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Unbowed, unbent, unbroken? Examining the validity of the responsibility to protect

Cooperation and Conflict

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Appendix

Item 1. Replicated Sentiment on Sentence Level for Countries, IOs, and NGOs

The previous analyses demonstrated sentiment estimates with vary word-windows. To increase the robustness of the main text’s findings even more, I replicate the entire analysis on a sentence level. Sentence level coding is intuitive for human coders and illustrates most often a welcome validation in automated corpus linguistics. The measures shown here have been compiled using the same automated technique as in the main text but the unit of analysis is a sentence referencing R2P. While in essence the findings are similar, sentence level coding in the UNSC rather over-appreciates than underappreciates sentiment. This is due to the slightly more positive baseline sentiment in the UNSC. A lot of positively connotated language—which could be termed *diplomatic jargon*, entailing extending warm regards, thanking for kind words etc.—pull the average Security Council debate closer to a slightly positive mean. As a consequence, by relying on sentences instead of word windows, there is an increased likelihood for observing more positively connotated language because sentences are usually longer than the used word windows.

As **Item 1** shows, if we take the institutional benchmark as a cutoff for a dichotomization, we arrive at 98 entities that exemplify a positive sentiment towards the norm. This is an average increase of roughly 10 % (or 7 percentage points) compared the main text results. Crucially, sentiment of pivotal member states does not change much and the overall implications of the study’s findings remain the same. However, there are a few outlier—such as Afghanistan, Lebanon or the NGO Physicians for Human Rights—where the tonality flips. In these instances, the respective speakers gave few speeches (usually only 2) on the norm and sentence level analysis might be more informative as more text data helps to accentuate tonality.

R2P Sentiment expressed in UNSC Speeches

Mean sentiment score (LSD) on all Sentences by a given Country on the Norm



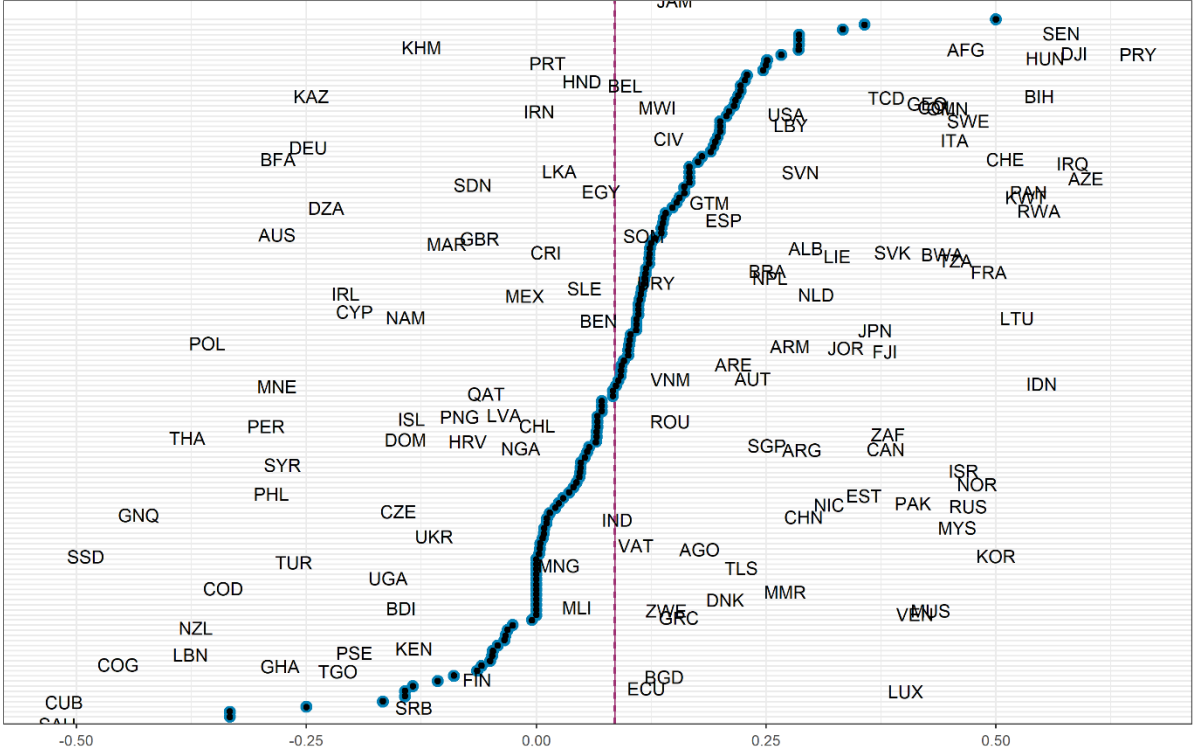
Note: Purple line indicates institution’s benchmark. Sentiment Scores can range from -1 to 1. “Unknown” and “Individual” are residual categories where speakers’ affiliation was unknown. Negative scores indicate negative sentiment, positive scores the opposite. Blue colored vertical lines represent 95 % confidence intervals around mean sentiment.

