



Security communities

- A case study of the long-term peace between Jordan and Israel

Kim Dahlbeck Jädersand

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Abstract

This thesis investigates if the 25 years of peace between Jordan and Israel is a sample of a security community and to what degree it could be considered a security community. The author has examined if the theory of security communities three 'tiers' criterion are present between the countries. By doing a least-likely case study and using a qualitative content analysis the study has analyzed the Peace Treaty signed between Jordan and Israel in 1994. The investigation came to the conclusion that Jordan and Israel have acknowledged common peace parameters that have been vital to their long-term peace. Jordan and Israel could be regarded as a light case of security community or a loosely coupled case of security community. Jordan and Israel address common security threats and have for a period of 25 years resolved their issues through diplomacy and thus stayed out of military conflicts with each other.

Keywords: Middle East, Peace Treaty, Security Community, Qualitative Content Analysis, Least-likely Case Study, Jordan, Israel, International Relations, Peace Parameters.

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1. Introduction

One of the most interesting regions today, when discussing security, conflict and peace-related issues, is the Middle Eastern region. This region is considered to be highly affected by conflicts. In 2016, fifty-three distinct conflicts were registered in the Middle East, which is a record as of after World War II (Mundey, 2019:541).

Situated in the Middle East are the countries of Jordan and Israel whom have, since they entered the 'Peace Treaty' in 1994, managed to stay out of conflict despite their differences in history, culture, religion and political position (Schenker, 2014:1). How have two countries situated in such a conflicted area as the Middle East managed to stay out of conflict for so many years? The question of how these two very different states in an otherwise conflicted region have managed to keep peaceful relations for so long, remains unanswered. This thesis will try to explain the peaceful anomaly of Jordan and Israel. Most research has focused on the causes of conflict and not the causes of peace. It is important to learn from a longstanding peaceful relation between two countries in an otherwise conflict-affected region as the Middle East, which is why this thesis will investigate whether the rather known theory of security communities could be applied to the peaceful anomaly of Jordan and Israel

Disposition

The first chapter in this thesis will consist of research in terms of the study's research problem, research question and previous research regarding the theory. The theory along with concept formation will be presented in the second chapter and chapter three in this thesis will be based on methodology. Chapter four is where the analysis takes place, followed by the presentation of the findings. Lastly, but not least, the conclusion of this thesis will be presented in chapter five along with the authors final thoughts.

1.1 Research problem & Purpose

In the Middle East, many states have signed peace agreements in the past but have broken them over the years and failed to stay out of conflict. As the issue of climate change is becoming a very evident security aspect in the region and will most probably only increase over the coming years, it is clear that it is considered a common security threat and the aspect of dealing with common threats in general should be looked into (Schyns et. al, 2015:5706). Could common security threats, such as water security as a consequences of climate change, actually help to sustain peaceful relations between states?

This study contributes to the peace research field by testing the theory of security communities on a case of peaceful interstate relations. The results of this thesis might therefore explain if the parameters that makes the theory of security community 'successful' in its own terms, can be addressed to the case of Jordan and Israel. This thesis therefore also fills the gap of research using the theory of security community on a case study in the Middle East.

Klieman (1995) argues that Jordan and Israel have what is defined as a 'security regime'. Further it is argued, Jordan and Israel have formed a security regime when it comes to water accessibility and has thus isolated the reason for peace to one issue. The peace has therefore not been examined further (Klieman, 1995:129-140). The term 'security community' is defined as two or more states or non-state actors who have reached a level of common understanding regarding security threats through shared values and norms. Therefore, they have instilled trust in each other that neither part will start a weaponized conflict with the other, but settle their differences through diplomacy (Adler & Barnett, 1998:3-8).

The theory of security community aims for the possibility for states to settle differences and gain peace through common values and interests (Adler & Barnett, 1998:3)

In 1994 Jordan and Israel signed a Peace Treaty from which their peace has been lasting without larger disputes and without military conflicts between them. For a peace treaty to

be long lasting in a bilateral sense, vital peace parameters about more than one issue must exist, to have held these countries together for such a long time.

This thesis aims to investigate whether Israel and Jordan can be considered a security community despite the fact that Jordan and Israel are two states with completely different background and culture there has been official peace between them since 1994. This is very interesting from a security-, peace and international relations perspective. How come two so different states, in so many ways, have managed to maintain peace for so long?

What has lead Jordan and Israel to form a security regime, is the issue of water security. The security regime Klieman argues exist, is regarding water accessibility (Klieman, 1995:128). These actions and the fact that Jordan and Israel have addressed common security threats for lasting peace have a lot of resemblance to the term of security community according to the theory of 'security community' and this is where the puzzle of this thesis begins.

The puzzle that the author came across is: how come there is peace between these two states in an otherwise conflicted region? Could the theory of security communities explain the peaceful relations, and if yes to what degree could they be considered a security community? The author has examined if the theory of security communities three 'tiers' criterion are present between the countries (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 37). The reason for investigating if Jordan and Israel are a case of security community is because it has not been done before. Other theories of concentrated security issues have been investigated before but not in total, the way the theory of security community does (Klieman, 1995:129-140; Haddadin, 2002:324).

From an academic perspective it is interesting to review whether the theory of security community is present between the countries of Jordan and Israel. The Middle East as a region has since the 'Arab spring' been highly affected by interstate conflicts as well as between states. By analyzing the material from the view of security community this thesis has acknowledged important factors and peace parameters to explain why there has been peace between two countries in the Middle East, which in turn could be used when studying peace and conflict in the rest of the region.

One could also argue that this thesis has identified the need to investigate this theory just because of the very reason it has not been investigated further outside the west. Since the theory is somewhat poorly researched outside of a Western context, the author of this thesis has not come across much research of it being tested in a Middle Eastern context. Moreover, security communities have only been researched about in solid security communities, such as NATO and the EU.

Lastly, as presented further on in this thesis, there is very little research on topics involving the theory of security community outside of the western world and Asia which makes this study an important addition to the academic world (Adler & Barnett, 1998; Jones, 2008:183-186; Adler, 2008:195-230).

When it comes to Jordan and Israel, academics have never discussed the absence of conflicts between the two countries, but rather focused on other issues such as economic related disputes, politics over water distribution and the likelihood of water wars in the region (Feitelson et. al, 2012:253-254; Dohrmann & Hatem, 2014:567; Wollenbæk Tøset et. al, 2009:973).

