilities to administer a country, he

¹⁹ Only four members of the cabinet survived the trial process, including the Minister of Finance, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who later initiated a political campaign against the warlord, Charles Taylor and became the first female president of the country. Johnson-Sirleaf is still in the office and serving as the president of Liberia.

found extensive support in public. Main reason to that was the fact that people were sick of the Americo-Liberian rule which was seen as the source of economic inequalities between the indigenous and ruling segments of Liberian society.

Following the settlement of the military regime in Liberia, Doe took several clever steps to gain further support from the public. Tolerating a relatively free press and enabling several political parties in the political system created sympathy both in public and also in international level. Doe was already closer discourse to western world. After assuming power, he closed the Libyan Embassy in Monrovia and put a clear distance with powers opposing the United States in world politics. This pro-western stance provided Doe considerable political and financial support from the United States. In 1981, the US announced that it reinitiated its financial aid to Liberia and increased the amount to over 100 million US dollars (Sherman 2010: 52).

As of 1982, the military regime started to evolve into a more authoritarian system. The symbolic reforms initiated just after the coup was taken back and the oppression of the press turned into ban on several newspapers. Besides, the military regime enforced a law which required any political party to get the permission of PRC to legalize. In practice, this law was applied as a ban on any other political party. The main reason of the regimes gradually increasing authoritarianism was the fear of a counter coup d'etat. Considering that the 1980 coup was not operated under the chain of command, the military regime was concerned that other minor groups in the army would be preparing for a counter coup. Along with authoritarianism corruption rumors about the members of PRC started to be voiced louder. The criticisms were not only from outside the PRC, rather there were several PRC members which criticized Doe of working for self-aggrandizement of his and his family's wealth. In 1984, Doe started to eliminate these PRC members who criticized

Doe harshly. Doe was re-arranging the composition of PRC in a manner it would be consisted mainly of the members of Krahn background.

Before 1985 presidential elections, 9 political parties applied to compete in the elections. Only three of them were allowed by the Council. Though the elections were a multi-party election, the process before the elections alarmed for a fraudulent election. Before the elections, political assassinations against important figures of the opposition started. Elections were done under the conditions of heavy oppression by the PRC over other parties. Though Doe won the elections with formally declared 51% votes, international observers reported that the elections were heavily corrupted and fraudulent (Aboagye and Bah 2005: 34). Therefore, the Doe's victory in the elections did not bring with the stability to Liberia.

After the 1985 elections, the country went through several failed counter coup attempts. Just after the elections, former vice chair of PRC, Thomas Quiwonkpa attempted a coup against Doe along with a few hundreds of troops. Although this attempt ended with failure and cost to lives of all attendants, this triggered further oppression on the opposition. Doe saw several tribes/ethnic origins as the source of societal opposition to his rule. Therefore, the pressure against these tribes such as Gio and Mano increased in the post-election process. The pressure on the tribes played an important role in the mobilization of these tribes against Doe's regime. Charles Taylor, who was a former member of PRC and fled from the country in 1983 due to Doe's accusation of organizing a conspiracy against the regime used this opportunity very effectively.

Charles Taylor was coming from a family of mix marriage between an indigenous mother and Americo-Liberian father. As a son of wealthy family, he had

an upper class formal education and took his degree in economics from the Bentley College in the US. After leaving Liberia in 1983, he took a very critical stance on the regime. Later he came to the Ivory Coast, the neighbor of Liberia to organize a political and military struggle against Doe's regime. As the Ivory Coast located just in the northern border of Liberia, Taylor's main target to collect support was the tribes living closer to the northern border. Gio and Mano tribes, which have been under heavy pressure of Doe's regime became the main supporters of Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). After collecting of sufficient number of militants from Gio and Mano tribes, NPFL entered to Liberia from the north in 1989 and invaded Nimba County. With the entrance of NPFL to the country, not only Gio and Mano but members of other ethnic groups supported and joined to NPFL. As response to the rebellion, Armed Forces of Liberia under the control of Doe targeted the towns on the northern border without distinguishing between the civilians and the militants (Sherman 2010: 67). As the conflict turned into a clash between armed forces and civilian tribes, Taylor's NPFL found even more extensive support from the public.

Not long after, Taylor's NPFL defeated Liberian Armed Forces in many different regions of the country. In July 1990, more than half of the country was controlled by NPFL. However, there were also tensions within the NPFL. Yormie Johnson, one of the prominent figures in NPFL, broke out with NPFL in mid-1990, and started a new fraction called Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), which was mainly composed of the members of Gio tribe. With this fraction, the war turned to also to an ethnic war, which fueled ethnic hatred in the country. In the August of 1990, the militias' siege of the capital, Monrovia started. One of the most shocking points about the Liberian civil war is that the war fought

between the government and paramilitary groups was not a simple civil war between rebelling militias and formal armed forces of a state. The government also initiated militias relied mainly on child soldiers who have been taken from families suffering from the poverty (Murphy 2003).

Following intervention of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (see 5.1.3. for the series of interventions in Liberia Civil War) in August 1990, Samuel Doe welcomed intervention forces and wanted to visit the headquarter of the ECOWAS located in Monrovia. Yet, during his visit, he was captured by the men of Yormie Johnson (INPFL), tortured and killed. Death of Doe even worsened the situation in country. The war turned into a struggle for power among different fractions of militias fighting for assuming the power in the country.

5.1.3. Interventions in Liberian Civil War

Following the death of Doe, the civil war disseminated all over the country. The intervention of the ECOWAS started actually before Doe's death. At this point, it is worth to note that the first intervention to the civil war in Liberia came from a regional actor, ECOWAS, which was envisaged to be a regional organization of economic, political and customary union of West African states including Sierra Leone and Liberia. The intervention was stick to the idea of national sovereignty. Therefore, ECOWAS declared that it acknowledges Doe's regime as the legitimate sovereign power in Liberia.

ECOWAS intervention in Liberian civil war has been a controversial political issue among the regional powers and members of the organization. The organization was established in 1981. Liberia, as one of the founding members, was part of the organization since its inception. Therefore, the organization's institutional relationship with Liberia was based on its interaction with Doe's regime. Once the civil war in Liberia broke out, ECOWAS invited the rebel groups to acknowledge Doe's authority, while called Doe to provide the ground to opposition to act on a political basis. However, when Monrovia was sieged by the rebel groups, ECOWAS gathered its summit in Banjul, Gambia in order to take necessary steps to stop the bloodshed in Liberia. Serving to this aim, Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was activated as an armed force to which main contribution was provided by Nigeria (Howe 1996/1997). More than half of the troops taking place in ECOMOG were provided by Nigerian Armed Forces, while remaining was coming from Sierra Leone, Gambia, Guinea, Ghana and Mali. ECOMOG forces entered to country from the northern borders with Ivory Coast and settled in Monrovia in less than a week. Although the ECOWAS officially acknowledged Doe's regime as the legitimate power in country, ECOMOG forces did not only fight with rebels but also with government forces during its march to Monrovia. However, just after settling the headquarter in Monrovia, Doe announced that intervention forces are welcomed to the country. As noted earlier, he was captured by INPFL during a visit to ECOWAS headquarter in Monrovia (Howe 1996/1997: 145-149).

Following the death of Doe, ECOMOG's major aim was to separate the warring factions and to stop the bloodshed as soon as possible (Human Rights Watch 1993). The justification for the Western African countries which took part in the

intervention was that the conflict was not a domestic one anymore and has the potential to disseminate towards other countries in the region. The conflict was not domestic anymore indeed. There were thousands of Nigerians living in Monrovia when the war broke out. NPFL kept hundreds of foreigners as hostage and later killed much of them. Besides, neighboring countries which also suffering from heavy economic and political conditions were concerned that the war would cause a refugee flow from Liberia, which turned into a reality after first three months of the civil war. ECOMOG's utmost aim was to impose a ceasefire over warring factions and facilitate establishing an interim government that could rule country until free elections. However, NPFL under Charles Taylor got so strengthened that had the capability to challenge an international power in the country. In the following weeks of Doe's death, ECOMOG forces entered into a severe war especially with NPFL forces (Tuck 2000: 2).

There have also been speculations about ECOMOG's intervention in Liberia civil war. As noted above, Nigerian soldiers constituted the vast majority of the ECOMOG's forces. It is argued that the major aim of Nigerian involvement in the intervention was to support Doe's regime in Liberia because Doe and Nigerian president Babangida have been allies since almost a decade in the region (Adebajo 2003). Besides, it is also correlated with Nigeria's aspirations to be a regional playmaker in the West African region. One way or another, the ECOWAS's intervention to the civil war in Liberia through ECOMOG forces were a typical peacekeeping intervention. Its major aim had been to honor the legitimate sovereigns in the country, impose a ceasefire and rebuild the political stability in Liberia. Though none of the participant countries were known for its successful record of

respect to human rights, it is fair to argue that ECOMOG's intervention in the civil war accomplished a certain degree of goals in its first six months (Tuck 2000: 12).

ECOMOG's intervention in the civil war succeeded to confine the Liberia Armed Forces and several warring factions into their barracks (Human Rights Watch 1993). Though NPFL under the command of Charles Taylor was still attacking to government and ECOMOG targets, INPFL was convinced to remain in the barrack. With the relative decrease in the bloodshed, international human rights watch groups returned to Liberia again in the October of 1990. In November, ECOMOG gathered a negotiation summit among the Liberian officials, AFL chief of staff and INPFL under Johnson. The negotiations gave the outcome of a ceasefire between parties and an interim government, with the name Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) was established under Amos Sawyer to install the conditions of ceasefire. IGNU established its control over the most of Monrovia with the help of ECOMOG and also a government backed paramilitary police force called Black Berets (Human Rights Watch 1993). Another accomplishment of the intervention by ECOWAS was to stop the massacres of Krahn ethnic group. As Doe was coming from Krahn ethnic origin, the tribe became the main target of rebel groups. Most of the members of Krahn tribe was located around the capital's suburbs. Therefore, ECOMOG's control of Monrovia also stopped the slaughter of members of Krahn tribe. Through such concrete accomplishments, ECOMOG gain extensive sympathy among the civilian population of Liberia. Human Rights Watch report published in 1993 notes that

"one would be hard-pressed to visit Monrovia without hearing, time and again, 'Thank God for ECOMOG.' The sentiments of many Monrovia residents were summarized by a Liberian medical worker who said: 'ECOMOG was our savior; it was a salvation. ECOMOG saved the population of Monrovia. They avoided fighting, but were pushed into a

corner. We feel sorry for them; they have no cause to die here for this stupid, senseless war'."

Following the establishment of interim government, the role of ECOMOG was limited to act as a police force in the country. Charles Taylor's forces withdrew to places outside of Monrovia mostly to rural places. This was taken as a signal of NPFL's decline and ECOMOG's success. However, in middle 1991, a group of former AFL soldiers formed another rebel group with the name of United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO). With ULIMO's entrance to the country from the western borders, the civil war got intense again. ULIMO's main target was the combatants of NPFL. Yet, once again it is crucial to note that in Liberian civil war, it was very difficult to distinguish between armed groups and civilians. In most of the cases, combatants were spending their days as ordinary civilians living in villages and towns. Therefore, ULIMO's targets were directly civilians as well as NPFL's combatants.

Charles Taylor and NPFL categorically rejected to negotiate with ECOWAS which they argue an invasion force of Nigeria. During the operations of ECOMOG against NPFL targets, there were several civilians got harmed indeed. Based on these civilians losses, Charles Taylor accused ECOMOG making a genocide against Liberian people. When ULIMO also started to attack on NPFL targets, NPFL responded so ruthless that the scenes of the street wars and cannibalism²⁰ startled the international audience. International campaign that calls the international community to stop the bloodshed in Liberia got intense. The campaigns succeeded to trigger

²⁰ Cannibalism during the Liberia civil war was a fact that is both about warring and also poverty. The warring factions were thinking that eating the human parts of their enemy would make them stronger, even bullet-proof. Besides, because of the poverty in the country, dead bodies were collected and eaten by people suffering from heavy conditions of poverty. For more information about the cannibalism during Liberia civil war see Utas, Mats. 2003. *Sweet Battlefields: Youth and the Liberian Civil War*. DICA: Uppsala, Stockholm; ch. 4.

awareness in the American society, and the United States sent a carrier ship to the Monrovia offshore to support the ECOMOG's presence in the country. After two months in 1993, ECOMOG controlled most of the country and convinced the warring factions negotiate on a ceasefire. After getting the ceasefire, ECOWAS brokered a peace agreement which was signed in Cotonou, Benin. The Cotonou Agreement was envisaging a gradual disarmament of the combatants and forming political parties to act on a legal ground for each warring factions (Adibe 1997).

United Nation's involvement in intervention to Liberian Civil War started with this agreement. United Nations Security Council decided to form a monitoring force to support ECOWAS in the establishment of the conditions to honor the peace agreement. United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) was established in 1993 and sent to Liberia along with 2000 international troops. It was established by the Security Council resolution 866. UNOMIL defines its mission as follows:

"UNOMIL was established to exercise good offices in support of the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and the Liberian National Transitional Government to implement peace agreements; investigate alleged ceasefire violations; assist in maintenance of assembly sites and demobilization of combatants; support humanitarian assistance; investigate human rights violations and assist local human rights groups; observe and verify elections." (UNOMIL official webpage).²¹

ECOWAS utilized the support of the UNOMIL significantly indeed. Following the arrival of the UN mission to Liberia, warring parties respected the implementation of the peace agreement for the first two months. The clashes between parties started again in November 1993. Factions were trying to gain power as much as possible before upcoming elections. Controlling areas also meant guaranteeing the votes of the residents of that specific areas during the elections as they constituency were

²¹ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unomil.htm> (Last accessed 2.05.2015).

threatened by the controlling group. In March 1994, Amos Sawyer's interim government was replaced by Council of State composed of six members. The council was some kind of a technocrats' government headed by David Kpormakpor. Yet, those groups who were upset by the composition of new technocrats' government kept assaulting on government targets. In 1994, ULIMO were separated into two factions, a separation based on ethnicity. Krahn members of ULIMO separated from the group and started ULIMO-J under Roosevelt Johnson. The other faction was based on Mandigo tribe and named ULIMO-K headed by Alhaji Kromah.

Following this separation, factions started attack each other and ECOMOG used this opportunity to control the rural areas. Biggest accomplishment of the intervention was to keep Charles Taylor's NPFL out of the conflict throughout the course of 1994. Somehow, NPFL was convinced to honor the peace agreement at least until the elections. Once again, with the brokering of Ghana and ECOWAS, parties were convinced to sign another peace agreement in Ghana. However, the peace agreement was not implemented widely in practice. In December 1994, the UN decided to reduce the number of UNOMIL observers because of parties' constant violation of peace agreements and assaults on the UN mission in Monrovia. This was perhaps the biggest mistake of the UN in the region and criticized harshly by ECOWAS officials (Adebajo 2002: 54). Not surprisingly, the bloodshed got intense following the UNOMIL's reduction in the number of its mission.

As the conflict turned into a cross-border conflict that disseminated to Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, other countries in the region took more initiative to impose a peace agreement on the factions. In the course of 1994 and 1995, several peace talks were initiated with the efforts of these neighboring countries. In December 1994, representatives of several warring factions gathered in Accra and signed the Accra

Peace Agreement, which remain obsolete later in 1995 because of the continuing violence. In March 1995, Ghanaian President explicitly threatened the warring factions by declaring that Ghana is ready to send more troops to Liberia under ECOMOG, if they do not stop the bloodshed in the country. Following Ghana's rising concentration on the Liberian Civil War, the peace talks started again in June 1995. Parties signed an agreement which was brokered by Ghanaian President, Jerry Rawlings. Major accomplishment of the agreement was to convince Charles Taylor to remain NPFL out of the violence. Given that NPFL had the biggest force of armed combatants, convincing Charles Taylor to remain out of violence contributed to the creating a relatively stable environment in the country.

After reducing the violence in the country, the Council of State headed by Kpormakpor was replaced by a new council headed by Wilton Sankawulo. Most important feature of the new council was the fact that it included three of the faction leaders in the council. Charles Taylor was one of them. Though conflict between warring parties continued as low intensity clashes, with the initiation of Nigeria, 1996 became the year that Abuja Peace Accords was signed by all warring parties. According to the agreement, all factions formed their political parties to run in the presidential elections that was planned for 1997.

The presidential elections were decided to be held in 1997. More than 10 candidates ran in the elections. Charles Taylor, the head of NPFL, won the elections with 75% of the votes while his closest rival candidate, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf got 9.5% (Harris 1999: 437). The election slogan of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Party (NPP) was gory but also irrationally effective: "He killed my pa, he killed my

ma, but I'll vote for him." (The Guardian, 4 August 2003)²². International observers reported that the elections were free and fair (Harris 1999: 438). However, it was also reported that NPFL's armed threats were effective especially in some rural areas of the country. With the 1997 elections, Charles Taylor became warlord-turned-president of the country. The scale of the violence did decrease though was not over after the elections. Those leaders which took part in the Council of State before the elections declared that they do not recognize the election results and will mobilize again to fight against Taylor's authority. At the very same time, Taylor focused on consolidating his power over the country and also on the cross-border regions. Serving to this aim, Taylor was seeing the diamond sources in Sierra Leone of critical importance. With this in mind, he explicitly supported the paramilitary group Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone and provided arms and weapons.²³ With his intense support to RUF, Sierra Leone got destabilized and dragged into a severe civil war. The main aim of Taylor was to establish a pro-NPP government in the neighboring country, Sierra Leone and transfer the diamond sources to Liberia in return of the weapons (Hirsch 2001: 25). With the break out of a severe civil war in Sierra Leone and his role in this conflict, Taylor drew a harsh rebuff from western world including the United States and the United Kingdom.

During the relative slow down of the violence following the elections, especially ULIMO lost significant ground in the country. Most of the ULIMO combatants withdrew to northern border and neighboring country Guinea. Still, they were supported also by Guinean government to remobilize against Taylor's administration in Liberia. International observers warned for the highly rising possibility of recurring civil war in Liberia. Yet, at the very same time, Taylor's

²² <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/aug/04/westafrica.qanda> (Last accessed 4.05.2015)

²³ The civil war in Sierra Leone and Taylor's impact on that is elaborated in detail in Chapter 6.

support for paramilitary groups in Sierra Leone and Guinea made him the target of international community. Though 1997 and 1998 were passed with relatively low intensity violence, 1999 became the year in which civil war was fueled once again. ULIMO-J fraction reformed itself under the name of Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and entered the country from the northern borders in late 1999. According to UNOMIL's report, both the Taylor's government and LURD were using child soldiers. The brutality of the civil war was even worse this time. Apart from other minor groups, a third big group joined to the civil war in late 2002. Former combatants from the ULIMO-K faction formed a paramilitary group under the name Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and started to fight against Armed Forces of Liberia in the south of the country (Adebajo 2003).

The recurrence of the conflict in Liberia triggered two reactions in the international community represented by the United Nations. Firstly, the United Nations Security Council decided to employ more troops under UNOMIL in Liberia. The intervention force fought against both government and paramilitary forces in the country because the UN mandate was setting the protection of unarmed civilians as its utmost aim for its intervention. In other words, the UN was giving the message that the UN is ready to challenge any group including the legitimate sovereigns of Liberia when they threaten the civilian population. Secondly, the UNSC passed Resolution 1343 which was banning arms sale to Liberian government, buying diamonds from Liberia (which was the main source of funding of government's support for RUF in Sierra Leone) and banning the members of Liberian government to any member country of the UN. With resolution 1343, the UN picked its side in Liberia explicitly and the circle around Taylor's government got narrower. Unfortunately, the international pressure on Taylor got his regime even more

aggressive against some specific tribes which Taylor thought providing support to LURD and MODEL.

In 2003, LURD and MODEL were forming an implicit alliance against the government. LURD was active especially around the capital Monrovia. MODEL, on the other hand, was controlling the southern territories of the country. In middle 2003, LURD started an assault on the capital Monrovia and sieged the government building. At the very same time, the international pressure on Taylor's government got intense because of its constant attack on civilian tribes outside Monrovia. UN passed another resolution (number 1478) which implement ban on timber import from Liberia, which was the major product of Liberia's export. A third series of intervention started with this embargo. ECOWAS was once again on the stage and organized peace talks in Accra, Ghana. Both LURD and MODEL was convinced to attend in talks and negotiate with Taylor's government. Taylor himself was attending to the negotiations and left Monrovia for Accra on June 4, 2003. When he arrived in Accra, Special Court for Sierra Leone declared its decision of taking Charles Taylor into custody because of his guilt of war crimes and crimes against humanity during the civil war in Sierra Leone. The government of Sierra Leone was asking Ghanaian government to arrest Taylor and extradite to Sierra Leone. Ghana responded that it is not possible to arrest a president which Ghana government itself invited for peace talk. Upon this development, Taylor turned back to Monrovia but left the representatives of Liberian government to take part in the peace negotiations.

When peace talks were continuing, rebel groups LURD and MODEL were assaulting government buildings in Monrovia. Taylor's government was now not capable of controlling even the streets of the capital. Taylor was coming to understand that there was no future for his government and regime in Liberia.

Nigeria offered safe exile to Taylor in July 2003. Though Taylor refused to leave the country in the first plan, following the Resolution 1497 taken by the UNSC which would form an international peacekeeping force to deploy in Liberia, Taylor resigned and fled to Nigeria. ECOWAS was once again the dragging force for international interveners and provided the safety in the streets of Monrovia in 2003 through ECOMIL. Besides, the United States sent a carrier ship and also supported the peacekeeping force logistically. In August 2003, the negotiations were concluded with Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement between warring factions and the interim government of Liberia which would rule the country until the elections. Now it was time to build the ground for a consolidated peace. With this in mind, the intervention in Liberian Civil War turned into a broader peacebuilding operation (McCantless 2008).

5.2. Peacebuilding Operation in Liberia

As summarized above, the late history of Liberia is full of bloodshed, peace initiatives and recurrence of violence. As the violence recurred in Liberia over and over again, the Liberian people were dragged into a severe poverty and demolition. As the society got exhausted of violence and chaotic environment in the country, the warring factions started to lose their human resources in early 2000s. Since past peace initiations failed several times, the international powers taking part in the intervention were aware that the peace environment that was provided by Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was quite fragile. Therefore, the intervention had

to evolve into a broader peace intervention which would reconstruct already destructed social cohesion in Liberia and prepare grounds for sustainable peace and normalization of the country.

Accra Negotiations were the first signal about the change of the intervention mentality. First time in the history of Liberian peace talks, the representatives of Liberian civil society were invited to talks. The word "Liberian civil society" might sound ironic when it is questioned whether it is possible to cultivate a genuine civil society under the conditions of a severe civil war. Yet, the Liberian civil war created its own peculiar circumstances that gave birth an active civil society in the country. First of all, considering that the country has a population coming from Americo-Liberian origin, their imparted experience for generations in the political activeness helped facilitation of a growing a functioning civil society in Liberia. Though the Americo-Liberian rule created a negative outlook of this group, within the course of civil war, Americo-Liberian elites played important roles for the functionality of democratic political tools. Secondly, because of the everlasting environment of violence in Liberia, the society got sick of the sufferings that the war caused. Under these circumstances, especially the women of Liberia took an important initiative in the peace efforts for Liberia. Woman leader, Leymah Gbowee organized a strong women movement in 2002 and women of Monrovia gathered in the main square of the city to pray and protest the war in Liberia. Later, the movement were institutionalized under the name of Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) and took important roles in the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia (Ackerman 2009; Gbowee 2009).

Another reason for a broader peacebuilding intervention to be conducted in Liberia was the situation of ex-combatants. Liberian civil war, as summarized earlier,

created an environment in which ordinary citizens who never got involved in violence turned into cannibal soldiers of different warring parties. Besides, an important part of the war in rural areas was children soldiers. After the war, the country was comprising of local warlords, those who fought under their command, children who were involved in different militias, and those whose relatives and parents were massacred by the first two groups. Without a broader peace agenda, it is not difficult to predict that fragile peace environment in the country could easily collapse again. Therefore, the intervention in Liberia was considered as one of the very early experiences of international peacebuilding efforts.

Following Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the main target of the intervention forces was to keep country away from violence until the elections. Serving to this aim, the National Transition Government of Liberia (NTGL) were assigned the duty of administer the country until the next presidential elections. Charles Gyude Bryant was selected as the head of the transition government. Since Bryant was a businessman and considered among the economic elites of the country, it was planned that his government would take the steps to attract international investment to the country which would provide economic buoyancy in the country in the short run. Another important step was to increase the number of peacekeeping forces in Liberia. In October 2003, the number of the ECOWAS personnel in Liberia reached over 4000. Again in October 2003, the United Nations passed the Resolution 1497 which established United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) that took over the duties from UNOMIL and superseded its mandate. After its establishment, UNMIL took the peacekeeping duties from ECOWAS and the ECOMOG personnel

were deployed as United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Liberia along with other 15000 troops (UNMIL Web Page 2015)²⁴.

Disarmament of the fighters did not start immediately after the agreement. Parties waited until they were convinced that the government would not attack on militias again. Disarmament program started in middle 2004 with the initiation of UNMIL and several civil society actors such as West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) (Christian-Paes 2005). The disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and rehabilitation (DDRR) were conducted simultaneously as the peace environment in the country was consolidated. Most of the fighters were disarmed in the end of 2004. Following the disarmament, the country came to be more stable and minor fighting in the rural places become even rarer. As the stability was provided, the transition government was focusing on the economy. At the same time, the embargo on diamond and timber trade from Liberia was continuing though the head of the government Bryant asked UN to end the embargo. The UN declared that the embargo would come to an end following a free and fair election that would secure and further consolidate the peace environment in Liberia.

The transitional government successfully carried the country to the elections of 2005. The government took the decision of presidential election to be conducted on October 11, 2005. According to Liberian constitution, the candidates are supposed to get at least 50% of the votes to be elected as the legitimate president of the country. If no candidate reaches to this amount, the top two candidates in the first round run in the second round of the elections, which became the case in 2005 elections. More than 20 candidates ran in the first round including Liberian football legend George Weah and former minister of finance in Doe's government Ellen

²⁴ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/background.shtml> (Last Access 10.05.2015)

Johnson Sirleaf. Weah became the winner of the first round and followed by Sirleaf. In the second round, Sirleaf got 59% of the votes and elected as the first female president in African continent (Harris 2006: 391).

The elections were declared free and fair by international observers, even though some argue that the elections were by far fairest elections that Liberia have ever seen (Harris 2006: 378). Yet, the hard conditions of post-conflict situation were still rendering the peace environment fragile. The warring factions were completely disarmed and the UN's embargo on the arms sale to Liberia was continuing. Yet, the concern that Charles Taylor who was exiled in Nigeria would involve in country politics again were triggering tension in the country. In such an environment, President Sirleaf asked the UN to end the embargo on timber and diamond trade from Liberia. International community represented by the UNSC responded that this would only be possible if the Liberian government would put some efforts for the extradition of former president and warlord Charles Taylor. Upon these talks, Liberian government requested the extradite of Charles Taylor from Nigerian government relying on the decision of Sierra Leone Special Court (SLSC) which charged Taylor of crimes against humanity in Sierra Leonean Civil War. Following Taylor's extradition, he was kept in a jail in Freetown, Sierra Leone until he was sent to Leidschendam, the Netherlands, for his trial in International Criminal Court (ICC).

The United Nations' embargo on timber trade ended in 2006 though it kept the embargo on diamond trade until the Liberian government passes a regulation on the certificate of origin for diamond products. The end of the embargo on timber trade provided a considerable relief of the economic situation in the country. The reconstruction of the economic situation in Liberia had been a significant part of the

peacebuilding agenda in Liberia. Since it was anticipated that the source of the conflict in Liberian society was relying on the harsh economic injustice, the international stakeholders of peacebuilding operation were focusing on the market reconstruction in Liberia in a manner to product a fair sharing of the country's revenue and assets. In other words, economic reconstruction was not considered as a domestic responsibility of the Liberian government, rather it occupied a considerable place in the peacebuilding agenda. The peacebuilding intervention to Liberia, in this context, was conducted especially in three areas: (1) DDRR efforts; (2) economic reconstruction and (3) the efforts of truth and justice commission to trial the war crimes. This dissertation intends to analyze this intervention practice with reference to three parameters, namely the normative agenda, agency and identity. Which referent object comes into prominence in the normative agenda of Liberian peacebuilding operation? Which agents are in charge for the realization of the agenda points? And what are the identity motivations of these agents when they get involved in the peacebuilding efforts in Liberia? Below follows an analysis of the operation, seeking answers to abovementioned questions with respect to three parameters of world society summarized in Chapter 3.

5.2.1. Normative Agenda

As discussed earlier in Chapter 3, this dissertation suggests that one of the three parameters changing from the international society to world society is the evolution of the normative agenda from mainly a state-centric direction to a rather

human/society-centric approach. The evolution of the intervention from traditional peacekeeping to brand new peacebuilding overlaps with the abovementioned progress from international society to world society. In this regard, the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia can be examined as a test case of this argument developed in Chapter 3.

The "normative" that this dissertation deals with was already framed in 3.2.1. Once again, I aim to focus on the "normative" with an empiricist understanding that seeks to observe the impact of the normative priorities of an act on the general structure of the practice. In other words, I aim to shed light to the normative center of the peacebuilding practices in Liberia.

Since its inception, the literature on peacebuilding interventions have been developing the argument that peacebuilding takes the individual and the society into its normative center and human security appears to be the main normative priority of peacebuilding (Cockell 2000; Thomas and Tow 2002; Conteh-Morgan 2005). In this regard, very natural expectation from a peacebuilding intervention is that the individual is centered as the main referent object in its security and peace agenda. The peacebuilding process in Liberia relies on several normative priorities. In this respect, Statement of Mutual Commitments on Peacebuilding in Liberia (SMC) is the main source in order to find out the main priorities of the operation.

Statement of Mutual Commitment is prepared by Liberia Configuration Group of United Nations Peacebuilding Commission in October 2010. The nine-page document frames the general scope of the peacebuilding operation in Liberia, determines the main priorities and regulates the course of the relationship between the main stakeholders of the operation, namely the UNPC and Liberia Government.

In this regard, Section II of the document frames the "Peacebuilding Priorities" in Liberia peacebuilding operation. Relying on the document, it is fair to argue that the peacebuilding intervention in Liberia does not only aim at keeping the warring factions away from conflict, but also intends to address to past ills of Liberia in order to cultivate an environment for consolidated peace. In this regard, the operation is conducted to create the conditions of stability in Liberia and the smooth transfer of security responsibility from UNMIL to Liberian government. The document categorized peacebuilding priorities in Liberia into three: (1) strengthening the rule of law in Liberia; (2) supporting the security sector reform; and (3) promoting national reconciliation in Liberia (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 2-6) ²⁵. The question, however, still remains: what is the normative center of these priorities? To develop an answer to this question, digging into the content of each agenda topic is necessary.

5.2.1.1. Strengthening the Rule of Law in Liberia

Over the last 50 years, Liberia has been known one of the world's weakest states due to the non-functioning judicial mechanisms, extremely high corruption level, failed state structure that even further destabilize the country. Transparency International (TI), an international NGO working with governments and publishing corruption index annually, did not even calculated the corruption score of Liberia in 2003, the year that the civil war ended. The biggest problem was noted as the fact that the

²⁵ http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=PBC/4/LBR/2 (Last access 15.05.2015).

country lacks functioning institutions that would charge those responsible for severe corruption. TI started to include Liberia in its dataset in 2005. The country ranked 137 out of 159 countries in 2005²⁶. Strengthening the rule of law to fight with highly corrupted structure in the country has been in the very center of the intervention agenda especially in post-civil war era. Since the corrupted order in Liberia was considered to be the major source of conflict in the country, strengthening the rule of law in Liberia has been considered as an integral part of security agenda. Though a considerable development have been provided since 2005, Liberia today still ranks 94 out of 175 countries in the corruption index of 2014, according to the Transparency International data.²⁷

SMC names the lack of rule of law in Liberia as one of the root causes of the conflict (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 2). Yet, addressing the rule of law in an intervention practice is debatable in terms of which sector of security it aims to refer. Strengthening the rule of law in a country obviously requires an organizational capacity. Therefore, building functioning judicial institutions can be understood as a state-building practice centering the state or state institutions in its operation agenda. On the other hand, the results aimed to derive with these practice produce a societal good which could be considered as a society-centric approach. The question of which referent object of security and peace is addressed when rule of law is taken as a peacebuilding priority still begs an answer. The content of the II.A. section of SMC may shed light to this question.

²⁶ Transparency International 2005 Corruption Index; Available at http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/cpi_2005/0/ (Last access 12.05.2015)

²⁷ Transparency International 2014 Corruption Index; Available at <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/infographic> (Last access 12.05.2015)

The document notes that "Advancing the rule of law in Liberia is fundamental to the country's peace consolidation efforts. Historically, parallel political, social and legal systems reflected the polarization of Liberians into settler and indigenous populations, creating conditions ripe for conflict and the means to perpetuate it." Given the statement above, it is fair to argue that addressing the rule of law in Liberia is planned as an act to produce societal results. However, it is also apparent that to address the societal dimension of the security, UNPC acknowledges that the state and several specific institutions of the state should be developed further in a manner to satisfy this need. In this regard, the document does not make a decisive distinction between the state security and societal security. It employs a holistic approach to security and five main areas of activity are noted as facilitators for strengthening the rule of law: legislative review; increased access to judicial processes; enhanced capacity of judicial institutions; effective oversight bodies and robust public information programs (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 2).

These five points can be distinguished into two. Three of these points, namely the emphasis on legislative review, enhanced capacity of judicial institutions and effective oversight bodies, aim directly at developing specific state institutions. The other two, namely the emphasis on the access to judicial processes and public information programs touches upon the societal dimension of the rule of law. Legislative reviews include series of reforms that would provide a renewed and efficient mechanism to legislative organs of Liberia. In this regard, the document underlines the need for establishment of specific parliamentary commissions that would work as bodies in charge of the reform processes. Law Reform Commission is predicted to organize and draft the reforms on the domestic laws of Liberia. Land Commission is envisaged to be a body that would take effective steps in land

disputes among the clans, which is considered to be one of the major source of conflict. Enhancing the capacity of judicial institutions can also considered to be an agenda point which aims at reinforcing a state institution. The document notes that "the judiciary remains in need of significant capacity development from a substantive as well as administrative perspective." According to the report of Peacebuilding Commission in May 2011, only a very small minority of the Liberian society had proper access to formal judicial mechanisms due to the very limited number of court houses and their almost non-existing capacity to distribute proper justice (Peacebuilding Commission Informal Meeting Report, 25 May 2011: 1)²⁸. Therefore, the SMC takes building efficiently working judicial institutions as a priority into its peacebuilding agenda. The document emphasizes the need for allocating a budget to establish new Regional Justice and Security Hubs. Besides, it envisages training programs for judiciary personnel. The emphasis on the justice system oversight mechanisms also underlines the need for establishing and reinforcing already existing relevant state mechanisms. Oversight mechanisms are considered to be means to deal with the problems of corruption and mismanagement.

The other two points under the rule of law section aims at producing societal outcomes from the steps taken to strengthen the rule of law. Increasing the access of ordinary citizens to judicial mechanisms is critical for Liberia where formal justice system is scarcely present. In Liberia, lack of efficient formal justice system causes a traditional problem, namely the mob justice, to trigger wider conflicts with the potential of destabilize the country. Mob justice is a traditional way of distributing "justice" especially in central and western African countries, most of the time through severely violent results including lynching even setting the victim on fire

²⁸ http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/cscs/lib/informal/chairs_sum_informal_csc_5_2011.pdf (Last Access: 10.05.2015)

alive (Baker 2007). Traditionally, the clans that are ascendant in a specific region assume the duty of self-policing and punish those who are accused of crime. In the past, mob justice was also used as a tool by powerful tribes against those in a weaker position, thus triggered tribal conflicts. Especially after the civil war, mob justice was used by ordinary people who were harmed by militias against former combatants. Very limited access of Liberians to formal justice mechanisms made mob justice the quickest way of distributing justice against those who had responsibility in the massacres during the civil war. As a result, several groups refused laying down the weapons as they felt insecure against ordinary citizens. United Nations reported that limited access to justice mechanisms reinforces the arguments of those standing for mob justice as a fair way of providing post-war justice, hence weakens the fragile peace environment (UN News Centre, 19 October 2006).²⁹ Therefore, taking steps to increase the access of Liberian citizens to judiciary mechanisms does not only mean building new judiciary facilities, but also supporting Liberian society to change their traditional habits regarding to justice related problems. Serving to this aim, UNPC initiated training programs especially from 2009 to 2013 for civilians about how to apply and take efficient results from formal judiciary mechanisms. Similarly, public information programmes intends to create a societal awareness about functioning justice mechanisms. All in all, increasing the access to justice aims at addressing the society as the major referent object of the operation agenda.

Considering the five points regarding to strengthening the rule of law in Liberia, it is safe to argue that the peacebuilding priority to strengthen the rule of law addresses both the state organs and the society itself. In this regard, such practices within the context of peacebuilding diverge from the theoretical literature which puts

²⁹ UN News Centre, available at:
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=20318&Cr=liberia&Cr1>

a clear distinction between the state security and human/societal security. The practice does not always construct the state and human/societal security mutually exclusive of one another. In practice, the state security may appear to be the prerequisite of providing a peace and security environment which is free from fear and physical violence.

5.2.1.2. Supporting the Security Sector Reform

The second major priority stated in the Statement of Mutual Commitment is reforming the structure of security sector in Liberia. Security sector reform is considered to be one of the most critical elements of new peacebuilding intervention agenda (Schnabel and Ehrhart 2006). The literature on peacebuilding has been arguing that reforming the security sector reform in post-conflict countries is an utmost necessity to demilitarize the political sphere in post-conflict countries (Lyons 2005: 19). In this respect, three outcomes are expected from security sector reform within the context of peacebuilding interventions. Firstly, post-conflict countries expectably suffer from an unorganized structure of security sector. In most of the cases, post-conflict countries' armies are basically irregular armed bands. Besides, former combatants claim to be a legitimate security actor in the future of the country destabilizes even further the security sector. Under these circumstances, post-conflict countries which have not undergone a successful security sector reform suffer from coup d'etats and recurrence of the violence. Secondly, reforming the security sector is also critical to for building a legitimate state authority in post-conflict countries. In most of the cases, post-conflict countries encounter with the typical syndrome of

"failed state" situation. Therefore, state legitimation appears to be an inherent element of peacebuilding agenda (Blair 2013). Through the regulations on the security sector, state is set as the only legitimate actor authorized for policing in the post-conflict countries. Finally and as related to the second point, reforming the security sector in post-conflict countries relieves the already existing security dilemma among former combatant groups. Therefore, it is considered to be correlated with the post-conflict reconciliation as well.

In Liberia peacebuilding operation, the awareness that reforming the security sector is a necessity for a consolidated peace environment shaped the SMC and made security sector reform one of the three major priorities of the intervention. In this respect, Section II.B of the statement is reserved for the steps to be taken in the field of security sector reform. Three major security institutions in Liberia are stated as Liberia National Police (LNP), Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization (BIN) and Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). According to the document, the public trust towards these three security organ is critically weak (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 4). In this respect, the document sets the reinforcing the credibility of these institutions as one of the main priorities of the peacebuilding intervention. Serving to this aim, the document underlines the necessity of enhancing the size of police and armed forces, initiating training programs for the security personnel and building regional collaboration programs between Liberia and other countries in the region, Guinea and Sierra Leone. For AFL, UNPC in collaboration with UNMIL and ECOWAS trained over 5000 recruits since 2010. Besides, LNP recruited new 2000 police and these personnel were trained by ECOWAS. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the peacebuilding practices have been attributing the security sector reform as one of the main agenda points of the operation.

Once again, it is necessary to ask the question of which ontological unit is addressed by setting the security sector reform as a peacebuilding priority. Security sector and the actors in it are state organs by nature. Once the security sector is target as an operational priority, the practice intrinsically aims at developing tools to deal with the problems of specific state organs. Besides, the outcome that is sought to be achieved by this practice is to consolidate an effectively functioning state with the capacity of acting as the only security provided with high degree of public trust. Therefore, security sector reform can be considered as a normative goal which mainly addresses state-related sector of the peace and security. At this point, once again it is possible to argue that assuming the peacebuilding operations as an intervention tool which puts an absolute distance between the state and human/society security is flawed. Peacebuilding practices mostly take place where legitimate state capacities collapsed. Therefore, it is not surprising to see peacebuilders putting efforts for re-building the state and state organs in the relevant cases.³⁰

5.2.1.3. National Reconciliation

The third pillar of the priorities of Liberia peacebuilding agenda framed in the SMC is promoting the national reconciliation in Liberia. Liberia have had suffered from a deep polarization among different segments of the society. The roots of the conflict

³⁰ Such an observation derived from the peacebuilding practices fall at odds with the argument that peacebuilding mainly aims at providing the human security, which have been suggested elsewhere in the peacebuilding literature (Conteh-Morgan 2005; Richmond 2005; Newman 2011). A broader discussion on this point is presented later in the Conclusion Chapter.

in Liberia have been discussed earlier. The tension between the Americo-Liberian minority and indigenous peoples of Liberia caused a deeply divided societal structure in Liberia, which triggered a severe civil war in early 1990s. As put earlier, peacebuilding represents a new form of intervention which aims at providing the circumstances of not only a sole ceasefire but also of long-lasting and consolidated peace. According to Francis (2000: 354), it is not the peace agreements that ends wars (especially civil wars) but the broad peacebuilding action plans which deals with the pre-war societal ills through thoroughly prepared national reconciliation priorities. In this regard, reconciliation at the societal level becomes a critical element of post-conflict peacebuilding agenda.

This understanding is also apparent in the peacebuilding operation in Liberia. The Section II.C. of the Statement of Mutual Commitment emphasizes the promoting the national reconciliation by the peacebuilding team in Liberia as the one of the main priorities of the intervention agenda (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 5-7). The document notes that the lack of social cohesion in Liberian society renders the Liberian peace fragile and makes the efforts to build national reconciliation of utmost importance.

"Civil conflict in Liberia is rooted in the historic rift between the American Liberians and the indigenous populations. Liberians currently view the issue from a multitude of angles: national identity; ethnic tensions; the divide between American Liberians and indigenous populations; and equal access to justice, Government services and economic opportunity. In large part, the incomplete reconciliation process and magnitude of potential disputes seems linked to the absence of capacities for conflict mediation, particularly alternative dispute resolution and mediation processes in the courts. Uncertainty on land rights, as noted above under the section on the rule of law, is a particularly contentious issue that is triggering isolated incidents of conflict and has been cited as having the potential to lead to widespread violence. Concerns also exist over disaffected youth as a potential threat to

peace and stability, particularly with the upcoming elections" (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 6-7.)

This statement also determines the general problems to be dealt with through the steps to promote reconciliation. In this respect, three main problems are addressed in the SMC as the problems to be focused within the reconciliation agenda.

Firstly, Liberia had long suffered from the disputes on the lands and land rights. The lack of agrarian reform in pre-1980 Liberia caused serious disputes especially between the indigenous Liberians and Americo-Liberians (Richards 2005: 572). Furthermore, the disputes on lands are considered to be one of the root causes specifically in Western African context. Using an econometric approach to civil wars, Collier (2000) suggests that it is not grievance but greed lying down as the main root cause of civil wars. Liberia is one of the key countries which this argument fits into. Before Doe's junta administration in 1980, indigenous peoples of Liberia had no right reclaim ownership for lands. Rather, they were working as sharecrop farmers in the farms owned by Americo-Liberian minority. Though Doe's administration ended this discriminatory practice, it did not bring with a new regime for people to claim property rights on the lands. Once the ban on land ownership for indigenous clans was abolished, the principle of "first come-first served" was practically the main determinant for the land ownership due to the lack of legal regulation for agrarian reform. This situation inevitably triggered violent disputes between different clans claiming ownership over the same piece of land. Though civil war later turned into a war of all against all, land protection was an important convincer for local tribes to provide support to different militias. Addressing to this problems, SMC underlined the importance of establishment of Land Commission to deal with the land disputes. In 2011, the main priority in the agenda of Land

Commission was to prepare the comprehensive law on agrarian reform. In this respect, the land reform in Liberia can be recorded as a success in terms of approaches that prioritize agrarian reform as an effective tool to build peace in post-conflict countries such as the approach developed by Richards and Bah (Richards and Bah 2005). According to this approach, the peacebuilding interventions should focus on the just distribution of lands to those who are harmed by the results of domestic conflicts in the Western African countries, which is mainly built upon an agrarian societal structure.

Secondly, SMC emphasizes that the lack of social cohesion and a strong national identity are problematic features which endangers the social stability in the country. There are two dimensions of the problems on the national identity in Liberia. Firstly, the gap between the Americo-Liberians and other indigenous peoples had been too deep to construct a common sense of identity between these two main groups. The perceptions of Americo-Liberians and indigenous people on being Liberian had differed so that while Americo-Liberians saw it as the guarantee of their civil rights, indigenous people mainly perceived it as being part of the structure built by Americo-Liberians by collaborating with them (Björns 2005: 88). This links us to the second dimension of the identity problems. Perceptions of indigenous peoples towards being Liberian sharpened ethnic affiliations in the context of Liberia. Being a member of specific clan or tribe was internalized as the main identity motivations among the indigenous groups. Therefore, SMC urged that the developing a common sense of being Liberian should be at the very heart of the peacebuilding intervention in Liberia.