Item 2: Sentiment expressed as Country-scatter-plot

Item 2 represents another graphical illustration of Country-sentiment-positions (in this instance derived from an 8 word-window). Visualized as a scatter plot with individual country names, the graph is meant to give another illustration of the range of tonal positions within the UNSC. It is noteworthy that country names had to be jittered (visually disentangled) to make overlaying tonal positions readable. Thus, tonal positions have to be interpreted with great care. Positions are to be read from the actual data point and *not* from the country name within the plot.

R2P Sentiment expressed in UNSC Speeches

Mean sentiment score (LSD) on 8 word-windows around 'responsibility to protect' by country



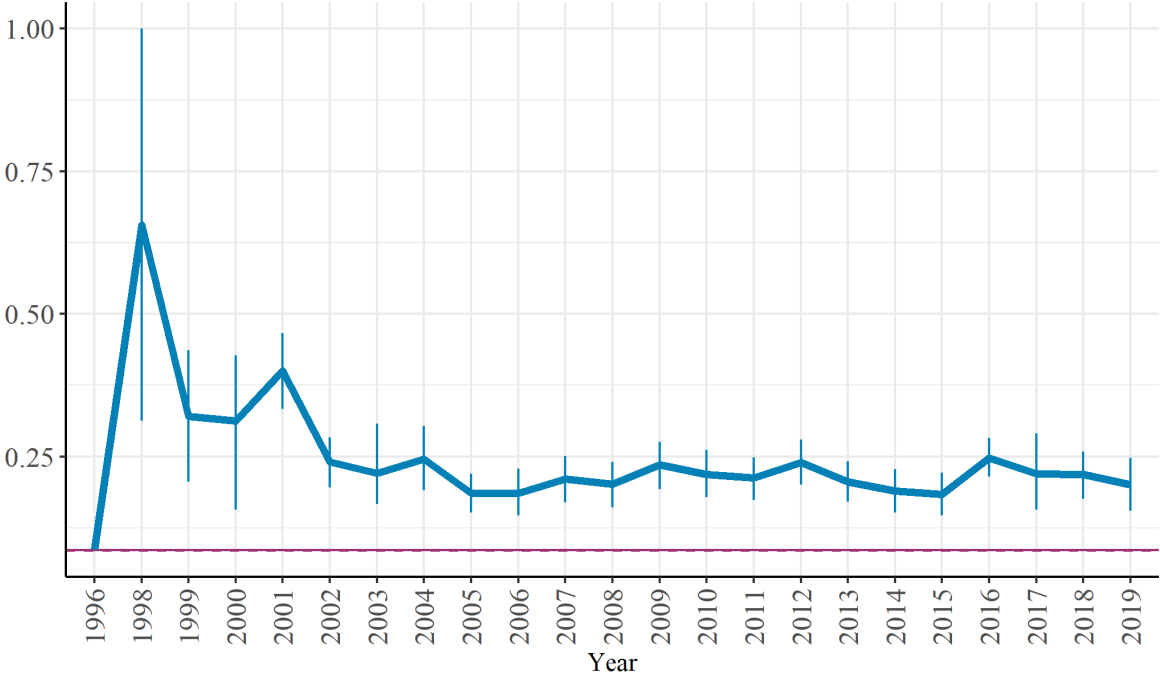
Note: Purple line indicates institution’s benchmark. Sentiment Scores can range from -1 to 1. Negative scores indicate negative sentiment, positive scores the opposite. Country-names are jittered to make overlaying tonal positions readable.