Security regime vs security community

Robert Jervis (1982) defines security regimes as; “those principles, rules and norms that permit nations to be restrained in their behavior in the belief that others reciprocate.” (Jervis, 1982:357). Klieman (1995:128) argues that Jordan and Israel have formed a regional security regime amid a very polarized and conflicted region (Klieman, 1995:128). A regional security regime emerged with the aim of creating a community or set of standards to resolve conflict, incorporating informal understandings and arrangements that in turn enabled predictable behavior and further interdependence (Klieman, 1995:129-140).

Klieman (1995) argues that Jordan and Israel have a security *regime* (Klieman, 1995:129-140). This thesis argues that the peaceful relations between Jordan and Israel are due to more factors than what Klieman calls a security regime. The study will test whether the peace actually is a case of a security community. Have Jordan and Israel lived up to the

‘tiers’ that is explained in the theory and the peace can therefore be explained as a case of security community?

What separates security regime and security community in the case of Jordan and Israel, ‘peace’ or agreement, has reached regarding one security issue, which is water accessibility (Klieman, 1995:129-140). In other words, the theory or concept of security regime has been investigated in some way, on the case of Jordan and Israel. Water has been identified as a major security issue for Jordan and Israel and has been used, before, as leverage in conflicted situations between the states. Therefore, Klieman argues, Jordan and Israel have formed a security regime when it comes to water accessibility. What hasn’t been tested is if the long-term peace, going on approximately 25 years, is a sample of security community? This is my research gap. To test the theory of security community, the author will investigate the theory on the case of peace in broader terms of peace and security.

1.2 Scope & Research Question

To answer the problematizing of this thesis the author will investigate if the 25 years of peace between Jordan and Israel is a sample of a security community and to what degree it could be considered a security community. By looking at the peace treaty from 1994 and of articles from 2019 as two occasions in time, the author aims at answering the research questions. The reason for why this is interesting is that Jordan and Israel are countries in the Middle East which today is considered to be a problematic region with ongoing conflicts. Somehow, Jordan and Israel have endured peace for the past 25 years whilst situated in a volatile region. The aim is to test the theory of security community on the case of peace between Jordan and Israel.

Research questions:

To reach the purpose of this thesis and to understand the puzzle presented earlier, this thesis will answer the following research questions:

- How has Jordan and Israel come to reach a lasting peace according to the theory of security community?
- Which peace parameters have been fundamental to the lasting peace between Jordan and Israel?
- Which part of the three tiers have Jordan and Israel accomplished by entering the Peace Treaty?

2. Previous research

2.1 Perception of common security threats

Security community as a theory is not just a bilateral or multilateral agreement, it targets the foundation of the ideology of the countries and the sense of community through identity. Furthermore, security communities are states that come together in terms of a common security threat instead of fighting each other over an issue (Ulusoy, 2003:4; Adler & Barnett, 1998:3-8). Moreover, the reason for security community to be a way of settling conflicts is because common security often also means common belief, values and understanding which are good components when discussing long term peace (Bremberg, 2015:674).

Furthermore, already existing research has also chosen to focus on stable security communities that are known around the world such as Europe and NATO when doing research involving the theory of security community (Adler, 2008:195-230); Adler & Barnett, 1998). Or as Jones, (Jones, 2008:190-191) whom have studied Southeast Asia as a possible security community. This is why this thesis case is of value, to fill the gap of research using the theory of security community on a case study in the Middle East.

Colins (2014) argues that self-restraint is one of the key stones to creating dependable change and thus create a functioning security community in the absence of liberal values. Further;

Pluralism matters because it is pluralism that enables both a shared identity to grow among a wide variety of stakeholders and it signifies that power is dispersed among these stakeholders (Colins, 2014:277-278).

Colins (2014) argues that liberal practices are not needed for a stable security community because where there is practice of self-restraint, states in a security community can enjoy a dependable expectation of peaceful change. Colins has further looked into Southeast Asia as where liberal practices is not the foundation to the beginnings of a security community but rather the event of the financial crisis as a catalyst to embark on this change into a state of community. Hence, the common 'threat' being the financial crisis (Colins, 2014:279).

Security communities are complex, multi-perspective security governance systems that in turn can overlap with individual states security perception and other security governance systems. There are both factors that can challenge as well as strengthen a security community (Alkoper, 2017:513).

The reason for the sense of 'community' being important is because of the positive identification that it brings among people that in turn creates a sense of obligation and responsibility towards one another and the group (Colins, 2014:280).

Even some of the most stable security communities in the world can be destabilized and set into insecurity due to political issues such as migration (Alkoper, 2017:512). The reason for mentioning this aspect is that not only does it challenge the view on migration-related issues, the issue itself undermines other aspects and targets ground stones even for a stable security community. Security communities can be stable with less common ideas and exchange as well as a more deeply rooted sense of common belief (Alkoper, 2017:512).

Bremberg (2015) emphasizes the need to expand the concept of security when studying security community, to include transboundary risks and non-military threats. The reason for why this is so important is because it gives us insight to understand and make sense of how security is practiced (Bremberg, 2015:676).

The Middle East peace process that started in 1991 has addressed 'water' as one of several fundamental basics of bilateral agreements between states, for peace. At that time, water was already considered a crucial issue of dispute between Jordan, Israel Syria and Lebanon. Moving on to Jordan and Israel, it has been identified that they are dependent on the water from the same river and water flows. This, together with many other issues, led up to the peace agreement in 1994. In this sense, water could have been the trigger point for creating a common cooperation (Haddadin, 2002:324).

Climate change has indeed been identified as a potential security threat to the region of the Middle East because of its effect on water availability. Due to its scarcity and likelihood of becoming a security threat to human security, water administration and water security will keep being dominated by 'high politics' thus spurring on negotiations regarding the matter (Feitelson et. al, 2012:253-254).

Water is considered a diplomatic and political issue all over the world, there is probably no other region where the lack of water resources has impacted the foreign policy agendas of states more than in the Middle East (Dohrmann & Hatem, 2014:567).

Thomas Naff (2004/5) is furthermore arguing that water indeed makes a possible source of conflicts and to resolve and prevent such conflict one must look beyond the case-by-case approached that is often used by policy-makers today and it has also often proven to be a weak foundation for long-term agreements (Naff, 2004/5:88 in Dohrmann & Hatem, 2014:574).

Further, Wollenbæk Toset et. al (2009) emphasizes that water wars or conflict over water, are less likely to occur between states with shared values and generally cooperative relations. Israel and Jordan have in fact a history of bilateral agreements regarding water (Wollenbæk Toset et. al, 2009:973).