Last but not least, reintegration of the ex-combatants to the rest of the Liberian society is underlined as an essential phase of national reconciliation in

Liberia. As touched upon earlier, Liberian civil war had escalated dramatically in a way to include very ordinary Liberians as the warriors eating the human parts of their enemies. Besides, child soldiers were included in different factions as actual combatants and they constituted the main human source for all warring factions including the Armed Forces of Liberia (Wessells 2006). Most of the time, these child soldiers were given drugs by local war lords and become addicted.³¹ The post-conflict Liberia expectably encountered the social problems emerging because of the hatred of those harmed by the combatants towards those who took an active part in the construction of the damage. Being aware of this situation, SMC attributes a critical importance on the reintegration of the ex-combatants to Liberian society. Establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is one of the major steps to serve to this aim. TRC was established as a state organ including the representatives of the parliament, civil society, Liberian diaspora and leaders of several local tribes in 2005. Though it remained mainly inactive throughout the first years of its establishment due to operational challenges and lack of qualified personnel (Young and Park 2009: 342), its work gain a momentum thanks to the support provided by UNPC towards the end of 2008. The main aim of the Commission was to detect those who are responsible for crimes against humanity during the war. At this point, it is important to note that it was nevertheless not possible and practice to deliver every single person who got involved in violence in Liberian civil war. Like the general path in many post-conflict contexts, legal regulations for general amnesty were considered to be an important phase of national reconciliation in Liberia. In this respect, a general amnesty without any condition for

³¹ The situation of child soldiers and how they remained as combatants just to access to drugs are elaborated comprehensively in the documentary movie, "The Cannibal Warlords of Liberia" prepared by VICE News in 2012. The documentary is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZRuSS0iiFyo>

child soldiers was passed in 2009. For adult warriors, a distinction was made between those who were forced to involve in violence and those who force others, namely the local war lords.

TRC's main duty was to provide data on this point, which is the detection of who have been responsible of the crimes against humanity. The overwhelming majority of the ex-combatants were considered in the former category. Still, the punishment for rather minor warlords was reasonable. In other words, the judiciary act against the warlords did not aim to isolate them; rather intended to integrate them back into the society. The programs for the cure and rehabilitation of the addicted children are still going on in Liberia, though they are considered to remain rather limited and have far to go. SMC also stated the need for more effective work by the Independent National Commission on Human Rights Act (INCHRA) which was founded in 2005 to provide support to TRC in remedying past atrocities during the war. The Commission was composed only of civilian segments of Liberian society such as independent Liberian human rights experts and civil society representatives. It was envisaged to be a monitoring organization for the work of TRC. However, the Commission became truly functional only in 2009 towards the end of the work of TRC (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 6).

Building on this review of SMC's section on the national reconciliation, it is possible to argue that the efforts to promote the national reconciliation center the society as its referent object. Unlike the traditional intervention practices, peacebuilding interventions include national reconciliation as one of the main normative priorities in its operational agenda. In this sense, what makes peacebuilding interventions diverged from the traditional intervention practices that appears within the context of international society is the fact that it allocates

considerable resource and provides logistics to society-centric normative goals in its intervention practices. Still, state-centric normative inclinations are also present in the peacebuilding intervention agenda. This is because the fact that most of the times it is the lack of a functional and neatly consolidated state structure that jeopardizes the societal and humanitarian security in deeply divided societies. Therefore, peacebuilding interventions inevitably develop an agenda on state-building and reconstructing the state legitimacy. This situation that appeared in the practice falls at odds with a specific wing of the theoretical literature on peacebuilding that represents peacebuilding interventions as a tool only aiming at the human security. A broader discussion of this contradiction between the practice and a wing of the literature may provide fruitful outcome for the reconsideration of the peacebuilding theory. This discussion is presented in 5.3. Next section lies the analysis of the UN and NGO documentation on Liberia peacebuilding operation relying on the dataset build through a content analysis.

5.2.1.4. Normative Priorities in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis

So far, I analyze the Statement of Mutual Commitment, which is considered to be the main course of action in the peacebuilding operation in Liberia, in order to understand which ontological units are in the center of this operation as the referent object of peace and security agenda. Yet, SMC is not the only source which includes the plans, actions and the main practices of the peacebuilding operation in Liberia.

Indeed, SMC, as a document published in 2010, is important for it represents the most recently updated form of the action plan for the Liberia peacebuilding intervention. Notwithstanding the peacebuilding intervention in Liberia started far back in 2003 when UNMIL was established to transform the classical observing mission by UNOMIL into an actual intervention. Therefore, archives of the UN and UNPC include important amount of documentation in which hints of the operational priorities of the intervention can be tracked. Furthermore, the UN is not the only source of documentation published on the Liberia intervention. Though more limited compared to UN documentation, there are also activity reports, field analysis and policy documentation produced by the civil society organization which actively take part in the peacebuilding network in Liberia. This section presents the results of the content analysis which is conducted on such documentations that are sampled according to the criteria summarized in the methodology chapter.

Content analysis is a method to examine and categorize the content of the verbal or printed data by using variables with the aim of making analytical inferences. Its aim is not only to derive quantitative results from the material, but also to analyze these results by combining them with the qualitatively obtained contextual information about the case in hand. In this regard, this part of the content analysis of which results are discussed below intends to analyze the peacebuilding documentations with reference to normative agenda attributions. The question that this analysis intends to answer asks what normative priorities are determined for peacebuilding intervention to Liberia. What are the major operational priorities? Which referent objects of peace and security are addressed more in the documentation? With the aim of shedding light to these questions, five referent object variables are coded in the texts: (1) State; (2) A State organ (police forces,

military, a ministry etc.); (3) Human being/individual; (4) Human society (Liberians or a specific group of society); (5) General peace and security references. Within this context, each references to specific action plans in the texts are coded according to the main unit that the action targets. In this regard, 18 different documents consisting of 114 pages are coded. As touched upon above, two sets of documents are included in the sample: (1) UN documentation including the chair's statements, formal meeting reports of UNPC, informal meeting reports of UNPC and instruments of engagement reports of UNSC and UNPC (progress reports on the SMC). (2) NGO documentation including the activity reports, bulletins and work plans published by the NGOs involved in the peacebuilding networks in the Liberia intervention. Compared to the UN documentation, the NGO documents that are appropriate for sampling are much more limited. In this regard, 12 different UN documents of 73 pages are included in the sample while 6 different texts of 41 pages produced by NGOs are the rest of the sample.

A total of 429 references to different normative priorities are coded in the whole sample. 86 of these references are coded in the texts sampled as NGO documents while 343 references are detected in the UN documents. Figure 1 shows the distribution of coded reference according to the UN and NGO documents. According to these results, 80% of the coded references are detected in the UN sample, while only 20% of the references are coded in the NGO sample. Such a distribution demonstrates that the main source for the tracking the action plans in Liberia peacebuilding intervention are provided by the UN and UNPC. The operational priorities referenced in the NGO documents are rather vaguely defined or remain basically as policy advises.

Distribution of Coded References According to Sample Type

■ References in the UN Documents ■ References in the NGO Documents

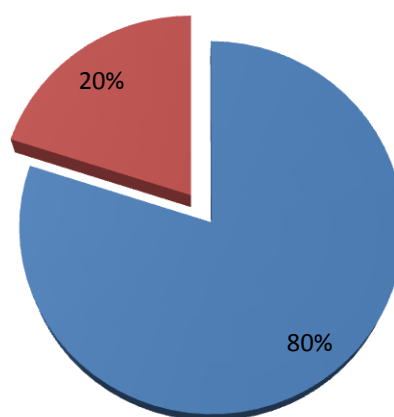


Figure 1: Distribution of Coded References According to Sample Type

The critical question is how these references distributed according to five different referent objects are stated above and earlier in the Methodology chapter. The results show that human society, coded as R4, as a referent object of peace and security agenda is the most frequently addressed ontological unit in the peacebuilding documents. Figure 1 shows the distribution of 429 references to different referent objects. 201 out of 429 references are coded in 18 documents including both the UN and NGO texts. Second-most frequently addressed unit is the specific state organ, which is coded as R2 in the texts. 89 references are coded as direct reference to a specific state organ such as a ministry or police forces. Most of these references appear as statements which emphasize the projects to enforce the

police forces, training of the security personnel or even building new ministries. The results showing that R2 being the second-most frequently addressed variable in the texts supports the argument that the peacebuilding should not be considered as a framework which takes state and societal sectors of security as mutually exclusive. Rather, as argued in another wing of the literature, it demonstrates that an important part of peacebuilding is state-building and state legitimation.

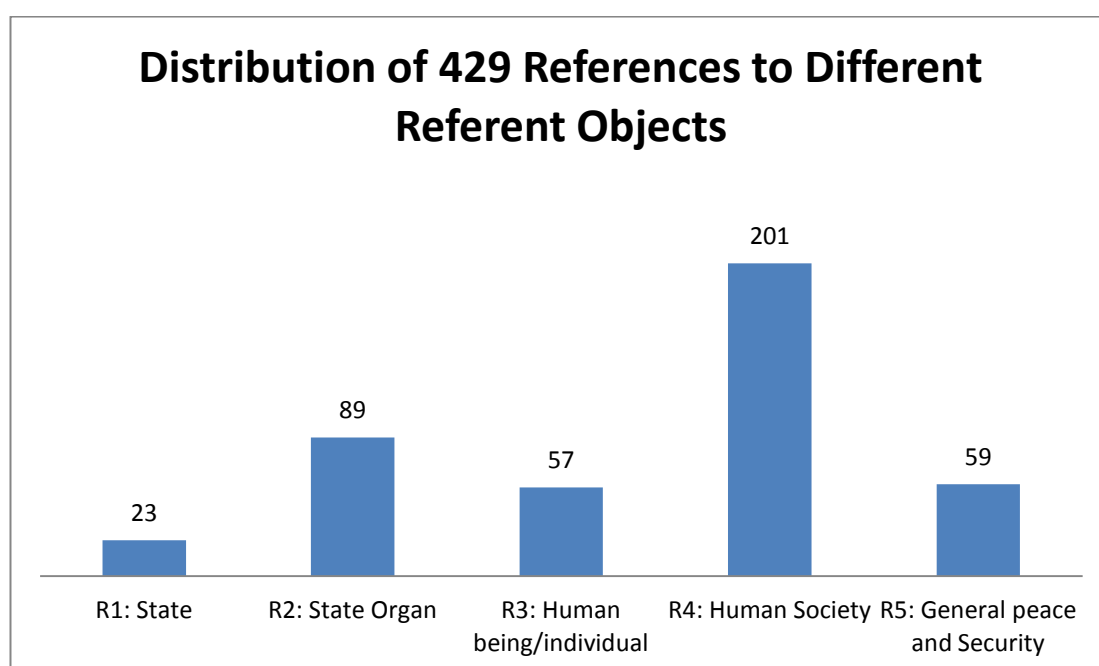


Figure 2: Distribution of 429 References to Different Referent Objects

General peace and security references come in third according to the results of the content analysis. 59 references in the texts are coded as R5. Most of the coding for this variable appears as the references stating an action plan which does not specifically targets a unit, rather mentioned as projects contributing the general peace and security environment in Liberia. In other words, the statements on the actions and normative priorities without addressing a specific referent object are coded as general peace and security variable, namely R5.

Human/individual security, which is coded as R3, comes in fourth in the order. 57 statements are coded as addressing the human/individual sector of the peace and security. This situation is controversial once the arguments in the peacebuilding and intervention literature are revisited. As discussed earlier, peacebuilding is correlated directly with human security in the literature. The novelty brought by peacebuilding is argued to be the fact that it puts the human security forward as a major priority. The results show, however, that the practice is not exactly consistent with this argument for the case of Liberia peacebuilding intervention. The main reason for that is that the practitioners of peacebuilding do not distinguish really between the societal and human/individual security. The texts of the Liberia intervention are overwhelmingly dominated by the emphasis on the normative priorities on peace and security items that address the society as the center referent object. This is because the societal peace and security is seen as a tool remedying the problems endangering the human/individual security in deeply divided post-conflict countries. This is at odds with the theoretical argument which argues that societal security does not equate to human security, even sometimes may endanger it (Caprioli 2004). This argument is inspired mainly from the western practices which rely on a strong tradition of liberal individualism. In such cases, the sociological structure of a society is constructed in a manner that political steps to secure societal cohesion may sacrifice the individual liberties. Yet, the structures of the post-conflict societies are defined most of the times as deeply divided. Therefore, building a social cohesion and functioning state mechanisms appear as the prerequisite of construction of the "individual."

Finally, the state is the least-frequently coded referent object in the sample. 23 references are coded as addressing the state security, which basically means

military and national dimensions of peace and security. In other words, only 5% of the references to normative priorities stated in the sample address directly the state as the center referent object of the peace and security agenda. These references mainly state the agenda items on the border security in Liberia, the need for governmental stability and the need for a stronger military in order to construct a perception of a strengthened state against the potential recurrence of the violence.

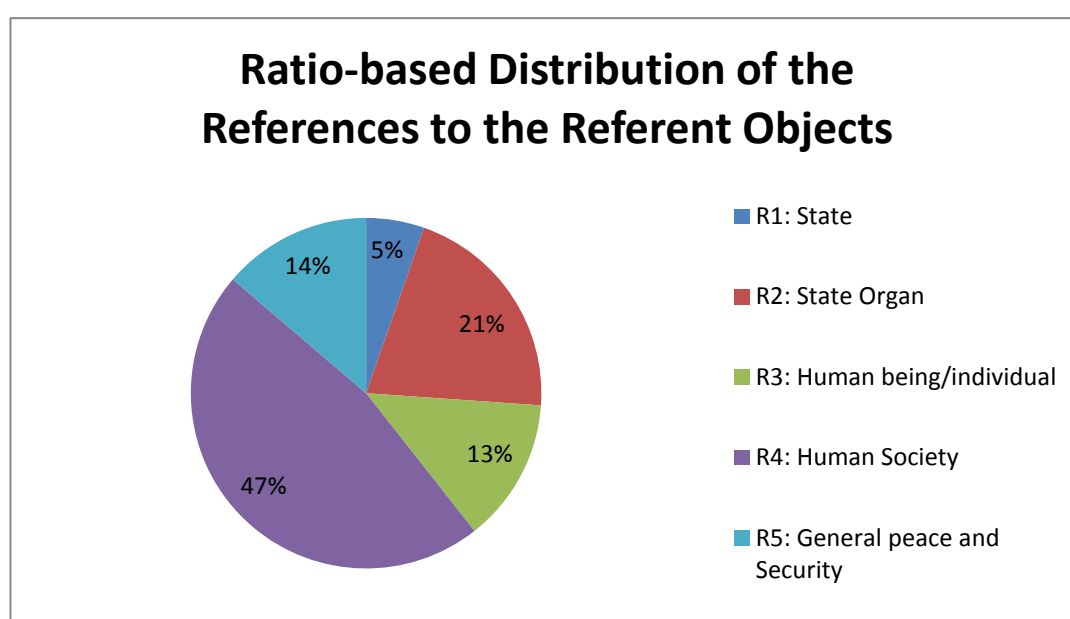


Figure 3: Ratio-based Distribution of the References to the Referent Objects

During the coding process, I have realized that it is both necessary and useful to distinguish the references to normative agenda items according to what extent they are accomplished. The texts mention many normative agenda items which turned into actual projects that were already achieved and finalized, while the projects that are targeted to initiate can also be coded as references to normative agenda items. It is also necessary to distinguish between such references to find out how much of the normative agenda emphasis turn into real practice and accomplished within the context of the intervention. Therefore, each variable were coded under three

categories: achieved, targeted and ongoing. In this respect, each variable are categorized as Ad, Td and Og, symbolizing achieved, targeted and ongoing.

In this context, the results show that most of the reference to normative items on the agenda mentions targeted aims to be achieved as the outcome of the intervention. References to achieved normative goals come second in the order. Finally, the references to ongoing projects are least-frequently mentioned category. In other words, the documents on the Liberia intervention mentions most dominantly what is needed to be done, while what is already done comes second and the analysis and advises on the what is currently being done is mentioned least-frequently.

When we take each referent object separately, interesting results are reported below. In the category of state security and peace (R1), 14 of the 23 R1 references are coded as R1-Td.

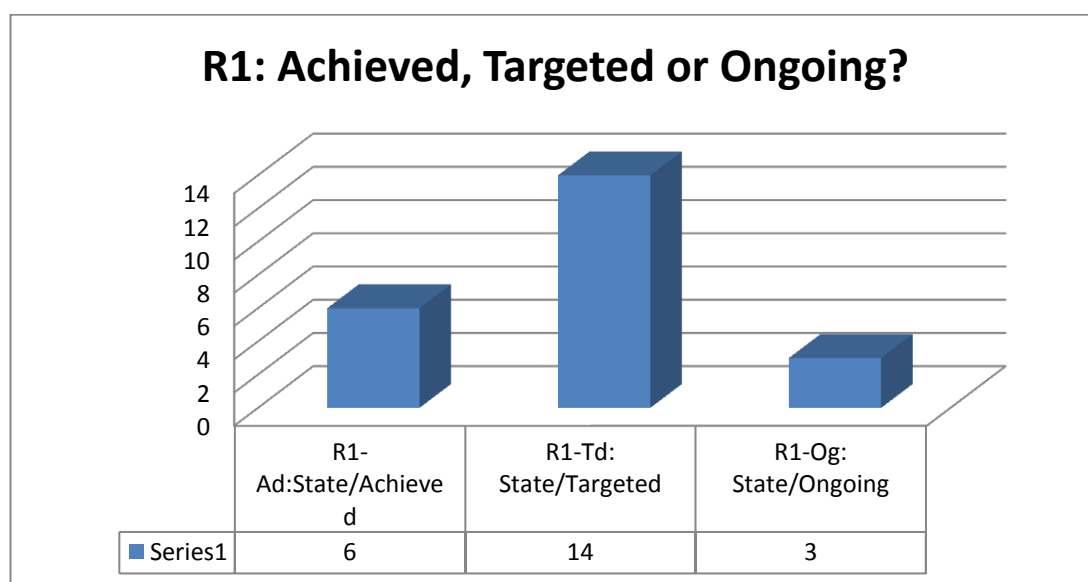


Figure 4: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

In other words, 61% of the references to state security mention the normative aims in this field as targeted priorities, while 26% is emphasized as already accomplished goals on the state security and peace.

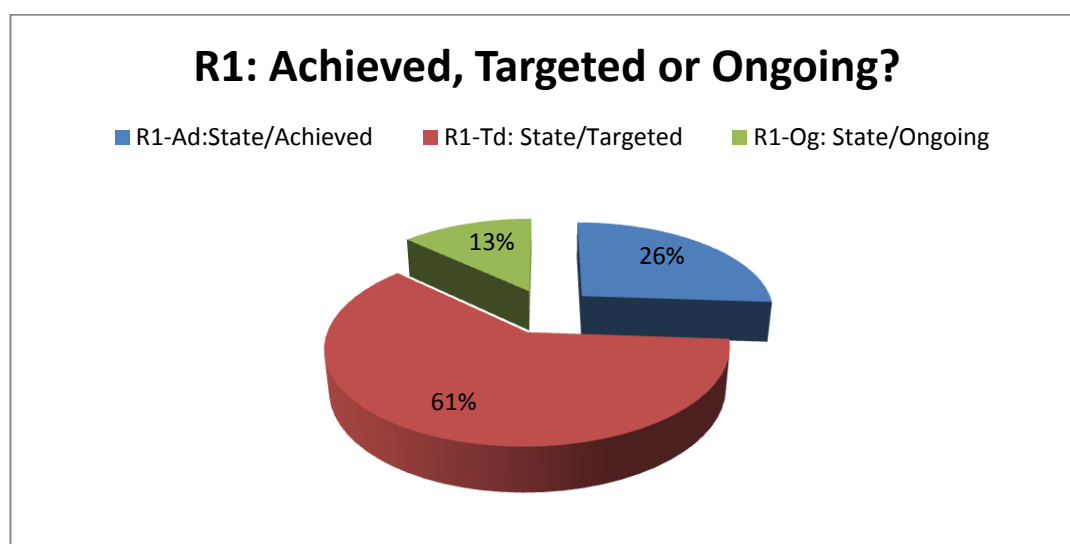


Figure 5: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

The references to peace and security agenda prioritizing a specific state organ (R2) give different results compared to the other variables. According to results, though most of the references are coded as R2-Td, the difference between achieved and targeted references is much less. 42 (48%) references out of 87 coding of R2 are coded as targeted normative goals while 35 (40%) of them are recorded as achieved goals.

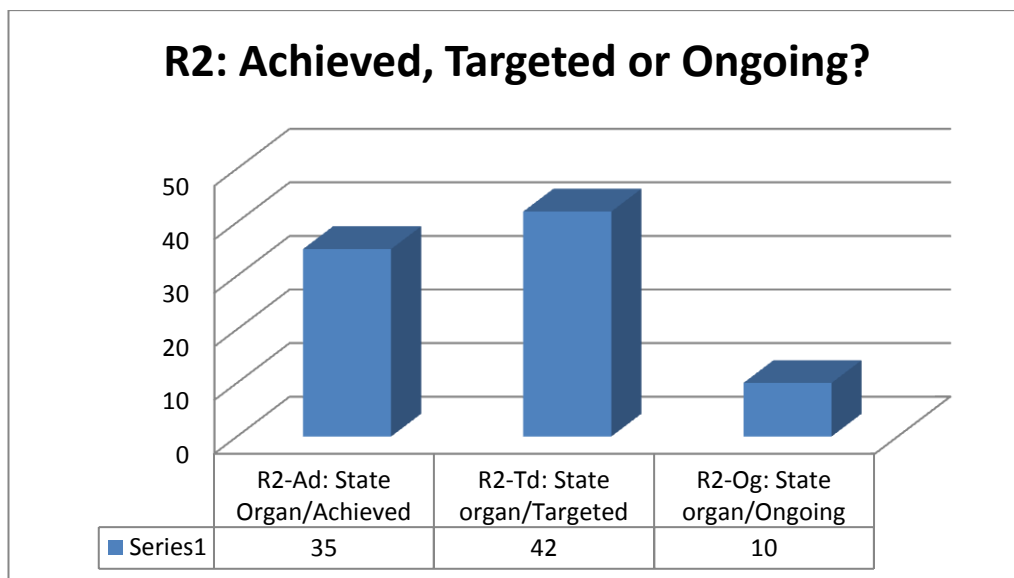


Figure 6: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

This is most probably because of the fact that Liberia peacebuilding is considered to be a success story in the field of state-building practices. As stated earlier, the texts mention the projects that aim to build functioning state organs such as police forces and judiciary mechanisms.

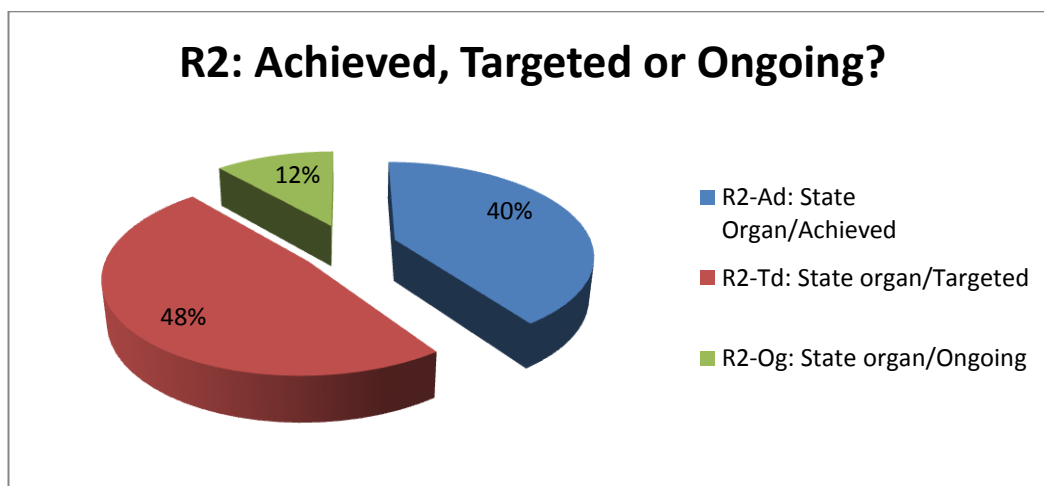


Figure 7: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

Categorization of the references to peace and security agenda centering the human/individual as the main referent objects (R3) gives similar results. Figure 8 and

Figure 9 illustrate these results. 29 out of 57 references are coded as R3-Td, while remaining 28 references are distributed equally (14-14) to achieved and ongoing normative agenda items.

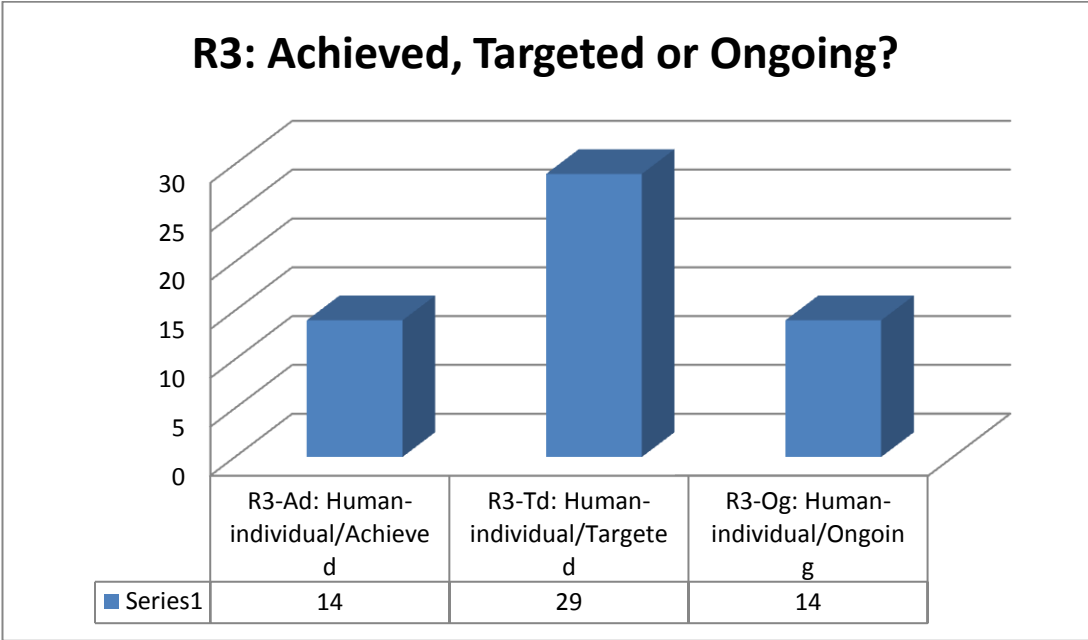


Figure 8: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

In other words, 51% of the references mention targeted goals while references to accomplished/ completed and ongoing normative items in the field of human/individual peace and security are both 24,5% each.

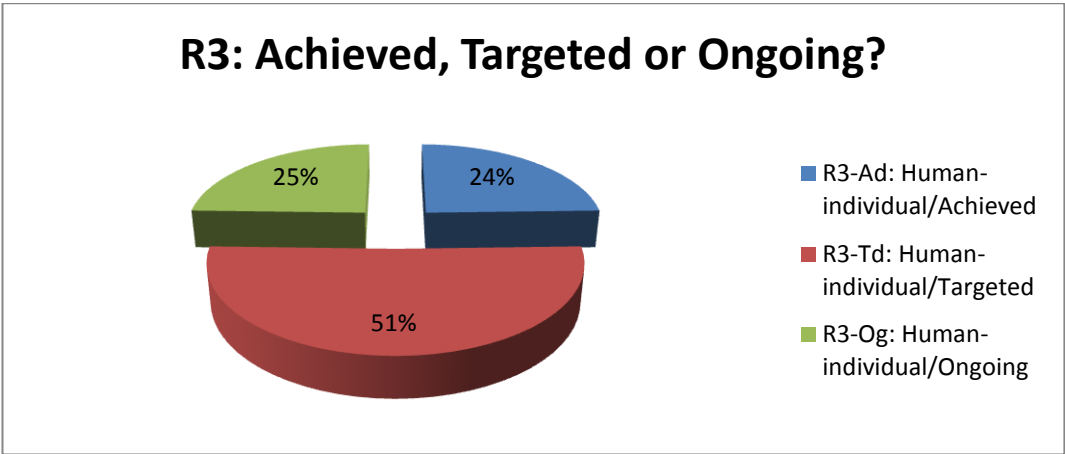


Figure 9: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

A similar picture comes out of the results for R4, namely the societal sector of peace and security. A total of 201 statements are coded as normative priority references that prioritize societal sector. 107 of these references are coded as targeted plans which are predicted to be realized in the following process. 51, on the other hand, are coded as already accomplished tasks that formed the normative priorities of the operation.

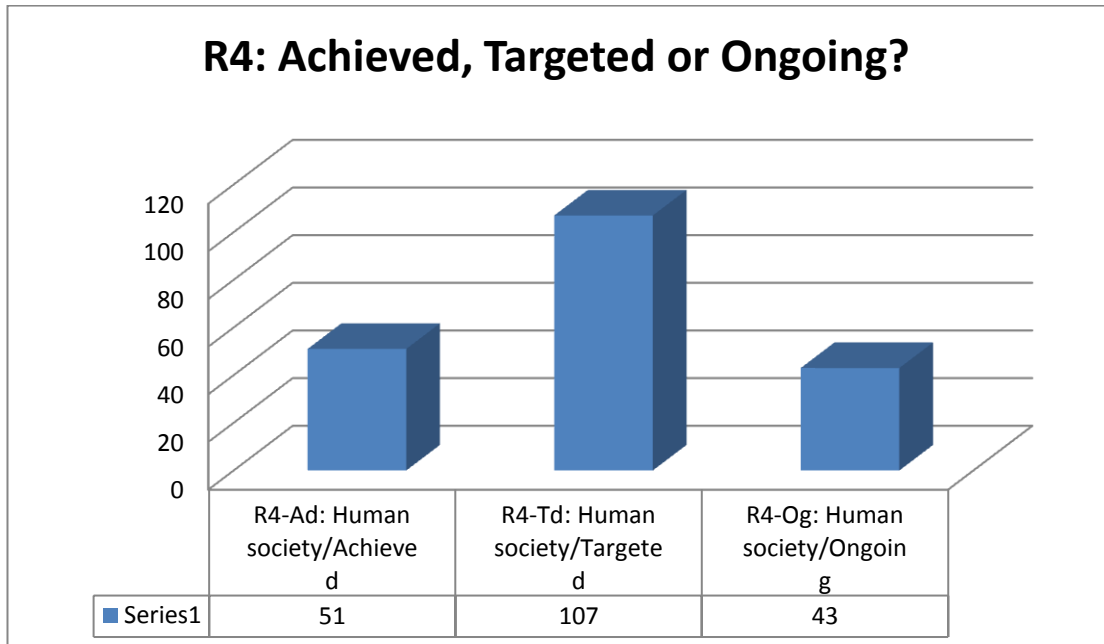


Figure 10: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

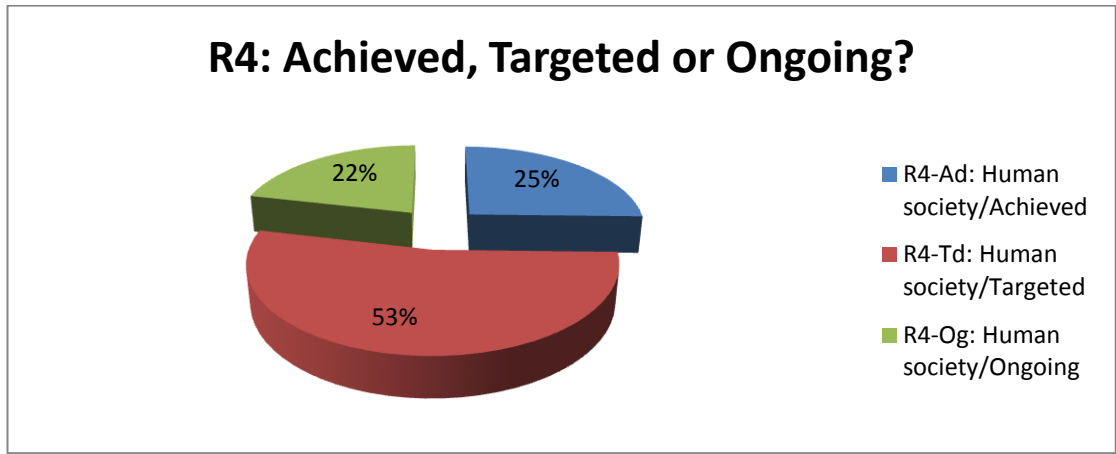


Figure 11: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

43 statements are coded as references to normative priorities that turned into actual practices and continuing to be operated. According to these results, 53% of the references to societal sector of peace and security mentions long term plans, while 25% emphasize already achieved projects. Remaining 22% touches upon the continuing practices.

Finally, the results for general peace and security references show that most of the emphasis on this sector focus on the targeted plans. 28 out of 61 references to R5 are coded as R5-Td. 13 references, on the other hand, are coded as already accomplished tasks, which was codified as R5-Ad. Unlike the results of other referent objects, references to ongoing projects exceed the number of references to accomplished tasks. 20 references are coded as R5-Og.

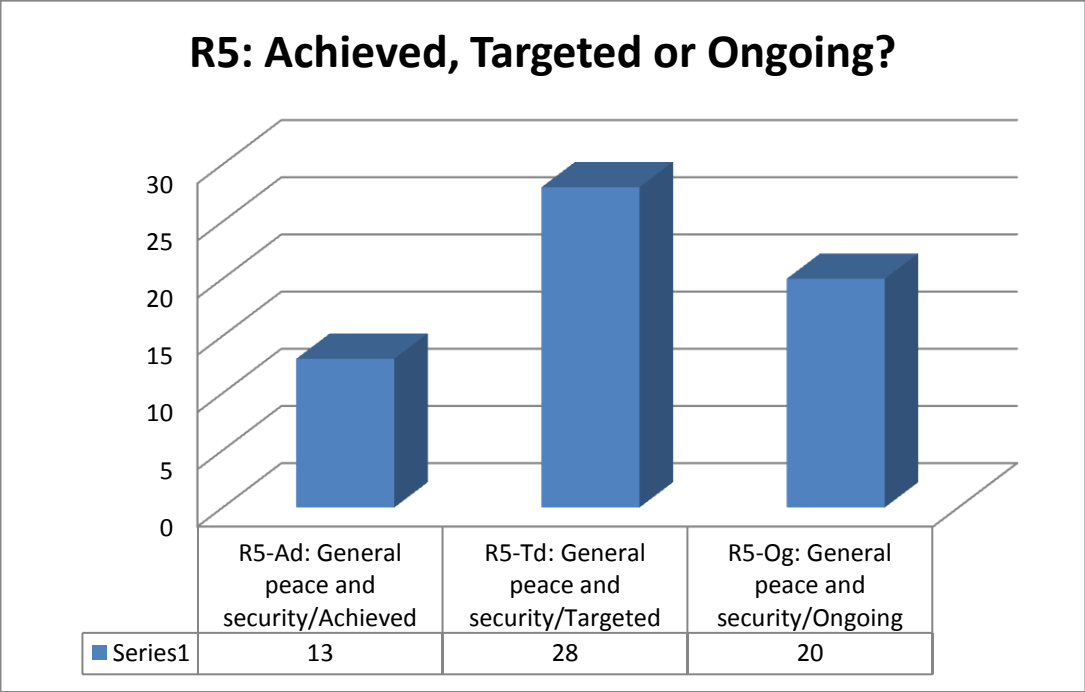


Figure 12: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

The results for general peace and security references present the picture below. While references to targeted priorities constitute 46%, accomplished tasks holds 21% of the coded references. Normative priorities that turned into ongoing practices constitute 33% of the coded R5 references.

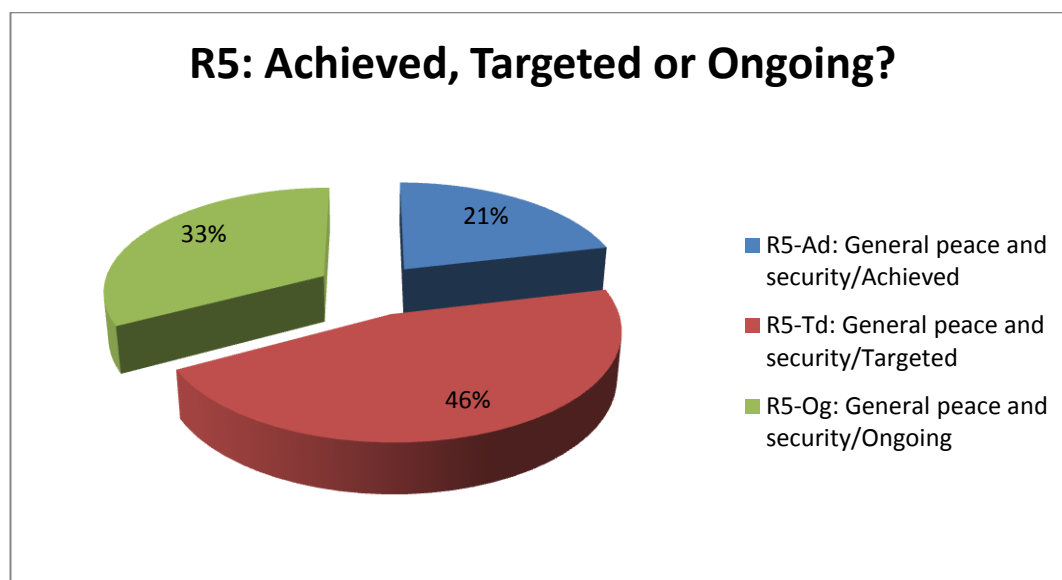


Figure 13: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

As stated above, the sample used in this analysis consists of both UN and NGO documentation. Due to the limited amount of texts produced by non-state agents of peacebuilding which meet the sample selection criteria, bigger proportion of the sample comes from the UN documentation. Considering this situation, plotting the results of the analysis on the UN documents and NGO documents separately may helps how the approaches of the UN and non-state peacebuilding actors diverge and converge with reference to normative agenda priorities. Figure 14 and Figure 16 show the results when the results derived from the UN and NGO documents are plotted separately.

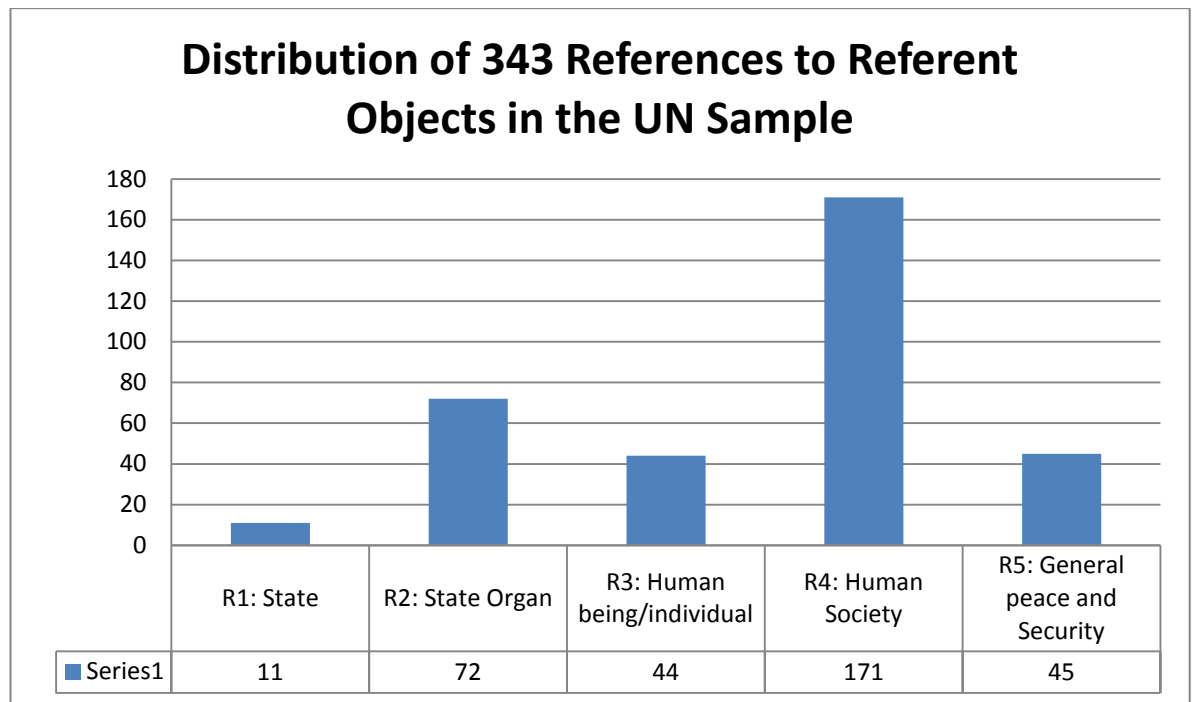


Figure 14: Distribution of 343 References to Referent Objects in the UN Sample

When the sample is composed only of UN documents 343 references are coded. 171 of these 343 references are coded as R4, the societal referent objects of peace and security. In other words, as similar to the results from the general sample, 50% of the normative agenda references address to the society as the center of the peace and security practices. R2, which symbolizes specific state organs come in the second place in these results with 72 references which means 21%. R5 and R3, which the former means general peace and security and the latter means human/individual, come in third and fourth in the row. R5 is coded 45 times, while 44 references coded as R3 in the UN documents. Finally, the state is the least-frequently coded variable in the UN documents with 11 references consisting only 3% of the whole references.

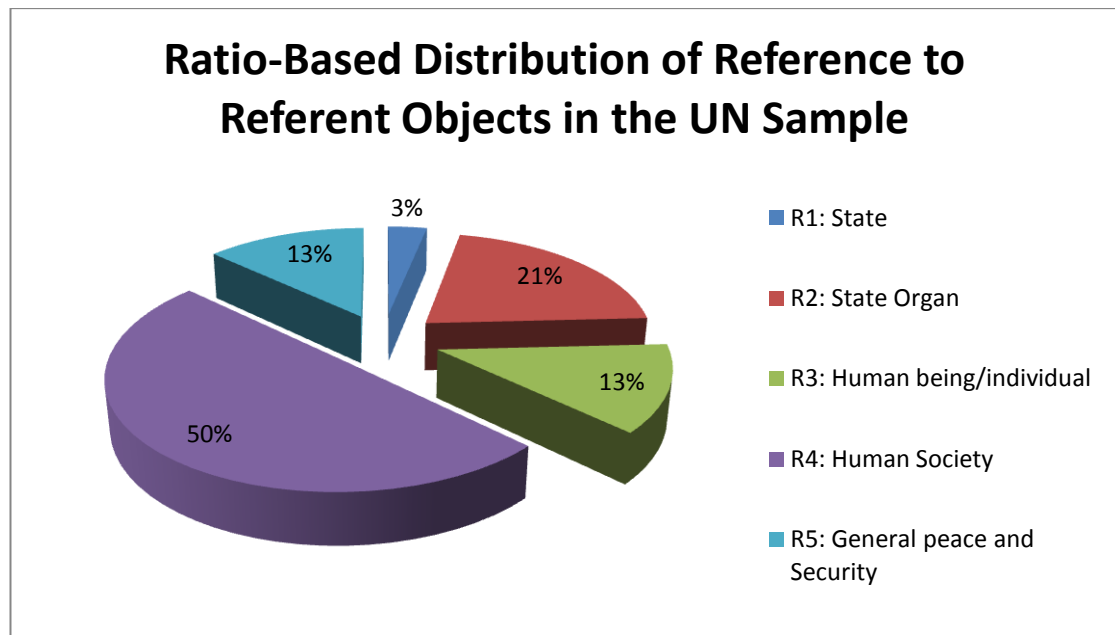


Figure 15: Ratio-Based Distribution of Reference to Referent Objects in the UN Sample

When the sample is consisted only of the NGO documents, the results do not change drastically as the rank order among the variables does not change. Yet, an interesting feature of the results is the fact that the ratio of less frequently coded variables increase while the most-frequently coded variable holds a lesser percentage compared to the results derived from the UN sample. In this regard, as seen in general results and UN sample, R4, namely the societal referent objects appears as the most frequent variable with 30 out of 86 references. In other words, societal referent objects are addressed in the 35% of the coded references to normative agenda items. R2, namely the specific state organs follows next in the order with 17 references which is 20% of the whole coded references. This result is interesting when it is considered that the coded material is produced solely by the non-state actors of the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia. This shows that the idea that construction of functioning state mechanisms is a necessity to build the circumstances of a peaceful social environment is not only the approach of state

agents, rather it is shared by non-state stakeholders of the peacebuilding intervention. Most of the references to R2 emphasize the projects developed by civil society actors to train the police forces on the issues of human rights, rule of law, accountability and proportionate responses to crime. Besides, the statements which underlines the need for a more intense focus on the enhancing the capacity of judiciary and police also holds an important place in these references.

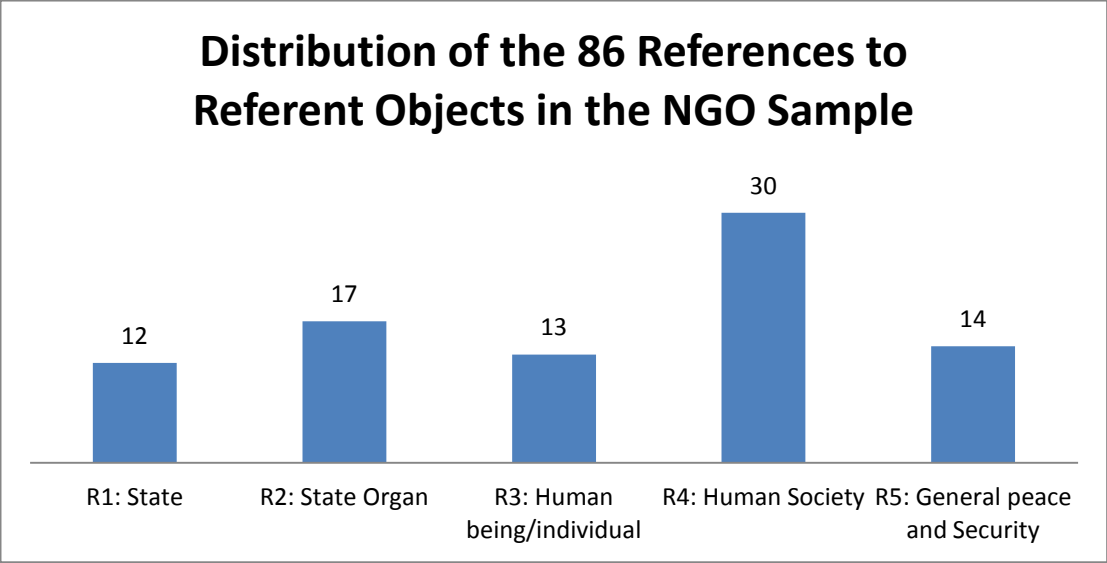


Figure 16: Distribution of the 86 References to Referent Objects in the NGO Sample

R5-general peace and security references, R3-human/individual peace and security references and R1-state security follow in the row in that order. R5 is coded 14 times while R3 is coded 13 and R1 is coded in 12 different references. According to these results, general peace and security references consist 16%, human/individual peace and security references hold 15% and state security consist 14% of the references to normative priorities in NGO samples.