Item 3: Overall Sentiment in the Security Council derived from a Sentence Level of Analysis

Item 3 investigates to what extent overall sentiment is affected by the choice of word-windows as the unit of analysis. To show a valid comparison, the plot below illustrates the mean sentiment around the R2P over time in the Security Council derived from sentences which invoke the norm. While the picture is overall slightly more positive as in the main text, its empirical implications remain the same. R2P seems far from being obliterated. Its mean tonality is consistently—and this time—statistically speaking significantly higher than the institutional benchmark. The 95% confidence interval touches—for most years after 2005—the confidence intervals of the main text.

R2P sentiment expressed in UN Security Council Speeches

Mean sentiment score (LSD) coded on sentence level featuring 'responsibility to protect' / 'r2p' references
Mean sentiment across all full SC speeches during period in purple

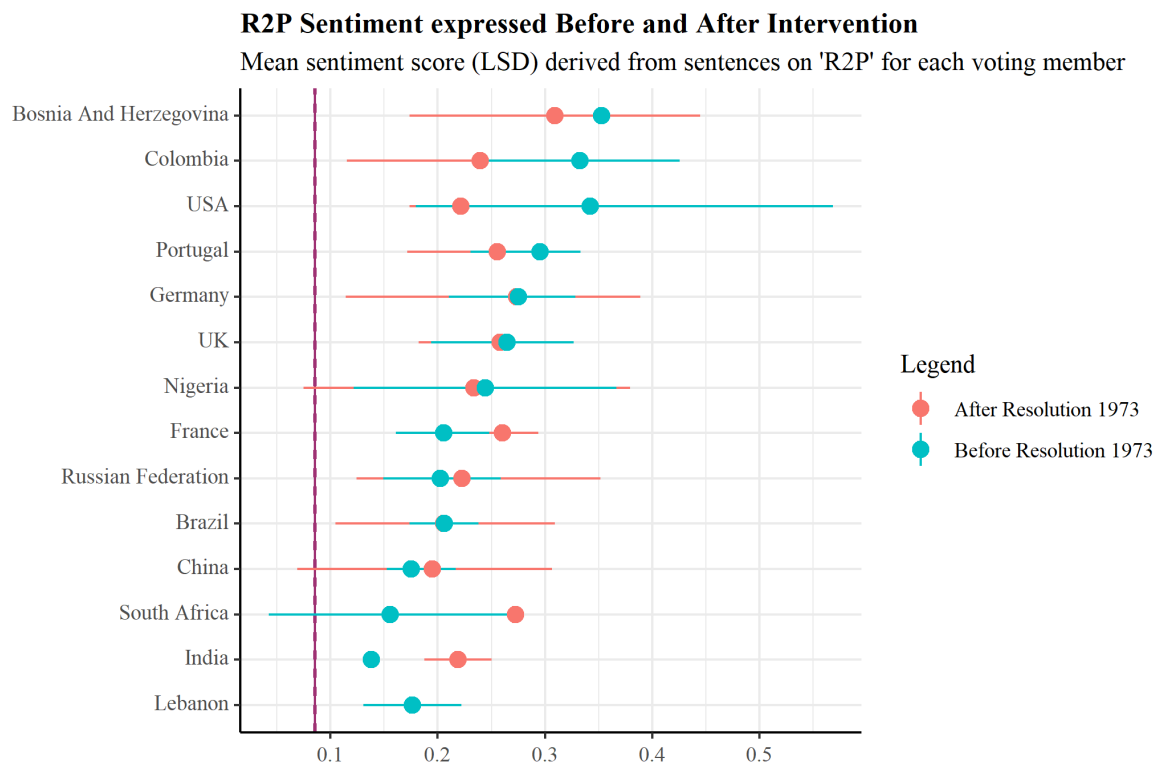


Note: Purple line indicates institution’s benchmark. Sentiment Scores can range from -1 to 1. Blue colored vertical lines represent 95 % confidence intervals around means.