2.1.1 Cases of regional security communities

Researchers have used regional security community as a theory to look at other regions in the world and their possibility of developing into a regional security community. For

example, Southeast Asia is one of those regions. In that article, Peter Jones acknowledges that southeast Asia indeed today, is not considered a security community but looks at steps towards them becoming one and is using Adler & Barnetts theory of Regional Security Community to do so (Jones, 2008:183-186).

Jones comes to the conclusion regarding regional security community as a theoretical tool in the world as of today, that even though Jones takes a flexible approach and tries to include aspect such as poverty and terrorism. Further, Jones emphasizes the need for a region to look towards the future because of the changing we see in the world and regions around the world, today (Jones, 2008:190-191).

NATO is considered to be a successful security community that has united western and central European states which have come together in a cooperative-security manner. The EU is also considered to constitute a security community, especially due to the nature of its creation. Security communities refer largely to understanding security and the environment where security practices are performed. Without understanding the practices, we cannot understand the expansion of a security community. What made NATO successful in terms of transforming into a security community is the change in understanding security after the Cold War and the adoption of cooperative-security practices (Adler, 2008:195-230).

Wæver (1998) is defining western Europe as a security community. Western Europe as a security community has been a process of de-securitization and then re-securitization where states have marginalized their mutual security concerns in favor of other issues that are important. Instead of arguing for political security concerns for the individual state, it has been argued through the term of 'Europe' (Adler & Barnett, 1998).

'Europe' is articulated as a collective identity among the nation-state's own identities. The identity and concept of 'Europe' has created a significant firmness because national narratives depend on it (Adler & Barnett, 1998).

While several of the previous research has put emphasis on the common values for community, Möller (2005) argues that compatible values and the recognition of difference could just the same be building blocks of a security community that will last (Möller, 2005:316-317).

Further, Möller (2005) argues that the most important and essence of a lasting security community that lasts is the belief in and expectation of peaceful resolutions to conflicts or disagreements. This falls on all actors such as population and policymakers. Further again, instead of reaching for everyone to have the same values, one should recognize the differences and accept them as they are and not have them be the reason for conflicts to arise. Although the foundation for the security community must be the same and that is, according to Möller, non-violence and peaceful change (Möller, 2005: 317).

Other researchers, such as Niblock (2018) have looked at security community as a means for conflict resolution in the Gulf region. Niblock comes to the conclusion that security community could be an effective and possible solution for countries in the Gulf Region, mostly looking at the disputes that has been between Iran and Saudi Arabia. This haven't been tested yet, the author describes, but acknowledge that if the EU, as a successful security community, would offer all states in the Gulf region EU membership, it would be lasting and contribute to a successful conflict resolution. Why? Because the EU has made standards that every nation needs to fulfill and a demand for contribute from all nations. It would therefore be a platform where they could come together over equal terms (Niblock, 2018:13) In short, if the Gulf Cooperation Council was integrated better it could be regarded as a security community already.

The concept of security community mostly connects with other concepts such as common identity, beliefs and culture. According to Bremberg (2015) common practice precedes common identity when it comes to the security community practices. Common practices generate common security practitioners and thus transcends from as well as generate bilateral cooperation (Bremberg, 2015:674).

When discussion security community a lot of emphasis is put on the collective identity and the sense of community among states and societies. Although, Bremberg argues that the sense of community and trust between states are more likely to be stronger and grow when cooperating in practice. Further, Bremberg argues that those practices could be multilateral crisis management exercises. By practicing co-operative security, the security community or trust and reliability is strengthened and are stronger building blocks than 'common identity'. Together with common practices and the wider perspective of security threats

Bremberg believes security communities could form (Bremberg, 2015:676-677). So, for example if two states come together to form practices in how to deal with a risk or threat that is current for both of them, that action alone could do more for the reliability and trust, than a common value.

One could argue against 'security communities' as a theory of use by stating it has not been researched enough and used on countries outside of a Western context (Ulusoy, 2003:3). However, this could be because the theory was developed so it could be operationalized during the same time as many other international relations theories were popular, after the Cold War. The theory therefore never received its glory days on the main stage but has thereafter been somewhat researched which has been presented in the previous research part of this thesis.

3. Theory

In this section, the author will present the theory of security communities.

3.1 Conceptualization

When talking about peace in this thesis, the author refers to the definition “absence of war” (Martin, 2005:45). Peace is often defined in contrary to the definition of war, for example, war is an act of violence or a force with the means to compel the other party or ‘enemy’ to do one’s will. Peace will therefore be the suspension of violent acts and rivalry between two parties (ibid) and ‘peace parameters’ will therefore be *reasons* for peace to occur. Meaning non-military conflicts and where disagreements between the two states have been settled through diplomacy.

Also, the term ‘conflict’ in this thesis is interpreted as state-based armed conflict that concerns government. Further it is defined by Uppsala conflict data program as; “where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year” (UCDP, 2021:1).

3.2 Security community

In 1957 Karl Deutsch founded the term ‘security communities’ and with that aimed for the possibility for states to settle differences and gain peace through common values and interests. Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (1998:3) evolved the concept for a better analytical use of the theory.

The idea of the concept of security communities is that actors, such as states or non-state actors, can find cooperation and trust through their common values or norms. Most international relations theories use examples and focuses on material forces, the language of power and often very little conception of society to understand interstates outcomes. Karl Deutsch’s perspective focuses on and relies upon shared knowledge, ideational forces and a dense normative environment. Further, Karl Deutsch argues the importance of

problematizing and not assuming what most international relations theories assume, that the context of interactions can be situated within one model. This concerns both interstate interactions in the international arena as well as international interactions (Adler & Barnett, 1998:3-8).

Deutsch defined security community as a group of states that had become integrated to the point at which there is “[...] real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but settle their disputes in some other way” (Ulusoy, 2003:3).

Over decades, world politics has more or less always had different forms of networks that stretches transnationally. One could argue that this could be understood as communities of some sort. Although, this view requires one to look beyond the state and also have a willingness to do so (Adler & Barnett, 1998:13).

The world order, since the Cold War, has shifted and so have the sense of power and security in the world. Together, states are forming alliances to help fight whatever power or new security threat that is existing today. Through those alliances one could argue that communities are being created. There might be some differences regarding the sense of priority and threat perception in security terms but, states are working together to form and fight a common enemy or a security threat (Adler & Barnett, 1998:4). A basic idea for the concept of security community is to find a remedy for the insecurity of states on the global arena. It therefore appeals to the collective security with the idea that it will provide security for members of the security community (Ulusoy, 2003:2).