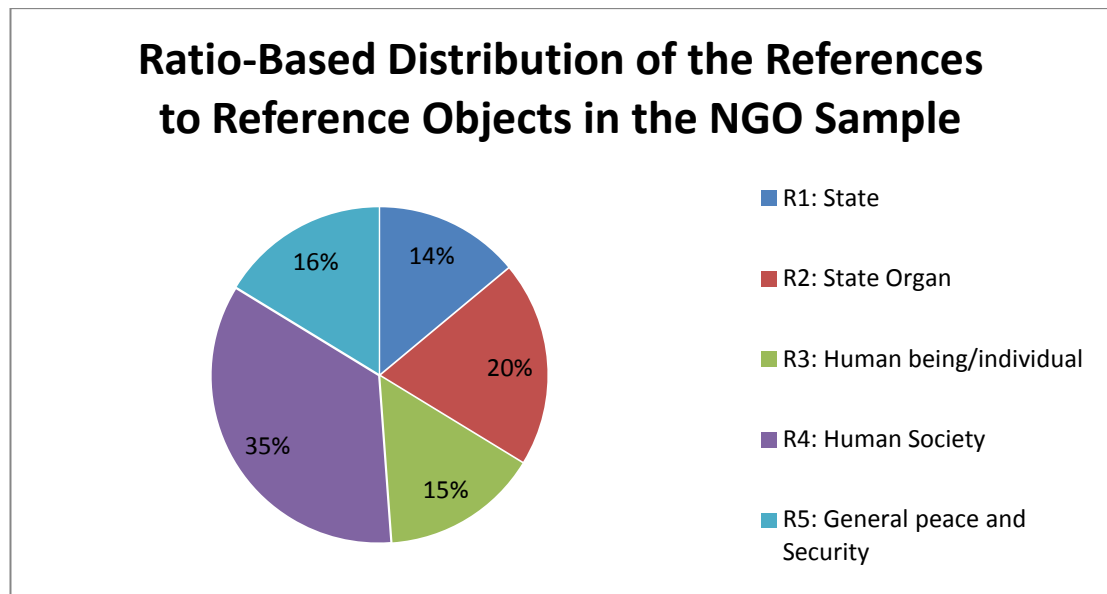


Figure 17: Ratio-Based Distribution of the References to Reference Objects in the NGO Sample

All in all, it is understood that peacebuilding is not an intervention that solely deals with human and societal dimensions of peace and security but also, as argued by Evans, “at the heart of the notion of peacebuilding is the idea of meeting needs: for security and order, for a reasonable standard of living, and for recognition of identity and worth” (Evans 1993: 39). The results of the content analysis also supports the view that state security and political order established through building functioning state organs are essential for peacebuilding. In this respect, without overlooking the fact that societal peace and security is still the most frequently addressed referent object in normative agenda of the intervention, it is necessary to note that the security of the state and healthy construction of state authority holds also an important place in the normative agenda of the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia.

5.2.2. Agency

Earlier in the Chapter 3, I proposed that the progress from the international society to world society can be observed by analyzing the evolution of the agency with other two parameters. Correspondingly, it was argued that unlike in the international society framework, in the world society framework, the political practices are performed not only by states and organizations formed by states but also non-state agents such as NGOs and transnational networks are enabled to perform a certain degree of political agency. In this respect, the peacebuilding interventions are suggested to be one of the primary international political actions in which such an evolution in the agency can be observed. In other words, it is likely that peacebuilding interventions are not only operated by states but also NGOs and other non-state agents may take an active part.

Peacebuilding intervention in Liberian civil war sets a good example for the abovementioned prediction about the agency. The intervention was initiated as a traditional peacekeeping mission operated mainly by UNMIL in collaboration with a regional organization ECOWAS. As of 2001, the mentality of the intervention started to evolve into a broader framework by transcending the limits of traditional peacekeeping missions and turned into a peacebuilding intervention (Hazen 2007: 329), though it took some time for all international actors to accept this new approach (Department of Peacekeeping Operations 2004: 13). Once the mission in Liberia was adopted as a peacebuilding mission, the state's and international actors' monopoly on the practice of agency in the intervention started to be shared, sometimes challenged and sometimes completed by non-state actors such as regional and local NGOs. The diversification of the actors taking part in the intervention is a

fact that is consistent with the argument built in the recently developing literature on peacebuilding (Richmond 2004; Goetschel and Hagmann 2009). The literature has been developing the argument that the non-state actors take over a significant degree of agency from the state actors in peacebuilding interventions. This part of the dissertation examines whether the case of Liberia had developed in accordance with this argument.

Who practices agency in the operation of the peacebuilding intervention in Liberia is a question that can be answered from various perspectives. Given the intervention was initiated first by a regional organization, namely ECOWAS, and taken over later by the UNOMIL, it is apparent that international organizations hold a significant degree of agency in the operation. On the other hand, the government that was established in the post-conflict context and supported by international actors have been an important stakeholder of the agency in the peacebuilding efforts. The role of the local, regional and transnational NGOs should also not be overlooked as the peacebuilding practices in Liberia meets new trends emphasized in the peacebuilding's theoretical literature. The critical question, however, is whether this diversification in the agents of the intervention is meaningful enough to represent support to the argument built in the literature.

This section examines the agents of the peacebuilding intervention in Liberia. Which actors take part in the general course of the peacebuilding operation? Which roles do they take over? Is the NGO agency in peacebuilding intervention a myth or real practice? Answers to these questions are presented by looking at the practices. Besides, results from the content analysis are reported and a comprehensive discussion on the results shed light to these questions. In what follows, Statement of

Mutual Commitment is revisited as it appears to be the main source in which task sharing among various actors are regulated.

5.2.2.1. Agents in the Statement of Mutual Commitment

Once again, the SMC is the main source that frames the relationship between the two major actors of the Liberia intervention, namely the Peacebuilding Commission (UNPC) and the Liberian Government. After stating the major priorities in the agenda of the intervention, the document continues with the determination of the commitments by Liberian Government and the UNPC. Section III of the document is where the actors and their primary roles in the intervention are regulated. According to the Article 29 of the SMC, the document is prepared as a contract which is binding for two parties. Though the Article 29 states that both parties undertake to strengthen the partnership in support of the peacebuilding intervention, it also remarks that the primary responsibility for peace consolidation and development rests with the Liberian Government and people of Liberia (Statement of Mutual Commitment 2010: 7).

In this regard, the document shares the peace task between the government and UNPC. Section III.A divides the main tasks of the government into three. Firstly, the document records the commitment of government to the idea of strengthening the rule of law. As summarized in the normative agenda section, a functioning system structured under the rule of law is seen as a prerequisite of the consolidated peace in

Liberia. The SMC notes that the major agent that is supposed to act toward this priority is the government. Towards this aim, the government initiates the Law Reform Committee, allocates more budget for enhancing the capacity of the judiciary and police forces. The responsibility of deployment of the police forces in conflicted regions is also assigned to the government.

Second field of agency that is assigned to the Liberian government is the reformations on the security sector. The major activity that is expected from the government is to prepare the law on the National Security Reform and the law on Intelligence Act. By implementing the enforcement of new National Security Reform, which was enacted as a law later in 2011 (Vinck, Pham and Kreutzer 2011: 52), non-functioning state organs in the security sector was planned to be rendered functional and their role in the security sector *vis-a-vis* international actors were planned to be increased. Besides, the document also recorded the commitment of the government to establishing independent oversight mechanisms which in the long run would open a space for civilian agency in the making of politics. Finally, the government's agency in the accomplishment of the targets on security sector reform is also considered as a means to contribute to the regional security conditions in West Africa by providing a legitimate actor to the regional organization, namely ECOWAS, in Liberia. Therefore, SMC stated that the government is expected to "continue engagement in regional initiatives pursued by ECOWAS."

Finally, though it is much more limited, the government is attributed a certain degree of agency in the national reconciliation process. As discussed in the normative agenda section, the national reconciliation is considered to be part of societal sector of peace and security and related to that societal actors outside the state sphere are considered to be the major agents in the accomplishment of these

agenda items. Still, according to SMC, the government is also rendered responsible to "increase the holding of inclusive dialogue over national reconciliation, including on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report and land issues; generate the political will necessary for the Independent National Commission for Human Rights to fulfill its mandate; Explore the creation of a pilot national youth service initiative" (Statement of Mutual Commitments 2010: 8). According to this, it is possible to argue that non-state agency in the consolidation of peace is not a self-emerging phenomenon. Rather, it is considered that state should be the progenitor for opening up a space to other agents to take active role in the post-conflict peace process. This situation challenges the assumption emphasized in the literature, which takes the state agency and non-state agency in peacebuilding as inversely correlated. In other words, the assumption in a wing of the literature is that the more the agency is possessed by the state, the less agency is practiced by the non-state actors in peacebuilding. However, the observation on the practice demonstrates that the state should act as a facilitator for non-state actors to be active in the field in post-conflict societies.

The agency of the state in these three fields is not an unshared and unchallenged phenomenon. Though the state is attributed and, in fact, practicing the main duties, other actors outside the state sphere are also contributing to these acts. Besides, the activities and practices of the states are not always contributing positively to the general peace environment, rather sometimes negatively affect it and further trigger the tension. Therefore, the roles played by the non-state actors in the operations should also be regarded as part of the general account on the agency. However, as stated above, SMC is a document in which the relationship between the

Liberian Government and UNPC is organized. In this sense, the role of other actors can be traced in the literature as well.

5.2.2.2. Other Agents of Liberia Peacebuilding Intervention

As discussed above, the Statement of Mutual Commitment organizes the relationship and the responsibility sharing between the two major actors of Liberia peace process. However, the intervention is contributed by many other actors which remain outside of state or international actor sphere. In the post-conflict intervention process, Liberian society is considered to be one of the active agents that took a role in the peace process. Besides, Liberia intervention appears to be one of the unique experiences in which NGOs took so active role that they became a genuine stakeholder of the intervention.

Questioning the role of the society in the intervention is a legitimate concern for those who take the society as the object instead of the subject of the intervention. In the traditional peacekeeping, the intervention is perceived as a tool to bring a certain degree of stability to the country in conflict. In this mentality, the society of the intervened country is seen as one of the sources of conflict. Therefore, the interveners do not only keep the fragile peace but also controls the society as an object that is potentially inclined to create problems (Richmond 2012: 356). In this context, the intervention and the post-conflict peace processes rely mainly on already prepared blueprints in which international actors and the local government are set as

the only distributors of the peace. With the rise of new peacebuilding framework, the concept of local ownership entered into the agenda of peace interventions.

Local ownership entered into the agenda of peacebuilding in early 2000s especially with the peacebuilding intervention to all six states in which the UNPC's mission is present (Mac Ginty and Richmond 2013: 774). The emphasis on the "local" aimed at inclusion of the societal actors as the subject of the peace process rather than reducing them into a simple object that needs to be healed by those who intervene. In this respect, it is possible to suggest that the local turn in peacebuilding is an outcome of newly rising approaches to peacebuilding which criticize it as a project in which the intervener positions itself hierarchically superior to the intervened and enjoys the monopoly over the determination of the limits of targeted peace. In Mac Ginty and Richmond's words :

"The 'local turn' is connected to the critical approach to peace and conflict studies and has been heavily influenced by critical and post-structural theory, postcolonial scholarship and practice, interdisciplinarity, as well as a range of alternative ethnographic, sociological and action-related methodologies. Scholars and practitioners from the global South have played a particularly important role in the emergence of the local turn, as well as involving a broader range of states in international peace building." (2013: 763).

In this context, the local ownership was initiated as a tool to integrate the public into peacebuilding network and enable people to be actively participating into formal processes. SMC also notes the importance of integrating non-state actors and the Liberian society into peace process by enhancing the awareness on the local ownership. Building on this, the Liberian society can be considered as one of the agents in the peacebuilding intervention. However, it is also critical to note that it is not a monolithic and solid actor. Rather, different parts of the Liberian society have been practicing varying degrees of agency in Liberia peacebuilding operation.

Most visible part of the Liberian society in the peacebuilding process was the women. Liberia is known as a unique case in which women took an active part in the ceasefire process and have been continuing to be active in the monitoring of the peace process. The civil war in Liberia interestingly created a political sphere for women to have a word in the country's political matters. Most research on the women's status during civil wars focus on the women's losses and how they turn into sitting targets for warring factions. This, indeed, had been the situation in Liberia civil war as well. Women suffered long from sexual assault and severe poverty during Liberian civil war. However, the initiative taken by women groups in Liberia rendered them an actor of the peace process both during and after the civil war. The civil war forced the women in Liberia to take on the roles traditionally played by men including political roles. Within the context of the civil war, the men were already too busy with fighting while women filled the vacuum in political sphere (Fuest 2008: 211). During the peace talks, the organizations initiated by Liberian women organized grandiose demonstrations in Monrovia which invited parties to unconditional ceasefire. Later, the women initiated Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) as an NGO which is established as a women organization, of which role is discussed below.

Another turn for the women agency in the post-conflict context in Liberia was the election of Johnson-Sirleaf as the president in 2005. "Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and her political victory signaled to many the emergence of a long sought-after institutionalization of female leadership and voice. As an African woman who successfully sought inclusion into the 'official' peacebuilding narrative, Johnson-Sirleaf's electoral success communicated the possibility of female engagement

beyond victimization and sexualized militancy." (Pollock 2007: 2). Today, women are still actively engaged in the monitoring of the peace process in Liberia.

Local religious leaders in Liberia were another segment of the society which were integrated to peace process by implementing the local ownership policies. As summarized earlier, the overwhelming majority of Liberian society are affiliated with protestant-evangelical Christianity. In this regard, messianic tendencies which emphasize genuine universal peace within the context of Christian brotherhood play an important role in the Liberian religious discourse. The international actors which intervened in Liberian civil war realized that this situation could be used as an efficient tool to construct the peace environment in the post-conflict process. In this context, the religious leaders were assigned a civic duty in post-conflict peacebuilding especially in the reconstruction of societal cohesion. Article 25 of the Statement of Mutual Commitment also emphasized the role that can be played by traditional religious leaders in Liberian peacebuilding. Building on this, it is possible to note religious leaders as one pillar in the societal agency practiced in Liberian peacebuilding intervention.

Liberian society is not the only non-state segment that has been practicing agency in the peacebuilding process. NGOs have been actively engaged with the process both during the intervention as well as in the post-conflict peacebuilding. Since the democratization is started to be an integral part of intervention agenda, the significance of the NGOs contribution to peace and political consolidation process have been gradually increasing (Richmond 2004: 90). In this regard, NGOs are not only non-state actors which facilitate the consolidation of the democratic and civilian political practices, but they are also signaling the universalist emphasis in the peacebuilding intervention mentality which challenges the relativist views

(Richmond 2004: 90).³² In a similar vein, NGO agency in the Liberia peacebuilding intervention contributed to the peace process significantly. An interesting fact about Liberia is that although the past of the country is correlated with political instability and violence, a strong experience of civil society had developed in the country. This is mainly because the country itself was the initiation of some form of civil society organization established in the United States. The political linkage of Liberia to the US facilitated the cultivation of western-like civil society tradition. Besides, the True Whig Party was established on a Christian messianic mentality which traditionally relies on civil society activism in its missionary activity.

The main field in which NGOs have actively practiced agency has been the disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration (DDRR) efforts. In this regard, NGOs took active role in the initiation of training programs for the local people who suffered from the violence caused by ex-combatants (Jennings 2007). In these programs, NGOs were mainly funded by international actors such as UNPC and ECOWAS. Still, they also succeeded to introduce their own agenda items to the peacebuilding agenda. In most cases, the interests and priorities of NGO actors and international actors diverged during DDRR efforts (Munive and Jakobsen 2012: 361). While international actors focused on a robust and quick process of demobilization, the NGOs took more part in the reintegration phase. Besides, as civil

³² Relativism versus universalism debate in the peacebuilding literature is about the difference between two divergent peacebuilding rationale. First, namely the relativist view argues that each case has its own unique and peculiar characteristics. Therefore, they defend that there should not be upheld a general understanding of human rights, democracy and peace when the intervention is initiated. Universalist view, on the other hand, criticizes the former in the sense that such a relativist approach to peace may end up sacrificing from the minimum standards of human right. According to the latter, human beings are capable to define the minimum standards of what is good for all, therefore they argue that the peacebuilding interventions should remain normatively stick with several universal standards and prioritize to realize these standards in every single case. For more on the debate, see Liden, Kristoffer, 2009, "Building Peace between Global and Local Politics: The Cosmopolitical Ethics of Liberal Peacebuilding", *International Peacekeeping*, 16 (5): 616-634.

society actors, they also contributed to transitional justice mechanisms (Jaye 2009). In this field, NGO presence in Truth and Reconciliation Committee is noteworthy.

Though civil society elements are considered as agents of peacebuilding intervention to Liberia, there are also several limitations to their capacity to practice effective and efficient agency. The major issue is the funding resources.

"Civil society's dependence on foreign aid- largely provided by institutions in the US and Netherlands- has threatened its own existence and survival and, in some cases, limited its capacity. Funding provided by external donors allows civil society to impact the political process. When donor support is reduced or withdrawn, civil society groups either disappear or their impact on national politics is greatly diminished." (Toure 2002: 3).

Apart from the functionality, it should also be noted that though the generous funding provided by international actors motivate more civilian actors to organize as NGOs and participate into the process, it is causing the emergence of project-seeking NGOs. These NGOs are attracted by the generously distributed funds and established only to get these funds. Although NGO agency is considered to be positively contributing to peace processes in general, Liberian NGO networks are abundant of these organizations that have been initiated to get a fund, succeeded to get support, finished the project and turned inactive. According to the data published by Center for Transparency and Accountability in Liberia (CENTAL), there are 38 NGOs registered to Liberia NGO Directory in 2014.³³ However, in my search, I realized that only 6 of them are accessible through web and they are still active in the field. Rest of them had been inactive since they finished the major project that they are funded. Second problem which limited the capacity of NGOs was that some of them were directly initiated by the government to address a specific need in a targeted

³³ Center for Transparency and Accountability in Liberia (CENTAL), http://www.cental.org/index.php?option=com_sobi2&letter=A&Itemid= (Last access, 2.07.2015)

field. "Several institutions created by the Liberian government have also sought to impact on post-war peacebuilding in various ways. But these institutions have failed to make any real impact or contribution to national reconciliation and peacebuilding" (Toure 2002: 17). Most typical example was the creation of Liberia Human Rights Commission (LHRC), which was established in 2001 by Taylor's government, remained dysfunctional until 2002 and was replaced by Independent National Commission on Human Rights Act (INCHRA) which practiced an important role in the national reconciliation.

Amongst others, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), sub-organization of WANEP Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) come into prominence as they have been the practicing the biggest part of NGO agency in the operation. Both organizations are established in the context of civil wars and their domino effect in West Africa in late 1990s. WANEP defines itself as "a leading regional peacebuilding organization founded in 1998 in response to civil wars that plagued West Africa in the 1990s" (WANEP Webpage 2013)³⁴. Since it was established as a response to the civil wars, it had been politically and organizationally motivated to take an active part in the finalization of the violence and consolidation of peace in the region. Over the years, WANEP turned into an organization which established a strong network in West Africa and contributed to peace processes in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, Ghana and Ivory Coast. In the context of Liberia, WANEP was in charge for the initiation of the training programs on the access to justice, police training and reintegration of ex combatants to the society.

³⁴ West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)
http://www.wanep.org/wanep/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=7&Itemid=11 (Last access, 2.07.2015).

As touched upon above, women in Liberia have been considerably active in the post-conflict peacebuilding process. The most visible body in which women activism can be observed have been the sub-organization of WANEP, Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET). The organization was launched in 2001 "with the aim of building the capacity of women to enhance their roles in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction in West Africa" (WIPNET 2013).³⁵ As part of the WANEP, WIPNET can also be considered as a regional NGO which have been active specifically in West Africa region. The organization have been seeking to increase the number of trained women practitioners who can take active role in the peacebuilding efforts. In the Liberian case, WIPNET's main area of interest was the sexual assault problems. As mentioned earlier, the women in Liberia have long suffered from sexual assault during the civil war. In 2006, WIPNET is authorized by Mano River Union, a regional organization established by Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Ghana, as the major body to organize the programs on rehabilitation of women who had been the target of sexual assault during the civil war.

Newly developing peacebuilding literature draws the attention to the role of profit-seeking private organizations in the peacebuilding interventions. According to the literature, private companies which are active especially in security sector are getting more involved in the peacebuilding processes (Gerson 2001). Some find the role played by the private sector as a useful contribution to peace process as it signals the normalization of the economic indicators of the intervened country (Berdal and Mousavizadeh 2010). Some, on the other hand, approaches to this roles with critical lenses and problematize it in the sense that it may cause reducing peace process

³⁵ Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET)
http://www.wanep.org/wanep/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8:women-in-peacebuilding-wipnet&catid=10:wipnet&Itemid=20 (Last access, 2.07.2015).

simple market liberalization and can cause exaggeration of the problems by profit-seeking agents of the peace process (Pugh 2005). In the case of Liberia, the role of private security companies (which are classified as non-statutory security forces) remain rather limited (Malan 2008: 6). The international actors in charge of UN operation were well aware the problems of private security sector, therefore the security sector reform in Liberia focused more on the organization of statutory security forces and rendering them functional for the construction of legitimate state capacity.

So far, I have focused on the agents of the peacebuilding intervention in Liberia with a qualitative approach. It is apparent that the formal documents in which agents of the operations are mentioned emphasize mostly the UNPC and Liberian government as the main progenitors of the intervention. Focusing on the intervention with a more general view, it is also possible to see that other actors outside the state are practicing a certain degree of agency. Next section presents the results of the content analysis which shed light to the degree of each agent's agency emphasized in the peacebuilding documents.

5.2.2.3. Agents in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis

Though each possible agent in the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia are touched upon above, the question of which actors practicing the main agency in the operation still begs answer. Besides, the concept of agency should not be taken solely as the contribution of several actors to the peace process. Rather, some activities practiced

by agents impacted negatively to the process. For instance, peacebuilding documents and formal progress reports mention some activities of the state and specific state organs as endangering already achieved stability in the post-conflict process. Therefore, it is also critical to focus on how the agency practiced by each actor affected general peacebuilding context.

In this regard, this section presents the results and analysis of these results derived from the content analysis conducted on the UN and NGO samples. This part of the content analysis intends to bring an answer to following questions: (1) What is the degree of each agents' practice of the agency according to the peacebuilding documentations? (2) How does the agency practiced by each agent affect the general course of the intervention? For the answer to the first question, I have coded the practitioner of every single peacebuilding activity mentioned in the texts. According to that, the activities mentioned in the texts are distinguished between six different agents: (1) State (Liberian government); (2) State organ (police, military, a specific governmental organ); (3) NGO; (4) Society/individual (such as a local leader); (5) Profit-seeking private organization and (6) International actor (UNPC, ECOWAS, third country etc.). Within this context, each reference to a specific peacebuilding action is coded according to the actor that practiced that activity.³⁶

As touched upon earlier in the discussion of the results from normative agenda analysis, the sampled documents are consisting of both UN and NGO documents. Similar to normative agenda coding, the references to different agencies are mostly coded in the UN documents. Figure 18 shows the distribution of the coded references according to the sample type. In sum, 431 agency references are coded in

³⁶ At this point, it is critical to note that the sample coded for the agency references is the same sample that was coded for normative agenda references as well.

the content analysis. 323 of the coded references are detected in the UN sample, while 108 references are coded in the NGO documents. In other words, 75% of the coding are conducted in the UN sample, while only 25% of the overall references are coded in the NGO documents.

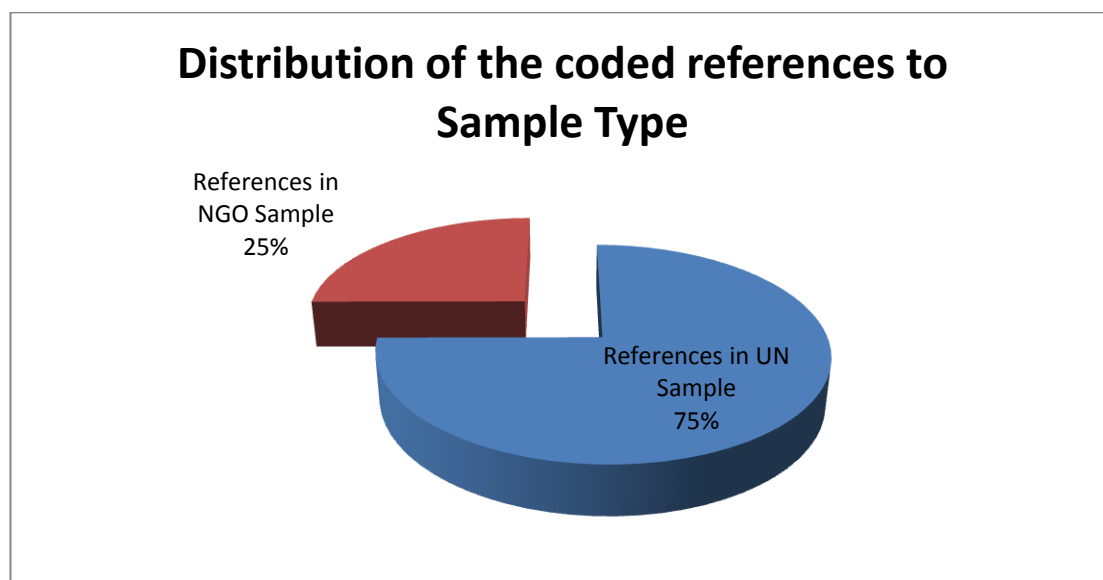


Figure 18: Distribution of the coded references to Sample Type

The general results of the content analysis demonstrate that the biggest part of the activities mentioned in the peacebuilding documents are mainly practiced by international actors, which is coded as A6. Figure 19 shows the distribution of the references to six unit of agency. According to the results, 137 out of 431 references to the agency are coded as practiced by international actors such as UN, UNPC, UNMIL or ECOWAS. This shows that the international organizations are still sitting in the drivers' seat of the peacebuilding intervention. Though the normative mentality of the intervention is observably at stake, the international organizations are not only the initiators of the intervention but also the main practitioners of the post-conflict peacebuilding efforts. The agency practiced by NGOs comes second in the results. 98 references are coded as A3, namely the NGO agency. This situation is consisted

with the argument in the literature that portrays non-state agency in general, NGO agency in specific, coming into prominence in the new peacebuilding paradigm.

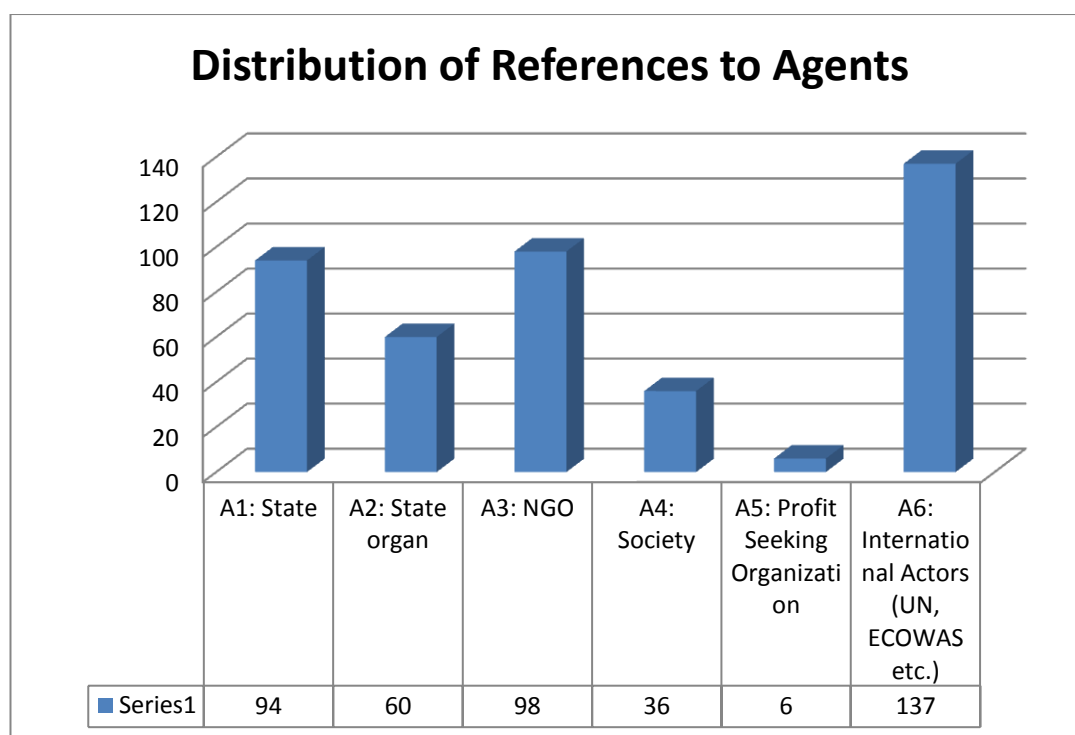


Figure 19: Distribution of References to Agents

Not so different from the frequency of the NGO, state agency ranks third in the order. According to the results, 94 references to state agency is coded as A1. The most of the references to the state's peacebuilding practices comprise of the political steps taken by the Liberian government. It is not only the UN documents but also the NGO documents emphasize the significance of the role played by the Liberian government in the process of peace consolidation. The differences of the results derived from the UN documents and NGO documents are also elaborated below. Fourth most frequently referred agency is the practiced by specific state organs such as police force, judiciary, military, coded as A2. According to the results 60 out of 431 references coded as the agency of the state organs. Looking at the texts, it is possible to argue that though specific state organs come fourth in the rank order, the

activities that they are engaged with are of critical importance in the peace consolidation process. Most of the references emphasize these organs as the major security provider. In other words, the activities practiced by state organs are aiming at the constructing the general stability and security environment in Liberia. Society and human beings (such as leaders), coded as A4, are fifth in the order with 36 out of 431 references. The references to the agency practiced by Liberian society are mostly focusing on the concept of local ownership. In this regard, the references in these documents emphasize how the participation of local people to peace process affects the general course of the post-conflict situation. Finally, profit-seeking private companies (coded as A5) are very rarely mentioned in the documents. Only 6 references to A5 is detected in the texts. Figure 20 below shows the ratio-based distribution of the coded references to agents. The distribution of the references to agents is as follows: International actors 32%; NGOs 23%; State 22%; State organ 14%; Society 8%; Profit-seeking organizations 1%.

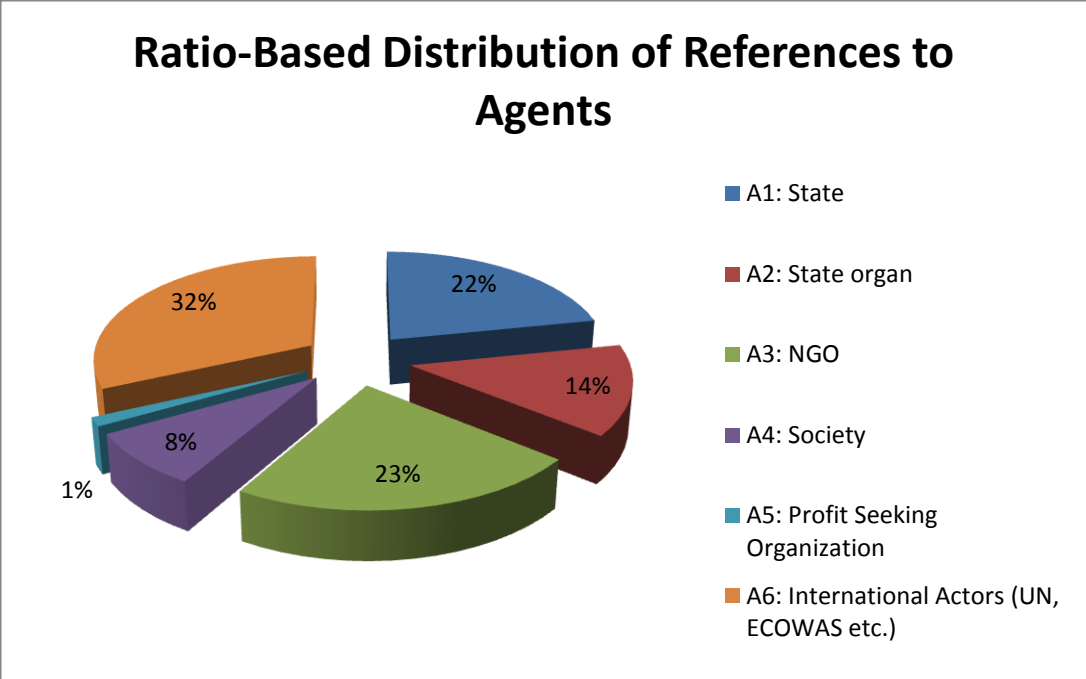


Figure 20: Ratio-Based Distribution of References to Agents

These results provide us the ground to challenge the classical arguments of the literature which suggests peacebuilding diverges from the traditional intervention methods in the sense that state agency is diminished while non-state agency comes into prominence. The results from the content analysis of Liberia peacebuilding documents, the state (mainly taken as Liberian Government) and other state organs possess the most part of agency in the operation of the peacebuilding intervention. Besides, international actors (mainly taken as international and regional organizations) are still the locomotive of the post-conflict peacebuilding.

How is the picture different when we focus on the UN and NGO documents separately? As stated earlier, the coded sample is composed of both UN and NGO documents on the Liberian peacebuilding operation. When we focus on solely the UN sample, the distribution of the references to the agents is illustrated in Figure 21 and Figure 22. 323 references are coded in the sample composed of the UN documents. As in the general scores, A6, namely the international actors are coded as the most frequently referred agent in the documents. 111 out of 323 references are coded as A6. In other words, international actors practice 34% of the general practices mentioned in the UN documents. As the UN represents the international community itself, it is not surprising that the international actors' agency appears to be the most frequently referred practices in the documents.

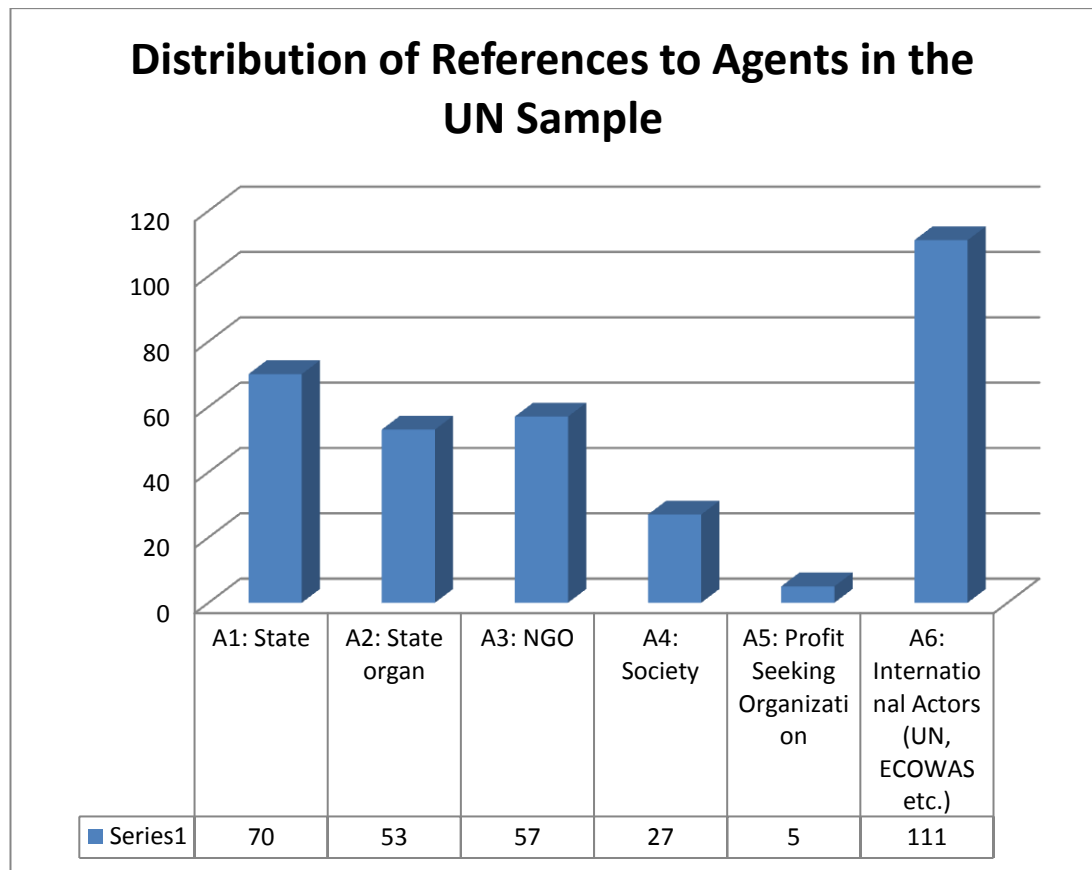


Figure 21: Distribution of References to Agents in the UN Sample

A1, in other words, the Liberian government comes second in the row. A1 is coded 70 times in the UN documents. This means 22% of the agency references are to Liberian government in the peacebuilding documents collected from the UN online archives. NGOs, coded as A3, come third in the row with 57 references, constituting the 18% of the coded references in the UN documents. NGO being the third most frequently referred agent is important in the sense that it shows that though the sample is comprised only from UN sources, NGO agency is not myth constructed by the non-state actors overemphasizing their own roles. State organs, coded as A2, are fourth most frequently referred agents in the UN documents. 53 references, in other words 16% of the whole coding, are coded as referring to the practices of state organs such as police forces, military, judiciary organs. The society, coded as A4,

gets 8% of the references in the documents by being coded 27 times. Finally, similar to general scores profit-seeking organizations are very rarely mentioned in the UN sample with only 2% of the general coding by being coded 5 times.

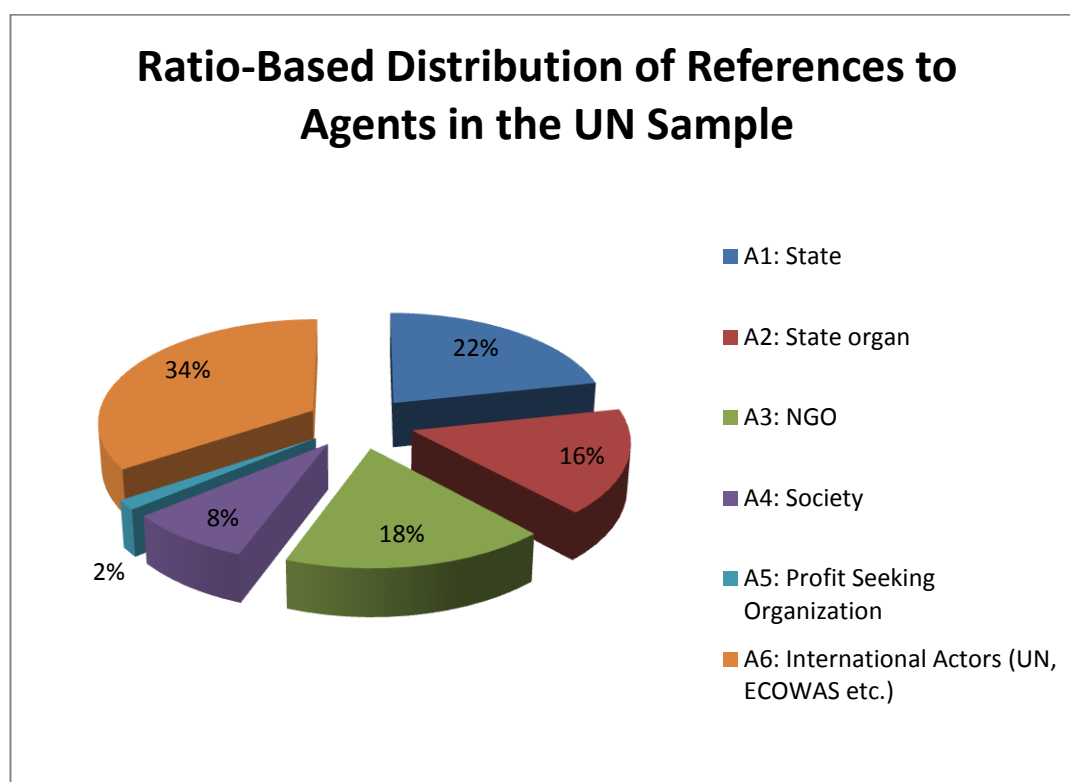


Figure 22: Ratio-Based Distribution of References to Agents in the UN Sample

When we focus solely on the NGO sample, on the other hand, the results change significantly. 108 references are coded in the texts published by the NGOs which are part of the peacebuilding network in Liberia. Figure 23 and Figure 24 demonstrate the results from the NGO sample. Not surprisingly, NGOs appear to be the most frequently referred agents which take responsibility in the accomplishment of the peacebuilding targets. According to the results, 41 out of 108 references are coded as the NGO agency practices. In other words, 38% of the references coded as A3. This is an expectable result from the sample composed solely of NGO documents considering that most of the NGO documents included in the sample are

progress reports published by those NGOs summarizing the general course of the relevant NGOs' engagement with the peacebuilding processes.

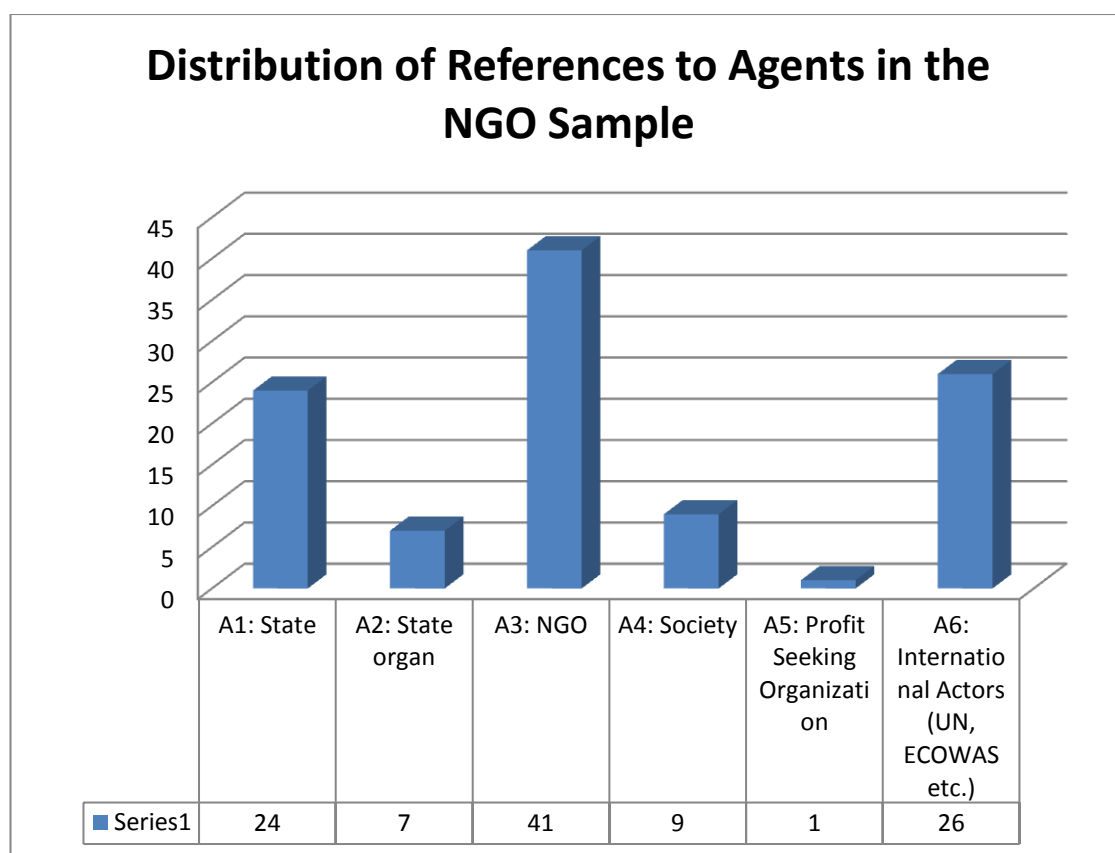


Figure 23: Distribution of References to Agents in the NGO Sample

Rest of the picture is not too divergent from the results derived from UN sample. International actors are second in the row with 26 references. This means that 24% of the agency references mentioned in the NGO documents refer the practices of international actors such as UNPC, UNMIL and ECOWAS. This is mainly because the most of the NGO activities are designed, sponsored and further supported by these international organizations. NGOs work in collaboration with regional organizations such as ECOWAS in many peacebuilding activities. Thirdly, the Liberian government, not much less from the international actors, is coded 24 times in the NGO sample. 22% of the references are coded as A1, which

demonstrates the significance of the state's agential power even in the NGO sample. Though state comes third in the row, it is noteworthy that even non-state actors like NGOs expect states to act as a facilitating mechanism in the post-conflict peacebuilding process. Most of the time, NGO documents mentions the Liberian government major responsible unit from both positive and negative developments about peace environment. Hence, relying on these results derived from pure NGO sample, it is possible to argue that denouncing the state's agency and operational power in post-conflict peacebuilding appear to be inconsistent with the actual practice of peace efforts. Liberian society is fourth in the row by being coded 9 times. This means 8% of the agency references are coded as societal agency. The references to the societal agency stems mostly from the emphasis on the local ownership. As the sample comprises of NGO documents, it is expectable that the local ownership emphasis comes into prominence in these texts. Yet, only 8% of the general references are directly mentioning the practices brought into life by the society. There are 7 references to the agency practiced by specific state organs. These references are coded as A2 and they constitute 7% of the references in the NGO sample. Being considered combined with A1, state agency appears to be the most frequently mentioned practices in the NGO documents. Once again, this demonstrates that the state and state organs' agency in the peacebuilding context are not always challenging non-state actors' engagement with the process. Rather, texts show that NGOs expect the state to become a facilitator. Finally, as similar to the general results, private organizations are very rarely mentioned in the NGO documents as well.