Item 4: Sentiment Positions before and after Intervention, derived from a Sentence Level

Item 4 replicates Figure 4 of the main text on a sentence level instead of 8-word windows around the R2P. On the whole, trends and sentiment changes after intervention are similar to the ones in the main text. As in Figure 4, the United States reduced its sentiment, contrary to South Africa, India, which improved their tonality. However, there are some small noteworthy differences. First, as discussed above, general sentiment on R2P is higher derived from a sentence level. Thus, baseline tonalities of states are more positive as well. Contrary to the main text’s findings, none of the authorizing member states display a negative sentiment.

Second, the only statistically significant change comes here from India improving its tonal stance by around 9 percentage points. While India’s position changed also in the main text, its change was not significant in statistical terms. Acknowledging the confidence intervals, the overall findings remain similar to the ones presented in Figure 4, albeit on a slightly more positive baseline level.



Note: Purple line indicates institution’s benchmark. Sentiment Scores can range from -1 to 1. Colored horizontal lines indicate 95 % confidence interval around the mean.

Item 5: Invocations of R2P in the UNSC before the ICISS Report

Country	Date	Topic	Speaker	Text Passage
France	29 July 1996	Burundi	Mr. Dejammet	“The Security Council calls upon all Burundian parties and leaders to halt all violence and engage immediately in concerted efforts to achieve a lasting national settlement and reconciliation. The Council stresses their responsibility to protect the lives of all persons, including President Ntibantunganya, Prime Minister Nduwayo and members of their government, and expects them to maintain democratic institutions and to enter into negotiations for a peaceful resolution of the crisis.”
United Kingdom	29 June 1998	Children and armed Conflict	Sir John Weston	“The European Union believes that the issue of children and armed conflict is one which deserves a particularly important place on the international political agenda. While we recognize that the primary responsibility to protect the rights of the child under all circumstances rests with States, we must also reinvigorate international efforts to protect children.”
United States of America	30 July 1998	Georgia	Ms. Soderberg	“We condemn in the strongest terms the attacks on the peacekeepers of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). We remain deeply concerned about the physical safety of the personnel of UNOMIG. We call upon the parties to renew their commitment to protect the personnel of UNOMIG and other international peacekeepers. It is their responsibility to protect the peacekeepers. To this end, both sides must rein in terrorist activity. They must also cease violence and harassment against refugees and internally displaced persons.”
Germany	22 nd February 1999	Cvilians in armed conflict	Mr. Kastrup	“On behalf of the European Union, I would like to underline my deep appreciation that the Security Council has given the protection of civilians in armed conflict a very high priority, which, as you mentioned, Mr. President, is reflected in the three meetings held within only

30 days. The Security Council has rightly done so. The EU believes that the issue of the protection of civilians in armed conflict deserves to figure high on the international political agenda. While we recognize that the primary responsibility to protect civilians under all circumstances rests with States and parties to a conflict, we must also reinvigorate international efforts to protect civilians in armed conflict. The Security Council has an important responsibility in this context. It is important that it properly coordinate its actions with other relevant bodies.”