Security used to be only connected to military power and military threat, but as the world order is changing, so are the security threats that the world is facing (Adler & Barnett, 1998:4). After the end of the Cold War the sense of hope and a bright future is what encouraged policymakers to engineer a more stable and peaceful world order. Together with changing times, other things changed as development of shared understandings and transnational values. These are things that, over the years, has developed even further which encouraged from the world community to building and to conceptualize peace in a new way (Ulusoy, 2003:4).

The theory aims at contributing to international relations theory and security studies through trying to demonstrate how the concept of security community helps us understand security politics in different regions around the world. Examples of possible security communities such as the Arab Gulf States, the European Union, Southeast Asia and NATO where the EU and NATO have been further developed and researched on (Adler & Barnett, 1998:16).

For example, the reason for states wanting to join NATO is not because of it being a defense alliance but for the very reason it being a security alliance, hence a community of states that relied on cooperative-security practices after the Cold War (Adler, 2008:197-198).

Even though one can see different forms of networks that might be beginnings of a political and international community more or less over the years, the one issue that has always been somewhat of a delicate question for states to discuss and cooperate regarding is security (Adler & Barnett, 1998:14). The common goal for the theory and concept of security communities however, is the aim for a stable and long-lasting peace (Ulusoy, 2003:3).

The concept of security community is approached by both Adler and Ulusoy. It is described as a community of sovereign states agreeing on the unbearable destructiveness of modern war and on political, economic, social and moral values consistent with democracy, the rule of law and economic reform. This, in order to provide their collective security through a process in which member states come together on the basis of shared values and identities (Ulusoy, 2003:4-5; Adler, 1997:258).

Scholars also argue that security community as a theory is related to the constructivist perspective of international relations theory in the sense that it argues that many of the core elements of the theory are created commonly with other states and in interaction, through collective identities. In short, they are socially constructed and dependent on communication, discourse and interpretation, as well as on material environments (Ulusoy, 2003:5).

Adler argues that adoption of new practices itself can aspire change in social structures. It can be constitutive of the ability to change. With new agents, not only existing of nation-states, participation in a community of practices where learning and identities are

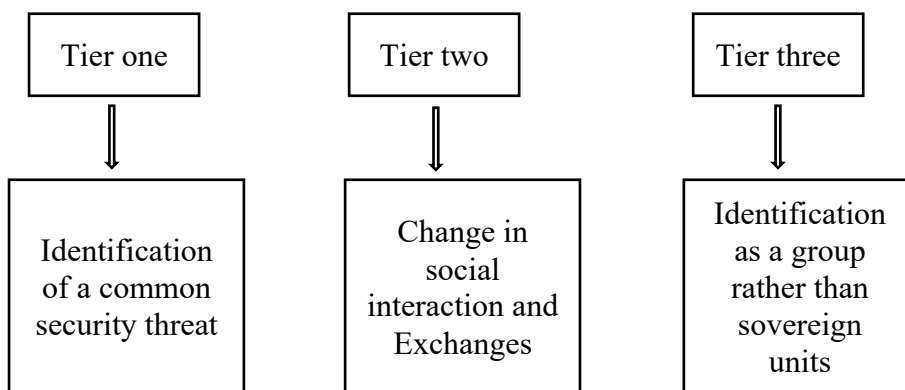
transformed and negotiated, this will lead to change in practices and thus form new communities and structures. When communities are aware of their structure and its intentions it encourages the progress, and spread of social structures (Adler, 2008:196). Security communities focuses on process and interactions that emerges between states and societies to understand historical change. By looking at practices and expressions of policymakers and states, one could find key aspects that could be the beginning or the upcoming of a security community (Adler & Barnett, 1998:14).

Adler & Barnett specifies different criteria's that they call 'tiers', and is divided into three tiers, that need to exist or have the possibility to exist, in order for a security community to be able to form. One could also call them stages (Adler & Barnett, 1998:37).

Security communities that exist today and are considered successful are alliances such as NATO and the EU to draw on two examples. Furthermore, in any regional security community it's important to have a high level of trust and it is therefore vital that all states in the community see things the same way (Jones, 2008:185).

3.2.1 The three tiers

There are three characteristics that define a community (1) members have shared identities, values and meanings, (2) members have many-sided and direct relations and (3) members exhibit a reciprocity that expresses some degree of long-term interest, and perhaps even altruism (Jones, 2008:185).



*Figure 1. The three tiers from Adler & Barnett, 1998.

Tier one

The first tier is about how states begin to acknowledge exogenous or endogenous factors and thus start to move in each other's direction with the desire to match their relations. For example, an external threat that causes states to form alliances, the desire to reduce mutual fear through security coordination, new interpretations of social reality, transformations in economic, demographic and migration patterns much more. These are factors of change or developments that can encourage states to look in each other's direction with an ambition to match or organize their respective policies to their mutual advantage (Adler & Barnett, 1998:37-38). Most likely, states will have interests regarding face-to-face dialogue and to promote policy coordination for reasons such as it can allow states to achieve 'pareto superior' outcomes and it can provide the context for the development of new social bonds (Adler & Barnett, 1998:38-39).

Tier two

The second tier is by far the most extensive one and also the phase which lays the groundwork for the third tier and a successful outcome. What defines this tier is how states and the people in the states have become involved in a series of social interaction that in turn have started to change, and will continue to change the environment in which they are in. This tier consists of two categories: structure and process. The structural category consists of power and knowledge. Power can be used and described as a magnet. One strong state can attract weaker states with the fact that weaker states can take part and enjoy the stronger states security and further, other benefits as well. In short, security communities develop around powerful states (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 39-40).

Knowledge is part of what constitute and constrains state action. Cognitive structures that generate practices are connected to development of mutual trust, identity and analytically tied to conflict and conflict resolution. So then, what are shared values in this sense? Deutsch argues that such as shared meaning over market values and democracy in international relations. Also, liberalism and democracy have been two key pillars in the category of shared values in security community and reaching a common ground and understanding. Moreover, liberalism, according to scholars of international politics, is more

likely to create a shared transnational civic culture and shape a transnational identity of individuals of the community (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 40).

The process category involves transactions, international organizations and institutions and social learning. A transaction can be described as a bounded communication between two actors. A qualitative and quantitative growth of transactions reshapes the collective experience and changes social facts. According to international relations, theorists regard international institutions, which are the ones consisting of norms and rules in the international context, that limits state actions. The process explains practices and interactions produce and transform structures. They are thus dynamic to each other (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 41-42).