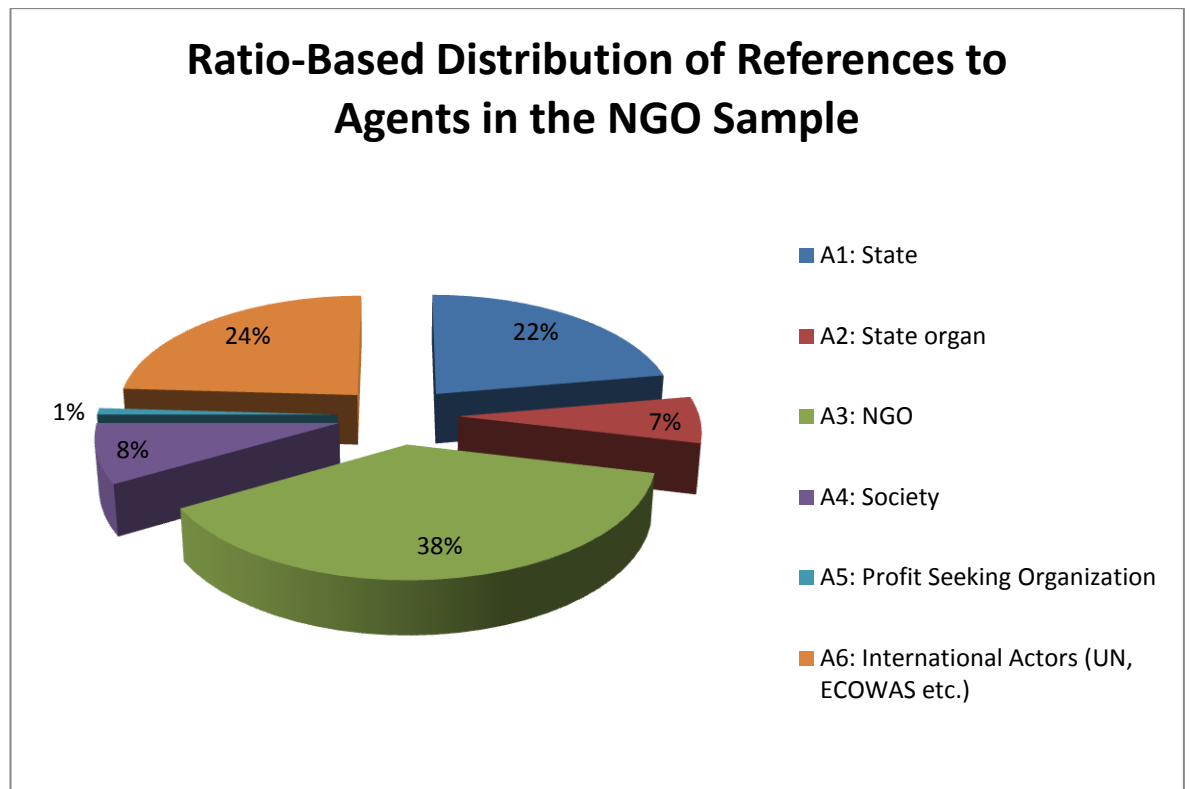


Figure 24: Ratio-Based Distribution of References to Agents in the NGO Sample

During the coding process, I have realized taking the practices of each agent under a uniformed conception of agency may lead us a misconceived picture about the agency practiced by six abovementioned agents. When the texts are examined meticulously it is possible to find out that not every practices are mentioned with same positive attributes. Rather, some practices -they could very well be considered as forms of agency- are denounced as negatively impacting the peacebuilding processes, while some others are recorded as necessary positive practices. Therefore, I have coded every single agency according to how they are emphasized in the texts. For instance, if a practice by an agent is emphasized as positively contributing to the process, that reference is coded with the Pa symbol meaning positive agency. Another reference, on the other hand, is coded as Na, meaning negative agency, if the practice is criticized an stated that it affects the process in a negative way.

Thirdly, Nea symbol, meaning neutral agency, is used for those references that do not include an apparent positive or negative attribution. This way, it is possible to see how each six agents have been contributing to the peacebuilding process, whether their practices helps to develop a better process or they make things even harder.

Firstly, it is possible to note that none of the six agents' practices are mentioned negatively more than their positive contributions to the process. However, in some agents, negative and positive attributions get closer to eachother. Focusing on the state's agency, it is possible to find out that state's practices are taken overwhelmingly positively contributing to the process. Figure 25 shows the scores specifically for A1, meaning Liberian state.

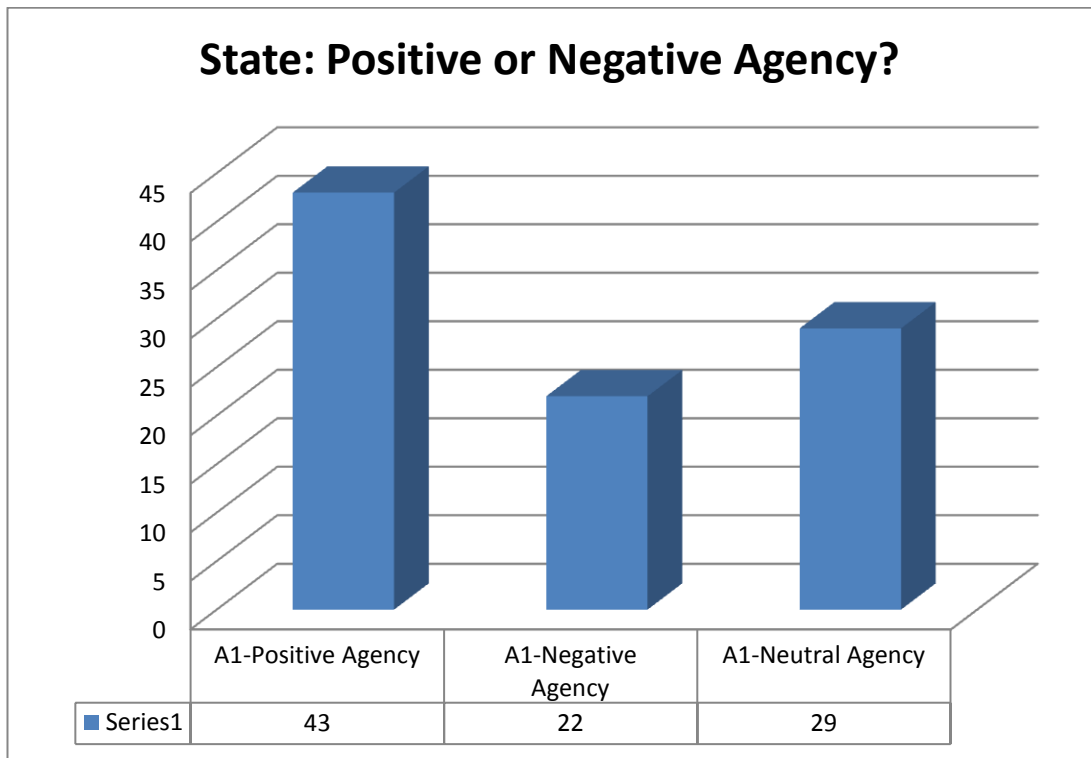


Figure 25: State: Positive or Negative Agency?

According to the results, 43 out of 84 references to state's agency is attributed rather positively contributing to the process, while 22 of the references mentions negative

effect of the state to the process. 29 references coded as not carrying any positive or negative attributions. If the results are reported according to the ratio, 46% of the state agency is mentioned as positive practices while 23% of its agency is mentioned as negatively affecting the process. Neutral statements constitute 31% of the coded references. Once again, these results support the argument that the state is an important facilitator and progenitor for other agents entering into the picture in peacebuilding practices.

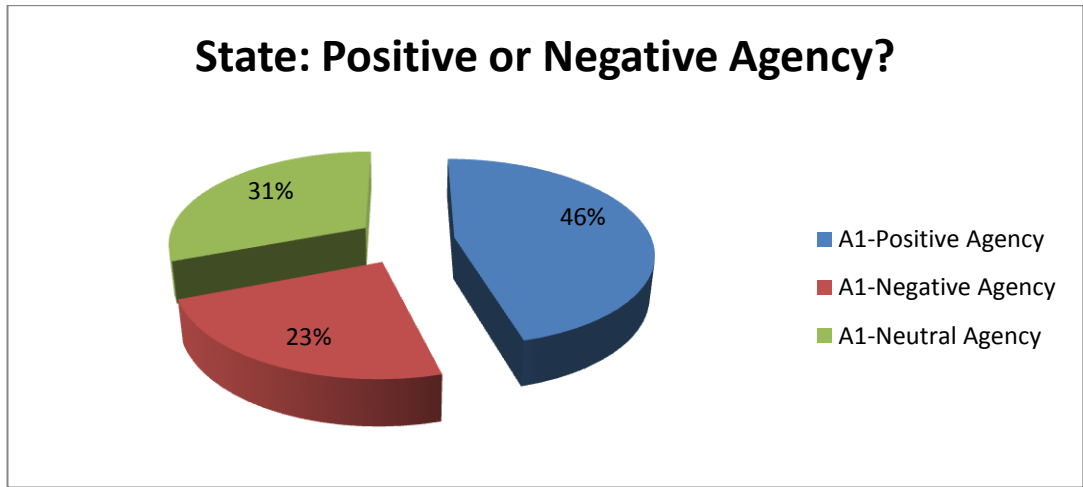


Figure 26: State: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

Results put a different picture for specific state organs. Not that their agency is attributed completely negative meanings, but there is a significant rise in the negative attributions in A2 references compared to other agents coded in the analysis. 27 out of 60 references to state organs' agency is coded as positive agency while 23 of them are coded as negative. 10 references are coded rather as neutral. Most of the negative references come from the emphasis of the state organs' engagement with practices with their dysfunctioning mechanisms make the situation even harder in several contexts. For instance, corrupted police forces' over-engagement with the domestic security issues are mentioned as a problematic situation in the sense that in

several cases the police forces abuse their power coming from state authority. These kinds of emphases in the texts are the main reason that A2 practices are referred negatively compared to other units of agency.

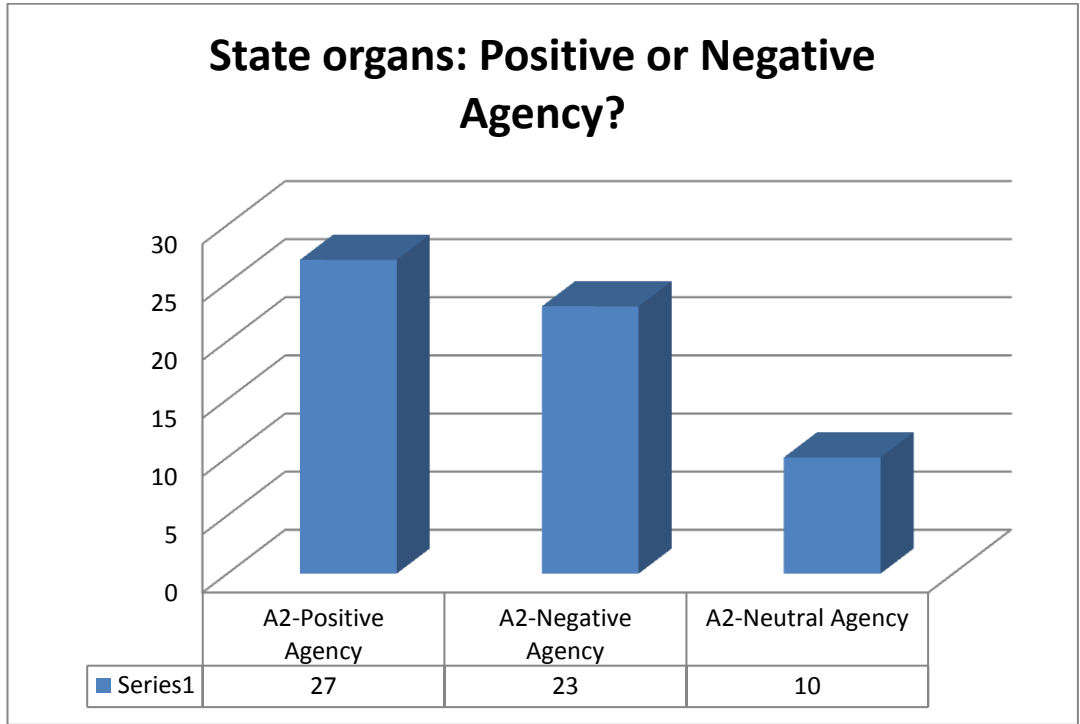


Figure 27: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency?

According to the results, 45% of the state organs' agency are attributed positively while negative attributes get as close as 38%. 17% of the references are neutral statements.

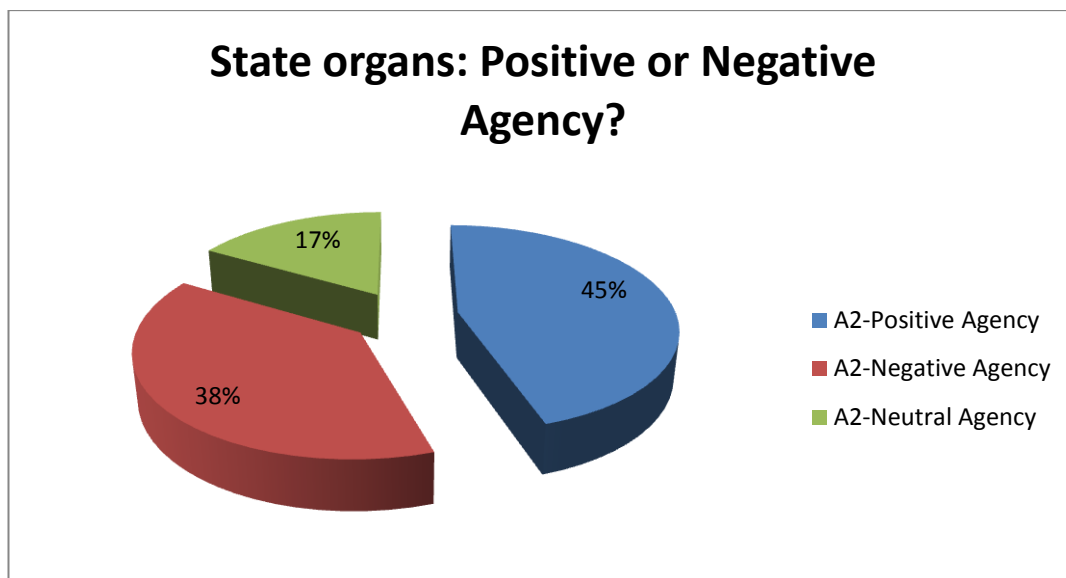


Figure 28: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

When we come to the results for NGO agency, the scores show that NGO agency in peacebuilding context is mostly perceived as positively contributing to the efforts. 98 practices mentioned in the texts are coded as A3, meaning the practices of the NGOs. Overwhelming majority of these references are coded as positive contributions. 72 references are coded as positive attributions while only 6 references include negative meanings. 20 of the references are neutrally stated and have no positive or negative attribution.

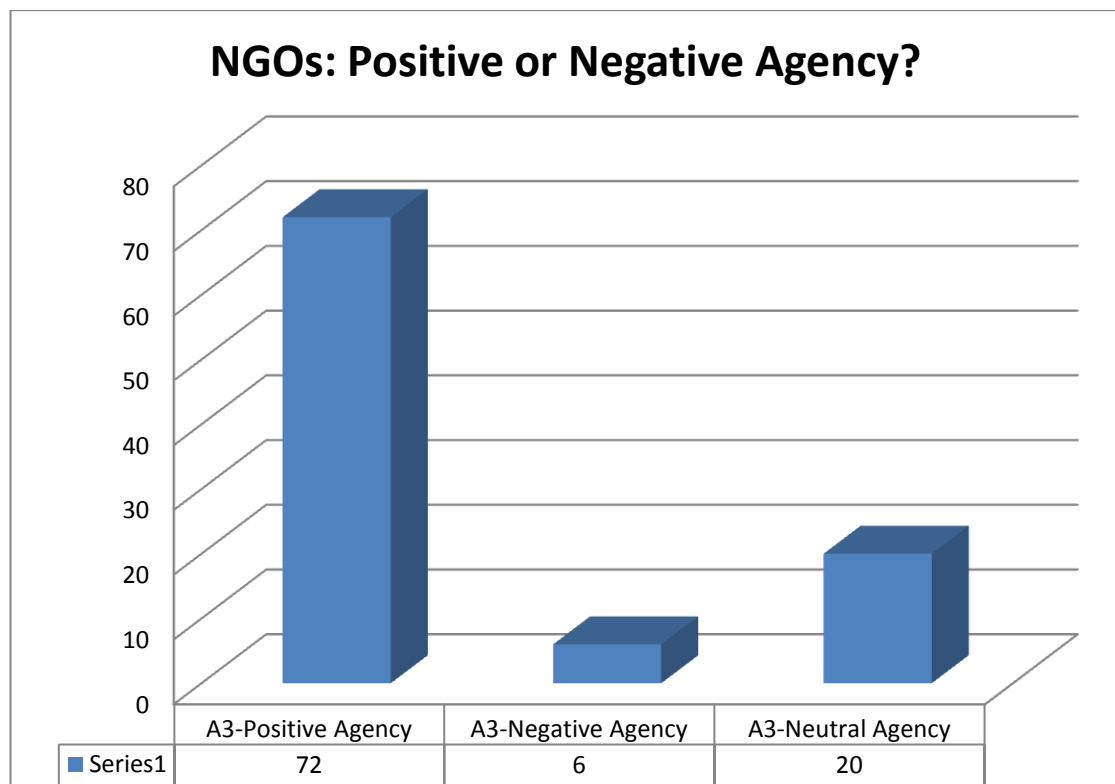


Figure 29: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency?

According to these numbers, positive NGO practices constitute 74% of the whole NGO agency, while negative attributions are only 6%. This shows that NGOs involvement in the process is evaluated as a positive contribution to peacebuilding efforts. In this regard, both UN and NGO sample mention the collaboration of intervention actors such as IOs and Liberian government with NGOs will contribute the efforts for consolidation of peace in Liberia. Negative attributions, on the other hand, -though very rare-, mainly mention limited capacity of several NGOs to which important budgets are allocated. Those negative attributions also mention the need for training of newly established NGOs for peacebuilding context before they are granted very big budgets for projects within the context of local ownership.

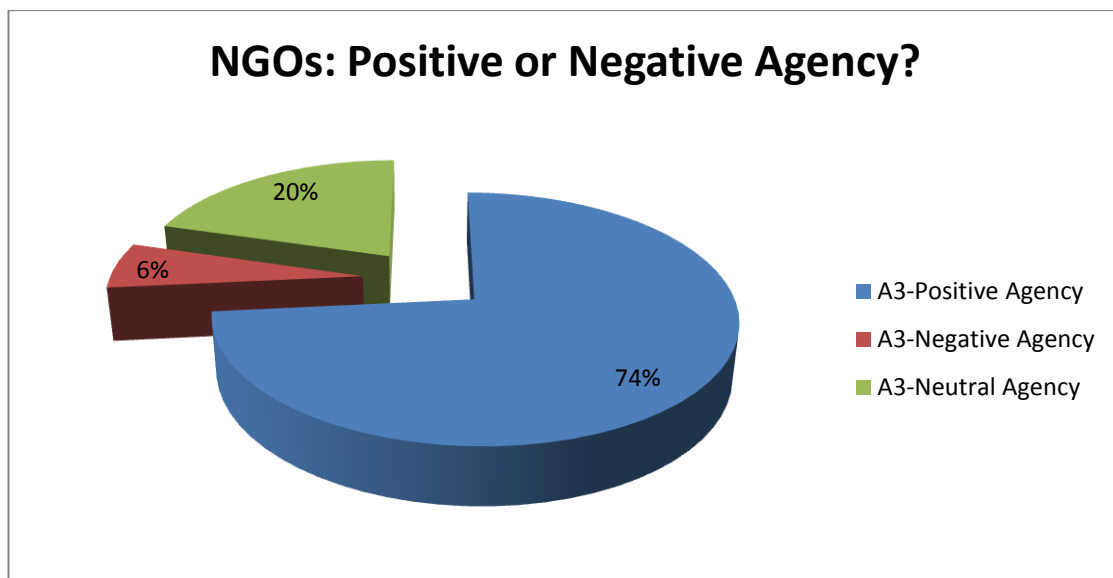


Figure 30: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

The agency references to society's practices give also similar results. References in the documents to the society's contribution to the peacebuilding are predominantly positive attributions. 23 out of 36 references are coded as positive agency while only 1 reference is coded as negative attribution. Other 12 attributions are neutral statements on the societal agency.

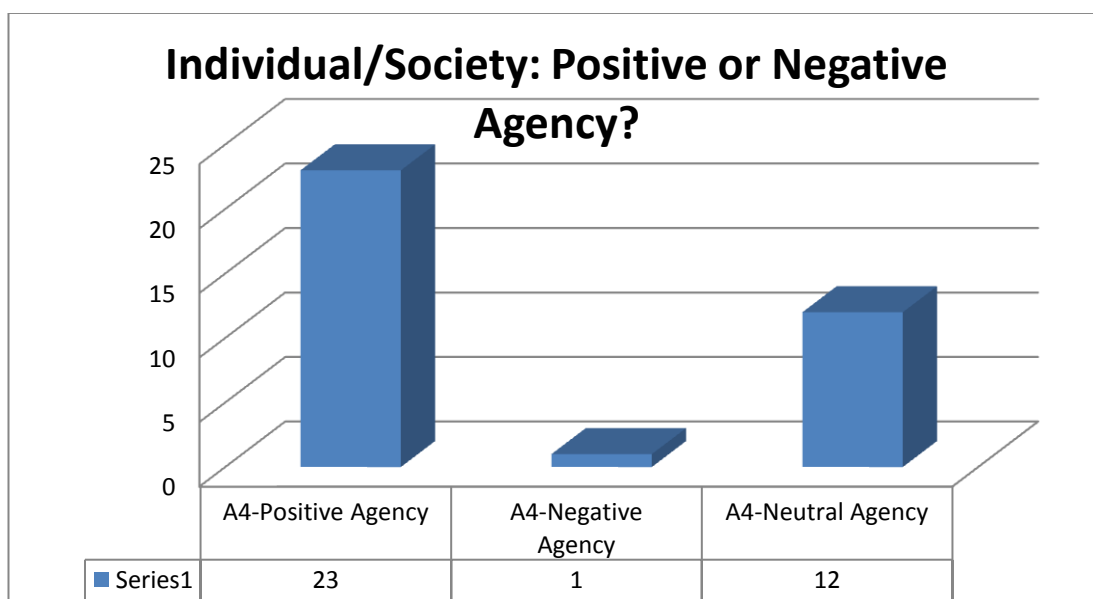


Figure 31: Individual/Society: Positive or Negative Agency?

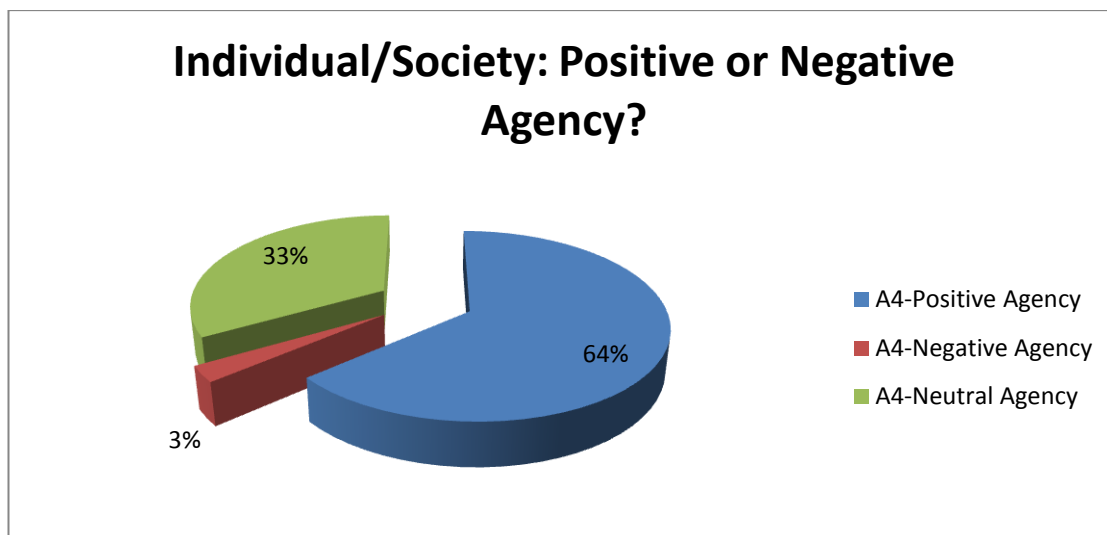


Figure 32: Individual/Society: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

Though the number of coded references to private sector's agency is very low compared to other agents, we see that four out of all six references are coded as positive agency for private organizations.

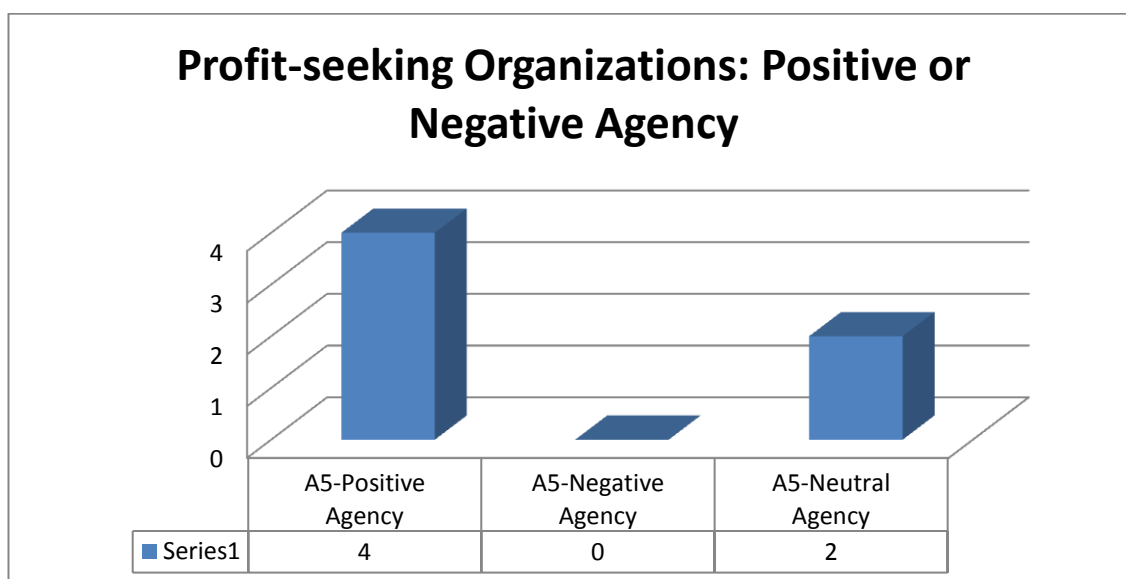


Figure 33: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency

Other 2 references are coded as negative attributions. According to these numbers, 67% of the references to private organizations' activities are attributed positive meanings while the rest 33% are attributed negative meanings.

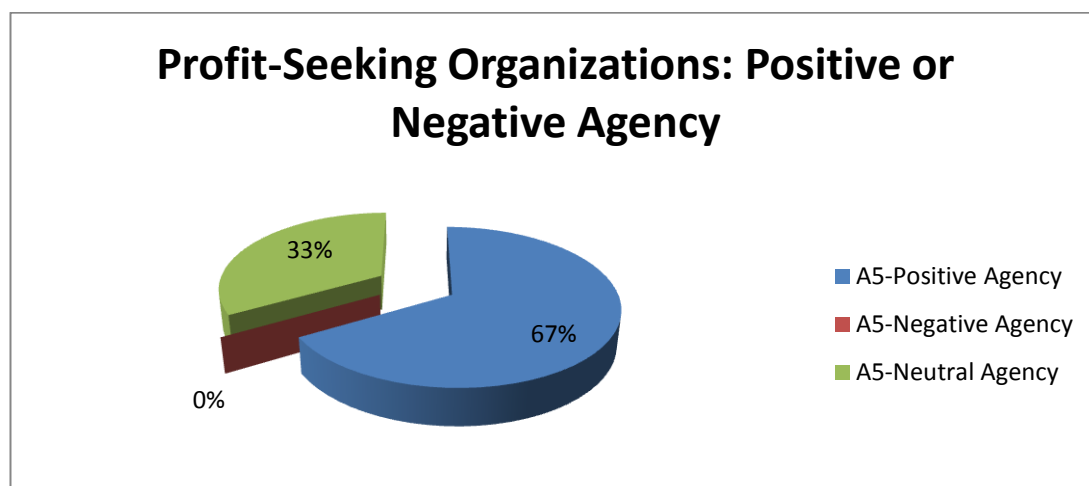


Figure 34: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency (Ration-based)

International actors, as stated earlier, are the most frequently referred agency practicing units in the sample. 137 references are coded as the emphasis on the practices conducted by international actors. According to the results, 79 out of 137 references are coded as positive contributions by international actors. Negative attributions, on the other hand, are coded 18 times.

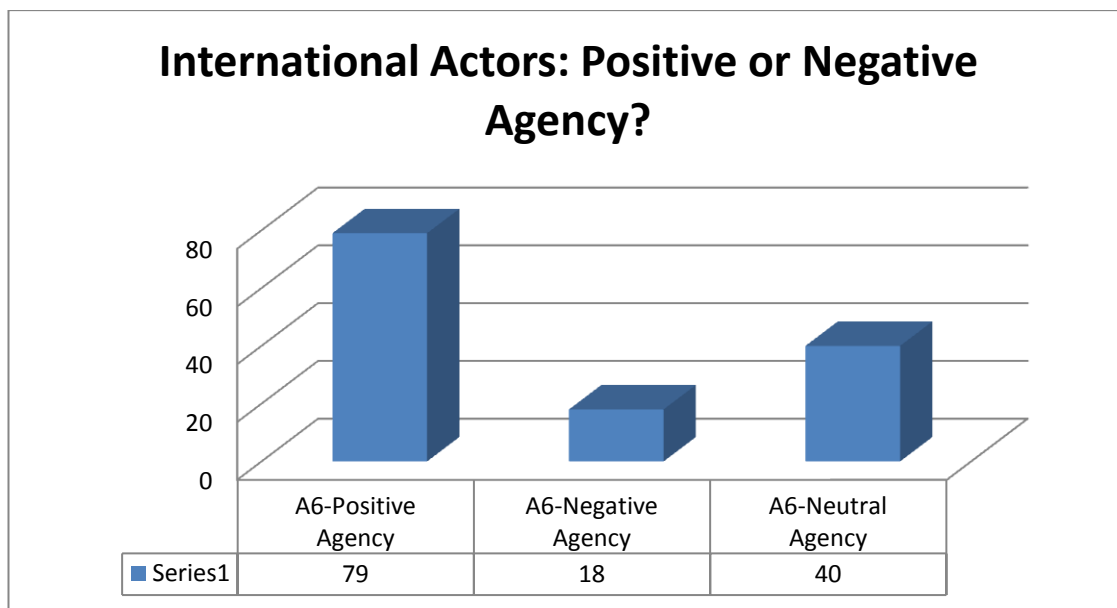


Figure 35: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency?

In other words, 58% of the agency practiced by international actors is positively contributing to the peacebuilding efforts in Liberia. 13% of the practices are denounced and criticized in the texts which caused being coded as negative agency. 29% of the practices are not referred with an apparent positive or negative emphasis.

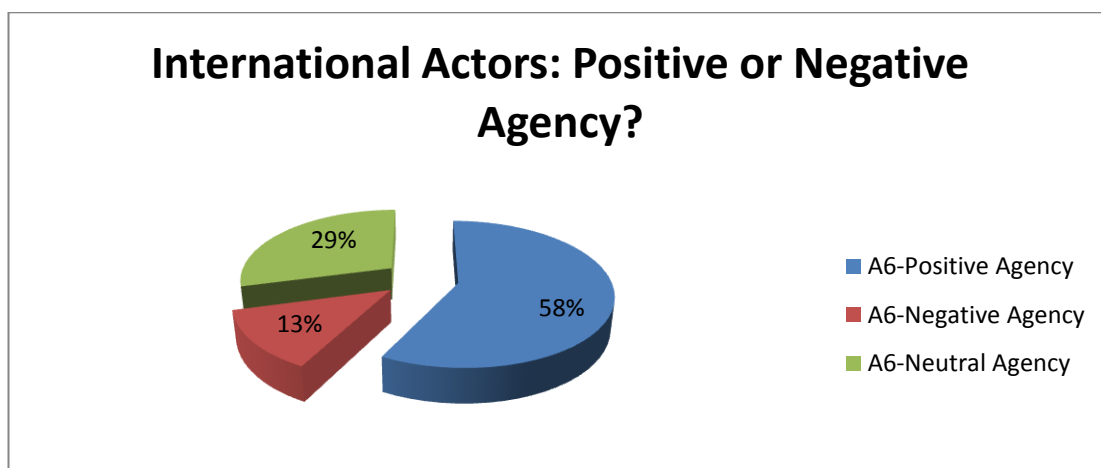


Figure 36: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency?

These results derived from the content analysis shed lights to the answer of the questions stated in the beginning of this section. Firstly, it is apparent that the

international actors are the prominent bodies which practice the agency in the initiation and further development of the peacebuilding interventions. Besides, states and state organs are still in the picture with an important potential to impact the whole process either in good or negative direction. In addition to these, NGO agency in the peacebuilding is not a myth but also an observable fact that can be derived from the actual practices. Secondly, we see that not all the agency practiced by these agents are positively contributing to the process. Amongst others, the state organs' involvement in the peacebuilding efforts may contribute to the process as well as negatively affecting it. This approach can be considered as a novel approach to the agency debates in the peacebuilding literature.

5.2.3. Identity

Identity motivations of the agents are suggested as the third parameter that we can focus in order to observe the progress from the international to world society context. That is to say those identity motivations of those actors which have agential power in a political practice can shed light to the contextual framework to which that political practice can be correlated. As elaborated in Chapter 3, the framework of international society cultivates a political context in which actors take on identity motivations that is shaped with state priorities. This is not because states are the primary actors of world politics. On the contrary, international society attributes a significance to the international organizations formed by the state members of the international society. However, even though states are taken as units that are capable to cultivate identity

forms at broader levels such as societal and civilizational, the identity motivations of the agents are still taken pre-given. Therefore, states form broader partnerships within the context of international society, however, the identity definitions of the agents remains at national level. In this sense, the traditional literature on the identity argues that although states form broader partnerships, their preferences serve to a self-help agenda that is shaped by their pre-given state identity. The framework of world society, on the other hand, presents a more complex picture of identity. Since the agential power of the non-state units increase, their identity motivations also become relevant in the context of world society. The cobweb model of interaction among different actors reconstitutes each actors' identity perceptions. Such complex interaction facilitates the construction of transnational networks in which broadly defined identity forms can cultivate. Since the world society model opens up a space for those non-state actors, transnational forms of identity are expected to emerge in the agents of a political practice that is relevant to the world society framework.

Intervention is a political practice in which such an evolution can be observed. Furthermore, the evolution of the intervention from traditional peacekeeping to new peacebuilding is also correlated with the abovementioned change in the identity perceptions from the international to world society. In this respect, how identity perceptions of the agents taking part in the peacebuilding intervention to the civil wars in West Africa is third part of the empirical analysis on both cases. However, the analysis of the identity is not an easy task. In this regard, most appropriate method for the analysis of identity motivations of the actors is predicted to be interviewing the representatives of these organizations (Abdelal et al. 2014). The questions to be asked during the interviews are presented in the methodology chapter. These interviews were planned to be conducted online.

However, it was not possible to reach sufficient number of representatives for interviews which would constitute data for such an analysis. Therefore, this section summarizes the preliminary observations on the identity parameter in peacebuilding cases, explains the problems encountered during the analysis and leaves the analysis on the identity as a direction for further research.

As stated above, the study on the identity motivations of the agents taking part in the peacebuilding practices in West Africa encountered difficulties. As the Chapter 3 discussed in detail, I am fairly convinced that the parameter of identity is theoretically significant for the observation of progress from the international to world society context. Yet, the measurement and analysis of identity requires a comprehensive bunch of facilities. Abdelal et al. (2009) suggest five different methods for the measurement of identity: surveys, content analysis, discourse analysis and ethnography, cognitive mapping, experiments. Interviewing is defined within the category of surveys. As the authors also specify, interview method is considered to be the most effective strategy when the research focuses on the identity of an organization. In this sense, asking identity-related questions to the representatives of the organizations will provide insightful information about the identity direction of that organization. With this in mind, I have contacted more than 30 representatives for online interviews including the personnel of UN, NGOs, ministries in Liberia and Sierra Leone. I got response only from two representatives of NGOs (WANEP-Liberia, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Washington DC). The representative of the NDI stated that their contribution to the Liberia intervention is rather limited and noted that the interview may not provide the desired information. Unfortunately, no response returned from the representatives of the organization taking part in the peacebuilding network of Sierra Leone.

During my research on the peacebuilding network in West Africa, I have realized two major problems about the institutional structures of peacebuilding agents. Firstly, it seems that though the West African peacebuilding experience are presented as success stories in terms of state capacity-building, it seems that there is still much to go for functional institutions. Many ministries both in Liberia and Sierra Leone do not have even proper internet accessibility. The situation is even worse for NGOs which have been funded generously for several important projects. For instance, WANEP is the leading NGO in the West African region. It was initiated specifically for taking active role in peacebuilding practices and it did take part in the peacebuilding processes both during peace talks and post-conflict peacebuilding activities. However, it seems that many NGOs turned inactive after they have completed the project. Generous UN funds had attracted the attention of civil society actors in the region and it seems that many NGOs have been founded just for being able to get their share from such funds. They did effective work in the rehabilitation process indeed. However, the situation shows that their presence in the region's political processes remained limited to the term in which such projects were finalized. Because of such problems, the research on the identity parameter remains as a direction for further research, and this dissertation focused other two parameters, namely the normative agenda and agency.

The identity of the actors is an important variable since it has a determinant impact on the idiosyncrasies, roles and preferences of them (Wendt 1994). In this sense, it can be suggested that the more agent with non-state identities get involved with the intervention, the more non-state-centric directions the priorities of the intervention evolves into. The cases of peacebuilding intervention in West Africa can be shown as examples of such an interaction between the normative direction of the

intervention and the involvement of agents with non-state identities. According to my preliminary observation, I can argue that regional identity perceptions come into prominence in the peacebuilding practices in West Africa. This situation can be observed by looking at the regional structures of major NGOs that took active role in peacebuilding operations in both Liberia and Sierra Leone. WANEP being the most prominent one, is a regional NGO which was initiated as a response to the civil war in Liberia but active in all 15 countries located in West Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, The Gambia and Togo)³⁷. The regional emphasis in the identity of the organization is also present in the vision definition: "WANEP's vision is that of a "West Africa region characterized by just and peaceful communities where the dignity of the human person is paramount and where the people can meet their basic human needs and decide their own direction." (WANEP 2013)³⁸. Growing such a regional perspective in the identity can be related with the fact that the civil wars in the region highly intertwined and the suffer become rather regional as the borders became more transparent due to the escalated civil wars. ECOWAS is another example of organizations with a regional vision in the identity. As a regional international organization, ECOWAS was meant to flourish political, economic, cultural and security-related relationship among 15 regional countries and cultivate a regional sense of identity (ECOWAS 2015)³⁹.

Transnational forms of identity motivations are rather observable in UN related commissions such as UNPC. As an international organization, United Nations

³⁷ WANEP Webpage

http://www.wanep.org/wanep/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=8&Itemid=52 (Last access 01.08.2015).

³⁸ WANEP Webpage

http://www.wanep.org/wanep/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=13:mission-a-vision&catid=2:mission-a-vision&Itemid=14 (Last access 01.08.2015).

³⁹ ECOWAS Webpage <http://www.ecowas.int/about-ecowas/history/> (Last access: 01.08.2015).

Peacebuilding Commission can be shown as an example of an organization that is built upon a transnational identity. It is actually an intergovernmental advisory body but it operates with a transnational emphasis. The transnational structure of the Commission can be observed by looking at the organizational structure. The commission is composed of three respective organs. Organizational Committee is composed mainly of country representatives. 31 members are composed of 7 members elected by the General Assembly, 7 members selected by the Security Council, 7 members selected by Economic and Social Council, 5 members from top providers of military personnel and civilian police to UN missions, 5 members from top providers of assessed contributions to UN budgets and voluntary contributions to the UN peacebuilding funds. Country Specific Configurations are composed of the professional personnel of the UN and NGO representatives willing to be part of the peacebuilding network. Finally, Working Group on Lessons Learned is constituted by those professionals and experts on specific operations of the Commission. Though the Organizational Committee occupies the executive position, the complex composition of UNPC's organizational structure can be taken as an indicator of the transnational emphasis in its identity.

No doubt that the research on identity motivations of peacebuilding agents should and can go much deeper than this brief review presented above. Yet, such a research remains as a direction for further research for this dissertation due to the limitations stated above. Through a comprehensive field research in West Africa, insightful information can be collected that could be used as data. Such a comprehensive research is a task to be fulfilled in the future once the outcome of this dissertation is submitted as manuscripts for publications.

5.3. Hypotheses and Discussion

Here, I revisit these hypotheses and present a discussion on whether they are confirmed based on the results derived from the empirical analyses. Hypotheses designed specifically for the case of Liberia are hypotheses 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Table below show the results for each hypotheses designed for the case of Liberia.

Hypotheses on the Case of Liberia		
Hypothesis 4	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is human/society-centric.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 5	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is state-centric.	Infirm
Hypothesis 6	The agency is mainly practiced by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.	Infirm
Hypothesis 7	The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 8	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather transnational.	Further Research needed
Hypothesis 9	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather national/international.	Further Research needed

Table 6: Hypotheses on Liberia Case and Their Results

H4: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is society/human society-centric.

H5: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is state-centric.

According to the data and results of the content analysis, it is possible to suggest that H4 is confirmed while inversely related H5 is infirm. The qualitative analysis emphasized that most dominant theme in the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia was about the reconstitution of the social cohesion in Liberia. Besides, most

of the projects in the peacebuilding documents focused on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of the ex-combatants, rehabilitation of children and victims of sexual assault and construction of societal peace in Liberia. The results of the content analysis also confirmed the H4 and infirmed H5. According to those results, the society is the most frequently addressed referent object in the peacebuilding documents. Besides, there is also considerably high number of references to human/individuals as the referent object. All these result support the argument that the normative center of the peacebuilding operation in Liberia is the society instead of the state, which confirms the H4. In this regard, as stated above H4 and H5 are inversely related. As expected, the results show that such a relationship between these two hypotheses exist.

H6: The agency lies with non-state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.

H7: The agency lies with state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.

Controversial results are obtained on the hypotheses concerning the agency in the case of Liberia. It is not possible to ignore the role of NGOs in the peacebuilding practices according to the results. Still, it is also apparent that the biggest part of the agency lies with the state and international organizations. Qualitative analysis emphasized that major driving force for the operation was supplied by international organizations, specifically the UNPO and ECOWAS. As they took control of the country, their presence in the country enforced the Liberian government, which took on actual tasks in the ongoing process. In other words, the agential power of the international organizations were used to rebuilt the agential power of the government

and state institutions. The results of the content analysis also demonstrated that international organizations possess the major position in the practicing of agency in the Liberia case. Besides, when the results combined for the Liberian government and specific state institutions are considered, it is obvious that agential power of the state is much more comprehensive compared to the share of NGOs in the agency. Based on these results, H6 appears to be infirmed while H7 is confirmed.

Two remaining hypotheses about the case of Liberia are concerning the debates on identity.

H8: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather transnational.

H9: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather national/international.

As stated earlier, a deeper research on the identity remains a major direction for further research. Due to several limitations, the analysis on the identity parameter is not conducted in a manner as comprehensive as the analysis on other two parameters. Therefore, it is not possible to report the result of the test on eighth and ninth hypotheses. Still, according the preliminary observations, most dominant theme in the identity motivations of the agents is institutional identities. In this respect, international organizations adopt identity motivations which are built mainly on internationally defined identities. Regional emphasis is also apparent in those international organizations which are formed by the state actors of the West Africa region. When we focus on the non-state agents such as NGOs, it is possible to observe identity definitions transcending the national and international limits. These bodies shape their identity rather around a common cause. This cause may

sometimes underline a regional identity such as in WANEP, and sometimes emphasize the gender based identity perceptions as happened in WIPNET.

CHAPTER 6

INTERVENTION IN SIERRA LEONEAN CIVIL WAR AND POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING

The analysis of peacebuilding practices with reference to three parameters gave several interesting and noteworthy results in the previous chapter. The peacebuilding operation in Liberia was the case in which a new understanding of intervention shaped the general course of the practice. Intervention in Sierra Leonean Civil war is another practice of this new mindset that initiates a new intervention agenda. In fact, the intervention to Sierra Leonean Civil War and the post-conflict transition is considered to be a success story. In this respect, the analysis of Sierra Leonean Civil War and series of interventions in this civil war stand as another proper case to analyze through the theoretical framework elaborated in Chapter 3. Since the civil war in Sierra Leone had developed quite in parallel with the developments in Liberian Civil War, it is worth to analyze these two cases with the lenses of the same theoretical framework, the world society approach in this dissertation. Therefore, this chapter does not only serve to the aim of testing the hypotheses of a theoretical framework, but it also aims at emphasizing the differences between two concomitant peacebuilding operations. By doing so, it also intends to show how the mentality of intervention is evolving with reference to the parameters of normative agenda,

agency and identity motivations. This way, the world society framework elaborated in Chapter 3 meets another intervention practice.