Norway	25 August 1999	Children and armed conflict	Mr. Hunningstad	“Let me briefly outline some of the elements my Government believes are of key importance in this regard. States have the primary responsibility to protect the rights and well-being of children. In those cases where the national legal framework and measures are inadequate, States have the responsibility to ensure that these inadequacies are addressed, and that the protection and welfare of children are given priority in economic and social policies.”
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Mongolia	25 August 1999	Children and armed conflict	Mr. Enkhsaikhan	“The next century belongs to our children. It is therefore our responsibility to protect the young generation and to make their lives more secure and safe. In a broader context, the most efficient means of protecting children would be preventing conflict situations in the first place. In this context, Mongolia attaches great importance to the preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping activities and peace-building measures of the United Nations, especially in the regions affected by armed conflicts. In this regard, the United Nations should properly address the various root causes of armed conflicts and find ways to prevent and avoid conflict situations. Mongolia believes that the Security Council should not only strongly condemn the targeting of children in situations of armed conflict, but also take concrete legal, political and other necessary steps to combat it.”
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Canada	29 September 1999	Africa	Mr. Axworthy	“I think that it is also very clear that the Security Council has a responsibility to protect the security of individual Africans. Contrary to what some suggest, the Council has the authority and the mandate to take action against those who profit from misery. It has the competence to help establish sustainable peace and to intervene in the face of massive suffering, and it should make full and forceful use that mandate. More resolute action to cut off the ways and means for waging armed conflict and to ensure that these sanctions work is vital.”
United States of America	9 February 2000	Protection of UN Personnel	Mr. Cunningham	“As a community of nations, we share a moral and political obligation to take action to prevent the onset of Violence and, when this fails, to mitigate conflict. We also share a responsibility to protect United Nations and associated personnel, humanitarian workers and members of multinational forces working for peace and stability. Under all circumstances, United Nations and associated personnel have a right to protect themselves. Nevertheless, it is incumbent upon host States and other actors to create environments in which they can safely carry out their missions. The primary responsibility for the safety and security of humanitarian and United Nations personnel rests with the authorities of the host Government, but we must also do our best to ensure that concrete steps are taken to protect those who serve and to punish those who violate their safety.”
Portugal	9 March 2000	Humanitarian Assistance	Mr. Monteiro	“It is a well-established principle of international humanitarian law that States have the primary responsibility to protect civilian populations from violence. Secure access to humanitarian assistance by all victims of armed conflict is a prerequisite of any humanitarian operation. State and non-State parties to a conflict are obliged to facilitate the provision of humanitarian aid and should cooperate fully to that end. There is also a responsibility on the part of the international community to facilitate the provision of humanitarian aid in cases where that obligation is not met. Denial of access to civilians in need, in breach of international law, and the targeting of civilian

				populations, which are often used as tools of warfare, must be condemned in all circumstances.”
Jamaica	9 March 2000	Humanitarian Assistance	Ms. Durrant	“It is unfortunate that the practice of impeding humanitarian access to civilians and the deliberate targeting of humanitarian personnel have increased in several areas of conflict. The denial of humanitarian access by parties to armed conflict is unacceptable and should be condemned in the strongest terms. The attention given to this issue by the Council during our discussions last month was therefore very timely. While States have the primary responsibility to protect and provide for civilians within their territory and to ensure the safe, unimpeded access of humanitarian workers to civilians in need, the Council has a critical role to play in helping to create a secure environment for such assistance.”
New Zealand	17 April 2000	Sanctions	Mr. Hughes	“These are but a few of the measures that my delegation believes could improve the current effectiveness of sanctions regimes. Furthermore, up to now the international community has depended on existing structures and resources to manage the application and enforcement of sanctions. This approach has entailed very little financial cost to the membership, but in some cases it may have contributed to devastating suffering and long-term degradation for civilian populations, far in excess even of the kind of damage that might be inflicted by armed conflict or war. This situation poses, as the Secretary-General has said, a moral dilemma for the United Nations, which has a responsibility to protect the vulnerable and the weak.”
Jamaica	10 November 2000	Briefing by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees	Ms. Durrant	“Thirdly, the 1994 Convention on the Protection of United Nations and Associated Personnel provides a backdrop for humanitarian work. While States have the primary responsibility to protect and provide for civilians in their territory and to ensure the safe, unimpeded access of humanitarian workers to civilians in need, the Security Council has a role to play in helping to create an environment for

such assistance. There must be collaboration on the ground between peacekeepers and humanitarian agencies.”