To figure out how a security community develops one must look at the actors and not just the ones part of the structure, but may also transform the structure. For there to be non-security, in which states have reached the level of security community where the likelihood of an armed conflict or sense of insecurity towards one another will occur, there must be mutual trust. Trust will establish itself through norms of behavior, monitoring mechanism and sanctions to enforce those norms. International organizations that can encourage this behavior and spur change are sites of socialization and learning, places where political actors learn and teach others. Identities are based on knowledge of oneself and others and that's why organizations are important for change in behavior and norms that eventually will create trust (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 42-43).

Adler & Barnett writes:

While the creation of new social identities by intellectuals- that is, their capacity to link people across space so as to form a new community- is necessarily a rare historical phenomenon, it is one that scholars of international relations need to take seriously. While communication between peoples, learning processes, and the thickening of the social environment plays a crucial role in the evolution of political communities, these are but propensities until agents transform them into political reality through institutional and political power (Adler & Barnett, 1998:43).

One must look to policy-makers and other political, economic and intellectual elites or actors that are the most critical actors to development of new things such as forms of social

and political organization which are the factors to spur change and thus tied to the development of security community (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 44).

Tier three

When there is both mutual trust and collective identity, in the sense of states identifying themselves as a group in relations to other groups, then the most important conditions to achieve security community have been reached. Trust is an important factor; it strengthens mutual identification and mutual identification is the basis of why we trust. All it takes is just a little sense of mutual trust for a collective identity to start growing. Trust is more important than identity because even if we identify ourselves similar, that could be without trust, because as the cliché says, trust is earned (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 45-46).

Trust is dependent on your expectations of the other, to behave in ways that are consistent with your normative expectations. We believe someone will behave in a certain way, that is also what we will expect and trust. To ensure this behavior from other states, international organizations have grown. However, the theory of security community suggests that there is no need for an international organization to ensure state behavior, trust through knowledge and belief of each other is the key. This knowledge, belief and trust comes from years of experience (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 46).

Lastly, identity is formed in contexts such as interactions. Interactions are also what creates an 'other' or defining a threat. Adler & Barnett writes:

The state's interests, and the identity of its people, can be exchangeable with those of the community, and the foreign policy of the state takes on a whole new meaning and purpose (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 48).

The general discourse of the states involved should not be about state territory, but with the region, involving more than a single state. To sum up, to reach a dynamic and positive relationship between states we must have, on the one hand, cognitive power and on the other, transactions, institutions and organizations and social learning. Through this comes positive interaction and development of trust and collective identity starts to form which in

the end pushes towards steady expectations of peaceful change (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 49).

4. Research design

The aim of this thesis is to investigate if the 25 years of peace between Jordan and Israel is a sample of a security community and to what degree it could be considered a security community. The author will investigate this case by answering the research question(s): How has Jordan and Israel come to reach a lasting peace according to the theory of security community? Which peace parameters have been vital to the lasting peace between Jordan and Israel? And lastly, which part of the three tiers have Jordan and Israel accomplished by entering the Peace Treaty?

With the research questions acting as a tool for investigation and guiding in reaching an answer, the author must also present how the theory is tested.

4.1 Method and case selection

4.1.1 Case study selection

The author will use a case study design because a case study allows the investigator to look at a particular case in-depth to determine if the relationship between Jordan and Israel in fact is a case of a security community (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:226). By looking deeper at the case of Jordan and Israel the author of this thesis will aim at explaining the peace that has been lasting for 25 years, from the perspective of the theory of security community and which peace aspects that is acknowledged. The author has chosen to look at the peace treaty because it lays the foundation for a security community between the countries. Thereafter, the author moves in to look at the implementation or perception on behalf of Jordan and Israel's governments, of the results of the peace treaty. To do so the author has looked at a few articles from 2019 because of the very reason that it was the year of the 25 anniversary and renewal of the peace treaty.

In short, the unit of my analysis are the governments of Jordan and Israel. The author has limited the analysis to the governments and not include the aspect of the citizens because

of lack of material and because it was the government who initiated the peace treaty to begin with.

Lastly, since the theory of security community looks at cooperation on a deeper level within states' security, the chosen method gives the advantage of exploring and explaining this or these phenomenon (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:226).

Case studies have many advantages depending on the aim of the study. There are however some disadvantages that can be recalled and these have been raised by many social scientists (see e.g. George & Bennet, 2005; Collier & Mahoney, 1996). One limitation is the risk of case selection bias (George & Bennet, 2005:22). When doing a qualitative case study, one cannot choose cases randomly. One can minimize this risk by using strategies to prevent case selection bias. In this study, the author has selected two cases that are least likely to explain the theory which has been a way to avoid selection bias but to also to give the theory a more difficult test. The theory that is being tested, is somewhat poorly researched outside of a Western context, the author of this thesis has not come across much research of it being tested in a Middle Eastern context which in one way has helped the author avoid selection bias. The offer of material has not been big and therefore the author has not had the chance to pick and select in a way that could cause selection bias.

The advantages of choosing to conduct a case study is the in-depth knowledge it provides about a case or phenomenon. In this thesis a disadvantage is that its findings are likely to be restricted to the study's particular cases and the generalizability of the results are therefore not so wide, or nonexistent (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:227-228, Gerring, 2004:341-342). In this research, the generalizability could be small but it could still be generalized to the region of the Middle East. Further, even though the generalizability is small, a least likely case study still widens it to broader terms because of the character of the study. If proven successful, it gives future research the possibility to test the theory of security community on a broader scale where it was not expected or thought of before.

There are different types of case studies and this investigation would be considered being a least-likely case study because the theory used in this thesis proposes an outcome that is considered extreme in contrary to the research objects, Jordan and Israel (Bennet & Elman, 2007:173). Another reason for why a least likely case study is considered advantageous in

this investigation is because of the geographical and cultural context that Jordan and Israel are surrounded by. The outcome of this investigation is not likely in contrary to when doing a most similar case study where the outcome of an investigation is more or less expected (Bennet & Elman, 2007: 173-174). By doing a least likely case study, if the analysis proves the results, the investigation could draw stronger conclusions on behalf of the theory's explanatory power and avoidance of case selection bias. Further, it increases the chances to generalize the theories explanatory power on to new circumstances or new cases that originally wasn't known. The research is theory-testing, in other words, the thesis has a deductive approach (Della Porta & Keating, 2008:227-228).

The interest started in the Middle East as a conflicted area where long-term peace is uncommon. Further, this thesis has identified the need to investigate the theory of security community on the case of Jordan and Israel. Since the theory is somewhat poorly researched outside of a Western context, the author of this thesis has not come across much research of it being tested in a Middle Eastern context. The author ended up choosing Jordan and Israel because they have had peace since 1994. Moreover, security communities have only been researched about in solid security communities, such as NATO and the EU.