With this in mind, this chapter is organized into several subsections. The general structure of the chapter is designed to understand and analyze the intervention in Sierra Leonean Civil War and the peacebuilding operation that took place in this country with reference to the parameters of the theoretical framework. 6.1 presents the brief historical background of the civil war in Sierra Leone. Since the sociological composition of the country played an important role in the break out of the civil war, 6.1.1. focuses on the brief history of colonialism and establishment of free state of Sierra Leone, which in the long run created the segmentation in the country. 6.1.2. handles the severe and long-lasting civil war in Sierra Leone. 6.1.3. introduces the peace efforts and series of intervention that took place to stop the bloodshed in the country.

Second subsection directly focuses on the peacebuilding intervention in Sierra Leonean Civil War. In this respect, 6.2. handles comprehensively the peacebuilding operation, its legal mandate and the context in which peacebuilding operation was initiated. Then, the chapter develops into an analysis of these practices with direct reference to three parameters, normative agenda in 6.2.1, agency in 6.2.2 and last but not least identity in 6.2.3.

6.1. Historical Background

The civil war in Sierra Leone also emerged as an outcome of a historical construct that had shaped the societal structure of the country. Two countries that are handled

in the empirical chapters of this dissertation are similar in the sense that their experience with colonialism and independent nation-building processes had developed in parallel. Like Liberia, Sierra Leone was established as a small colony by freed black slaves. The role of this group in the establishment of the country shaped the future structure of the society in Sierra Leone, which became one of the reasons triggering the civil war. In what follows, a brief historical summary of the country is presented as the background information for the path going to the civil war.

6.1.1. A Brief History of Sierra Leone

The region that is called Sierra Leone today has long been a settlement area for the indigenous people of West Africa. Indigenous tribes located in the region even formed a kingdom based on a loose form of local feudalism (Kup 1961: 39). The region's first contact with the Europeans was in early 16th century, when Portuguese raiders reached the shores of West Africa. Then, in the following centuries, Dutch colonists landed several times in the region and used the timber resources of the region. Throughout these centuries, the region also became a hub for slave trade (Shaw 2002: 27). With the decline of Portuguese and Dutch in the colonial rivalry, the British became the colonial ascendants in the region.

According to Fyfe (1962), the local tribes in the region were capable of using advanced weapons in 18th century, when the British landed. Though British's entry into the region was smooth in the sense that they signed agreements on timber and slavery trade with the local tribal kings, there were also assaults by the forces of

tribal kingdom in the following years, when they fell at odds about the details of the agreements. Still, the British colonialist did not aim to settle in the region permanently until the end of 18th century. Similar to Liberian history, the history of modern Sierra Leone started with the settlement of first freed black slaves in 1787. Unlike Liberia, however, the settlers of Sierra Leone were coming from the United Kingdom with the initiation of a British committee working on the rights and the conditions of black people. Therefore, it is worth looking at the political atmosphere in Britain and the circumstances that paved the way for black people to settle in the region.

During American War of Independence, the black slaves were enlisted as soldiers both by the British colonialists and Americans who fought for independence. For black people, to enlist for one of the warring parties was meaning to gaining freedom. In other words, both Americans and British colonialists were promising freedom to black people in return of their service in the army. Once the war ended in the sense requiring British to recognize American independence in 1776, the status of the black people in the United States become a matter of controversy. As summarized earlier in the previous chapter, the black people of America suffered from harsh conditions of daily routines relying on a racist mentality. Those who fought on the side of British colonialists under Black Loyalists (Braidwood 1994: 21), fled mostly to Nova Scotia region of present day Canada. The settlers who later settled in Sierra Leone were those freed black people who fled from the United States which recently got its independence from Britain. Once they encounter heavy conditions in Nova Scotia, many freed black people wanted to Britain because they think that Britain owes to them due to their service under Black Loyalist. The status

of the black people was also controversial meanwhile in Britain (Braidwood 1994: 24).

Similar to the American context, the British society were also divided among those who perceive slavery as a right of the civilized nations and those abolitionists who were for the absolute abolition of the slavery in Britain. Apart from the slavery debates, the black people were economically and socially disadvantaged in Britain, thus were suffering from heavy poverty in the Britain which was experiencing a new social dynamic called Industrial Revolution. In this context, the Committee for Relief of the Black Poor were initiated as a social group which were mainly built upon a moralist religious discourse (Shaw 2002: 41). The Committee was for the abolition of the slavery in Britain and working for social projects such as fundraising for the poor black people. Establishing a colony in Sierra Leone was presented as a project to those black people by the Committee in 1786. Even, a commercial company was founded with the name Sierra Leone Company to advertize about the project and enlist black people to settle in the region. The plan was to establish a colony in Sierra Leone where poor black people of Britain (especially in London) can enjoy both freedom and economic prosperity. The project was supported by both white people who were considering black as a "problem" both in terms of race and economy and also black people who were seeking better conditions of life. The first settlers weighed anchor in 1787 to settle in the area which was purchased from a local tribe. The first colony was named Granville. However, the colony was attacked by the indigenous authority who sold the area to colonizers in 1790. The main problem was a miscommunication about the status of the colony. Colonizers were thinking that the agreement was enabling them to use the land permanently while the local authority was arguing it was only a temporary agreement (Braidwood 1994: 29).

In 1792, a second group of settlers arrived to the region. Second group was mainly composed of those who fled from Nova Scotia. This group later was called the "Creole" people and played an important role in the politics of the country. This time, the settlers landed in Freetown, the current capital of Sierra Leone, and established a more meticulously structured colony. Freetown colony was envisaged as a regular city with basic infrastructure. Since there was also a religious content of the Committee, the colony was christened in 1792 with the name of Freetown and not long after incorporated with the settlement in Granville. The modern history of Sierra Leone is identified with the christening of the colony as Freetown.

As the colony in Freetown was enhanced, its contact with the Britain got more complex and intense. In the beginning of 1800s, the colony was still not a big one, only with several neighborhoods. Most of the region was still under the control of tribal chiefdoms. Two major ethnicities that were ascendant in the region were Mende and Temne. There were also other groups but most of them were subject to the tribal administrations that were controlled by these two. The Creole people were holding the administrative positions in the colony (Wyse 1989). With 1810s, the colony started to enhance towards its surrounding region with the effect of British tension with France over the colonial regions. Over the course of 1800s, as the colonialism became a issue of tension between great powers of Europe, tendency to enhance the borders of colonies in the region increased. In the case of Sierra Leone, British used three major tools to enhance the borders of the colony: (1) Trade; (2) treaty-making and (3) military expeditions (Fyfe 1962: 61). From 1810s to 1840s, military expeditions were considered to be the last option because the major motivation of the British was to keep the region peaceful as it enables more effective trade. Still, when agreements were challenged by local kings, military expeditions

were used to control the regions. With the intensification of the tension about African colonies between the UK and France in 1850s, military options were used more frequently sometimes even in ruthless ways. In 1890, the UK and France signed several agreements for the determination of the borders of their colonies in West Africa. The agreement constituted the border between Sierra Leone and French Guinea on the basis of geographical borders. However, agreements did not seek the division of the members of same groups (mainly Temne) between the two colonies which later turned into nation states. These artificially determined borders are considered to be the main reason of easy spread of civil wars in the region from one country to another in 1990s (Gberie 2005: 172).

In 1896, the region was declared to be a British protectorate with an agreement between several local kings⁴⁰ and the British. According to the agreement, the title "King" was abolished and the title "Paramount Chief" was allowed for the local chiefs. Besides the tax-collecting powers of the chiefs were diminished and they had to share this power with the colonial sovereigns (Little 2013: 47). This caused an instable term in the region in which several uprisings against the colonists happened. In the course of first decade of 1900s, the uprisings gained some form of ethnic motivation directed by Mende targeting the Creole (or Krios) which hold the administrative positions. It may be also noted that this caused rise of a common group identity which was rarely constructed among Sierra Leoneans until that time.

With the rise of anti-colonial movements in Africa after the Second World War, the uprisings were equipped with nationalist sentiments which sought independence from the United Kingdom. In 1950's, the UK granted several rights to

⁴⁰ In West African feudalism, the title "King" is used for local feudal sovereigns. In this context, the number of local kings is very high. These kings are basically chieftains with several sovereign powers.

local administrators and enabled the Parliament of Sierra Leone (PSL) to draft a cabinet which governs the domestic politics of the country. PSL elected Sir Milton Margai as the chief minister, the administrative position just below the proconsul. Margai, later, turned into a national figure who was seeking independence with strong anti-colonialist arguments. As happened in many British colonies in Africa, the UK recognized Sierra Leone as an independent country in 1961 after the independence talks conducted in London.

With the independence, the country suffered from political instability and intervention of military to politics several times. After the independence, the country's politics were shaped by mainly two political movements. First one was the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), which was a national populist movement of which discourse is built upon anti-colonialism. The second party All People's Congress (APC) which was formed by former SLPP members with an anti-Creole sentiment. In the first elections after the independence, SLPP got the majority in the parliament and Sir Margai became the first elected prime minister of the country (Wyse 1989). After his death in 1964, the political instability arose in Sierra Leone. Though his brother, Albert Margai assumed the power in country, political opposition to Margai family started to criticize loudly the administration. Unlike his brother, Albert Margai was much more of a man of authoritarian inclinations. He was accused of being corrupt and having plans to turn the country into a single party regime. That was what he was doing indeed. The laws he passed in late 1966 turned the country into an official single party regime. The political instability and violence increased gradually in the country. These developments prepared the political atmosphere for series of coup d'etat of which first happened in March 1967. Intervention of the army to the politics even worsened the situation and turned into a

political disease in the following years. The country suffered from the rule of several different juntas. In 1968, the stability was restored in the country with the authoritarian rule of Siaka Stevens, the leader of APC.

With APC assuming power, the rule changed hands as the former opposition got the power. However, the regime got even more authoritarian. Stevens established a regime of suppression but at the same time he also succeeded a relative stability in the economy through the nationalization of the mines and timber resources, which are country's two major source of funding. Yet, his regime was challenged both by several junta initiation among the army officers and also by civilian politicians who were willing to mobilize the people against the regime. His rule lasted until 1985 when he retired and stepped back from the power due to his health problems stemming from this advanced age. He was replaced by the General Joseph Saidu Momoh, who served as the head of the Armed Forces of Sierra Leone (AFSL). Momoh also maintained the regime of suppression and he was accused of being the hand behind several political assassinations. Not long after his inauguration at the office, both domestic and international criticisms arose towards the regime. In response to harsh criticisms, the government changed the constitution in 1990 in a manner that allows other political parties to be formed and run in the elections. However, just before the elections in 1991, the government declared emergency situation and did not implement the law allowing other parties run in the election. This dragged country into a ruthless and severe civil war which lasted more than 10 years and eventually ended with foreign intervention.

6.1.2. The Civil War

The civil war in Liberia was an important destabilizing factor on the domestic politics of Sierra Leone as well. As response to the suppression in domestic politics, many political groups had already started to mobilize for armed struggle against the regime. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF), strongest among them, received a direct political and material support from the NPFL of Charles Taylor in Liberia. In the March of 1991 RUF started an assault on the government in the south of the country (Liberian border) and not long after attacked to Freetown, the capital.

With the support of Charles Taylor's NPFL, RUF captured the eastern and southern territories of Sierra Leone in the first months of the civil war. There were two major reasons that motivate Taylor to support RUF in Sierra Leone. Firstly, he was aiming to destabilize Sierra Leone where Nigerian troops under the ECOMOG were located. ECOMOG forces in Sierra Leone were targeting Taylor's NPFL in Liberia with series of cross-border operations. Therefore, Taylor wanted to overthrow Momoh's government which gave support to ECOMOG intervention in Liberia (Gershoni 1997). Secondly, since Sierra Leone harbors large amount of diamond and golden resources, Taylor saw this as an opportunity to fund his campaign against Liberian government (Zack-Williams 1999: 147, 150).

Momoh's government remained ineffective in response to the armed assaults of the RUF. Over the years from the independence to Momoh's rule, Armed Forces of Sierra Leone became too corrupt and developed in so disorganized way that rendered it inept against the insurgency. In most of the cases, the troops of AFSL refrained from encountering the militias of RUF. Militias were ruthless against the

civilian population which resist against RUF's rule in their lands. However, the government forces were not any better in their response to RUF militias. In their search of RUF combatants, AFSL acted ruthlessly indiscriminate against the civilian population, especially when they consider a specific group as sympathizer with RUF causes. The ineffective response of the government caused more civilians to get closer to RUF - voluntarily or by force - and RUF consolidated its power especially in southeastern part of the country, where most of the diamond sources are located. Besides, over the course of 1992, many troops from the AFSL joined to RUF forces as they consider RUF gets closer to overthrow the government (Gershoni 1997: 59).

Weak and inefficient response of the government, RUF advancing further in the countryside and heavily corrupted political elites motivated the army to intervene in politics. In this context, in the April of 1992, AFSL toppled down the government and sent Momoh to exile in Guinea with a coup d'etat. Following the coup, a junta government was formed with the name National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) (Gershoni 1997: 60). NPRC banned all political activities in the country, abolished the parliament (which was already inactive) and assumed the powers of executive and legislative. The main claim of the junta was that the intervention aimed at restoring government authority and fights RUF and capture Foday Sankoh, the leader of the militia. In the first months of the junta government, they aimed to renormalize the relationship with ECOWAS and other regional countries to increase the pressure on the Liberian NPFL which were contributing to the destabilization of Sierra Leone. However, NPRC failed in the struggle with RUF. In 1994, RUF were controlling most of the countryside and also several big cities including diamond sources (Abdullah 1998: 204).

Due to the incapable structure of AFSL to the militias, NPRC decided to hire a private security company which is trained to be expert in asymmetrical warfare. In the first months of 1995, NPRC agreed with the South African private security company Executive Outcomes (EO). The company was experienced in fighting with terrorist movements through its experience in Angola (Baker and Pettison 2013: 3). In the case of Angola, the company trained the Angolan army and provided the doctrinal ground for Angolan troops to form an actual army. In Sierra Leone, on the other hand, the agreement was only for the fight against RUF combatants. The mercenary forces succeeded in driving back the forces of RUF indeed. Firstly, Freetown was secured and protection of the government facilities was restored. In the following months, mercenary forces recaptured the southeastern part of the country and took the diamond mining areas back from RUF forces. Therefore, the inclusion of the Executive Outcomes in the fighting against RUF can be considered the first foreign intervention to the civil war.

Another actor involved in the fighting was the public militia called Kamajors. Kamajors is a group of militia initiated by several tribal elites with the aim of protecting the civilian population against the attacks of both RUF and government forces (Hoffman 2004: 212). After the civil war broke out in 1991, civilian population realized that they are going to be the target of both RUF and government forces, they started to arm themselves with the decision of tribal elites. Within the course of first year of the civil war, Kamajors became the major unit that was capable to protect civilians against the armed attacks. The main reason for the civilian population to form its own militia was the transitivity between the government forces and RUF forces. An important group of government troops were acting as soldiers but also working for RUF authorities. Later, this group of soldiers

were called Sobels meaning their double agent role in the war (Zack-Williams 1997: 377). Kamajors were composed of different groups of tribes which have better information about both the field and the other militia groups. They have played a very effective role in the protection of the civilian population caught in the crossfire of government and RUF forces. Within the bloody context of the civil war, there were also accusations targeting Kamajors about being corrupt and their role in several massacres and crimes against humanity (Zack-Williams 1997: 375).

6.1.3. Interventions in Sierra Leonean Civil War

Series of interventions were conducted to stop the bloodshed in Sierra Leone by different actors. With the success of EO against RUF fighters, it was considered that the government forces would advance in controlling the country's territories and restore the stability. However, a counter coup d'etat against NPRC was initiated in the beginning of 1996 to end the rule of NPRC after four years. The new military junta declared that the ultimate and immediate aim of the intervention was to restore a functioning democratic system and hold democratic elections as soon as possible (Harris 2014: 101). The junta, indeed, took the steps to transition into civilian rule and hold elections in the following months. The leader of SLPP Ahmed Tejan Kabbah got the majority in 1996 elections and became the president of the country. Kabbah draw a different picture from the country's political tradition in the first months of his inauguration. He initiated the dialogue with RUF elites including Foday Sankoh, which later turned into a process of peace talks. These developments

created an environment of good hope among the people. In such a context, peace talks that were held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast gave several results. Peace talks were conducted under the monitoring by United Nations and ECOWAS officials. After two months of intense negotiations, parties agreed on a peace accord in May 1996, which is called Abidjan Peace Accord (Francis 2000: 359). According to the agreement, withdrawal of EO forces was promised in return of the gradual disarmament of the RUF forces. However, Kabbah's government got ahead of the envisaged plan by withdrawing EO and government forces from the conflicted areas, which encouraged RUF to control these regions. Besides the arrest of Foday Sankoh in Nigeria created distrust towards the government among RUF militias.

Although a positive prospect was caught with Kabbah's initiation of peace talks, the positive picture was interrupted with another coup d'etat against Kabbah government. A group of officers from the army overthrew the civilian government and sent Kabbah to exile in May 1997 (Abdullah 1998: 204). The junta formed a government with the name Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and banned all political activities in the country. Furthermore, AFRC invited Foday Sankoh to take place in the new ruling council as the vice president. Following the establishment of AFRC junta rule in the country, the control of Freetown was handed back to RUF. In response to the coup d'etat, Kamajors declared that they are going to remain loyal to the legitimate civilian authority, namely the overthrown government of Kabbah. Overthrown of the government and inclusion of RUF's in the new junta was the main reason that provokes international community to intervene in the civil war in Sierra Leone. Because, a junta regime that is backed by RUF in Sierra Leone meant that NPFL and Charles Taylor in Liberia would find the political and economic support that he sought for advancing in the region. As the bloodshed even

worsened after the coup d'etat, the tendency to intervene into the civil war in Sierra Leone increased.

In the following process, series of actors intervened into the civil war in Sierra Leone. An apparent negative attitude towards the junta government in Sierra Leone was taken by the international community. United Nations declared that they recognized Kabbah's government as the legitimate authority in Sierra Leone. Besides, many countries withdrew their diplomatic missions from the country. Amongst others, the UK's condemnation of the coup and withdrawal of the diplomatic mission was signaling a prospect for intervention is possible. The UK's attitude towards Sierra Leone which was a member of Commonwealth of Nations was considered as an important dynamic in the country for the domestic legitimacy and power of a government.

Following these developments, the first step was taken by ECOWAS. ECOWAS declared that they do not recognize the rule of AFRC junta and overthrown civilian government should be restored in the country. Besides, the Organization also underlined that ECOMOG forces will intervene to junta forces for the restoration of legitimate government in the country. As the ECOMOG forces started the assault on junta forces, AFRC accepted to start peace talks again. ECOWAS and ECOMOG worked on a new peace framework and presented the Conakry Peace Plan in October 1997 (Francis 2000: 359). Though AFRC signed the plan, RUF did not honor the requirements of it and continued to fight to keep the control of Freetown. Therefore, Conakry Peace Plan remained as another failed peace initiation. With this failure, ECOWAS and international community came to understand that it was not possible to install a consolidated peace without fighting against the junta and RUF to drive them back militarily. However, it is also argued

that international community left ECOMOG forces alone in the region against RUF in the course of 1997 and 1998. With the Nigerian contribution to peacekeeping forces, ECOMOG started a new comprehensive assault on RUF and junta forces in late 1998 that continued during the first half of 1999. RUF responded with a ruthless and bloody assault on Freetown that they called "Operation No Living Thing" (Gberie 2005: 120).

Though neither parties did not win a clear victory in 1999, parties suffered long lasting fighting. Therefore, peace talks started again in Lome, the capital of Togo in June 1999 with the will of two fighting parties (Gberie 2005: 122). The process resulted with the Lome Peace Accord which mandated a mutual ceasefire and granted a seat for Foday Sankoh in the transitional government. Besides, disarmament of the RUF militias were promised by AFRC/RUF. Since Sankoh was seen as a warlord who was involved in atrocities and crimes against humanity, Britain and other international forces did not welcome the outcomes of the peace talks. Still, the peace accord was welcomed by ECOWAS and ECOMOG for it had a potential to bring at least a certain degree of stability to the region. Disarmament of the combatants started in late 1999 and got intense especially in late 2000. Meanwhile, the intervention to the civil war was getting more comprehensive when United Nations established the United Nations Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) after the peace accord in order to monitor and oversight the process.

UNAMSIL was founded with a very limited mandate which itself defined as "to cooperate with the Government and the other parties in implementing the Lome Peace Agreement and to assist in the implementation of the disarmament,

demobilization and reintegration plan" (UNAMSIL Webpage 2009).⁴¹ In the first phase, 6000 troops were sent as the UNAMSIL forces to Sierra Leone and the vast majority of this force was composed of Nigerian soldiers serving under ECOMOG. In March 2001, the number of forces had increased over 15000 which made UNAMSIL biggest UN mission in the world (Malan, Rakate and McIntyre 2002: 65). Meanwhile, several attacks against UNAMSIL forces by RUF militias continued during 2000 and 2001. With the increase of the number of troops, the mandate of the mission also started to change. UNAMSIL started to perform military operations against RUF forces. The fragile peace environment started to be broken again. After an assault, over 500 UNAMSIL troops were taken hostages by RUF. Upon the recurrence of bloodshed, three major interventions followed.

First one was conducted under the mandate of UNAMSIL. However, Britain proposed to enhance the scope of the coalition that would intervene. Therefore, members of UNSC were invited to take place in the intervention forces. Russia joined in the intervention forces with both material and troops support. Though China supported the operation, it did not send troops. The intervention succeeded to drive RUF out of Freetown to a certain degree. However, international forces were aware that RUF was preparing for another assault on Freetown. In this regard, the second intervention was planned to take place in July 2000. The second intervention, so-called Operation Khukri was performed by three countries, namely the UK, India and Ghana, under the mandate of UNAMSIL (Beri 2008: 210). The operation was successful in the sense that it broke the siege of the capital by RUF forces and drove them back to countryside of Sierra Leone. The third operation, namely the Operation Palliser, appeared as a unilateral intervention by Britain targeting directly the forces

⁴¹ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamsil/> (Last Access 13.07.2015).

of RUF in the countryside. Britain claimed a special responsibility to accelerate the process that would end the bloodshed as its historical, in other words former colonial, relationship with the country. In May 2000, British army attacked to RUF forces with over 2000 ground forces. The aim of the operation was an urgent and absolute stabilization of Sierra Leone (Williams 2001). The operation became successful and absolute defeat of RUF was the outcome. Though RUF wanted to retaliate with mass atrocities in several parts of the country, with the cross-border operations of Guinean army, they had to admit the defeat. Following the civil war, it was now time for to build a consolidated peace in Sierra Leone. 2002 elections was the first step of the transition and normalization of Sierra Leone. With the elections, political wing of the RUF, namely the Revolutionary United Front Party (RUF) is defeated also politically and Kabbah's SLPP won the absolute majority making Kabbah the president of the country.

6.2. Peacebuilding Operation in Sierra Leone

Following the end of the severe civil war that lasted for 11 years, the mentality of the intervention also evolved into a broader peacebuilding intervention in Sierra Leonean case. In other words, the intervention that started to keep the peace turned into a broader intervention practice that would actually build a peace with its necessary institutions, facilities and social structure. It is, actually, argued that how the intervention to Sierra Leonean civil war started actually was significantly influenced with the idea of peacebuilding in a broader context instead of a limited peacekeeping

operation that aims a sole ceasefire, what Galtung calls negative peace (Curran and Woodhouse 2007). Almost identically concurrent, the intervention mentality of international community was questioned in late 1990s and early 2000s when the situation in West Africa was getting worse. Kofi Annan's speech in the UN General Assembly making direct reference to the situation in Africa was underlining the need for a transformation in the intervention mentality of international community in 1999 (Kofi Annan's UN General Assembly Speech, 1999)⁴². Following his address, Brahimi Report published in 2000, emphasized that the intervention of international community to humanitarian crises requires a broader framework that is capable of going beyond keeping a fragile peace and build a genuine peace and security environment in which humanitarian dimension of these concepts come into prominence. Being shaped in this context, the intervention to Sierra Leone civil war was planned to be an enduring operation that would address different humanitarian needs instead of performing classical monitoring duties.

In the post-conflict context of Sierra Leone, there were many challenging dynamics that were rendering the peace environment fragile and causing to a high potential of recurrence of violence. Firstly, the situation of the state mechanisms in Sierra Leone after the civil war was in a total collapse. Every single state institution was involved in fraud and corruption. Besides, since the army officers were also part of the corruption cycle, international community was concerned about the possibility of a new coup d'etat. Therefore, one of the very first steps of civilian government that was elected in 2002 was to disband the Armed Forces of Sierra Leone and form a new military under the monitor of UNAMSIL and ECOMOG. Secondly, the humanitarian situation in the country was disastrous. Sierra Leone was ranked 174th,

⁴² Kofi Annan, 20 September 1999 <http://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990920.sgsm7136.html> (Last Access 11.07.2015)

literally in the bottom of Human Development Index Report of 2000 (Human Development Index Report 2000: 55). Following the civil war, average expectancy of life was only 31 years in Sierra Leone. Finally, since the civil war escalated uncontrollably, almost all segments of the Sierra Leonean society took an active part in the civil war, either in the army, RUF or Kamajors. Therefore, a consolidated peace without a societal rehabilitation was not possible in the country even though the state mechanisms were rebuilt and rendered functional. Because of all these reasons, it was apparent that a traditional peacekeeping intervention which is not built a broader peacebuilding mentality would fail to bring a long-lasting peace to Sierra Leone, as it was experienced in Liberia, Angola and many other African interventions. How was this peacebuilding practice shaped with respect to the three parameters mentioned in Chapter 3? Which normative priorities come into prominence? Which agents perform the operations? In what follows, an analysis of the peacebuilding practice in Sierra Leone with reference to three parameters of progress from the international to world society is presented.

6.2.1. Normative Agenda

As defined in Chapter 3, this dissertation focuses on the normative center of a practice in order to observe the evolution of that practice. Correspondingly, it takes normative agenda as a parameter that would constitute progress from the international to world society context. In this regard, the assumption in the peacebuilding literature is that the emergence of the peacebuilding interventions

directly related with the normative shift from state-centrism to human/society-centric approaches (Cockell 2000; Thomas and Tow 2002; Conteh-Morgan 2005). Besides, the experience in Sierra Leone is considered to be one of the newest of its kind in the sense that it is predicated on this newly appearing normative paradigm. This section intends to make an observation about the normative center of the peacebuilding agenda in Sierra Leone in order to find out (1) whether it can be considered within the framework of world society; (2) whether the argument that Sierra Leone peacebuilding operation is predicated on non-state-centric normative agenda is actually observable in the practice.

To do so, the analysis is designed as similar to the analysis of Liberia case. The analysis rises upon two pillars. 6.2.1.1 focuses on the main document that frames the peacebuilding activities in Sierra Leone, namely the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework (SLPCF). A qualitative analysis of the document and its emphases on the peacebuilding priorities are elaborated. 6.2.1.2 presents the results of a broader content analysis conducted on the peacebuilding documents published by both the UN and NGOs that are authorized and funded by the UN to take part in the peacebuilding network in Sierra Leone.

6.2.1.1. Normative Priorities in the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework

Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework (SLPCF) is a document which was prepared and enforced in December 2007. As summarized earlier, the

intervention to Sierra Leonean Civil War was initiated first in 1997 by the ECOMOG and the mandate of the intervention was transferred to the UN in 2000. After peacekeeping forces restored the permanent ceasefire in 2002, the intervention evolved into a broader long term peacebuilding operation. In this regard, SLPCF specifies the main priorities that occupy the peacebuilding agenda.

16 page document is composed of five main sections. Especially Section 3 (Analysis of Priorities, Challenges and Risks for Peacebuilding) determines the main priorities of the intervention. In Section 1 (Principles for Cooperation) states that the mandate of the operation relies on the UNPC mandate, which was enforced by the General Assembly Resolution 60/180 and Security Council Resolution 1645 in 2005 (Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework 2007: 2). Section 2 which summarizes the context in Sierra Leone states that

"Since the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement in 1999, the Government of Sierra Leone and its people, with the support of the international community, have made tremendous progress in rebuilding the country and securing peace. Among key achievements are the peaceful and democratic national elections held in 2002 and 2007 and the local government election held in 2004; the establishment and completion of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; the comprehensive reform and restructuring of national security institutions, such as the Sierra Leone Police, the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces and the Office of National Security; and the creation of a number of democratic institutions, such as the National Electoral Commission, the Political Parties Registration Commission, the Human Rights Commission and the Anti-Corruption Commission." (Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework 2007: 3-4)

This statement summarizes the already achieved tasks until 2007. Examining the statement, it is possible to find out that the main emphasis is put on the institutional reconstruction of the state of Sierra Leone. In this sense, it is inferred that first years of the international forces' presence in the country focused more on the state and

state organs in order to reform a functioning state mechanism. The section continues with underlining the risks for the peace environment and states that these points should be prioritized as the center of peacebuilding agenda:

"Notwithstanding the significant progress made, peace and stability in Sierra Leone remain fragile. The root causes of the conflict — widespread corruption, marginalization and disempowerment of the rural and some sectors of urban communities, lack of economic opportunities and inadequate State capacity to deliver basic services — remain largely unaddressed. The unemployment and marginalization of youth in particular present a serious threat to stability and peace." (Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework 2007: 4)

This statement touches rather upon both state and society as the future referent objects of the peacebuilding agenda. While it focuses more on state sector by underlining the fragile stability in the country, it also refers to societal problems such as unemployment and marginalization of the youth.

The main section in which peacebuilding priorities are determined is Section 3. Five main areas of priority are specified in Section 3. These are youth employment, consolidation of democracy and good governance, justice and security sector reform, capacity-building and finally energy sector development. In addition to these five main areas, subregional dimension of security and gender related problems are determined as fields that need to be addressed. Which referent objects are addressed in these priority areas? Going one by one can help understanding the normative center of these priorities.

Determining youth employment as a peacebuilding priority was a very novel approach to peacebuilding. Today, youth employment is also part of the peacebuilding agenda in Burundi, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau, yet, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that the case of Sierra Leone is the first practice which introduced peacebuilding agenda to employment projects. Looking at the debates in

the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, we see that this issue became subject to discussion among the peacebuilding elites. In the meeting of the Commission on 18th May 2007, members of the Commission had debated the inclusion of youth employment in the peacebuilding agenda. Part of the Commission argued that the peacebuilding agenda should focus more on market reconstruction which would also remedy the problem of youth unemployment. Another group in the Commission underlined that youth unemployment in Sierra Leone is directly related with the reintegration of ex-combatants to the society (UN Peacebuilding Commission, Sierra Leone Configuration, Summary Record of the 1st Meeting 2007: 2-3). The latter approach transcended and youth unemployment was included in the SLPCF as one of the five main priorities. Looking at the situation of former children soldiers in the country, it is possible to suggest that the view that correlates youth unemployment with reintegration and future cohesion of the society is an apt approach which centers the society as the referent object of a long term peace and security project.

Second priority area, namely the consolidation of democracy and good governance, is a priority that operates at the state level. Though consolidation of the democracy touches also to the daily life of ordinary citizens, prioritizing democracy and good governance is directly related with the state reformation in the peacebuilding context. In this field, fair and free elections in 2002 and 2007 were of the utmost importance. Therefore, UNPC focused more on the security of elections. Besides, it was also aimed enhancing the armed forces to keep the political atmosphere independent of violence. In other words, building military capacity was also considered as one of the early steps of building a functioning democracy. All in all, the second field of priority was supported with the practices that addressed state and state organs.

Thirdly, capacity-building is directly related with state formation. As related with the abovementioned perspective, forming a functioning state mechanism is an integral part of peacebuilding framework. The main source of the conflict in such war torn countries is considered to be the lack of an effective and proper state mechanism (Eriksen 2009). To remedy the problem of failed state structures, peacebuilding is considered also as a state-building project. The case of Sierra Leone represents a similar practice in this sense. As a country which long suffered from coup d'etats, corruption and civil war, the state structure in the country was collapsed in 2002 when the civil war ended. Therefore, first three years of international presence in Sierra Leone was mainly focusing on reforming the collapsed state structure. Though 2002 elections was seen as a success, the security environment remained fragile until 2007 elections. Therefore, peacebuilding efforts inevitably focused capacity-building as a priority through projects to train police and armed forces and enhancing their capacity. In this regard, state level was once again the major reference point of the peacebuilding agenda.

Fourth, reforming the justice and security sector can be correlated both with societal and state level approaches. As summarized above, reactivation of a social service which is the responsibility of the state naturally requires reforming of rebuilding the capacity of the relevant state organ. Yet, reformation of the justice and security services has broader implications that go beyond capacity-building and deal with individual and societal security approaches. In the specific case of Sierra Leone, it was mainly meant to restore the army as the only armed group in the country by the reformation of security sector. In this sense, an important part of the security sector reform was to rebuild the army and render it functional. Apart from this, demobilization, reintegration and rehabilitation of the former combatants is another

dimension of the security sector reform. Therefore, it is considered to be an important step to construct the social cohesion in the country. Reforming the justice system is also a multifaceted practice that includes both capacity-building and remedying the problems emerging due to the incapable structure of formal justice mechanism. In this regard, defining security and justice sector reform as a peacebuilding priority requires a comprehensive bunch of practices addressing both state/state organs and societal sector of peace and security.

Finally, energy sector development is a novel approach that was peculiar to the case of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone has been a country with the dilemma of being dependent to other countries while at the same time harboring significant amount of energy resources (UNDP 2012: 14). The country has long been suffering from the lack of infrastructure that distributes electricity to rural places. UNDP report underlines that only 10% of the country benefits uninterrupted energy supply as of 2012. In this regard, reforming the energy sector was considered to be an important step of economic reconstruction of Sierra Leonean economy. In this regard, the literature frames economic reconstruction as an aspect of human security (Grant 2012: 2). However, this practice in Sierra Leone evolved later into an economic activity which relies on a mentality of exchange of diamond and gold with imported energy. By doing this, it was argued that the country would find the opportunity to use its mineral resources effectively and turn these resources energy material. Yet, it also brought with a controversy about the intention of peacebuilding and possibility of abusing the needy structure of Sierra Leone. Therefore, energy sector reform is a controversial feature of peacebuilding practices in Sierra Leone.

Given the qualitative analysis above, it is fair to suggest that human and societal security aspects are present in the SLPCF as well as those other priorities

addressing state and state organs. Which referent objects are more frequently and intensively highlighted in the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone? In what follows, a quantitative method is employed to shed light to this question.

6.2.1.2. Normative Priorities in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis

So far, I have examined the intervention to Sierra Leone with a qualitative approach and intended to see how normative priorities and agents of the operations appeared and differed from other intervention practices. The official documents include important hints about the normative priorities on which the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone was built. Yet, which normative priorities are emphasized more? What is the dominant tone of the intervention in terms of normative priorities? These questions still beg answer. As in the previous empirical chapter, an important part of this dissertation's analysis relies also on the content analysis conducted on the sample comprised of UN and NGO documentation.

To bring answers to abovementioned questions, a similar content analysis is conducted by following the same path summarized in the previous empirical chapters. Again, five referent object variables are coded in the sample (1) State (R1); (2) A State organ (police forces, military, a ministry etc.) (R2); (3) Human being/individual (R3); (4) Human society (Liberians or a specific group of society) (R4); (5) General peace and security references (R5). A total of 188 pages of documents are included in the sample. Compared to Liberian case, the sample is

more balanced in terms of UN and NGO documents, still UN documents constituting the majority of the sample. While 114 pages of the sample are UN documents, remaining 74 pages are the development reports and policy papers published by the NGOs taking part in the peacebuilding network.

555 statements are coded as the references to different referent objects. Figure 37 below shows the distribution of the coded references according to the sample type. According to the results, 321 references are coded in the UN sample, while remaining 234 references are coded in the NGO sample. In other words, UN coding constitutes 58% of the general references while NGO coding constitutes remaining 42%.

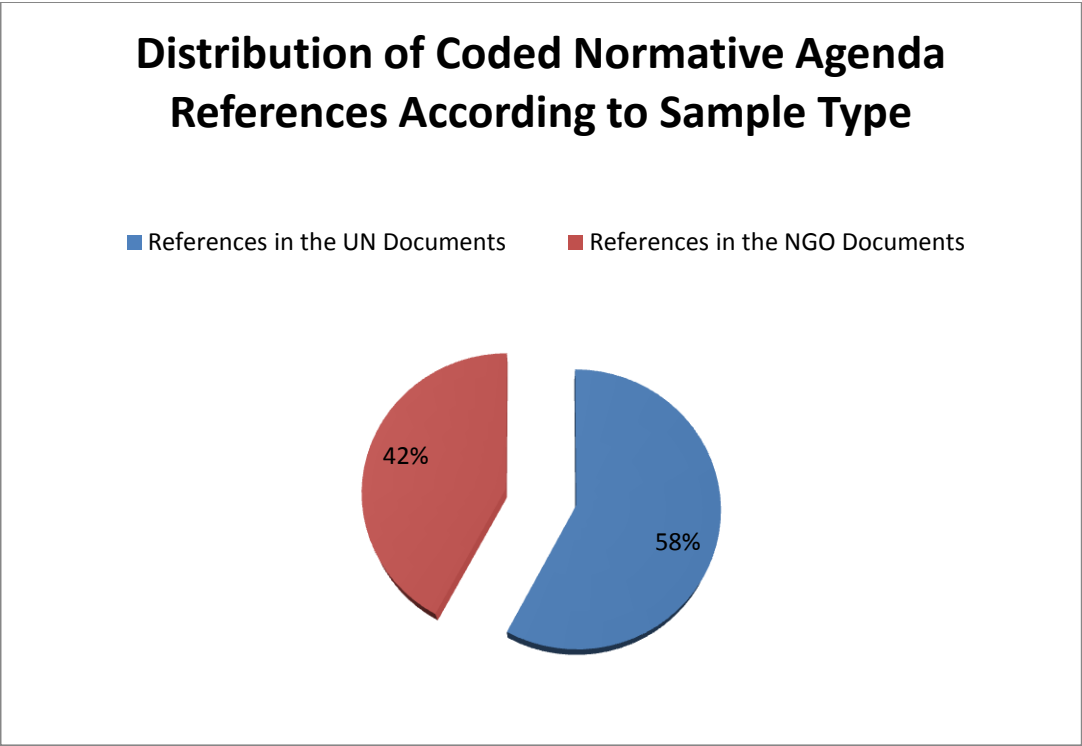


Figure 37: Distribution of Coded Normative Agenda References According to Sample Type

Which referent objects are addressed more frequently in the peacebuilding documents? The graph below sheds light to this question. According to the results, the societal sector of peace and security appears to be the most frequently emphasized referent object in the peacebuilding documents of Sierra Leone. In other words, the peacebuilding priorities in Sierra Leone touches upon the societal dimension more than any other referent object. 195 out 555 references are coded as making reference to societal referent objects. 195 references constitute 35% of the coded references in the texts. This result supports the argument that Sierra Leone peacebuilding intervention represents a new intervention mentality which prioritizes a non-state-centric understanding of peace and security.

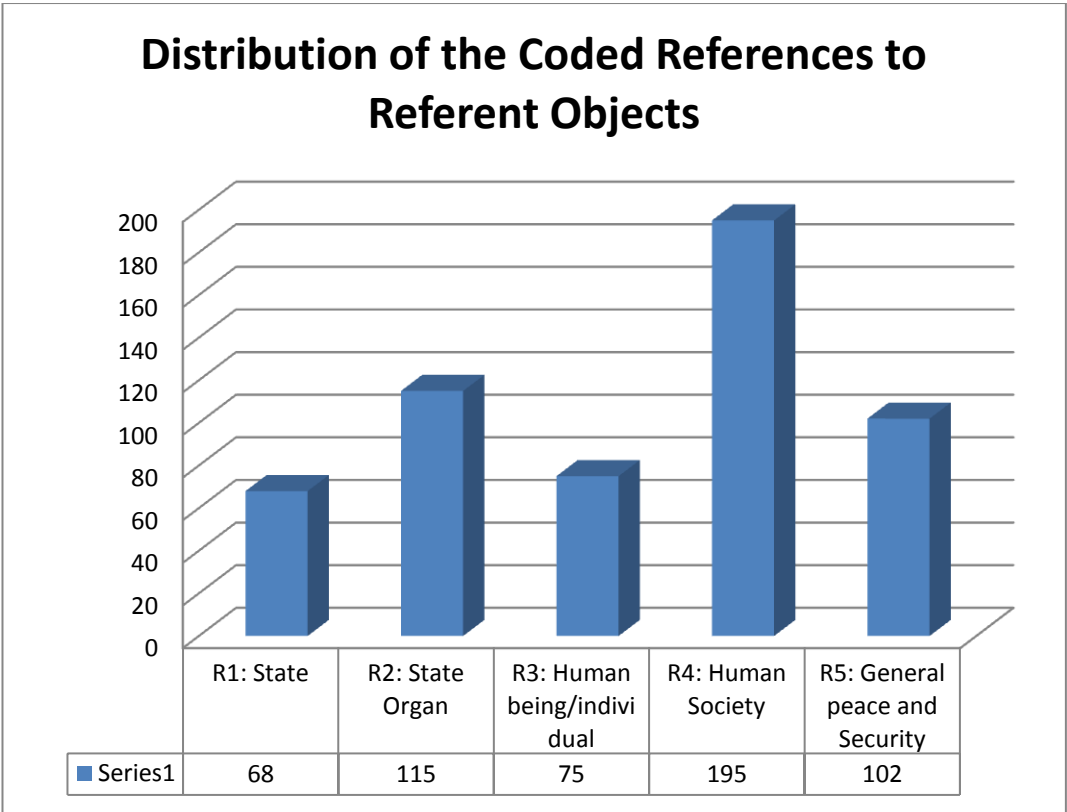


Figure 38: Distribution of the Coded References to Referent Objects

Second most-frequently referred sector of peace and security is the state organs. State organs are coded with the code R2 in the coding process. According to the results,

115 references are coded with the code R2. In ratio-based terms, 21% of the coded references address state organs. State organs being the second most frequently addressed referent object is important in terms of understanding once again the fact that state-building is an integral part of peacebuilding practices. No matter how persistently the literature focus on non-state conceptions of security such as human security within the context of peacebuilding, addressing non-state sectors of peace and security does not appear to be a viable agenda item without a properly functioning state mechanism. Therefore, a comprehensive and efficient peace agenda inevitably focuses on reconstruction of state institutions. Within the context of Sierra Leone (similar to Liberian case), rebuilding judiciary mechanisms and enhancing police capacity as well as training of them are two most frequently mentioned peacebuilding priorities that are coded as R2. Considering that R2 comes second in the order, it is possible to restate the argument that it is a faltered suggestion to frame peacebuilding as a practice that focuses only non-state dimensions of peace and security. Rather, it can be considered as a project that aims building proper state structures which would develop the capacity of being a means to distribute peace and security to non-state referent objects.

The third most frequently referred sector in the texts are the emphasis on the general peace and security attributions. 102 out of 555 references are coded as R5. This makes 18% of the coded references. The references that do not emphasize a specific sector of security and peace are coded as general references. For instance, texts emphasize several projects as tools of building a more stable and peaceful environment in the region. These kinds of references do not fit into a specific referent object definition. Therefore, they are coded as general references to peace and security in Sierra Leone.

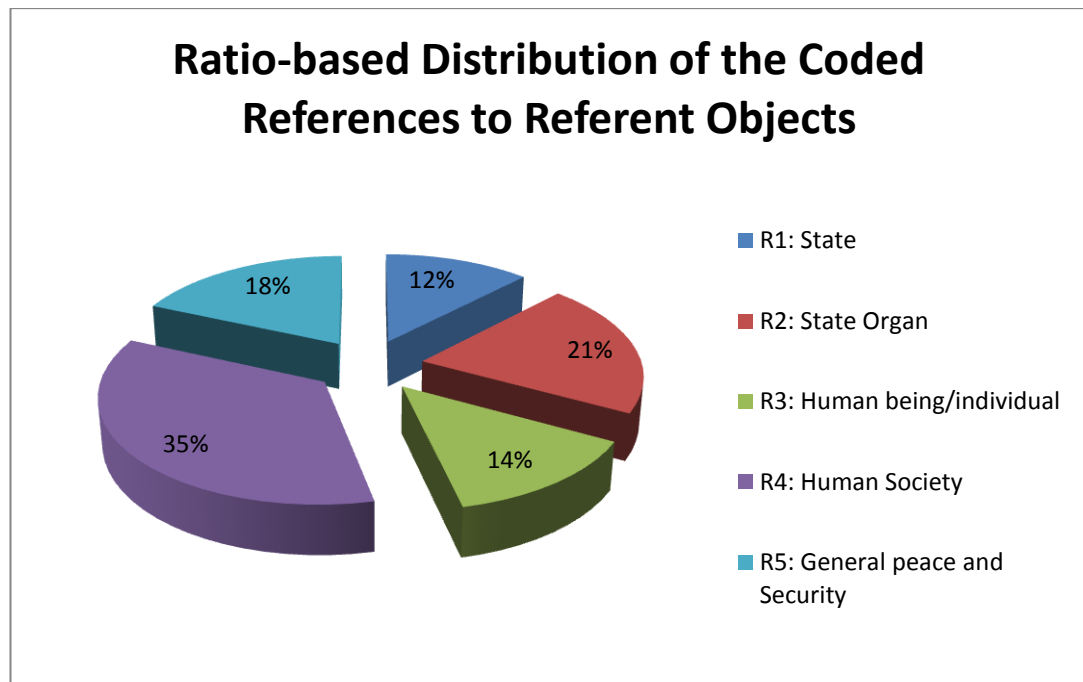


Figure 39: Ratio-based Distribution of the Coded References to Referent Objects

Individuals appear to be the fourth most frequently addressed referent objects in the coded peacebuilding sample. 75 out of 555 coded references, which constitute 14% of the whole references, are the attributions to individual sector of peace and security. When the references are examined, it is possible to see most frequently emphasized issue within the context of individual security in the sample is the insecurity of women. Projects that aim at protecting women from sexual assault, rehabilitation of the victims of rape and violence comprise the vast majority of the individual security references. According to the literature, the security agenda focusing on women security is inspired mainly from the individual security conception (Hudson 2005). Therefore, such peacebuilding priorities are coded as R3. Another strong emphasis in these references was on the projects focusing on children's security. Similar to women security conception, the security agenda focusing on children security is also correlated with human security framework (McIntyre and Thusi 2003). These references, hence, are also coded as R3. Finally,

least referred unit in the peacebuilding sample was the state. 68 references to state security, making 12% of the all references, are coded in the sample. Most of these references underline the significance of militarily constructed peace and security. Border security is another strong emphasis among these references.

