

# Inhaltsverzeichnis

Illustrations	17
Tables	19
List of Acronyms	23
1. Framing Peace: Peace Operations and Organizational Framing	27
1.1 Organizational Framing and Strategic Peacebuilding	28
1.2 Political Sciences and Peace Operations	34
1.2.1 Framing and Peace Operations	41
1.3 Setting the Context: Actors, Levels, and Events in UN Peace Operations	42
1.3.1 UN Peace Operations as Organizations	42
1.3.2 Public Information Offices (PIO) in Peace Operations	44
1.3.3 Environments of UN Peace Operations	47
2. Organizational Framing in UN Peace Operations: Theory, Concepts, and Hypotheses	53
2.1 Framing and Organizational Framing	53
2.2 Framing Theory. An Overview	54
2.2.1 What are Frames?	54
2.2.2 What is Framing?	56
2.2.3 Organizational Framing: Strategy and Design	58
2.3 Organizational Framing and Frame Selection in Peace Operations. Towards a Model	61
2.3.1 The Context: Peace Operations in the Field	61
2.3.2 Peace Operations: Independent Variables	62
2.3.2.1 The Kind of Situation	63
2.3.2.2 Context Credibility	65
2.3.2.3 Capacities: Security Policies	67
2.3.3 Frames as Dependent Variables – Prototypical Frames in Peace Operations	68

2.3.4	Hypotheses	72
2.3.5	Bureaucratic Efficiency as Alternative Main Hypothesis	74
2.3.5.1	UN Peace Operations as Complex Organizations: Bounded Rationality and ‘Satisficing’	74
2.3.5.2	Leadership as Key Factor	75
2.3.5.3	Influencing Frame Selection: Bureaucratic Efficiency	76
2.4	Summing Up: Hypotheses and Independent Variables for Frame Selection in UN Peace Operations	77
3.	Tracing Framing in Peace Operations: Methods and Case Selection	79
3.1	Methods and Peace Operations	79
3.2	Herding Mice: Process Tracing and Qualitative Methods	80
3.3	Defining Process Tracing	81
3.3.1	Inference in Process Tracing	83
3.3.2	Generalization in Process Tracing	84
3.4	Tracing Frames	85
3.4.1	Four Steps	86
3.4.2	First Step: Hypothesizing Frame Selection Mechanisms in Peace Operations	87
3.4.2.1	Specifying Independent Variables	88
3.4.2.2	Specifying Dependent Variables: Frame Selection	89
3.4.2.3	Two Preliminary Case Studies	90
3.4.3	Second Step: Tracing Frames in the Empirical Material	91
3.4.4	Third Step: Refining Causal Mechanisms by Iteration Between Theory and Data	92
3.4.4.1	Comparing Prototypical and Empirical Frames	93
3.4.4.2	Merging Frames	94
3.4.5	Fourth Step: Structured and Focused Comparison of Hypotheses and Frame Selection	94
3.5	Data	97
3.6	Case Selection	100
4.	From Monitoring to Enforcing Reforms: UNMIBH in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1996-2002)	103
4.1	UNMIBH’s Mandate: Monitoring and Reforming Police in BiH	104
4.2	Setup of Police Forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina	107

4.3	The Role of Media in Bosnia-Herzegovina	108
4.4	UNMIBH's Media Policy	110
4.5	Critical Periods for UNMIBH	111
4.6	Elections (1996)	112
4.6.1	Independent Variables	112
4.6.1.1	Kind of Period	112
4.6.1.2	Context Credibility	112
4.6.1.3	Security Policies	113
4.6.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	115
4.6.1.5	Summary of Independent Variables	116
4.6.2	Framing a Difficult Heritage: UNMIBH's First Year	117
4.6.3	Assessment of Framing and Hypotheses	121
4.7	Introducing the Bonn Powers (September – December 1997)	124
4.7.1	Independent Variables	124
4.7.1.1	Kind of Period	124
4.7.1.2	Context Credibility	127
4.7.1.3	Security Policies	128
4.7.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	130
4.7.1.5	Summary of Independent Variables	131
4.7.2	Framing New Competences: The Bonn Powers	132
4.7.3	Assessment of Framing and Hypotheses	136
4.8	Excursus: UNMIBH and Political Developments 1998-2001	138
4.9	The Mission Implementation Plan and Drawdown (2001-2002)	139
4.9.1	Independent Variables	139
4.9.1.1	Kind of Period	139
4.9.1.2	Context Credibility	140
4.9.1.3	Security Policies	140
4.9.1.3.1	MIP Core Program 1: Police Reform and Vetting	144
4.9.1.3.2	MIP Core Program 4: Institution building and Inter-Police Force Cooperation	144
4.9.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	146
4.9.1.5	Summary of Independent Variables	147
4.9.2	Planning Towards Exit: Framing in 2001	148
4.9.2.1	Short summary for 2001	150
4.9.2.2	UNMIBH's Last Year – 2002 in Frames	151
4.9.3	Assessment of Framing and Hypotheses	156
4.10	From Odd One Out to Credible Actor: UNMIBH from 1996 to 2002	161