4.1.2 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is considered a flexible method for analyzing text data and is one of many methods in qualitative research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2009:1277, Jacoby & Siminoff, 2008:40). It is a technique used to analyze and infer a variety of things from what people say and write. By examining the words chosen in written text or spoken speeches to understand all aspects of the meaning and background of that content.

Further, another reason for choosing a qualitative content analysis is because it allows the researcher to look at the bigger picture as well as detailed paragraphs to extract important parts which can only be interpreted by intense reading (Esaiasson et. al, 2012:210).

Because of the simple reason that content analysis is as flexible as presented and gives the researcher the possibility to form their own analysis and what to study, content analysis is used in this thesis. Since the aim of this thesis is to look at peace parameters in the Peace Treaty between Jordan and Israel together with their presentation of the peace treaty and relations with each other, on their governmental websites, it allows the researcher to

categorize freely with the help of the theory, to give the study answers to the research questions at hand. This thesis wants to look at what the Peace Treaty targets as vital points for peace and why their peace has stayed intact for so long without any military conflicts between the two countries, despite their fundamental differences.

4.2 Material

This thesis has analyzed the Peace Treaty signed in 1994, the presentation of the Peace Treaty on both Jordan and Israel's government websites together with news article about the Peace Treaty from 2019 and 2020, the years the Peace Treaty was to be renewed after 25 years. The timeframe of this thesis is therefore divided in two. The investigation looks at the case from two periods in time, 1994 when the peace treaty is signed and 2019 when they'd reached 25 years of peace. Furthermore, the material chosen is the original document from 1994 but published on the UN websites and is an already existing document. The presentation that the respective governments have on their websites are in English and it is therefore translated from their original language and a second-hand source.

Already existing data provides big amount of research to explore but it is also important to think outside the box for your own research and be critical to the documents you are using in order to avoid mistakes. An argument that could be used against already existing data could be that the researcher does not know how and if the material is objective or subjective to an underlying message, how authors interpreted the information before writing it and if it has been translated and thus if the translation is correct. In order to mitigate these risks, the news articles have been triangulated to validate the information written in the articles.

This thesis originally tried to locate a bigger amount of data for this investigation but failed to do so. Further the character of the documents that the author searched for was to find anything regarding exchanges between Jordan and Israel. For example, university exchanges or trade exchanges. On the one hand, the author looked at the government of Jordan's website as well as Israel's to locate bilateral agreement that stood in line with those ambitions that were laid out in the Peace Treaty from 1994 but did not find anything. Unfortunately, the Israeli governmental website has been 'under construction' and data has been hard to retrieve. What was found was a general statement of the Peace Treaty which

has been used in this thesis. The author searched for official documents such as bilateral agreement, press releases or conferences that might have occurred between Jordan and Israel. On the Jordan governmental website, the author failed to find anything in broader terms of the Peace Treaty than what is used in this thesis, a statement of the Peace Treaty in general. All in all, the author searched for data that proves implementation of the Peace Treaty which could tell us that there is a security community between Jordan and Israel.

Further, the author looked at different news articles but again most that was found was from later into the Peace Treaty, like 2018-2020 which was the period in time when the Peace Treaty was up for renewal and it was most likely therefore it got media coverage. This is the reason for why the data that has been used for the analysis to test the theory is mainly based on those articles together with the original Peace Treaty.

The sources and the material that has been used are articles addressing the Peace Treaty in time for its renewal process, around 2019 and the Peace Treaty itself that was written by Jordan and Israel with the aid of the United Nations and it is therefore addressed as a UN document in this thesis. The main reason for using the UN source was because it was the original document posted and it was the entire document. Other sources on the internet had only uploaded parts of the Peace Treaty. Lastly, the official statements from Jordanian and the Israeli governmental websites, where they address the Peace Treaty in general, has been used as material for this thesis.

The author is well aware of the fact that this gives the investigation a much smaller width in the analysis. This gives the investigation less to draw conclusions on when testing the theory because the investigation has not been able to cover the width of the theory in the analysis due to smaller amount of material for validation. Although, the data that the author did find allowed the author to conduct the analysis but will smaller width which gave the investigation a result even though it might not be the result that provides the confirmation of the theory in the way the investigation was set out, but still a result.

4.2.1 Operationalization and Analytical framework

The theory of security community presents three tiers in which states reach a security community. In order to answer the research questions in this thesis, the author will apply

the three tiers as the analytical tool and look at official documents and the two states foreign policy towards each other.

To be able to answer the research questions of this thesis, the author will analyze the material from each tier's viewpoint by using questions designed from the three tiers to ask the material.

First tier

- Recognizes a common threat. Which security threats are recognized to be common for both states?
- Discussions to solve the threat, together: Which measures are taken to solve this common threat?
- What are the main reasons for the peace to be founded or created originally?

Second tier

- Change in social interactions. Are there any social exchanges agreed upon between the states? And how do the respective governments present this?
- Identification of a stronger state with power and will to protect and extend its security towards the weaker state. Which of the two states will provide for the other one?
- Knowledge through shared meanings and understandings: Which values regarding market value, international relations and democracy have been agreed upon? Are they followed?
- Which interactions are to occur between Jordan and Israel, how will the communication between them look?

Third tier

- Identification as a group: Does Jordan and Israel address themselves as separate or do they speak of them as a group when deciding on how diplomacy shall be conducted?

- How does Jordan and Israel respectively present their cooperation towards a third party, regarding issues that is affecting both parties?
- Trust: Does Jordan and Israel express trust towards each other?

This section aims to clarify the analytical tool used by the author in this thesis.

Model of analytical framework			
	Guiding questions		
Tier 1	How and what common security threats are identified?	To which extent has mutual trust been achieved?	Which exchanges are being agreed upon?
Tier 2	How shall the identified common security threats be worked on?	How have they built forward on what was agreed in the treaty?	Do they still have exchanges and mutual trust?
Tier 3	Does Jordan and Israel address themselves individually or together in terms of cooperation?	How does Jordan and Israel express their cooperation towards a third party?	Does Jordan and Israel express trust towards one another?

**Table 1: Model of analytical framework*

5. Analysis

In this section, the analysis is presented. It has been categorized according to the theory of security community's three 'tiers'. The analysis has helped to answer the purpose of this thesis which has been to investigate if the 25 years of peace between Jordan and Israel is an example of a security community and if yes, to what degree it could be considered a security community.