As stated above, the coded sample is composed of both UN and NGO documents. Then it can be questioned how the result would change when we focus on these two types of sample separately. 321 of the 555 coded references are coded in the UN sample. When we specifically focus on the UN sample, we see that though the rank order of the referent objects does not change, the difference among some of them diverge from the general results. As in the general results, societal sector of peace and security appears to be the most frequently addressed referent object in the UN sample. 119 out of 321 references are coded as R4. In other words, societal peace and security references compose 37% of the coded references in the UN sample. This is an interesting and important result since it shows the fact that societal sector of security as a non-state centric approach is not neglected in the UN documents which are mainly shaped under the supervision of state representatives taking place in the relevant committees. The second most frequently addressed unit of security and peace is state organs. 74 references are coded as R2, which constitutes 23% of the coded references in the UN documents. The UN projects focusing on the training of police forces and building new judiciary facilities to the countryside where traditional justice mechanisms cause serious problems are the main figures mentioned in these references. Since Armed Forces of Sierra Leone was dissolved after the civil war and transition to civilian rule, many projects mentioned in the UN documents deal with the rebuilding of an army and its training. Almost same with R2, R5 -meaning general peace and security references- are coded 72

times in the UN documents. This constitutes 23% of the coded references in the UN sample.

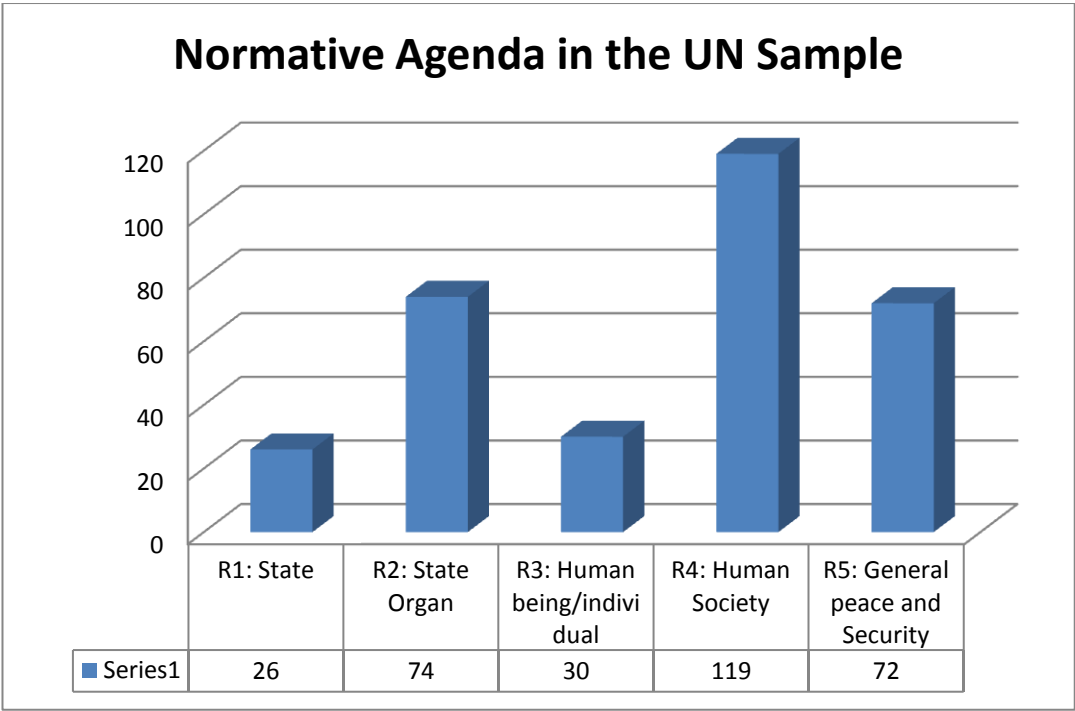


Figure 40: Normative Agenda in the UN Sample

Human beings/individuals come fourth in the order. 30 references are coded as R3, which constitute 9% of the references in the UN sample. It can also be noted that there is a significant gap between individuals and first three other referent objects in the texts. While the numbers of coded references in first three referent object are close to eachother, R3 is coded significantly less than these three referent objects. A similar situation appears for state as a referent object of peace and security. 26 references coded as addressing to state security, which makes 8% of the coded references in the UN sample.

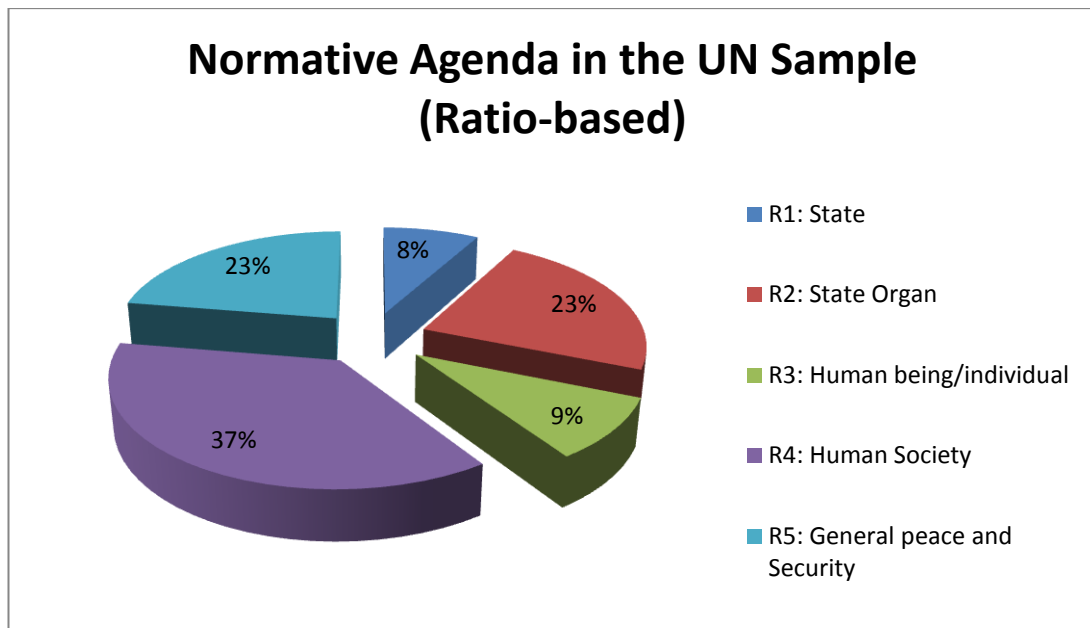


Figure 41: Normative Agenda in the UN Sample (Ratio-based)

How do results differ when we focus specifically on the documents produced by the NGOs which took part in the operation? There are several noteworthy differences when the sample is only composed of NGO documents. Similar to the UN and general sample, society as a referent object of peace and security appears to be the most frequently addressed unit. 76 out of 234 coded references address the society as the center of its peace and security agenda. In other words, 32% of the references are coded as R4. At this point, it should also be noted that the ratio of R4 frequency (32%) in the NGO sample is below the frequency of the same variable (37%) in the UN sample. This is an interesting result in terms of NGOs representing non-state practitioners of peacebuilding does not emphasize the societal sector of peace and security with an exaggeration of it.

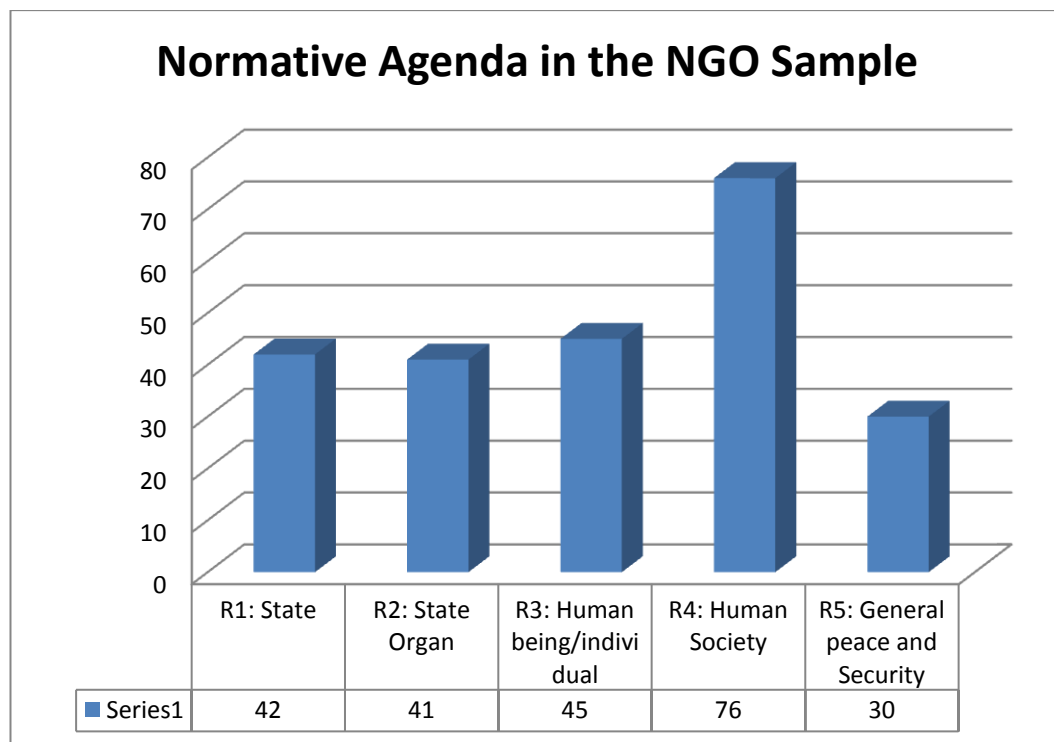


Figure 42: Normative Agenda in the NGO Sample

The second most frequent referent object is individuals, which is different from the results derived from general and UN sample. 45 references in the NGO sample are coded as references to individual dimension of peace and security. Considering that 234 references are coded in the NGO sample, this means 19% of the references in the NGO sample are coded as R3. Examining the NGO sample, it is possible to find out that most of the references to individual sector derive from the projects focusing on women and children security, which is similar to UN sample. Relying on the fact that women and children security are visible emphases in both UN and NGO sample, it is possible to suggest that these are prominent figures of peacebuilding priorities in the context of West Africa.

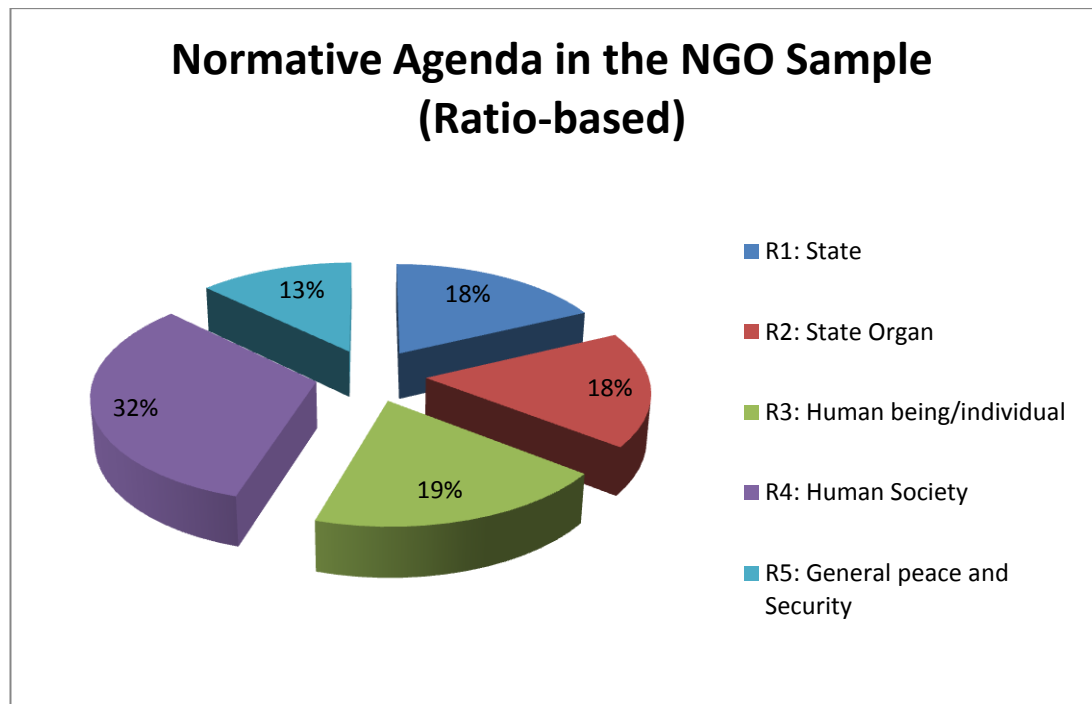


Figure 43: Normative Agenda in the NGO Sample (Ratio-based)

Third and fourth most frequent references are very close to each other. While R1, which is state security is coded 42 times, R2, which is security mentions addressing state organs, is coded 41 times. Each variable constitutes 18% two equal pieces of the all references in the NGO sample. Considering that the sum of state related security references reaches to 36%, it is once again possible to note that state sector is undeniable part of peacebuilding agenda even in the NGO sample. Finally, general security references, which are coded as R5 appears to be the least frequently addressed emphases in the NGO sample. The reason of the fact that R5 comes last in the order as different from the UN sample may be because NGOs publish reports on their own specific peacebuilding agenda which rely actual projects funded by the donors. In other words, NGOs are more of focused agents while UN deals with a broader bunch of agenda items which sometimes do not fit in a specific category.

As presented in the case of Liberia, the content analysis also categorizes each reference to referent objects according to the degree to which it turned into real practice. How many of the references mentions completed projects and how many of them are mentioned as planned projects? To see the answers to these questions, each reference to were coded to five referent objects under three categories: achieved, targeted and ongoing. The codes used for these categories are "Ad" for accomplished projects, "Td" for references that mentions the plans that have not turned into real practice yet and "Og" for references to ongoing projects. Such a coding enables us to see whether each referent object is addressed in projects that turned into real practice or the references mainly mention abstract projects that is planned to be realized in the process.

The results (Figure 44 and Figure 45) for state sector (R1) of security and peace show that references are distributed balancedly to accomplished projects and plans that are mentioned as future projects (targets). 69 references to R1 are coded. 27 out of 69 are coded as accomplished projects while 26 are coded as targeted plans. Remaining 16 references mention ongoing projects. In other words, accomplished references constitute 39% while future plans 38% of the references to state sector of security and peace. 23% of the references emphasize ongoing projects that appear as peacebuilding priority in the documents.

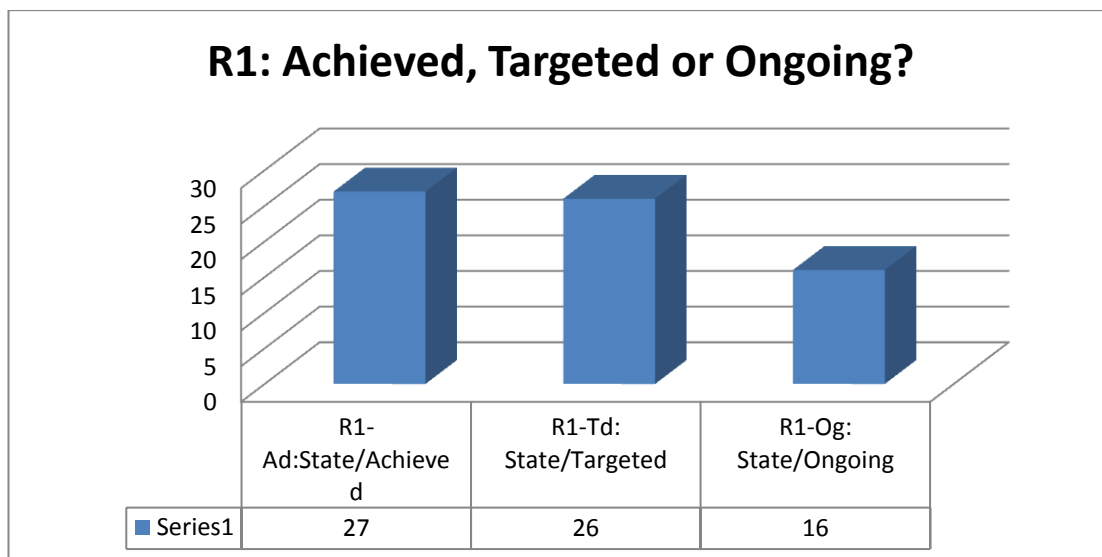


Figure 44: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

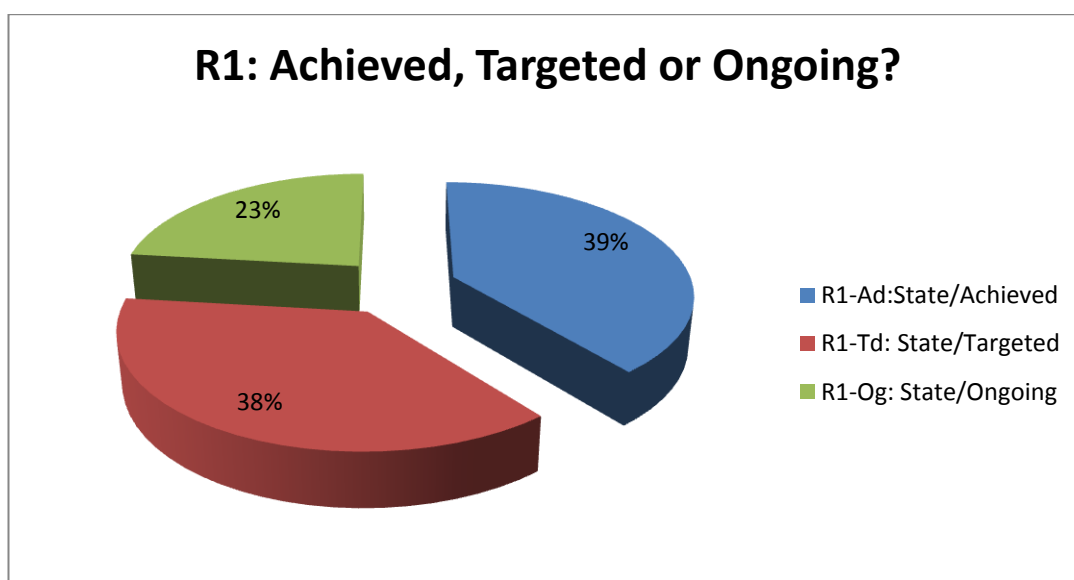


Figure 45: R1: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

The references for state organs are rather more to targeted attributions. 114 references are coded with the code R2. 41 references are coded as the emphases on the accomplished projects, while 62 statements mention rather projects that are planned but not turned into actual practice yet. Remaining 11 references are coded as ongoing projects.

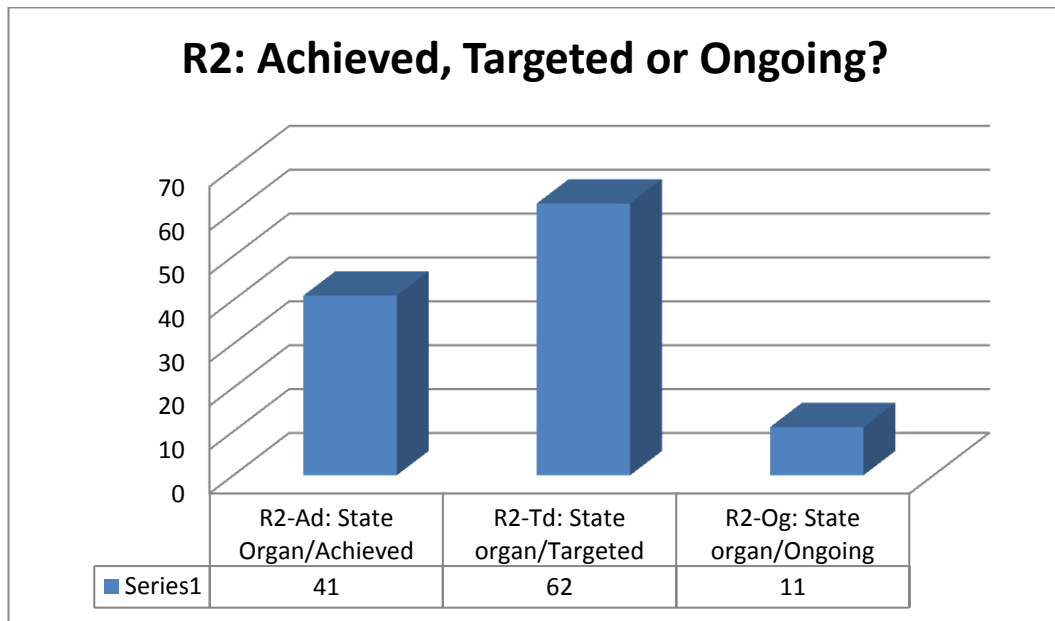


Figure 46: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

In this sense, R2-Td constitutes more than half of (54%) the coded references to state organs as the center of normative priorities while references mentioning accomplished priorities addressing state organs are 36%. Emphases on the continuing projects constitute 10% of the coded references to R2.

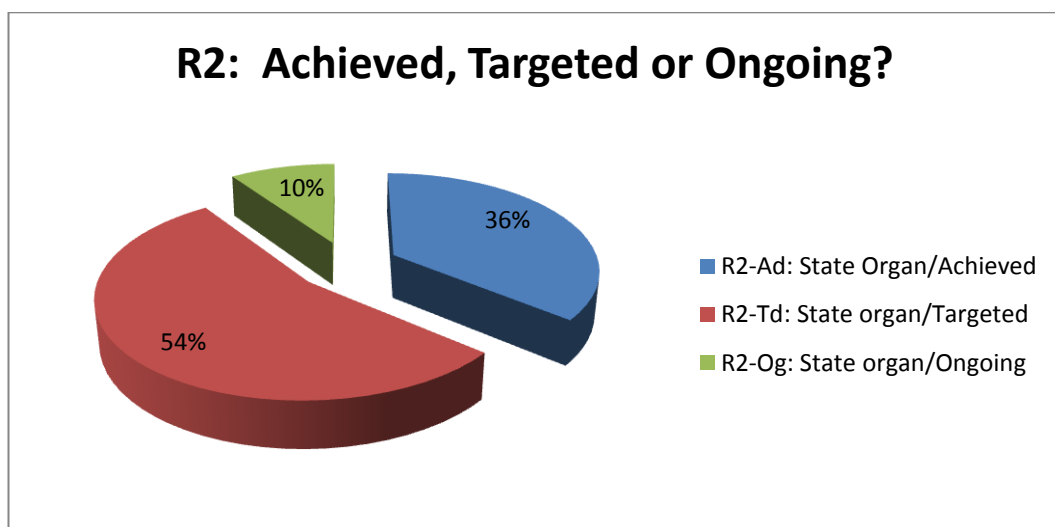


Figure 47: R2: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

When we take individual/human sector of peace and security, the gap between the references to accomplished tasks and targeted aspirations gets bigger (Figure 48). Out of 75 references, only 20 of them are coded as accomplished tasks, while targeted attributions are coded 46 times. 9 of the references are coded as ongoing.

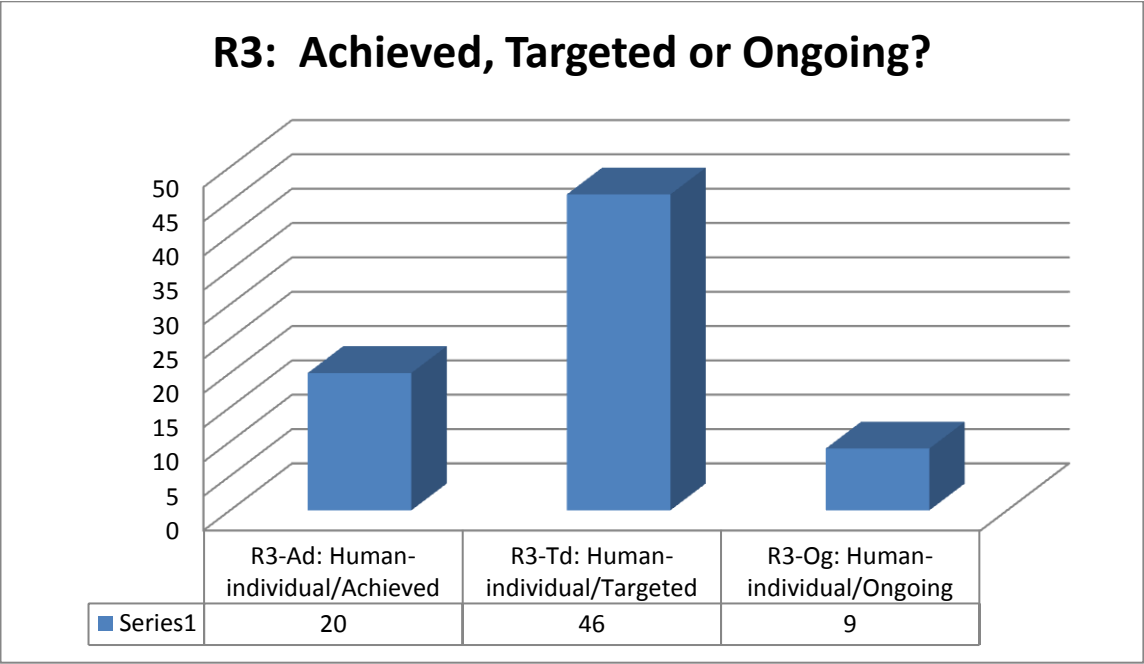


Figure 48: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

In other words, overwhelming majority of the references to individuals as the referent object of peace and security projects are statements emphasizing what is needed to be done instead of mentioning practices that are already realized. 61% of the references are coded as targeted projects, while 27% mentions those finalized practices in the field of individual peace and security. References to ongoing practices constitute 12%. When these references are examined, it is understood that most of the emphases on women security are suitable to be coded as accomplished, as they mostly mention the projects that intended to deal with women's problems. Targeted references are, on the other hand, mostly composed of emphases on the general human security attributions such as freedom from fear and individual

security. These results also support the argument that represents the case of Sierra Leone as success in terms of its comprehensive agenda on the women security.

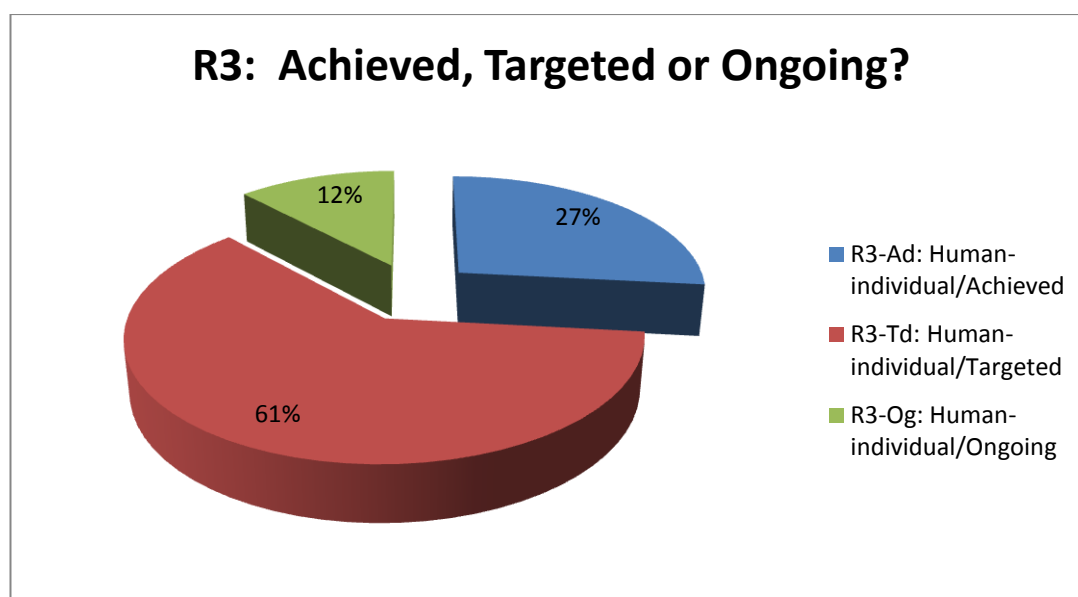


Figure 49: R3: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

As reported above, societal sector of peace and security is the most frequently referent object in the peacebuilding documents. 195 references are coded as correlating to this field. Similar to R3, most of the references to R4 are coded as targeted projects. 107 out of 195 references are coded as R4-Td, while 63 references are coded as accomplished tasks in the societal sector of peace and security. Remaining 25 references mention the continuing projects and they are coded as R4-Og. In this sense, 55% of the references to societal sector of peace and security emphasize targeted project, while 32% of the references are to achieved and accomplished tasks. References to normative priorities that turned to ongoing projects constitute the remaining 13%.

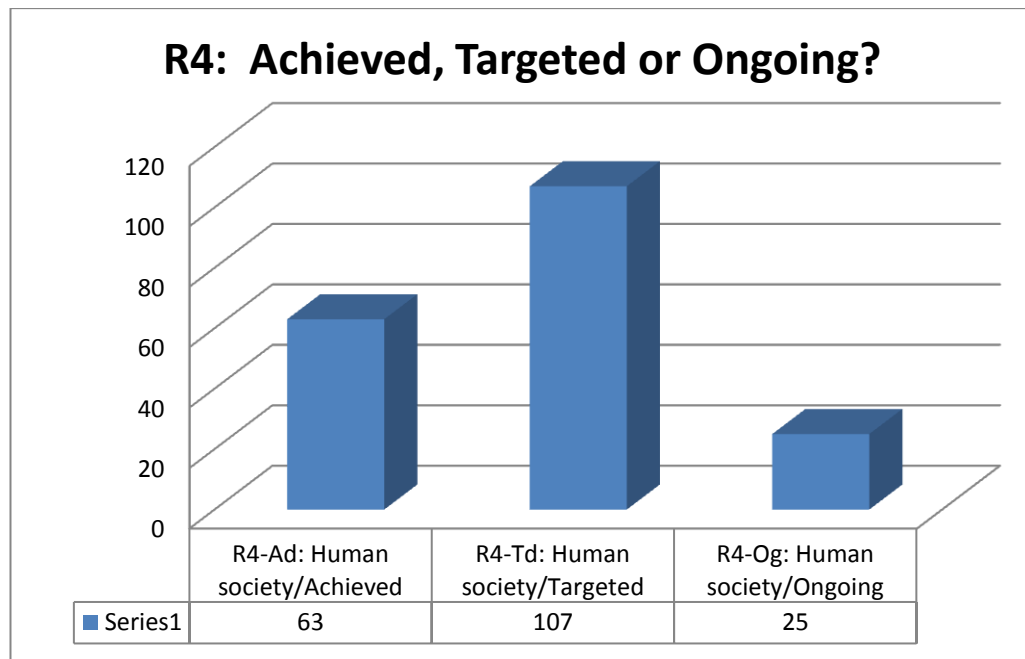


Figure 50: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

As stated earlier, most of the references to societal sector as the referent object of peacebuilding normative agenda mention the practices that focus on the national reconciliation, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration of the former combatants to the society. While most of the references to the projects focusing on the demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration of the former combatants appear to be statements on the accomplished tasks, the emphases on the national reconciliation rather frame it as a long-term project that would take a tortuous road. This is mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, it is directly related to the deeply divided structure of Sierra Leonean society. Accomplishing a genuine national reconciliation in such a country like Sierra Leone which long suffered from bloodshed, civil war, coup d'etats and corrupted state structure is expectably a hard and time-taking task. Secondly, the concept itself is debated and controversial. What reconciliation really means is a controversial issue elsewhere in the literature. Even though certain degree of stability is restored, social cohesion is really fragile in such post-conflict countries.

Therefore, it is understandable that most of the references to national reconciliation mention long term projects that would be coded as R4-Td.

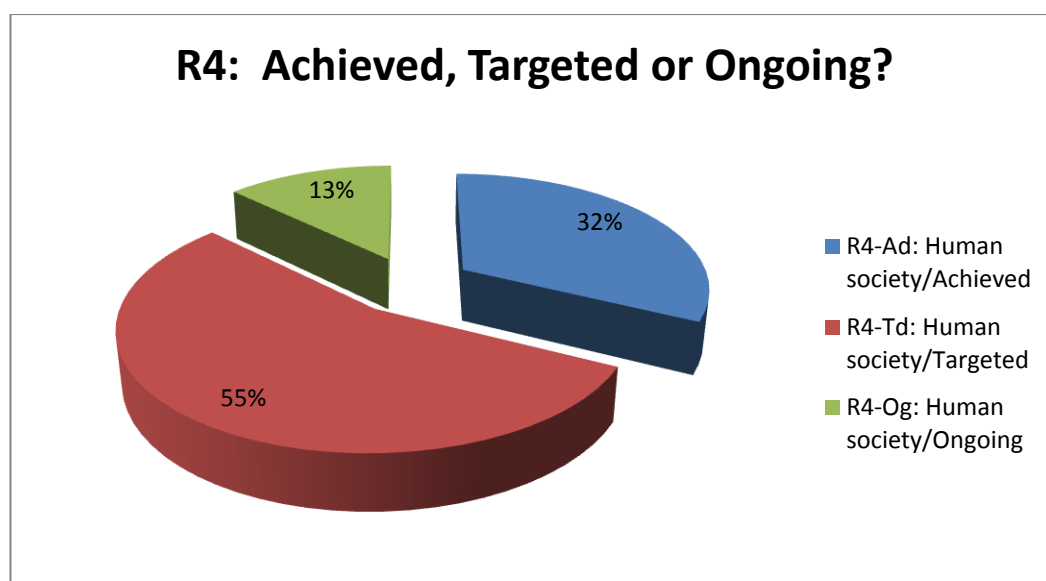


Figure 51: R4: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

Finally, when we focus on the references to general peace and security statements, once again we encounter a similar result in which targeted references exceed accomplished tasks. 49 out of 102 general peace and security references are to projects which have not yet been turned into actual practices but remain as plans to be followed in the future. 27 references, on the other hand, appear as statements on the accomplished tasks. Remaining 26 are references to ongoing projects that can be categorized in the field of general peace and security. According to these numbers, 48% of the references are targeted projects, while statements on the accomplished tasks and ongoing project constitute two equal pieces of 26%.

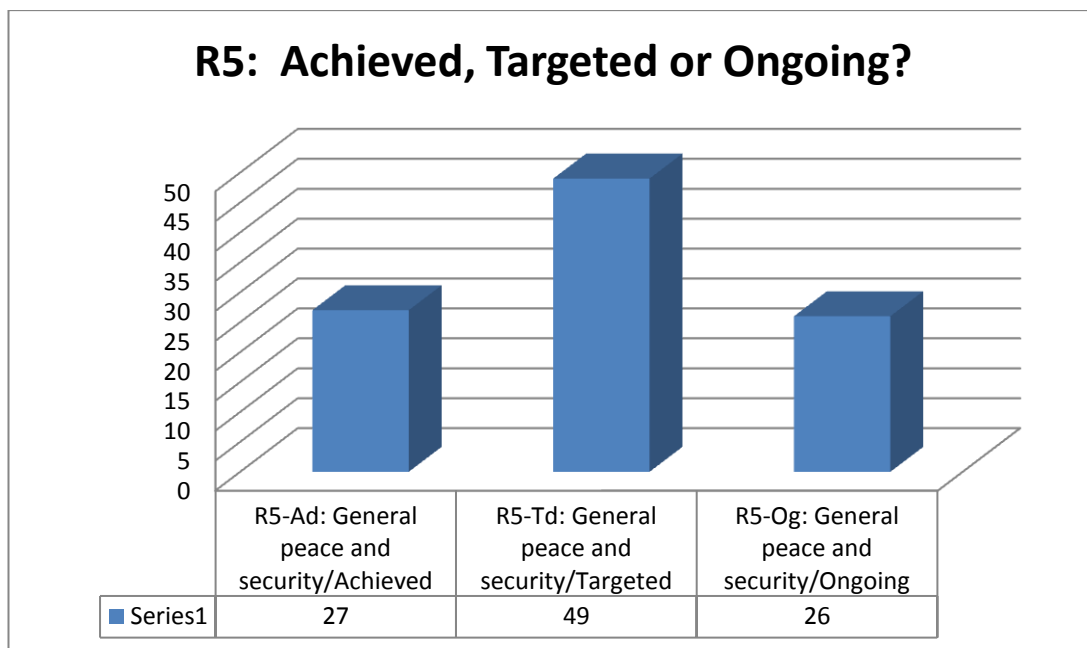


Figure 52: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing?

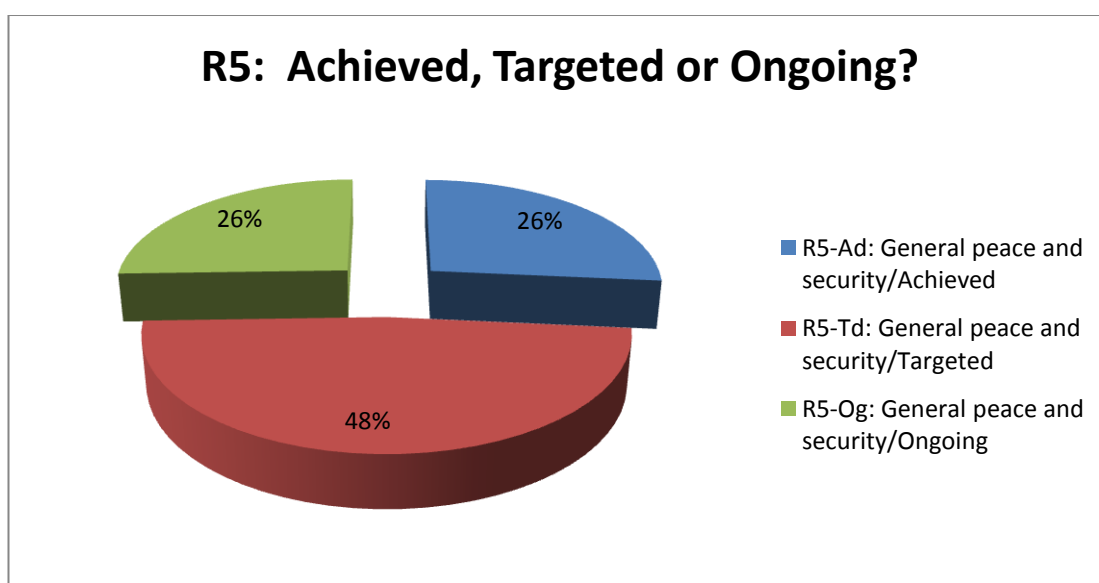


Figure 53: R5: Achieved, Targeted or Ongoing? (Ratio-based)

These results show that the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone is shaped with an understanding that prioritize societal sector of peace and security. Still, it is also necessary to note that state security is not out of the agenda in new peacebuilding interventions. The results of the content analysis on the Sierra

Leonean peacebuilding documents show that without a stable security environment in which state security is restored, addressing to non-state referent objects is not a viable option. Therefore, a considerably important part of peacebuilding priorities focus on building functioning state institutions. Next section continues with the analysis on the agents of peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone.

6.2.2. Agency

Agency is suggested as another parameter of progress from the international to world society. In this regard, it is possible to understand whether a practice in world politics is initiated within the framework of international or world society by focusing on the agents performing agency. Therefore, this section focuses on the agents of the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone.

Agency, as defined in Chapter 3, is set of practices performed by agents with the capacity of making an impact on the course of the events. In intervention practices, states and international organizations are considered as traditional agents. Yet, several other actors have started to practice agency in intervention cases since the end of the Cold War. Peacebuilding is one of these intervention frameworks in which agents other than states participate to the process. Sierra Leone peacebuilding operation is one of the newest of its kind in the sense that it is operated in collaboration with state, international organizations, tribal chieftains, NGOs and private sector actors (Labonte 2012). This section focuses on the agents taking role in the operation of Sierra Leonean peacebuilding intervention. It intends to observe the

alleged diversification of the agents in actual practices. To do so, 6.2.2.1 qualitatively examines the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework. 6.2.2.2 presents the results derived from the content analysis conducted on the sample composed of UN and NGO documents on Sierra Leone peacebuilding operation.

6.2.2.1 Agency in the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework

Similar to normative priorities, the main agents of the Sierra Leone peacebuilding intervention are also specified in the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework (SLPCF). Especially Section 4 of the SLPCF focuses on the mutual commitments of the major agents in the operation. Section 4 defines the responsibility of each stakeholder taking part in the operations. Five different actors' responsibility are specified in the document.

Firstly, the section starts with specification of the responsibilities assigned to Government of Sierra Leone. According to the documents, the government commitments can be categorized into five agenda points: youth employment and empowerment, justice and security sector reform, energy sector reform, showing active participation to the reactivation of the Mano River Union and cooperation with the Peacebuilding Commission. In this regard, it is apparent that the state practices a significant agency in the consolidation of the peace in Sierra Leone. This is in harmony with the logic of peacebuilding which relies on a certain degree of state-building. In other words, the normative priority of resetting a state structure in the post-conflict contexts aims also enabling that reformed state capable to practice

agency in the remaking of the country. In this sense, Sierra Leone case is a typical peacebuilding practice in which the state/government which was stabilized after the intervention is assigned significant tasks.

Second important actor of which responsibilities are defined in SLPCF is the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission. UNPC is actually the body that the mandate of the operation is transferred in 2006 with the foundation of UNPC. Since UNPC is the most prominent partner of the Sierra Leonean government, it is also assigned similar tasks to those of the government. In this sense, UNPC acts not only as a partner but also as a fund-provider to these activities. Yet the section also notes that the primary responsibility in these tasks lies with the government. UNPC, rather, plays the role of facilitator and does not steal role from the government in these operations. Yet, the section underlines that UNPC has a primary responsibility to prepare master plans for several critical projects such as Sierra Leone National Aid Policy, Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Plan. These projects are not just symbolic practices. Rather these practices represent the very novel approach adopted in the new intervention cases. At this point, specification of the UNPC, an international stakeholder of the operation, as the primary actor in the making of these demonstrates that the main layout of the operation is determined by the international organizations. In other words, before the government of Sierra Leone actually practices a political agency, the prescriptions are prepared by the international organization, which played the initiator role. Considering that such domestic policy issues are discussed at international level, this situation can be considered as an indication of the intervention practice is built upon a transnational mentality.

Third party which is assigned responsibilities in the SLPCF is the United Nations. UN is taken as a separate actor from the UNPC since it represents the

broader international community while UNPC is more of a focused commission composed of the representatives of volunteering countries and professional personnel. The main agency of the UN, according to the document, is to act as a legitimacy-providing body. The document states that

"In the light of Security Council resolution 1620 (2005) of 31 August 2005, which defines the mandate of the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone, Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) of 31 October 2000 on women, peace and security and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2008-2010, the United Nations system is encouraged to Support the implementation of the present Framework and the work of the Peacebuilding Commission" (Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework 2007: 13).

In this regard, UN plays rather a symbolic role in the actual practices operated in the field, but plays a key role in the legitimation of these practices through the resolutions emphasized in the statement.

Bilateral and multilateral partners are assigned tasks and responsibilities as the fourth stakeholder of the intervention. At this point, it can be noted that the agential practice of bilateral and multilateral partners are determined actually in their respective cooperation programmes. Yet, all these programs are prepared by taking into account the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the commitments in the United Nations Millennium Declaration (Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework 2007: 13). Still, the section underlines that these partners are expected to provide funds to Poverty Reduction Strategy Program which was initiated in 2006.

Finally, the document assigns roles and responsibilities to third countries, especially to those located in West African region. They are expected to cooperate with the elected Sierra Leonean Government in matters such as building a regional subsystemic partnership through the reactivation of the Mano River Union.

This brief review reveals that the intervention practice in Sierra Leone is shaped mainly by the state and international (state-formed) agents. Yet, focusing only on the SLPCF would deprive the analysis of a deep elaboration. Obviously many other agential units have been performing diverse practices both in the early and post-conflict intervention phases. 6.2.2.2. builds on a more comprehensive analysis on the peacebuilding documents and seeks to understand the extent to which each agential unit participated to the peacebuilding practices.

6.2.2.2. Agents in the Peacebuilding Documents: Results of the Content Analysis

Below follows an analysis on the agents of the peacebuilding intervention and post-conflict process in Sierra Leone based on the content analysis of the peacebuilding documents. Similar to the content analysis of the intervention to Liberia, each practice in the documents are coded according to the agent that perform that practices. In this sense, six different agents are coded: (1) State (A1), (2) State organ (A2), (3) NGOs (A3), (4) Society (A4), (5) Profit-seeking organizations (A5) and (6) International actors (A6). In other words, all practices mentioned in the documents are categorized to be performed by these six agents.