4.10.1	Structured and Focused Comparison of Independent Variables	161
4.10.2	Frames Over Time	163
4.10.3	Assessing Hypotheses for UNMIBH	163
5.	From Standards to Riots: Framing Police Reforms in Kosovo (1999-2005)	169
5.1	The Case of Kosovo and the International Community	169
5.1.1	The Mandate: Resolution 1244	171
5.1.2	UNMIK Police in 1999	173
5.1.3	Media in Kosovo and Public Information	175
5.2	UNMIK between 2001 and 2005	177
5.3	Kosovo-wide Elections November 2001	179
5.3.1	Independent Variables	179
5.3.1.1	Kind of Period	179
5.3.1.2	Context Credibility	182
5.3.1.3	Security Policies	183
5.3.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	184
5.3.1.5	Summary of Independent Variables	185
5.3.2	Framing the Elections 2001	186
5.3.3	Assessing Framing and Hypotheses	191
5.4	Standards before Status	194
5.4.1	Independent Variables	194
5.4.1.1	Kind of Period	194
5.4.1.2	Context Credibility	196
5.4.1.3	Security Policies	198
5.4.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	199
5.4.1.5	Summary	200
5.4.2	Framing Standards in Kosovo	201
5.4.3	Assessing Framing and Hypotheses	204
5.5	March Riots 2004	209
5.5.1	Independent Variables	209
5.5.1.1	Kind of Period	209
5.5.1.2	Context Credibility	212
5.5.1.3	Security Policies	213
5.5.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	214
5.5.1.5	Summary	214
5.5.2	Framing Failure: The March Riots 2004	215

5.5.3	Assessing Frames during the March Riots 2004	221
5.6	Ownership and Haradinaj's Indictment (August 2004 – April 2005)	224
5.6.1	Independent Variables	224
5.6.1.1	Kind of Period	224
5.6.1.2	Context Credibility	226
5.6.1.3	Security Policies	227
5.6.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	228
5.6.1.5	Summary	229
5.6.2	Framing towards Ownership?	230
5.6.3	Assessing Frames 2004/2005	235
5.7	Structured and Focused Comparison of Frames in UNMIK, 1999-2005	238
5.7.1	Independent Variables	238
5.7.2	Frames Over Time	240
5.7.3	Assessing Hypotheses for UNMIK 2001-2005	242
5.8	Epilogue: UNOSEK and the Status Proposal 2007-2008	244
6.	Rebuilding a Failed State: Framing Riots and Reforms in Liberia (2003-2007)	249
6.1	A Short History of Liberia	250
6.1.1	Security Institutions in Liberia	252
6.1.2	Media Institutions in Liberia	253
6.1.3	The Accra Peace Agreement 2003	254
6.1.4	UNMIL's Mandate	256
6.1.4.1	UNMIL Police	257
6.1.4.2	UNMIL Public Information Office	257
6.2	Critical Periods during UNMIL's tenure	259
6.3	Framing Chaos: UNMIL's Setup-Phase 2003	261
6.3.1	Independent Variables	261
6.3.1.1	Kind of Period	261
6.3.1.2	Context Credibility	263
6.3.1.3	Security Policies	264
6.3.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	266
6.3.1.5	Summary	268
6.3.2	From Deployment to DDRR: Press Briefings and Frames	269
6.3.3	Assessing Framing and Hypotheses	274

6.4	Towards Peace? The Monrovia Riots 2004	278
6.4.1	Independent Variables	278
6.4.1.1	Kind of Period	278
6.4.1.2	Context Credibility	279
6.4.1.3	Security Policies	280
6.4.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	283
6.4.1.5	Summary	284
6.4.2	Framing Towards Transition: Press Briefings and Frames in 2004	284
6.4.3	Assessing Framing and Hypotheses	289
6.5	Elections 2005	293
6.5.1	Independent Variables	293
6.5.1.1	Kind of Period	293
6.5.1.2	Context Credibility: Scoring for Elections	294
6.5.1.3	Security Policies	295
6.5.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	297
6.5.1.5	Summary of Independent Variables	298
6.5.2	Framing the Elections 2006: Press Briefings and Frames	299
6.5.3	Assessment of Frames and Hypotheses	301
6.6	Consolidation and Reforms 2006-2007	305
6.6.1	Independent Variables	305
6.6.1.1	Kind of Period	305
6.6.1.2	Context Credibility	307
6.6.1.3	Security Policies	308
6.6.1.4	Bureaucratic Efficiency	310
6.6.1.5	Summary	312
6.6.2	Towards Consolidation: Frame Selection in 2006/2007	312
6.6.3	Assessing Framing and Hypotheses	321
6.7	Framing State Reconstruction in Liberia: Restoring Hope and Maintaining Confidence	324
6.7.1	Structured and Focused Comparison of Independent Variables	324
6.7.2	Frames Over Time	325
6.7.3	Assessing Hypotheses Across the Periods	328
6.7.4	Framing Peace and Security in Liberia	329
7.	Framing Peace. Organizational Framing in UN Peace Operations	331
7.1	From Monitoring Training to Rebuilding Failed States: Framing in Three Peace Operations	333
7.1.1	Liberia: Rebuilding a Failed State	333

7.1.2	Kosovo	334
7.1.3	Bosnia-Herzegovina	335
7.2	Testing Hypotheses on Framing and Peace Operations	335
7.2.1	The Two Main Hypotheses	337
7.2.2	Kind of Period	338
7.2.3	Context Credibility	339
7.2.4	Security Policies	339
7.2.5	Summing Up: Testing Hypotheses of Framing Peace	339
7.3	Further Factors Across the Cases: Phases, Leadership and Mission Design	340
7.3.1	From 'Security First' to Development: The Different Phases of Peace Operations	340
7.3.2	Personality in Peacekeeping: The Role of Leadership	342
7.3.3	Mission Design	343
7.4	Theoretical and Methodological Considerations	344
7.4.1	Mixing Methods: Frame Analysis and Process Tracing	344
7.4.2	Theoretical Considerations: Framing Theory, Frame Selection and Organizational Framing	345
7.5	Implications for Peacekeeping Research: Sketching an Agenda for further Research	347