In summary, the author would argue that Jordan and Israel comply with two out of three 'tiers'; 'members' (in this case Jordan and Israel as governments) of a security community have many-sided and direct relations and members exhibit a reciprocity that expresses some degree of long-term interest, and perhaps even altruism (Jones, 2008:185). Drawing the conclusion that, the theory of security community does only explain the peace between Jordan and Israel to some degree.

First tier

As the guiding questions ask the material '*how and what common security threats are identified*'? The author argues that in general, the peace treaty declares that Jordan and Israel shall cooperate in a wide range of security aspects everything from fighting crimes and drugs to the accessibility of human basic needs such as water (UN document 179122, 1994). What is evident from the beginning of the treaty is the ambition for a lasting peace between Jordan and Israel. The parties set the bar high when beginning with the paragraph;

Desiring to develop friendly relations and co-operation between them in accordance with the principles of international law governing international relations in time of peace;

Desiring as well to ensure lasting security for both their states and in particular to avoid threats and the use of force between them (UN document 179122, 1994:1).

To build further on this ambition the peace treaty does not only address security threats but also how they shall set the standards to fight security threats as well as how they shall treat each other and how their cooperation will build further (UN document 179122, 1994).

The Peace Treaty has a specified section for security which begins with a recognition of the importance of mutual trust and cooperation regarding security. The treaty states;

Both Parties, acknowledging that mutual understanding and co-operation in security-related matters will form a significant part of their relations and will further enhance the security of the region, take upon themselves to base their security relations on mutual trust, advancement of joint interests and co-operation, and to aim towards a regional framework of partnership in peace. (UN document 179122, 1994, Article 4, 1a).

As the theory of security community suggest, states are working together to form and fight a common enemy or security threat (Adler & Barnett, 1998:4). The general theme of the Treaty is written with an ambition of creating a long and lasting peace with the help of community building aspects, respect and also mutual trust and cooperation when fighting threats created by climate change as well as terrorism threats.

Further, the Treaty also states that Israel and Jordan are divided by a river and therefore acknowledge the security aspect of that river changing and has put to words;

It is agreed that where the boundary follows a river, in the event of natural changes in the course of the flow of the river [...], the boundary shall follow the new course of the flow. (UN document 179122, 1993, article 3, 5).

This shows a willingness to adapt and to meet each other's needs despite the changing of who's land belongs to whom. It shows that they have already eliminated a possible security threat that could threaten their long-term peace.

Another common security aspect that is recognized and stated in the Peace Treaty is terrorism. Further the treaty says;

Both parties will take necessary and effective measures, and will cooperate in combating terrorism of all kinds (UN document 179122, 1994, article 4, 5).

This section leaves the term 'terrorism' open to interpretation. Considering the fact that Jordan and Israel have two different backgrounds in culture and norms, it could be further argued and better outspoken on 'what' terrorism is even though it says, 'all kinds'. However, on the other hand, they have acknowledged a common threat to be terrorism but if it is a threat towards them or their third-party allies, is also vague.

Furthermore, another security aspect that is recognized as common, in the Peace Treaty, is water. The Treaty even has its own article for the water problems and it follows;

The Parties, recognising the necessity to find a practical, just and agreed solution to their water problems and with the view that the subject of water can form the basis for the advancement of co-operation between them, jointly undertake to ensure that the management and development of their water resources do not, in any way, harm the water resources of the other party. (UN document 179122, 1994, article 6, 2).

A basic idea for the concept of ‘security community’ is to find a remedy for the insecurity of states on the global arena. It therefore appeals to the ‘collective security’ with the idea that it will provide security for members of the security community (Ulusoy, 2003:2). The treaty speaks of security threats in a wide range but does in fact narrow down on specifying the solutions regarding water which proves that Jordan and Israel in fact, are trying to find solutions for the insecurity, as the theory of security community speaks of.

Further, Anani says in an article from the Washington Institute that;

As far as water is concerned, I have to agree that the two countries have been working very nicely. There is nothing Jordan can complain about. Maybe once in a while, but we come together and find a solution. (Anani, The Washington Institute, 2019:1).

The second guiding question asked the material ‘*to which extent has mutual trust been achieved*’? Anani’s quotation is interesting to see as a result of what was first written in 1994 Peace Treaty and also mentioned earlier. As the theory states, it is this exact action that indicates that Jordan and Israel indeed have identified a common security threat, sought means to overcome it, together, and actually achieved that ambition that was set out (Adler & Barnett, 1998:4).

The author can distinguish which parts of the Peace Treaty that has been important to Jordan by reading what and how they have written about the peace treaty on their governmental website. Jordan writes that;

The treaty guaranteed Jordan the restoration of its occupied land (approximately 380 square kilometers), as well as an equitable share of water from the Yarmouk and Jordan rivers. Moreover, the treaty defined Jordan's western borders clearly and conclusively for the first time, putting an end to the dangerous and false Zionist claim that "Jordan is Palestine." (Jordanian government, 2001: 1).

It is clear that the Peace Treaty was about guaranteeing access to land and water which clearly must have been seen as a security threat from Jordan's point of view. One could argue that this also goes hand in hand with the second tier about one state being superior to the other, in this case Israel being superior in the sense that they "gave" Jordan access to these important things, without discussing if one or the other had right to it before the other and so on. One could also argue that doing this, Jordan's trust towards Israel could have gotten a big push towards trust in the long run. Although, a negative aspect from the Jordanian point of view, looking at the words chosen when written about the Peace Treaty on their governmental website, is that they have used the term 'Zionist' and 'dangerous' in the same sentence which could be interpreted as something of another meaning than what it is spelled out plainly (Jordanian government, 2001: 1). Zionist could in this sense be argued to be an infamous name to represent the 'Jewish state of Israel'.

Connecting this quotation to the theory one could argue that it draws back on what Ole Wæver says about the basic idea for the concept of security community is to find a remedy for the insecurity of states on the global arena. It therefore appeals to the 'collective security' with the idea that it will provide security for members of the security community (Ulusoy, 2003:2). As the author asked the material '*which exchanges that had been agreed upon*'? One could argue that by adjusting land and water accessibility for Jordan they have eliminated that insecurity for Jordan and thus created a trust towards Israel and a cooperation to build further on. This aspect is eliminating the insecurity of Jordan, creating an exchange between the countries that could be a vital foundation for the lasting peace.