The sample is composed of both UN and NGO documents. Compared to Liberian case, the distribution of coded agency references to sample type is more balanced. Figure 54 shows the distribution of the agency references to the sample type. A total of 526 references are coded. 285 of them are coded in the UN documents while 241 references are coded in the NGO documents. In other words, 54% of the references are coded in the UN documents, while remaining 46% is

coded in the NGO documents. As stated earlier, the reason of the fact that sample is much more balanced compared to Liberian case is because NGO agency in the case of Sierra Leone was much more active and efficient compared to any other case of peacebuilding (Fanthorpe and Maconachie 2010).

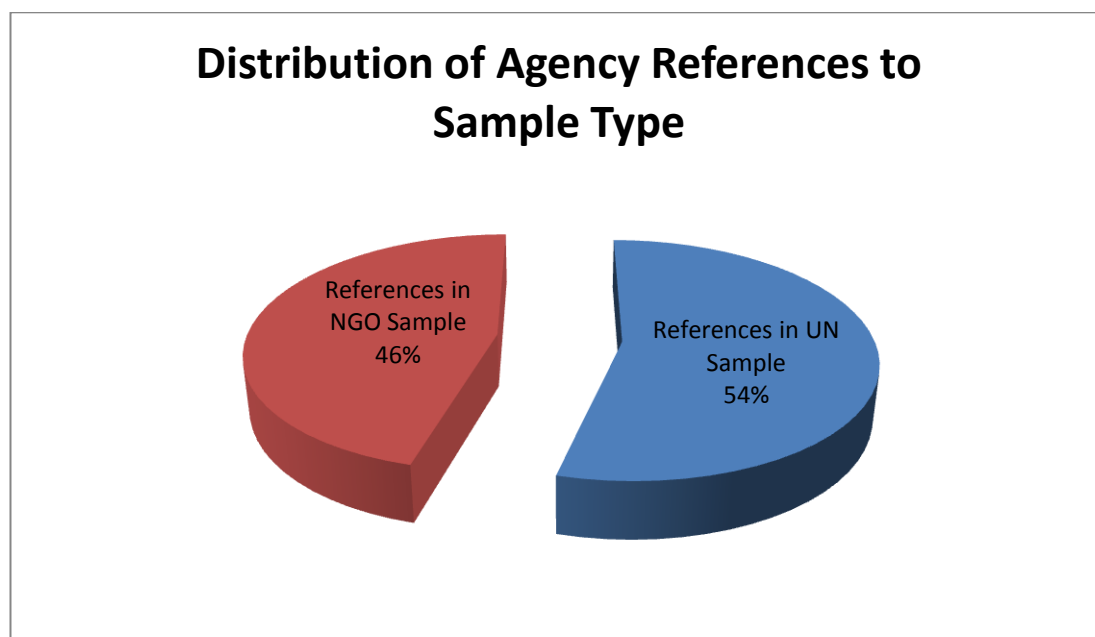


Figure 54: Distribution of Agency References to Sample Type

According to the results, most frequently referred agent as represented performing the practices is international actors such as UN, UNPC, ECOWAS, UNIPSIL. 175 out of 526 agency references are coded as performed by international actors. In other words, 33% of the coded references to agency is performed by international actors. When each reference is examined, UNPC appears to be the most active international actor in the documents. It seems that UNPC is the organizing body of the general course of the peacebuilding agenda in Sierra Leone. Other active international actors are ECOWAS/ECOMOG and third countries such as Britain.

International actors being most frequently referred agents both in the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone is an important finding because it shows that international

actors sit in the operator's seat of peacebuilding practices. Most important reason of this is the fact that we go through an era in which legitimacy of such practices are granted by the UN mechanisms representing international community. In this sense, UN, as the main visible body of international society, performs as a enabling and facilitating task for the realization of a practice that this dissertation preferred to make sense in the framework of world society. This situation can be evaluated as an empirical support to the argument that was underlined in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3: as argued by Wight and other English School scholars, all three concepts of the ES, namely the international system, international society and world society represent different features of world politics. The existence of the world society does not necessarily render international society irrelevant. Rather there is an ongoing interaction between these different pictures of world politics.

NGOs come second according to the results. 110 references are coded as A3, which means that they are performed by NGOs. In this sense, NGO agency constitutes 21% of the coded agency references in the sample. This is another noteworthy result derived from the analysis. As exemplified from the literature, the peacebuilding experience in Sierra Leone is suggested to be one of the prominent examples of its kind in the sense that NGOs perform an active and efficient agency. The results show that this argument can also be observed with references to actual practices. NGOs took active responsibility not only in the projects that is considered to be classical NGO practices such as civil society building, but also in very critical tasks such as formation of Truth and Reconciliation Committee and DDRR process of former combatants. Given the results, it is possible to derive empirical proof to the argument that represents Sierra Leone peacebuilding experiences as a case in which NGOs took an actual, tangible and observable role.

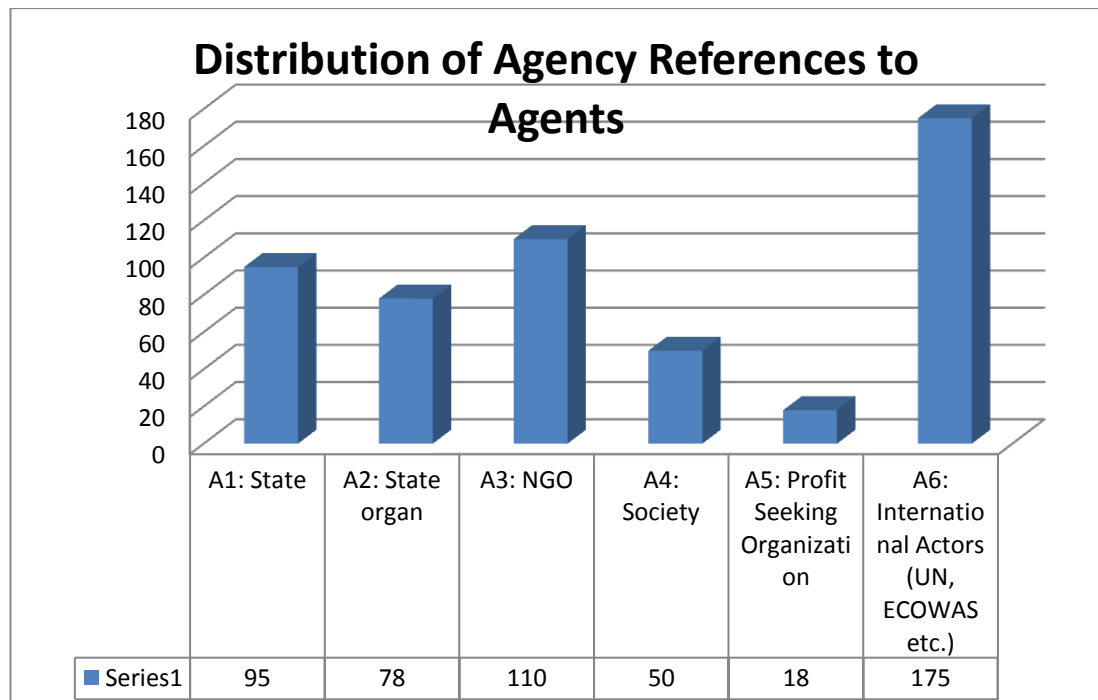


Figure 55: Distribution of Agency References to Agents

Results show that third most active agent in the peacebuilding documents is the Sierra Leonean Government. 95 out of 526 references are coded as the practices of Sierra Leonean state. In other words, 18% of the agency references are coded as A1. A2, which stands for specific state organs such as ministries, judiciary organs and focused governmental commissions, comes third according to the results. 78 references are coded as the practices of state organs. This constitutes 15% of the coded agency references. When these two agents are considered together, once again we encounter the fact that state is an important and one of the lead actors in the operation of peacebuilding interventions and post-conflict practices. The case of Sierra Leone is an experience in which non-state agency is higher *vis-a-vis* state compared to the case of Liberia. Yet, state is still practicing an important degree of agency which frames the general procedures of the intervention.

Society, as an agency performing body, comes fifth in the order. 50 statements are coded as making reference to societal agency in the sample. This constitutes 10% of the coded agency references in the documents. Most of the emphases on the societal agency build on the concept of local ownership. These statements emphasize the role played by societal actors such as women groups, religious societies/leaders and local tribes in the process of national reconciliation. Finally, profit-seeking organizations and actors of the private sector appear to be the least frequently referred agents. Only 18 statements are coded as the references to private sector practices. This makes 3% of the coded references. Even though private sector is more visible in the case of Sierra Leone compared to Liberia, still the presence of these actors in the peacebuilding documents are very limited. Looking at these statements, it is possible to see that private military companies and private sector's initiatives in the field of reconstruction of economy are the major emphases in these fields.

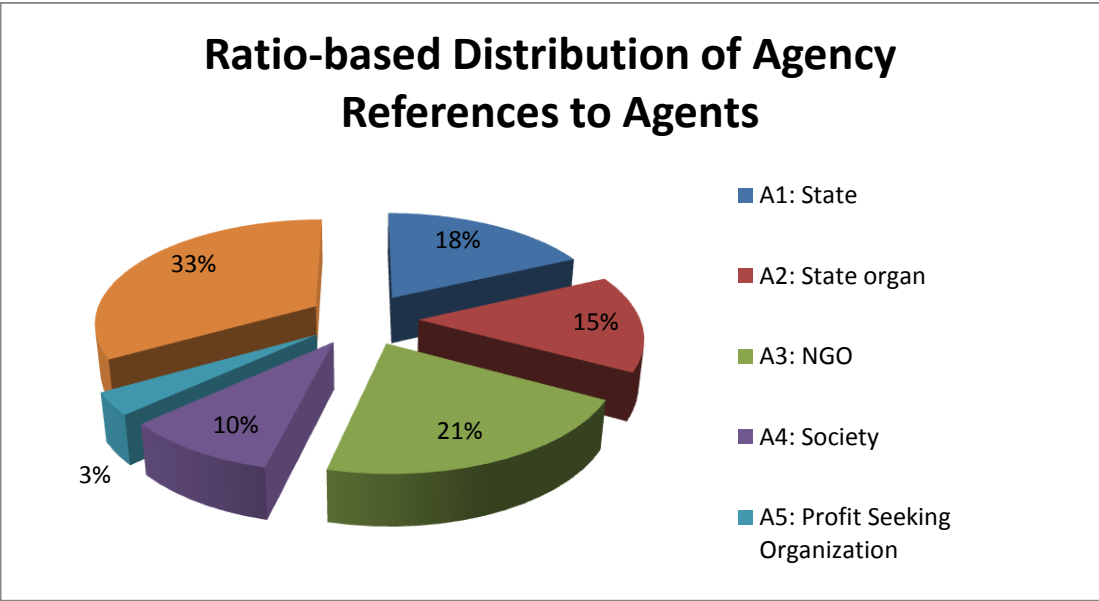


Figure 56: Ratio-based Distribution of Agency References to Agents

As stated above, the sample is composed of both UN and NGO documents. How do results change when we distinguish between the UN and NGO samples? The results derived from the sample composed only of UN sample are presented in the Figure 57. According to the results, not surprisingly, international actors appear by far to be the most active agency practicing elements of the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone. 285 references are coded in the UN documents. 107 of these statements are coded as the agency practiced by international actors. This constitutes 38% of the coded agency references in the UN documents. Most of these statements emphasize the agency practiced by the UN itself and other authorized UN commissions such as UNIPSIL. ECOWAS/ECOMOG is another important international actor that is emphasized in the coded statements.

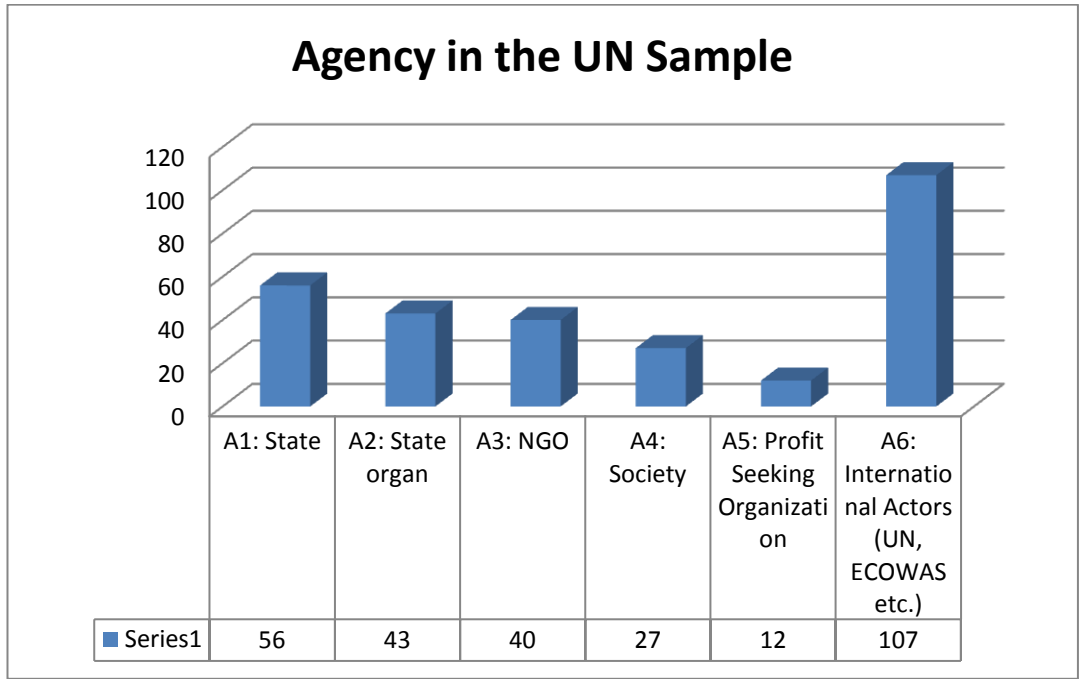


Figure 57: Agency in the UN Sample

Sierra Leonean Government comes second out of the results derived from the UN sample. 56 out of 285 statements are coded as the references to state's agency in the intervention and post-conflict process. These references constitute 20% of the coded

agency references in the UN sample. This is mainly because Sierra Leonean Government is the utmost partner of the UNPC in the peacebuilding practices. Similarly, specific state organs' agency follows the government. 43 out of 285 references are coded as A2, which constitutes 15% of the coded agency references in the UN sample. Not much less, NGO agents follow in the row. 40 references to NGO agency are coded and this makes 14% of the all references in the UN sample. Similar to general results, the frequency of the agency practiced by the society itself and specific societal segments comes fifth in the row. 27 references are coded as A4. References to societal agency form 9% of the all references in the UN sample. Private sector actors are least frequently coded agents in the peacebuilding documents published by the UN. 12 (4%) statements are coded as references to private sector's agency in the intervention and post-conflict process.

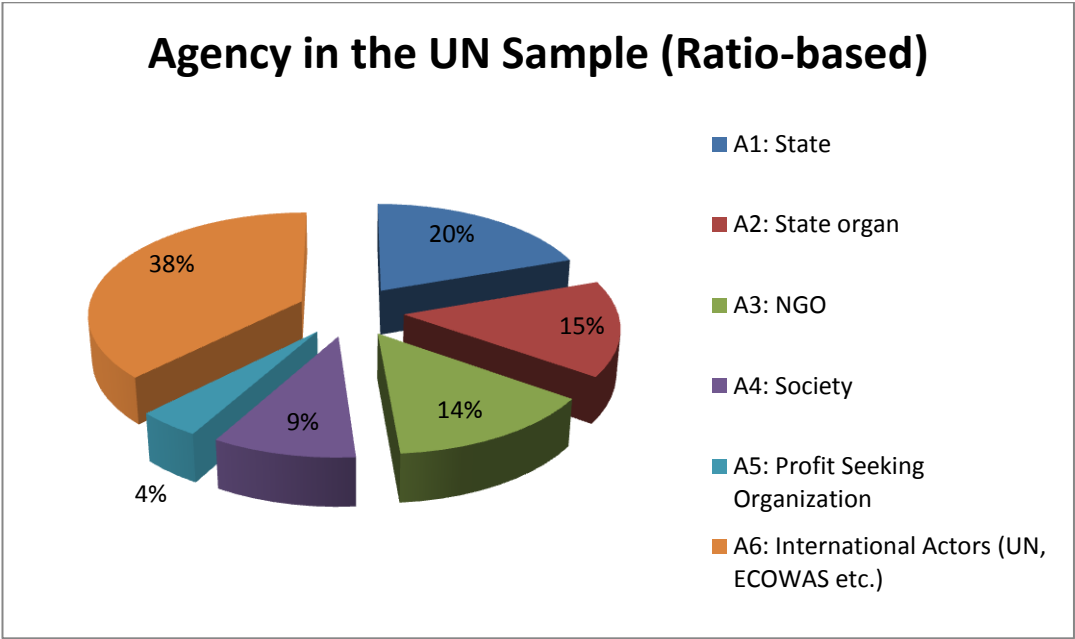


Figure 58: Agency in the UN Sample (Ratio-based)

How do the results diverge and differentiate when we focus specifically on the NGO sample? Are the results in parallel with the results derived from the UN and

general sample? Figure 59 below shows the distribution of agency references in the NGO documents six different agents. According to the results, it is possible to suggest that NGO documents, not surprisingly, emphasize intensively the practices performed by the NGO network taking part in the peacebuilding practices. Still, the role of the international actors is still as strong as the NGO agency in the operation. 241 statements are coded as agency references in the NGO sample. According to the results, NGOs appear to be the most frequently referred agents in the peacebuilding documents published by the NGOs. 70 statements are coded as NGO agency. This constitutes 29% of the all coded references in the NGO documents. When these statements are examined, it is seen that references focus on the role of NGOs rebuilding of the state institutions. In these practices, NGOs participated to the training committees that work in the field of personnel training, specifically the police forces. This reveals an important interaction between two parameters, namely the normative agenda and agency. As stated earlier, even in the NGO documents, state and state organs, as referent objects of peace and security, is addressed intensively within the peacebuilding agenda that set the normative priorities. Yet, as the agency of non-state actors increase, they are more effectively participating to the process of reformation of the state and gaining the capacity of upholding their own normative agenda as a peacebuilding priority. Speaking in theoretical terms, the change in these two parameters does not only cause to emergence of a new intervention mentality, namely the peacebuilding, the interaction/relationship between these two parameters also mutually reshape one another.

Results derived from the NGO sample show that international actors are second most frequently referred agents in the documents. 68 statements are coded as the agency practiced by international actors, which constitute 28% of the all coded

references in the NGO documents. The coded statements in the NGO sample reveal that international actors, especially the UNPC, play the role of organizer in the intervention and post-conflict processes. Besides, they appear to be the major source of funding for the NGO practices which are coded as NGO agency in the texts.

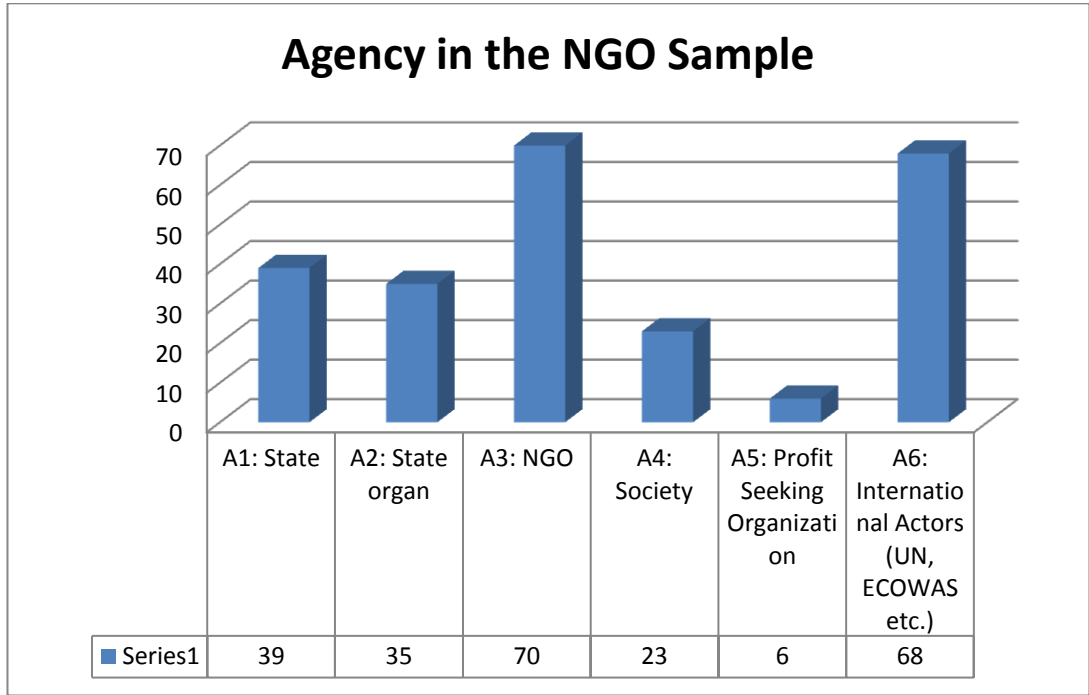


Figure 59: Agency in the NGO Sample

Thirdly, A1 is coded 39 times in the NGO sample. In other words, 16% of the agency references in the NGO sample are performed by Sierra Leonean Government. State organs, symbolized as A2, follow the government in the row with 35 references. This is an interesting result given that when the frequency of A1 and A2 are taken combined, state agents become the most frequently referred agents in the NGO sample. Focusing on these statements, it is possible to understand that NGOs and state organs work most of the times in collaboration. Yet, it is also possible to see negative attributions to state agency in the NGO documents, a dimension elaborated further below. Society as an agency practicing body is coded 23 times out of 241.

This constitutes 10% of the coded agency references in the NGO sample. In these statements, local ownership is emphasized with references to the projects that have been initiated first by the NGOs to train the society in the fields of political participation and later turn into broader political consciousness-raising campaigns run by independent societal groups. Finally, profit-seeking organizations are the least frequently referred agents in the NGO sample with 6 references constituting 2% of the all coded references in the NGO sample.

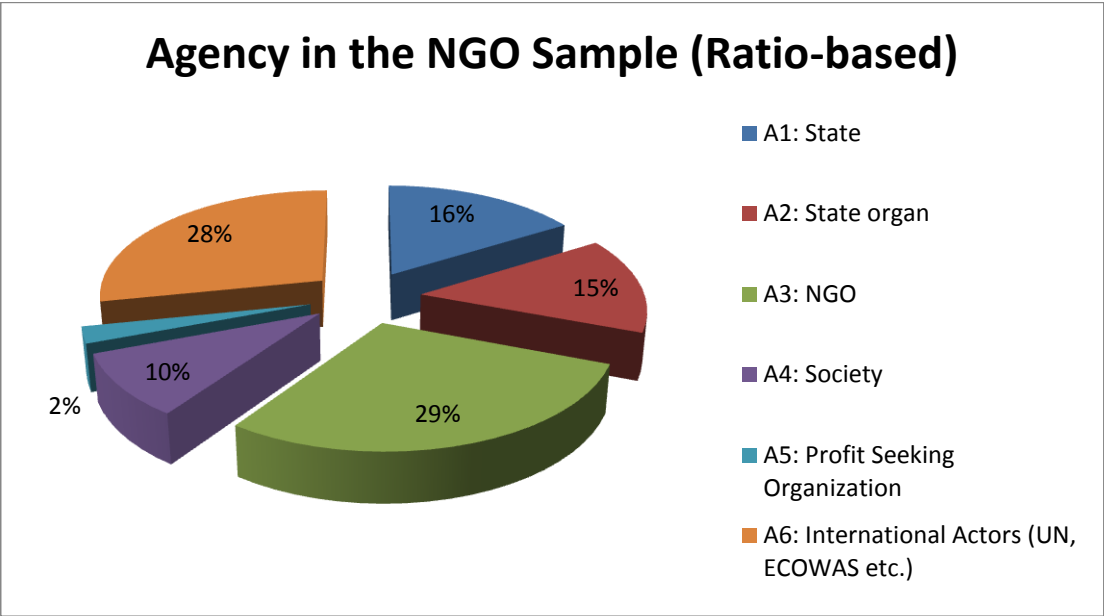


Figure 60: Agency in the NGO Sample (Ratio-based)

The concept of agency used in this dissertation was conceptualized earlier in Chapter 3. According to this definition, any actor equipped with the capacity of performing practices and affecting the general course of that practice is taken as an agent. Yet, as noted in the case of Liberia, it should also be noted that not every single practice performed by the agents contribute positively to the peacebuilding efforts. On the contrary, several practices performed by peacebuilding agents are negatively impacting the process and these practices are criticized in the

peacebuilding documents. Therefore, the agency references are also coded according to what kind of a meaning they are attributed. How each agent’s practice made an impact on the general course of peacebuilding? Are the practices of each agent contributing to the process or are they aggravating the peace even further? The figures plotted for each agent below shed light to these questions.

Categorization of states agency as positive and negative helps us understand once again that state is an important agent in the peacebuilding practices. In the case of Sierra Leone, state agency appears mostly as positively contributing to the process in the peacebuilding documents. 41 out of 95 coded references are practices that contribute positively to the process. Negative attributions, on the other hand, are coded 18 times. Apart from positive and negative attributions, 36 references remain rather neutral.

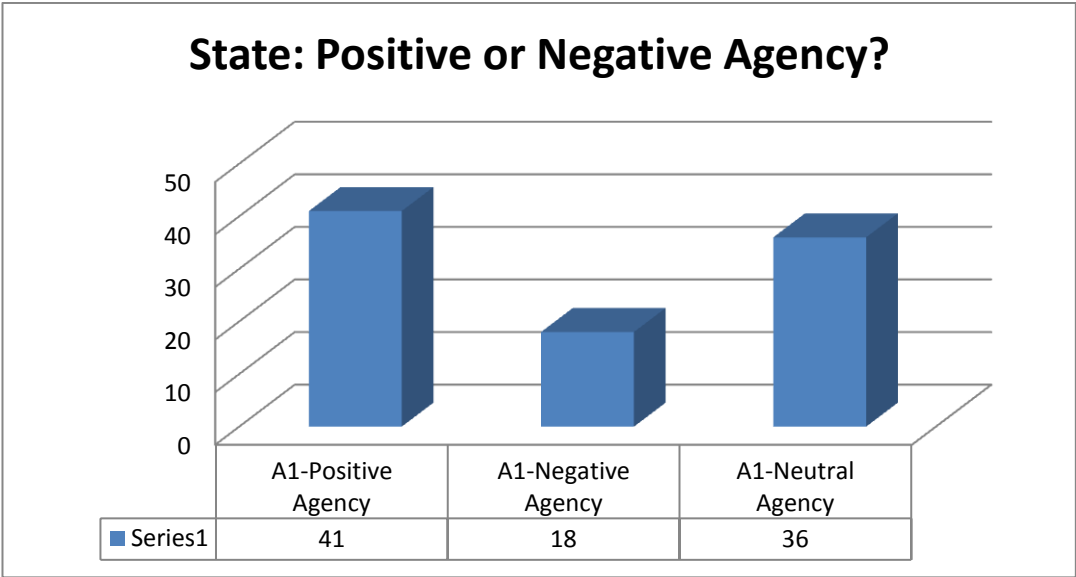


Figure 61: State: Positive or Negative Agency?

According to these results, 43% of the state practices are mentioned with positive attributions while 19% of the references emphasize the government practices with negative impact. Neutral references constitute 38% of the coded A1 references.

When we focus on these references, it is understood that state practices in the field of enhancing the police forces and distributing security to the rural Sierra Leone are attributed positive inferences. Negative attributions, on the other hand, focus more on the inefficient responses of the government to urgent situations such as endemics and corruption.

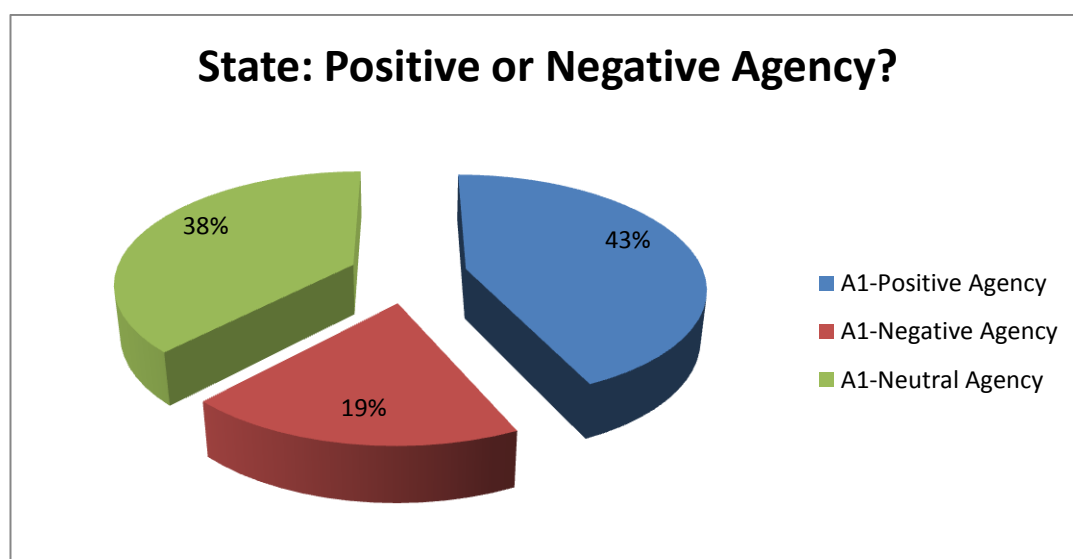


Figure 62: State: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

A similar picture appears when we focus on the references to specific state organs' agency. 39 out of 78 coded references to the state organs' agency are mentioned with positive attributions. Negatively mentioned practices, on the other hand, constitute 16% of the coded A2 references. 23 references are neutrally stated without a clear positive or negative meaning.

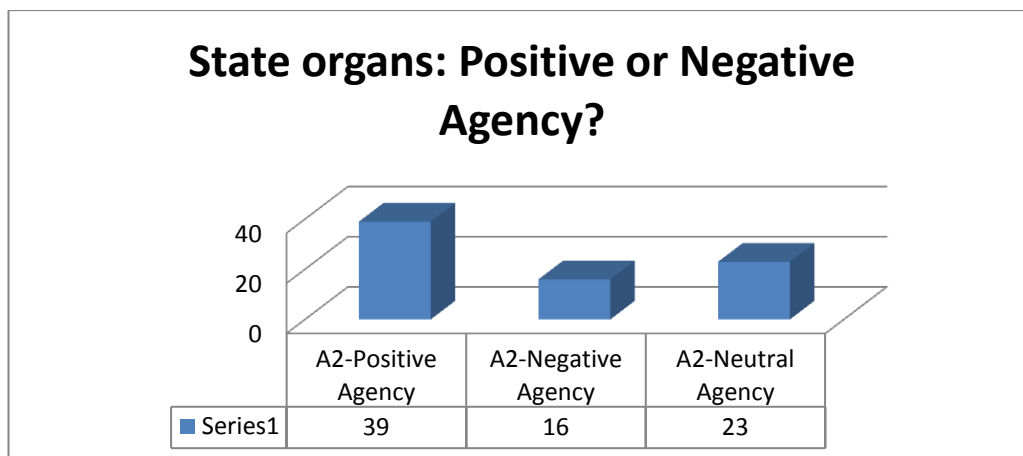


Figure 63: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency?

In this regard, half (50%) of the references to state organs' agency are recorded as positive agency while negative practices constitute 21% of the coded references. Remaining 29% is composed of neutral statements.

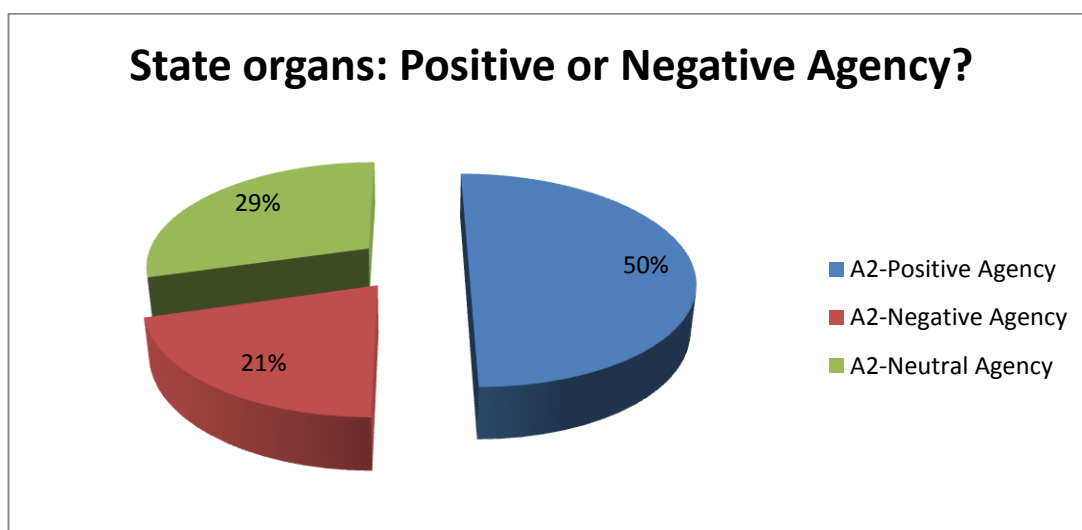


Figure 64: State organs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

NGOs appear to be the agents of which practices are most welcomed. Results show that references to NGO agency are overwhelmingly mentioned with positive attributions. 69 out of 110 coded NGO agency references mention the practices that

contribute to the targeted peace environment. Only 5 references underlined the negative side of NGO practices.

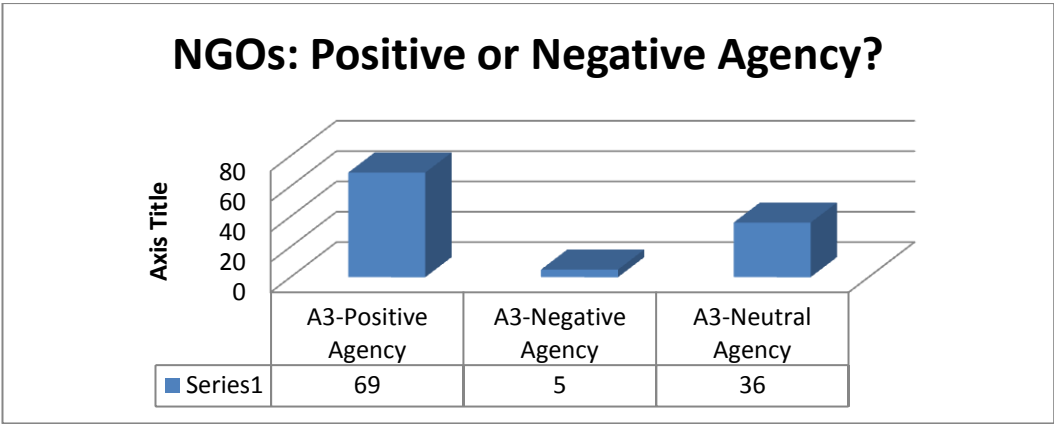


Figure 65: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency?

36 statements are coded as neutral as they have implied no clear positive or negative attributions. These results show that NGO agency is a desired part of peacebuilding practices. Both NGOs and UN documents emphasize the significance of NGO practices in the efforts for construction of a consolidated peace. In this sense, 63% of coded NGO agency references are positive attributions while only 4% underlines negative impacts. Though very rare, negative statements emphasize the emergence of NGOs willing to get the generous funding and turn inactive just after they complete the project that they are funded for. This situation is criticized in the documents as they represent an artificial participation of those organizations to the efforts.

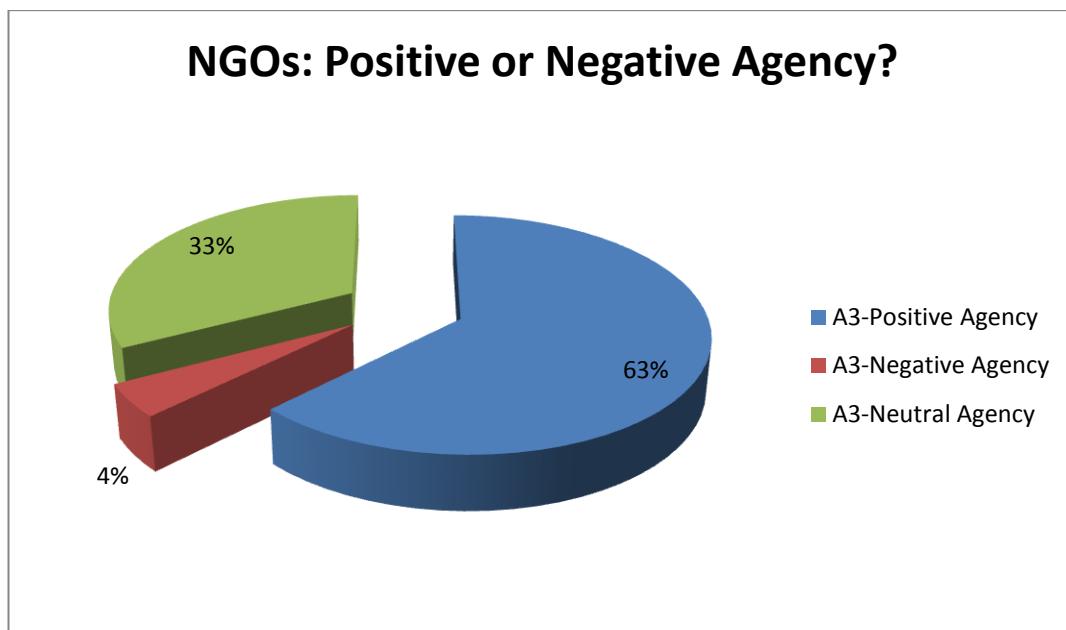


Figure 66: NGOs: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

The agency practiced by the society is also welcomed in the peacebuilding documents. 34 out of 50 references to societal agency emphasize the positive contribution of the society to the process. Only 4 statements are coded as negative agency references while 12 of them are coded as neutral references.

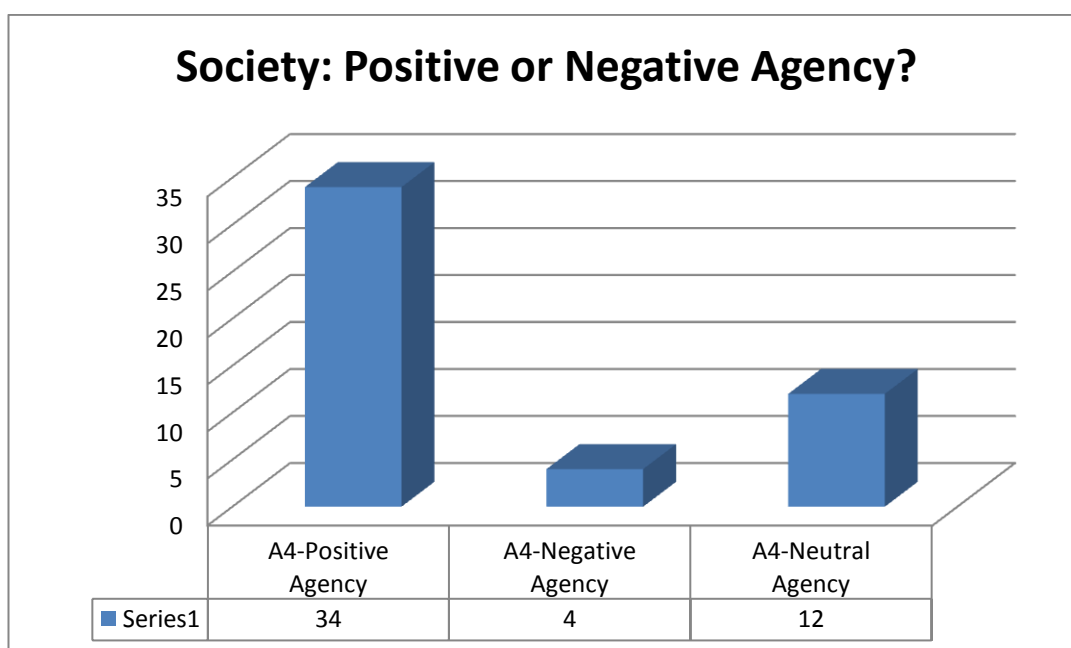


Figure 67: Society: Positive or Negative Agency?

In this respect, overwhelming majority (68%) of the references to societal agency are positive attributions. Negative attributions, on the other hand, constitute only 8% of the coded societal agency references. Remaining 24% are neutral agency statements.

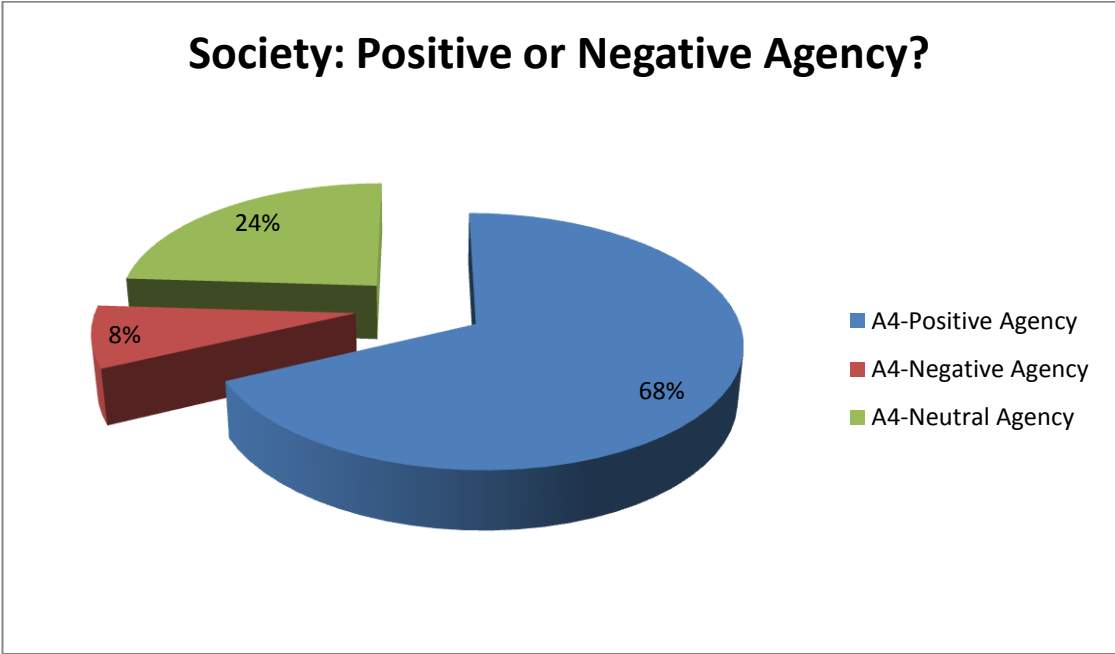


Figure 68: Society: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

As stated earlier, presence of the profit-seeking organizations and private sector actors are very rare in the peacebuilding documents compared to other units of agency. Only 18 references are coded as the agency references to private sector actors. Yet, it was also noted earlier that this does not exactly reflect the extent to which private sector actors contribute to the process. Looking at the results derived from the content analysis, it is possible to see the private actors are considered to be significant contributors in spite of the fact that they rarely mentioned in the texts. 11 out of 18 references are positive attributions. Remaining 7 references are neutral statements while no single negative attributions are coded.

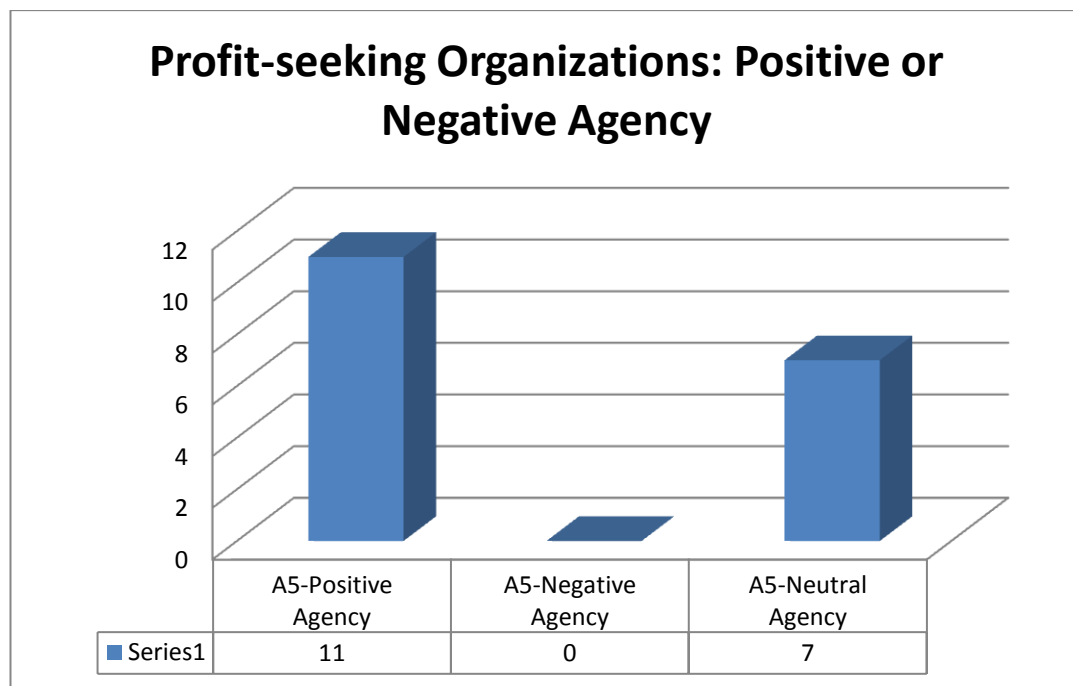


Figure 69: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency

Considering the literature's emphasis on the private security companies role in the intervention to Sierra Leonean civil war and post-conflict process, it can be suggested that this represents an important direction for further research. At this point, it can be noted that such research should go beyond the UN documents in which the role of private sector is not emphasized sufficiently.

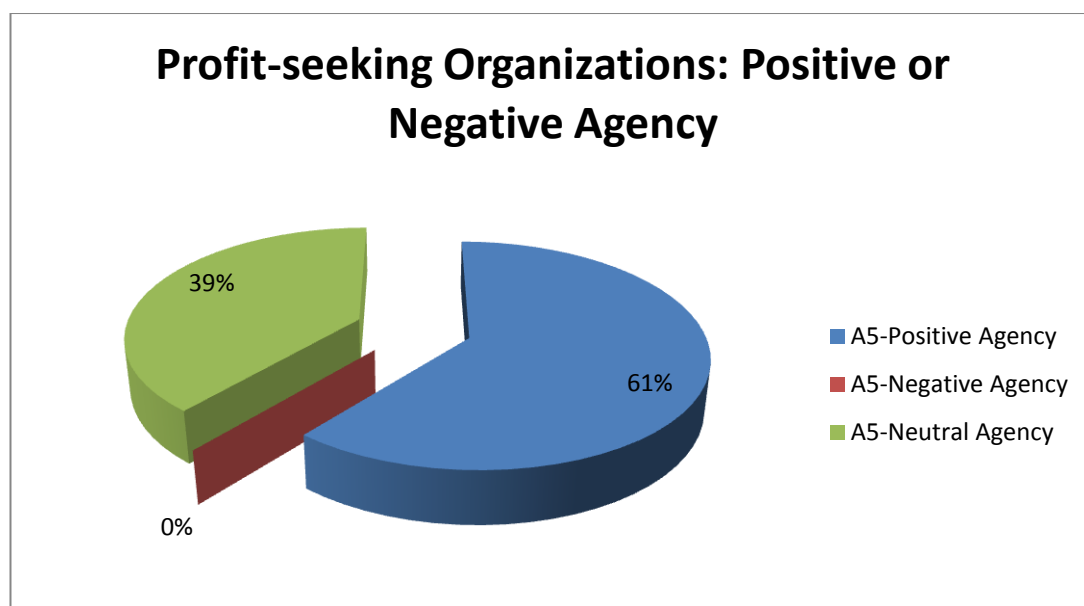


Figure 70: Profit-seeking Organizations: Positive or Negative Agency (Ratio-based)

Finally, results show how the international actors contributed to the peacebuilding efforts in Sierra Leone. According to the results, the practices performed by the international actors are contributing significantly to the peacebuilding process. 83 out of 175 coded references to the agency of international actors are attributing positive meanings to these practices. 23 statements are coded as negative agency references. 69 references are rather neutral statements. According to these results, 48% of the practices performed by the international actors are positively affecting the situation, while 13% of them are making negative effects. Positive statements are mentioning practices such as fund providing, keeping the peace and security and many others. Negative statements, on the other hand, mention mostly the reluctance of several actors to get engaged more intensely in the process. Besides, retrenching the number of UN personnel are criticized both in UNPC and NGO documents.

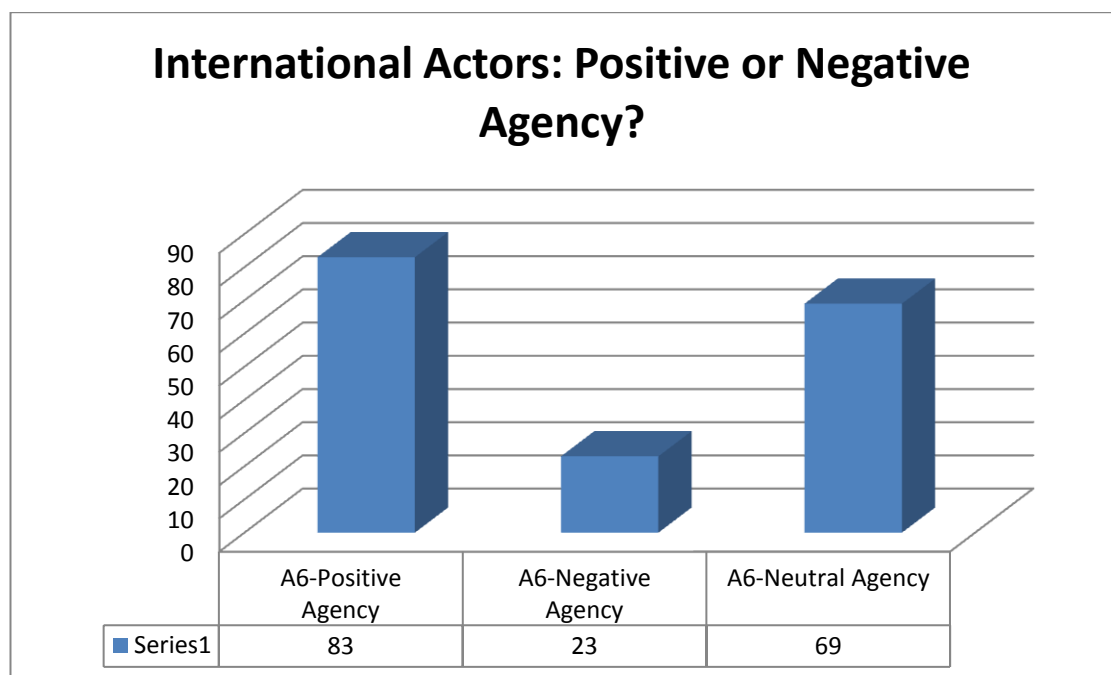


Figure 71: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency?

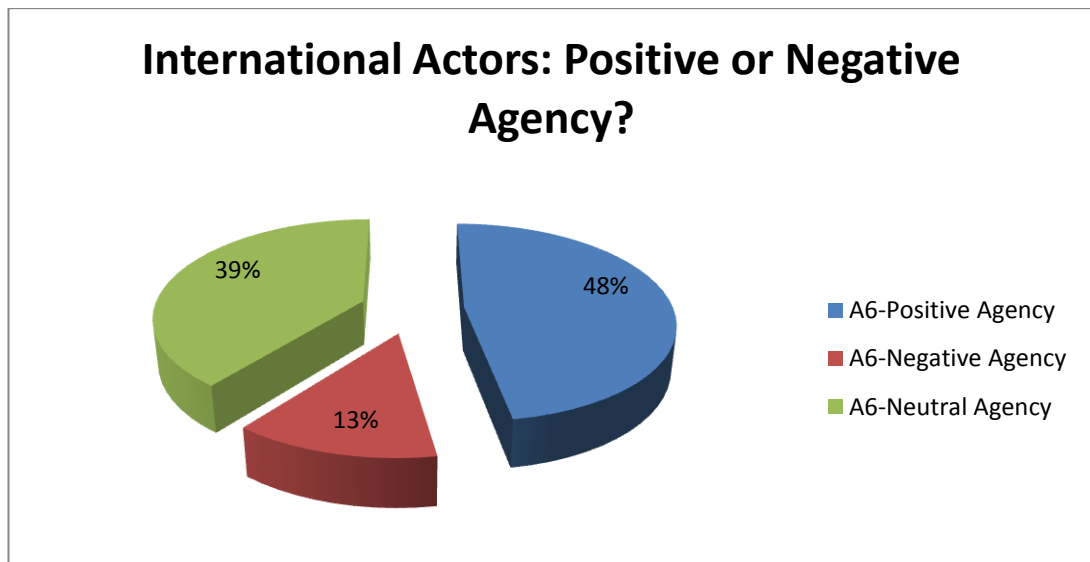


Figure 72: International Actors: Positive or Negative Agency? (Ratio-based)

6.3. Hypotheses and Discussion

Following the empirical analysis, this section revisits the hypotheses and unfolds a discussion with reference to these hypotheses. The hypotheses designed specifically for the case of Sierra Leone are hypotheses 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. Table presents these hypotheses and their results.

Hypotheses on the Case of Sierra Leone		
Hypothesis 10	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is human/society-centric.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 11	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is state-centric.	Infirm
Hypothesis 12	The agency is practiced mainly by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.	Partially confirmed/infirm
Hypothesis 13	The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.	Partially confirmed/infirm
Hypothesis 14	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding	Further Research

	operation in Sierra Leone are rather transnational.	needed
Hypothesis 15	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather national/international.	Further Research needed

Table 7: Hypotheses on the Sierra Leone Case and Their Results

H10 and H11 are designed to understand the normative center of the peacebuilding practices in Sierra Leone.

H10: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is human/ society-centric.

H11: The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is state-centric.

Similar to the case of Liberia, the analysis of the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone supports the argument that non-state referent objects of the security agenda are in the prominent position within the context of the intervention. As Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework document emphasizes, the root causes of the conflict in the country lies in the societal factors such as widespread corruption, marginalization of several ethnic groups and problems about the reintegration of the warring factions. Therefore, peacebuilding practitioners in Sierra Leone focused intensely on a security agenda which addresses societal dimension of the security. The results of the content analysis also supports this argument. According to the results, references to society and individual as the referent object come in the first place. Based on these results, H10 is confirmed while H11 appears to be an infirmed hypothesis.

Hypotheses 12 and 13 are agency related hypotheses. They intend to test whether there is a shift in the agential practices in the context of peacebuilding.

H12: The agency is practiced mainly by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.

H13: The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.

Similar to the case of Liberia, international organizations practice the biggest part of the agency in the peacebuilding intervention to Sierra Leone. Following the intervention, international organizations deployed the peace forces in the country and reestablished the stability. In the following process, peacebuilding practices are also initiated and practiced mainly by those international organization, specifically the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (UNPC). As different from the case of Liberia, in the Sierra Leone experience, main aim of the UNPC was to open a space not only for the government but also for already established civil society networks in Sierra Leone. Reestablishing a functional government was obviously in the agenda. Yet again, the case of Sierra Leone come into prominence as an experience where initiators of the intervention (donor countries and international organizations) attributed a great importance on non-state organs' participation to the process. The results of the content analysis also supported this observation. While international organizations are in the first place, the number of references to NGOs, the society and profit-seeking organizations combined comes up to the same proportion of agency. On the other hand, when we look at the agency practiced by the government and other state institutions, we see that the references to their agency remain just below the frequency of non-state agents of the peacebuilding intervention. Based on

these, it is possible to suggest that neither of these two hypotheses reflect the general situation in the case of Sierra Leone. It is possible to both confirm and infirm partially these two hypotheses.

Remaining two hypotheses are designed to make sense of the intervention to Sierra Leone with respect to the identity parameter.

H14: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather transnational.

H15: Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather national/international.

As stated before, a deeper analysis of the identity parameter remains as a direction for further research. Still, preliminary observations can be used in order to make predictions on these hypotheses. Based on the preliminary observations, it is possible to suggest that both hypotheses can be supported depending on the agent body that we focus. When we focus on the leading agents such as international organizations, it is possible that their identity definitions is built upon more on a transnational basis. On the other hand, the identity perceptions of non-state agents are more diversified. There is an unignorable regional emphasis in the NGOs such as WANEP. Transnational sentiments are present in the identity perceptions of several NGOs which took part in the Sierra Leone operations such as Community Action Support Organization for Poverty Alleviation. At this point, it can be noted that transnational networks which are active in these peacebuilding practices are coming mostly from religious societies. Their structure enhances in a transnational manner because the source their common cause is based on borderless matters such as religion.

Building on these results, three inferences can be noted. Firstly, no matter how novel is the intervention rationale, international actors are utmost locomotives of peacebuilding practices. Their agency does not only play a role in the initiation of the intervention but also shape the post-conflict peacebuilding efforts as well. Secondly, the results support the arguments representing the case of Sierra Leone as a peculiar one in the sense that NGOs come into prominence in the operation. They are truly performing a significant degree of agency which can be considered as a new phenomenon in the field of intervention. This may provide also support to the argument that newly appearing intervention mentality that is built upon the peacebuilding does represent the practices of the world society framework. Finally, the results of the content analysis confirm the argument that states are an integral part of newly appearing intervention practices. Peacebuilding is not an intervention practice that is developed independent from states, rather state agency provide a sphere for other agents to get involved in the process and share a part of agency.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

What makes IR an academic enterprise is its effort for analyzing the real world around us through analytically informed lenses. In a similar vein, what increases a theoretical approach's merit is its applicability to real world incidents. With this in mind, this dissertation aimed at contributing to the development of an understudied theoretical approach, clarifying its basic concepts, proposing several hypotheses based on this theoretical framework, applying the theory to relevant cases and finding out whether it could be built a bridge between this framework and a real political practice.

In this regard, this chapter summarizes the general findings of this dissertation project. The chapter is organized into two main subsections. 7.1. discusses the general findings of the dissertation. It starts by presenting a table which shows the hypotheses and their results. Then, it summarizes the gaps in the literature which are addressed through this dissertation. Following the implications on the literature, the chapter continues with underlining the main argument built throughout the theory chapter which relies on the change in three parameters. Finally, it touches upon the proposed ground on which the bridge between the theory and peacebuilding practices is built upon. By doing so, this section also presents a discussion on the

applicability of the world society framework to the real practices of the world politics by making reference to the tested hypotheses. The section also states several inferences on the peacebuilding's theory and practice. 7.2. summarizes the concluding remarks and discusses what the way forward is. It proposes possible directions for further research on the world society framework. There, presents several possible paths for the application of the framework to real world practices are presented. Besides, the directions for further research on the peace studies are proposed as well.

7.1. General Discussion

This section discusses the general implications inferred through this dissertation project. In this sense, the discussion focuses on three main issues. Firstly, the implications derived from the literature, the gaps in it and how these gaps inspire this dissertation is discussed. Secondly, theoretical implications are presented and how the theoretical arguments addressed to the gaps in the literature is elaborated. Finally, the bridge between the theory and the empirical focus of the dissertation is summarized.

Before continuing with the discussion, Table 6 below demonstrates whether each hypotheses were confirmed or infirmed based on the findings from the application of theoretical framework to the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone peacebuilding interventions. The results of the case-specific hypotheses (H4, H5, H6, H7, H8, H9, H10, H11, H12, H13, H14, H15) are presented and discussed in the relevant chapters (Ch.5, Ch.6). First three hypotheses, on the other hand, are

designed to observe the general relationship between the theoretical framework and peacebuilding interventions. According to the results, it is possible to find support for the argument that asserts that the world society framework is an appropriate tool to analyze new peacebuilding interventions.

General Hypotheses		
Hypothesis 1	Peacebuilding operations are practices of world society rather than international society due to the sufficient observable change in three parameters.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 2	The peacebuilding operation in Liberia can be considered as a practice of transition from international to world society framework due to the limited change in three main parameters.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 3	The peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone can be considered as a practice of world society due to the sufficient observable change in three main parameters.	Confirmed
Hypotheses on the Case of Liberia		
Hypothesis 4	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is human/society-centric.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 5	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Liberia is state-centric.	Infirm
Hypothesis 6	The agency is mainly practiced by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.	Infirm
Hypothesis 7	The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operations in Liberia.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 8	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather transnational.	Further Research needed
Hypothesis 9	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Liberia are rather national/international.	Further Research needed
Hypotheses on the Case of Sierra Leone		
Hypothesis 10	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is human/society-centric.	Confirmed
Hypothesis 11	The main referent object of the normative agenda of peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone is state-centric.	Infirm
Hypothesis 12	The agency is practiced mainly by non-state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.	Partially confirmed/infirm
Hypothesis 13	The agency is practiced mainly by state actors in the peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone.	Partially confirmed/infirm
Hypothesis 14	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather transnational.	Further Research needed
Hypothesis 15	Identity motivations of the agents in peacebuilding operation in Sierra Leone are rather national/international.	Further Research needed

Table 8: Hypotheses and Results

Hypothesis 1 was designed as the most general hypothesis which summarizes the general argument of this dissertation. It was designed to test whether the general prediction of this dissertation about peacebuilding interventions being correlated with the proposed world society framework has a ground. As stated in the hypothesis, peacebuilding is considered as a practice of world society framework as a result of a predicted change in the three parameters. In both cases, the findings show that non-state security referents (individuals and society) are critical part of peacebuilding intervention priorities. Besides, as the findings presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 demonstrate, non-state actors, especially NGOs, are practicing a certain degree of agential activity. By looking at these findings, it is possible to correlate peacebuilding interventions with the world society framework, instead of the international society framework in which state actors dominate the constitution of normative context and practice the agency.

Hypothesis 2 is also confirmed since the results show that features of both traditional peacekeeping and new peacebuilding interventions are present in the operation. As discussed in Chapter 5, state-building and capacity construction for specific state institutions constitute a critical part of the peacebuilding priorities in Liberia intervention. Besides, although NGOs participated to the post-conflict operations to a certain degree, Liberian government, specific state institutions and international organizations (formed by governments) appear to be the main agency-practicing actors. Therefore, it is possible to frame the peacebuilding intervention to Liberia as a case of transition from the international to world society context.

Hypothesis 3 proposes that the intervention to conflict in Sierra Leone and the understanding adopted in the post-conflict term can be considered as a practice of the world society context. Findings support this hypothesis and show that the case of

intervention to Sierra Leone conflict represents a typical new peacebuilding intervention. Given the results of comprehensive analysis presented in Chapter 6, it is possible to suggest that this case fits into the proposed theoretical framework of world society. Results show that individuals and society are most frequently referred security objects in the documents. Besides, although international organizations are still the most prominent agency-practicing actors, non-state agency (practiced mainly by NGOs) comes second in the row. This situation is consistent with the expectation of the peacebuilding literature which states that NGOs become prominent actors of post-conflict peacebuilding interventions. Besides, this can also be noted as a support to the argument that correlates new peacebuilding interventions with the world society framework.

Building on the results for these three hypotheses, it is possible to suggest that the starting point of this dissertation, which correlates new humanitarian intervention framework with the world society instead of the international society, finds a certain degree of support. In this regard, the identity parameter still begs a deeper analysis. It still remains as the most controversial theme regarding to the world society framework. However, this framework appears to be a promising tool for making sense of the new humanitarian questions which challenge the normative and agential boundaries of the international society and deserves more scholarly attraction. Specific implications of this dissertation's findings for the English School, the world society framework, peacebuilding theory are discussed more in detail below.

7.1.1. Implications Derived from Different Literatures

All these arguments, empirical observations and the theoretical framework built throughout this dissertation were inspired by the literature on the English School, specifically on the concept of world society and the gaps in that literature. The review of the English School literature reveals that the ES rises upon a three-pillar structure which is built by the international system, international society and world society frameworks each of which represents a distinct approach to the world politics. The international system takes world politics as a structure in which one actor's action affects others. Though this implies an interactive system, the interaction relies on a pure self-help motivation of the state actors. The international society differentiates from the systemic approach in the sense that it argues that the interaction among the members of international society can progress into a societal context in which several moral values beyond self-help motivations can be cultivated. Finally, the framework of world society approaches world politics with a more sociological perspective and takes individuals, non-state actors along with state actors as the agents of world politics. This triangle provides with a theoretically pluralist and broad perspective to the ES. Since its inception, the theory has been growing with an understanding synthesizing the realist aspects with normatively informed societal approaches. In this sense, an important implication that can be derived from the literature is that these three approaches represent different pictures of world politics. Therefore, it is possible to infer from the literature that these three pictures of the world politics may coexist without one making others irrelevant. In other words, the ES is a theoretical framework which prefers taking these three

different pictures as complementary to each other instead of positioning them as mutually exclusive.

Although the scholars of ES grew a massive literature over the years, the review of the literature also revealed several gaps which are inspiring for the new generation of the School. Especially the literature on the world society framework is currently gaining a momentum. In this sense, the gaps in the literature can be summarized with respect to two points. Firstly, there is an inscrutable picture of the world society in the literature. The unclear and elusive meanings attributed to the concept make it intricate and turned this framework into a vague tunnel of the School. Though the boundaries of the ES have been expanding with the contribution of scholars coming from different schools of thought, a knowledge accumulation on the concept of world society could not be cultivated. Rather, the proposed frameworks on the world society were developed in a manner not corresponding to each other. Therefore, the third pillar of the ES, namely the world society approach, developed more as individual notions of those scholars rather than a cumulative conceptual body. This immature situation of the world society framework barred the potential explanatory power of it which could be useful in understanding and make sense of current cobweb model of world politics.

Secondly, those scholars who study the world society as a distinct theoretical approach refrained from applying it to real world practices. Even the three leading scholars working on the concept, Barry Buzan, Chris Brown and John Williams preferred to limit their work to pure theoretical studies. This situation is probably related to the abovementioned immature situation of the framework. Still, insufficient number of empirical studies informed by world society approach limits the literature on the framework to deep and endless philosophical debates. In the end,

these theoretical debates are aiming to make sense of real world practices. Application of the theory to the empirical cases can produce tests which will improve the theory through its reconsiderations in the light of the findings derived from these studies. Therefore, limitedness of the applications of the theory should be noted another gap in the literature.

7.1.2. Implications for a Sound Theoretical Framework of World Society

Addressing the gaps stated above, this dissertation aimed at building a sound theoretical framework of world society to apply it to the actual practices. To do so, I have not offered a newly invented conception of world society. Rather, I have asked such a question: Looking at the existing works on the world society and the ES, can we propose specific parameters to focus on in order to understand the change from the international to world society and explore the building blocks of world society? Following the path opened in the light of this question, three theoretical implications can be noted.

First point is about the ES's stance on the progress. Since its inception, the School has been developing as a theory which opens a room for progress. A belief in the capacity of agents to progress and cultivate a societal context which constructs the conditions of harmonized coexistence is embedded in the theory. At the very same time, the scholars of the School do not assert that the dynamics of systemic pressures which can cause wars and self-help motivations are irrelevant. In other words, though the progress is possible, this progress does not represent an absolute

departure from the systemic context. This provides a multifaceted framework to the English School. Still, it requires us to think more about the concept of progress and problematize it. To do so, this dissertation suggested an approach to progress which is elaborated with the name "transmissive progress." Though the founding fathers of the theory such as Hedley Bull, Martin Wight and Adam Watson gave the signals of such a take on the progress in the early texts, later the literature developed in a manner that designs three categories of the School as mutually exclusive. Bull noted in *Anarchical Society* and elsewhere that none of these three categories will ever be irrelevant to the world politics, instead each represents a different picture of it. Yet, the contemporary scholars of the School -most of them coming from the critical wing of the international theory literature- such as Chris Brown, frame the world society as a new phase of world politics in which systemic self-help dynamics are no longer prominent or remain secondary. This stance on the progress contradicts with the multifaceted comprehensiveness of the ES. Transmissive approach to progress which is elaborated in Chapter 3 enables us keep the progressive characteristic of the School without sacrificing its overarching comprehensiveness. By rethinking and the questioning the unidirectional stance on progress embedded in the newly developing wing of the School which is fed mainly by critical scholars, this dissertation contributes to the revitalization of the balanced position of the ES between the Hobbesian, Grotian and Kantian approaches to world politics (Buzan 2004: 16).

Secondly, addressing to the problem of disorderly growing literature on the world society, this dissertation aimed at proposing a framework to understand the progress towards world society by deriving parameters of change from the prevailing literature on the concept. In other words, what is sought in the theoretical part of this dissertation is to understand and explain what changes in the political context when

we speak off world society instead of international society. With this in mind, I proposed three main parameters of change by reading into the literature on the world society. At this point, it is important to note that these three parameters are derived from the studies of leading scholars working on the world society framework. As noted earlier, though the literature on this framework is gradually developing over the last few years, each scholar introduces their own notion of the concept, which complicates the concept even further. By surveying these non-corresponding pieces on the world society framework, these three parameters are suggested as the three prominent patterns in different explanations of what world society is all about. In other words, these parameters are not suggested as the constituting elements of a new approach to the world society, rather they are derived from the studies conducted with different perspectives on the concept. In this regard, although the studies in the prevailing literature are introduced as individual notions on the world society, the normative agenda, agency and identity parameters appear to be the three commonly mentioned changing aspects that determine the difference between the categories of the English School.

The evolution of the normative agenda is the most prominent and observable change from the international to world society. Actually, most of the scholars frame world society as a completely new normative context of which priorities transcend the normative limits of the international society. In fact, some scholars (Brown 2001) limit the world society only to a normative evolution of the international society. A theoretical implication that can be derived from this dissertation is that the normative tension between the international and world society frameworks is about the referent object of the normative agenda adopted in the practices. International society is mainly built upon a state-centric normative context. The international society, in fact,

is constituted by state actors to protect the statehood of interacting members (Bull 1977). Two constituting values of the international society, namely the order and justice, are defined in state-centric terms. While order relies on the preservation of state sovereignty as the main principle of the international society, justice mainly implies the equal treatment to the members of international society in terms of their statehood regardless of the size and power. World society, on the other hand, introduces a new normative context in which state-centric priorities remain secondary to human-centric approaches. The normative center of the political context shifts in a manner to take human beings as the reference point. The state-centrism embedded in the international society framework is challenged by this human-centric approach. Therefore, a normative agenda which is updated with this human-centrism comes into prominence in the political practices that emerge within the context of world society.

The mention on the evolution of the agency is another common point of the literature on the world society. Two implications can be made about the agency. Firstly, the agents in the political context of world society are much more diversified compared to the political space emerge within the international society. Since the international society is a societal framework constituted by state agents, they appear as the primary agents that are equipped with the capacity of making an impact on the general course of political context. World society, on the other hand, opens up a space for non-state units to practice agency and promote their own agenda to the political sphere. This links us to the second implication about the agency in world society. In the context of world society, what is different from the international society is not only those agents are diversified but also the content of the agency evolves into a broader scope. The scholars of international society take states as

primary agents mainly because the meaning of the agency is identified with decision-making power. In this sense, it was noted that diplomats are attributed a political significance in the early classics of the ES (especially in the writings of Hedley Bull), however, their agency is not considered out of the sphere held by state's agency. Also, leaders hold a certain degree of decision-making power depending on the political model of the country. Yet again, they are envisaged to be selfless leaders as they are identified with the state they represent. Therefore, the agency, in the international society, is considered to be lying only with those actors which constitute the society and have the power of act in it. The agency in the world society is built upon a much broader context. It is not only indexed to decision-making power. Rather those units which are capable to build their own agenda and possess the power of imposing this agenda to politically significant platforms are considered to be practicing a certain degree of agency. In this respect, the concept of agency differs from the agency conception of international society in the sense that its meaning is not identified with the decision-making power, rather smaller units which get into the act in a given political context are considered as agents as well.

Identity is the most controversial parameter amongst others. It appears as another common theme that is mentioned in the literature on the world society, which scholars frequently mention as changing in the context of world society. Although the identity aspect of the world society is among most frequently mentioned themes about this theoretical framework, the identity related arguments on the world society appear to be the most blurred ones. Two implications are possible to derive from the identity debates presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

Firstly, world society scholars expect the identity in the context of world society framework to evolve into a transnational form. Those agents which are acting

in a given political context are expected to cultivate a transnational identity form. This differentiates from the identity motivations adopted in the framework of international society in the sense that the agents operating through the international society adopt mostly national identities. In some cases, identity motivations going beyond nationality may cultivate as well in the international society. This emerges mostly in cases of a strong institutionalized body is constructed to promote and secure this upper form of identity. In those cases, a specific civilizational identity may come into prominence as an outcome of an identity construction process. Still, such advanced identity constructions are not independent of state identities. The case of European Union is a typical instance of such a construction. The "Europeanness" does not actually form an existential challenge to the state identity of those member states. Yet, it is still possible to observe an identity perception transcending national identity motivations. The world society, on the other hand, opens up a space for other agents which adopt identity motivations defined in specific civilizational terms. What most scholars of world society expect is that agents of world society adopt and aim to promote identity definitions focusing on elements that transnationally concern different segments of political actors. This may actually evoke what can basically be named as a debate on "world citizenship". Identity motivations of world society's agents prefer focusing on borderless problems that provide them a transnational ground to cultivate a much broader scope of identity. For instance, global health, environmental problems, human rights and peaceful coexistence are among those issues which are instrumentalized by those world society agents to define their identity on a transnational basis. The second implication derived from the identity debates can be that evolution of the identity is linked also to the change in other two parameters. As the agents of a given political context diversified, they grow the

capacity of upholding their own normative agenda to the center of world politics. These two elements of progress also interact with the identity in a manner to progress it into a more transnational form.

At this point, one reservation on the identity arguments built in the literature is underlined in Chapter 3. Most of the scholars take transnational identity cultivations as a natural outcome of world society framework (Buzan 2004: 17; Williams 2005: 30). However, I suggest that this argument is incomplete since it neglects the possibility of non-transnational local identities gain significance as the political context evolves into world society model. Since world society provides a ground to those non-state agents willing to gain political significance, even more localized identity perceptions (such as tribal and ethnic identities) are likely to enter into the picture more intensely. Although the world society literature on the identity notes the transnational identity cultivations as a possible direction, the likelihood of further localization in the identities should also be considered as a possible path for identity construction in the context of world society. The rise of ethnic and tribal identity motivations in the African continent, breakout of ethnic based civil conflicts and the rivalry among these identity groups can also be noted as the incidents correlated to the world society. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that although the concept connotes a positive meaning, it is also possible to correlate negative developments such as civil wars, conflicts with the alleged world society framework.

I need to note that the analysis of the identity motivations of peacebuilding agents handled in the empirical section remains a major item to conduct more research on. As stated above, the identity is mentioned very frequently as part of the constituting sentiments of the world society. Still, it is truly difficult to observe the

indicators of identity in a given context. Therefore, the potential research agendas on the identity dimension are presented below in the section that discusses directions for further research.

7.1.3. Bridging the Theoretical Framework with Practices

We build theories in order to make sense of the real world around us through analytically informed perspectives. Considering that the world society framework is currently attracting more scholarly interest, it is possible to expect to see more work using this framework in their case analysis. However, the studies which use this framework as a tool of empirical analysis is very limited if not absent. Rather, the literature is abundant in pure theoretical studies. In this dissertation, I have attempted to go beyond the pure theoretical debates by using the proposed theoretical framework in the analysis of peacebuilding practices. With this in mind, hypotheses that were informed by the theory are proposed in order to portray the relationship between the theory and peacebuilding practices focused in this dissertation. Table 6 demonstrates the hypotheses and shows whether they are confirmed or infirmed according to the findings.

As Table 6 depicts, it is possible to argue that peacebuilding is a form of intervention which can be understood through the lenses of peacebuilding. Building the bridge between the theory and practice is facilitated by the features of the evolution from traditional peacekeeping to peacebuilding which overlap with the constituting elements of progress towards the world society. In other words, the

change in the nature of the intervention is concurrent with the progress from the international towards the world society framework. Therefore, the matching of the theoretical framework to peacebuilding practices provides a ground for a good marriage between two. In this sense, there are two sides to this story. The theoretical part is explained above in detail. According to that analysis, three parameters changing from the international to world society appear to be developing in a manner that challenge the state-centric context of the international society. A similar change is present at the empirical level. As the review on the intervention literature suggests, it is possible to observe that the course of action in intervention has went through a change over the last few decades. While traditional peacekeeping interventions adopted the so-called holy trinity of consent, neutrality, non-use of force, which are principles honoring the state-sovereignty, this approach remained outdated -if not totally irrelevant- as the peacebuilding intervention framework started to occupy a more substantial place in the political agenda of the actors of world politics. Similar to the evolution of the categorical progress in the theoretical part, such an evolution in the intervention framework is a challenge to state-oriented perspective at the practical level. Therefore, the theoretical framework used in the analysis of the cases is capable of taking a clear snapshot of the empirical data.

Two outcomes derived from the construction of the bridge between the theory and peacebuilding practices can be noted. First, it gave us the opportunity to see how practical the framework of world society is for the analysis of actual political practices. In this regard, it is possible to conclude that the theory provides an efficient conceptual tool for empirical analysis once its analytical framework is formulated clearly and defined in an apprehensible manner instead of focusing and being stucked on deep philosophical debates. Hence, my approach which formulated

the world society framework relying on three constituting parameters facilitated both simplification and also clarification of the theory and equipped it with an explanatory capacity for the cases. Second, the overlap between the theory and the cases a better analysis of the peacebuilding compared to the analyses using the international society framework, which are abundant in the literature. Those analyses using the international society for the analysis of peacebuilding practices tend to stretch the framework since the idea of "society of states" are designed as framework to understand and explain the societal dynamics among states. Peacebuilding, on the other hand, is practice in which the interaction is not only between states and international bodies formed by states, but also among ordinary people, non-state local entities, militias, civil society actors, states and international organizations. To make sense of such a complex set of interactions, world society presents a much more comprehensive framework as it includes the non-state normative concerns and agential practices of those non-state units along with states and international organizations.

The analyses of two cases, namely the peacebuilding practices in Liberia and Sierra Leone through the lenses of the world society approach reveal several interesting implications both for the literature on the theory and the peacebuilding literature. The case of Liberia represents more of a transition case, which is presented in the literature as a case including the dynamics of both traditional peacekeeping and newly appearing peacebuilding interventions. Two sets of implications can be noted for the analysis of Liberia and Sierra Leone peacebuilding operation. Firstly, the analysis demonstrates that theoretically it is both a difficult and unnecessary to draw clear cut lines between the international and world society frameworks. In the case of Liberia, it is possible to observe the dynamics of intervention mentalities

which are nourished by both international and world society frameworks. Intervention to Liberian civil war was initiated first by regional actors while international actors remained rather indifferent to the crisis for a considerably long time.

Nigeria, Ghana and ECOWAS's initiation for the deployment of intervention forces in Monrovia and rural parts of Liberia were the preliminary steps that carried Liberian crisis to the agenda of international actors. Considering three parameters discussed in the theoretical chapters, the emergence of Liberia peacebuilding operation can be considered as a political practice that appeared in the context of international society. Normative agenda was built mainly items aiming to secure the statehood of Liberia, because protecting the borders, obviating the refugee flow and preventing an aggressive leader's power consolidation in the region appeared as the major triggering motivations of the operation. Agency were practiced mainly by states and regional international organizations formed by states. Identity motivations of the agents reaching up to regional emphasis were shaped by the sense of "Western Africanness". Considering these three parameters, the intervention may look like better fitting to the context of the international society. In other respects, the intervention was shaped by several dynamics of world society framework at the same time. Within the process, new normative agenda items appeared as leading priorities. Among those, gender security, reintegration of ex combatants, children soldiers and victims of sexual assault to the societal life and projects on developing the social cohesion came into prominences as the major normative priorities. Agents of the operation were diversified as the NGOs gained more agential power and appeared as actual stakeholders of the practices. Therefore, the operation developed into a political practice which challenged the limits of the international society and fit

better into the world society framework. This multifaceted aspect of the operation supports the ES literature's argument that these categories represent different pictures of the world politics and may coexist. In this regard, the case of Liberia provides data for the application of both the international and world society frameworks. Hence, it is possible to confirm the argument voiced by leading ES scholars, such as Wight (1977), Bull (1977) and Buzan (2004) that these categories are not decisive definitions of the world politics which proceeds teleologically on a horizontal line, rather dynamics of the each category rise and fall depending on the conjuncture.

Secondly, in both cases, several results of the analyses challenge the arguments that have long been established in the peacebuilding literature. The classical argument in the literature emphasizes that what makes peacebuilding different from the traditional interventions lies in its non-state centric mentality both at the normative and operational levels. At normative level, peacebuilding interventions are argued to be built upon a deepened understanding of security of which normative agenda is capable to address human as a referent object of security. In this respect, the results derived from the analyses can be taken as a support to this argument to some extent. In the case of Liberia, the content analysis revealed that the society is most frequently addressed referent object in the peacebuilding documents. The content analysis conducted on the sample for the case of Sierra Leone gave similar results and demonstrated that society is the foremost referent object of the peacebuilding agenda. Though, it seems supportive for the argument mentioned above, it also challenges the argument in the sense that it is not the individual itself (as argued by human security scholars) but the society in general occupies the center of the peacebuilding agenda as a referent object. Besides, the results showed that state security is not out of the security agenda, instead it continues to be an integral

part of the peacebuilding. Therefore, it is possible to take these results as a challenge to the branch of the literature that have been portraying different sectors of security as mutually exclusive spheres as if there is an inverse proportionality between these objects of security. The results rather suggest that it is a constraining perspective to put a clear cut line between these sectors. In deeply divided, fragile political contexts where peacebuilding interventions are operated, state security appear as a prerequisite of a deepened and comprehensive security agenda which can address to societal and individual sectors of the security. In this respect, the alleged line between the state and human security remains artificial in these cases. Building on these results, it is possible to assert that security appears as more of a general concept especially in the early terms of a peacebuilding initiation because overall insecure environment gave birth to the need for immediate security with its most basic terms. The branching of the security agenda rather starts as the general security environment is gradually constructed and the phase of actual building of the peace begins.

At operational level, the results are even more challenging for long established arguments. As stated in the relevant sections, early scholars of the peacebuilding literature emphasized that one of the major novelties of the peacebuilding interventions is that non-state stakeholders of the operations practice the most part of the agency in these operations. The analyses on the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone show that though the agential power of the non-state actors such as NGOs is considerably on the rise, the biggest proportion of the agency lies with international organizations and states in these peacebuilding incidents. In this respect, asserting that the NGOs became the major actors of peacebuilding operations remain as a shallow argument which neglects the critical role of the states

and bodies formed by states as the leading actors of peacebuilding practices. On that sense, a better argument can be formulated as follows: especially the international organizations are aware of the importance of the role that can be played by the civil society actors in the construction of social cohesion and consolidation of the societal stability. Therefore, international organizations focus on project which aims to open a practical field in which actors of civil society can practice a more comprehensive role. Building on this argument, it can also be inferred that the states and international organizations can practice agency to provide a ground for the enhancement of the agential spheres of non-state agents as opposed to the flawed opinion portraying the state agents as potential captor of the NGOs' space of agency.

7.2. Directions for Further Research

This research addressed a complex set of questions both at theoretical and empirical levels. As it is providing its own answers to these questions based on the findings, it also opens a path to ask new set of questions which would form a fruitful further research agenda. In this regard, this section touches briefly upon possible directions for further research which can follow the path that is opened by this dissertation.

Theoretically, the English School and the concept of world society continue to remain as a potential field of research. The concept is still theoretically underdeveloped, not only because its theoretical literature is limited but also because its application to empirical studies are very rare. In this respect, application of the world society concept to actual political practices would also contribute to the

theoretical maturation of this framework. In a similar vein, it is also possible to dig deeper into the relationship between the international society and world society. The reason of the fact that the international society is considered to be the most comprehensive and apt theoretical field of the ES comes from its clarity on the definitions of its institutions. As two of the founding figures of the international society approach, Hedley Bull and Martin Wight have long worked on the institutional framework of what they called international society. Therefore, the scholars of the international society took these institutions as given and developed the debate on these institutions even further. Similar to such a foundational approach, the world society literature and its students should focus more on the institutions of the alleged world society. What are the institutions of world society, how are they different from the institutions of international society? Is there any institutional attachment to world society which does not exist in the international society context, or is there change within the institutions of the international society? These questions appear as possible research questions which can contribute to the theoretical development of the world society framework.

Bridging the world society approach to other disciplinary fields can also enhance the explanatory power of this recently developing theoretical framework. A recent article of Buzan that was published in the Spring 2015 issue of the *Security Dialogue* encourages me to work further on the connection between the English School framework and Security Studies discipline. In his article, Barry Buzan states that the English School is an underexploited framework in the Security Studies literature and he aims to provoke more scholarly efforts for bridging these two. Following the path he opens, I believe that the connection that this dissertation constructed between the world society concept and peacebuilding practices can be a

good example of such a potential bridge between the ES and Security Studies discipline. In this respect, the new normative context of peacebuilding which is argued to be relying on human security can be understood better through the lenses of the world society framework. Besides, the world society framework's emphasis on the non-state agencies can provide a viable tool to make sense of NGO activities in the peacebuilding practices. Therefore, another possible direction for further research appears to be establishing a bridge between the ES and security literature through the world society framework.

New research questions can be raised in the field of peacebuilding as well. As pointed out several times in this dissertation, the literature on peacebuilding interventions take several assumptions for granted. In this respect, the assumption that peacebuilding interventions aim at addressing non-state security instead of a state-based misdirects the literature to a flawed and artificial bifurcation between state security and other branches of security. This bifurcation causes a formulation of different sectors of security in a mutually exclusive manner as if one sector of it is the antithesis of another. There might be cases in which one specific sector of the security challenges other security objects indeed. Yet, taking this incident as a general fact for security studies diminishes the conceptual potential of this field. Therefore, more testing of these arguments against actual peacebuilding cases is necessary to see the problems of peacebuilding both at theoretical and operational levels.

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Appendix 1: Liberia Content Analysis Dataset

Variables	Liberia 1	Liberia 2	Liberia 3	Liberia 4	Liberia 5	Liberia 6	Liberia 7	Liberia 8	Liberia 9	Liberia 10	Liberia 11	Liberia 12	Liberia 13	Liberia 14	Liberia 15	Liberia 16	Liberia 17	Liberia 18	Total
R1-Ad	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
R1-Td	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	14
R1-Og	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
R2-Ad	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	3	5	0	4	11	1	1	1	0	0	2	35
R2-Td	2	2	0	3	5	3	0	0	4	0	6	9	0	2	0	2	2	2	42
R2-Og	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	10
R3-Ad	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	14
R3-Td	1	3	0	1	1	0	3	5	2	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	6	1	29
R3-Og	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	14
R4-Ad	3	4	0	1	0	0	4	5	13	5	2	9	1	2	1	1	0	0	51
R4-Td	7	8	2	4	8	2	6	6	20	5	10	13	2	5	3	0	6	0	107
R4-Og	0	3	1	4	3	0	0	3	8	8	3	3	5	1	0	0	1	0	43
R5-Ad	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	13
R5-Td	0	4	0	0	2	0	3	4	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	7	28
R5-Og	0	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	3	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
																		TOTAL	429

Variables	Liberia 1	Liberia 2	Liberia 3	Liberia 4	Liberia 5	Liberia 6	Liberia 7	Liberia 8	Liberia 9	Liberia 10	Liberia 11	Liberia 12	Liberia 13	Liberia 14	Liberia 15	Liberia 16	Liberia 17	Liberia 18	TOTAL
A1-Pa	6	1	0	2	2	1	4	2	3	2	1	9	0	2	0	0	2	6	43
A1-Na	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	6	0	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	22
A1-Nea	1	4	1	1	2	2	0	2	3	3	4	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	29
A2-Pa	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	1	2	7	2	1	0	0	0	0	27
A2-Na	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	2	8	0	4	0	0	0	0	23
A2-Nea	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	10
A3-Pa	8	2	1	0	3	2	3	5	8	1	5	6	4	2	6	1	7	8	72
A3-Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
A3-Nea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	3	3	1	0	6	2	0	20
A4-Pa	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	2	1	4	2	0	0	1	0	2	23
A4-Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
A4-Nea	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	12
A5-Pa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
A5-Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A5-Nea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
A6-Pa	1	9	1	7	10	2	7	4	11	4	5	11	2	3	0	1	0	1	79
A6-Na	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	4	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	18
A6-Nea	2	2	2	0	5	0	0	3	5	3	3	4	2	3	0	3	1	2	40
																		TOTAL	431

Appendix 2: Sierra Leone Content Analysis Dataset

Variables	Sierra Leone 1	Sierra Leone 2	Sierra Leone 3	Sierra Leone 4	Sierra Leone 5	Sierra Leone 6	Sierra Leone 7	Sierra Leone 8	Sierra Leone 9	Sierra Leone 10	Sierra Leone 11	Sierra Leone 12	Sierra Leone 13	Sierra Leone 14	Sierra Leone 15	Sierra Leone 16	Sierra Leone 17	Sierra Leone 18	Sierra Leone 19	Total
R1-Ad	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	27
R1-Td	1	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	6	2	3	1	1	3	0	26
R1-Og	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	16
R2-Ad	3	0	2	1	2	2	6	2	1	4	1	2	2	1	2	0	4	4	2	41
R2-Td	5	1	2	0	5	3	11	4	4	4	3	1	4	4	4	4	1	0	2	62
R2-Og	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	11
R3-Ad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	1	4	0	3	1	2	0	2	20
R3-Td	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	5	1	1	2	2	3	5	3	5	3	3	5	46
R3-Og	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
R4-Ad	4	0	10	0	2	2	2	5	4	4	5	2	3	3	4	5	2	4	2	63
R4-Td	4	5	11	2	5	4	11	12	8	4	1	2	10	7	6	2	5	5	3	107
R4-Og	1	3	1	2	0	3	1	0	0	2	1	1	3	2	2	2	1	0	0	25
R5-Ad	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	3	3	4	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	27
R5-Td	3	1	2	2	3	1	5	7	5	1	4	0	6	1	2	4	0	2	0	49
R5-Og	3	1	1	3	2	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	0	0	26
																			Total	555

Variables	Sierra Leone 1	Sierra Leone 2	Sierra Leone 3	Sierra Leone 4	Sierra Leone 5	Sierra Leone 6	Sierra Leone 7	Sierra Leone 8	Sierra Leone 9	Sierra Leone 10	Sierra Leone 11	Sierra Leone 12	Sierra Leone 13	Sierra Leone 14	Sierra Leone 15	Sierra Leone 16	Sierra Leone 17	Sierra Leone 18	Sierra Leone 19	Total
A1-Pa	5	1	6	0	1	0	2	3	3	0	1	0	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	41
A1-Na	0	0	3	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	3	1	4	0	0	0	1	18
A1-Nea	2	0	6	2	0	0	4	3	4	3	2	0	2	1	0	3	3	1	0	36
A2-Pa	4	0	2	2	1	2	0	0	1	3	4	1	4	3	4	3	1	0	4	39
A2-Na	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	2	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	16
A2-Nea	1	2	3	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	3	2	2	23
A3-Pa	1	0	3	3	1	1	0	3	1	4	3	3	9	9	7	7	5	4	5	69
A3-Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	5
A3-Nea	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	5	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	36
A4-Pa	2	0	3	2	0	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	3	34
A4-Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
A4-Nea	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	12
A5-Pa	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	11
A5-Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A5-Nea	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
A6-Pa	7	2	9	3	3	1	3	8	7	4	3	3	4	4	3	4	5	3	7	83
A6-Na	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	23
A6-Nea	3	0	10	2	2	5	5	6	6	2	4	1	2	4	5	4	2	4	2	69
																			Total	526