Jumping from 1994 to 2019 and looking at the debate organized by the Washington institute, one could argue that Jordan and Israel have had their differences and what is to happen further all depends on how they act towards each other. "There are very good experiences and bad experiences" Jawad Anani expresses (2019), the key is to find what benefits both parties in questions that otherwise divide the nations (Anani, The Washington Institute, 2019:1). Like the theory suggests, key is to find common ground on how to solve

their differences to reach common ground and avoid conflict, just as Jawad Anani expresses (Ulusoy, 2003:2).

Second tier

Trust will establish itself through norms of behavior, monitoring mechanism and sanctions to enforce those norms. International organizations that can encourage this behavior (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 42-43). Noting that the UN played a role in setting up this Peace Treaty and begin peace talks that could've been that helpful push towards reaching an agreement to begin with.

As stated before, the ambitions of the peace treaty are set high from the beginning. To look at exchanges between the states and how their cooperation will look can be referred to the following;

Towards that goal the parties recognise the achievements of the European Community and European Union in the development of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and commit themselves to the creation, in the Middle East, of a CSCME (Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Middle East) [...]. (UN document 179122, article 4, 1 b).

When stating 'that goal' the quotation refers to article 4, 1 a.

When the guiding question '*how shall the identified common security threats be worked on*'? Was asked the material the author found that according to the Peace Treaty, Jordan and Israel aimed at the signing of the treaty to communicate on security matters and cooperation against threats through a channel much like the one the European Union is a part of. Drawing on a winning example of success in terms of security community one could argue that a security community is exactly what Jordan and Israel might've had in mind when entering the Peace Treaty. They agree early to cooperate regarding security threats which are in line with the agenda of the theory of security community, settling disputes with diplomacy and negotiation rather than conflict and also acknowledge common security threats (Adler & Barnett, 1998:14).

Taking the aspect of the question regarding water accessibility further, the Peace Treaty acknowledge the need to look further into new water resources and solution for both states.

[...] with the understanding that co-operation in water-related subjects would be to the benefit of both parties, and will help alleviate their water shortages, and that water including the possibility of trans-boundary water transfers, the parties agree to search for ways to alleviate water shortage and to co-operate in the [...]development of existing and new water resources, increasing the water availability including co-operation on a regional basis as appropriate, and minimising wastage of water resources through the chain of their uses [...]. (UN document 179122, article 6, 4-4a).

This paragraph shows commitment and a will to conduct cooperation which in turn could generate mutual trust and mutual will to keep each other safe from the threat of water shortages. So, when asked the material the guiding question '*do they still have exchanges and mutual trust?*' the author found that they indeed have, according to an article from The Washington Institute. This aspect of the Peace Treaty could also be verified as of 2019 to still be functioning and a matter that has indeed been worked on over time (Anani, The Washington Institute, 2019:1).

To look at the cultural aspects of the Peace Treaty with the help of the theory one could argue that there are more or less only directions and guidelines for how to respect each other and that there is an ambition of cultural exchange (UN document 179122, article 10).

This gives the parties room for interpretation and to set standards regarding a cultural exchange later on and thus the mutual trust and will to set these exchanges and agree accordingly, will be tested. Although, as the theory of security community states, and as the operationalization for this analysis asks, change in social interaction could be drawn to the exchange of cultural and social sciences which the Treaty in deed set standards for achieving even though it might not tell us the success rate (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 39-40).

One of the big cultural questions that separate Jordan and Israel, is the Palestinian question. This thesis will not analyze this further but it is acknowledged by Jordanians to be a very delicate question and one that they continue to disagree upon. Further there is the question of import and export from the West Bank which Jordan and Israel continue to disagree

upon because of a list of “products” that are allowed to be exported and imported according to Israel (Anani, The Washington Institute, 2019:1; Ahren & Rasgon, 2019:1).

Seeking to achieve mutual understanding and good neighborly relations, the Peace treaty has addressed the issue of cultural exchange in a general matter, in article 11 which states;

The Parties will seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance based on shared historic values, and accordingly undertake:

to abstain from hostile or discriminatory propaganda against each other, and to take all possible legal and administrative measures to prevent the dissemination of such propaganda by any organization or individual present in the territory of either party [...]. (UN document 179122, article 11).

This paragraph in the treaty has indeed identified a mutual aspect to their historic value which proves they have tried to find mutual ground to build a relationship further on. Interpreting the theory of security community, the author would argue that a bottom-up perspective would probably reach the full width when discussing long term solutions.

Moving away from the Peace Treaty and to the respective governments and how they express the work around the Peace Treaty today. The Jordanian government put much emphasis on presenting the parts of the Peace Treaty that included accessibility to areas of insecurity for Jordan and they also write;

Seeking to lay a firm foundation for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace, the treaty also outlined a number of areas in which negotiations would continue. To this end, Jordanian and Israeli negotiators have signed a series of protocols establishing a mutually beneficial framework of relations in fields such as trade, transportation, tourism, communications, energy, culture, science, navigation, the environment, health and agriculture, as well as cooperatory agreements for the Jordan Valley and the Aqaba-Eilat region. (Jordan government, 2001, 1).

One could argue that the Jordanian government had much to win and to secure through the treaty when reading how the government has chosen to express information on the treaty, on their website. Security for Jordan could also have been securing lasting agreements regarding the above-mentioned areas of the community. By securing an exchange on the community level, they have started and continued to build a vital peace parameter.

When asked the material *'how have they built forward on what was agreed in the treaty?'* The author found that for 25 years, as a part of the Peace Treaty in 1994, Jordan leased a bit of land to Israel which Israel have now 'given up without a shot being fired' and returned the land to Jordan. This bit of land has a long history of bloody fights and in 2019 when the Peace Treaty reached its 25th anniversary, Jordan expressed unwillingness to extend the leasing (Safi & Holmes, 2019:1).

To analyze this in contrast to what previous research has said about the theory of security community, Bremberg (2015) argued that common practice precedes common identity when it comes to the security community practices (Bremberg, 2015:674). One could therefore ask oneself if this firm foundation that later has generated several vital agreements for the cooperation of Jordan and Israel to be that of common practice.

Third tier

The Washington institute writes;

It may not be the sort of achievement that triggers fireworks and balloons every day, and it may be an achievement that has its domestic detractors on each side. But it's an achievement nonetheless that has benefited both parties for two decades. And that is really the most important factor: it is an achievement that benefits both parties. (Anani, The Washington institute, 2019).

Expressing the obvious, that the peace between "Jordan and Israel has stood the test of time" but what is also evident, when looking at what was first written in the Peace Treaty, to draw a connection to Washington Institutes quote, is that it has been the ambition from the beginning, for this deal to benefit both parties. One could argue that this must have been the case otherwise it wouldn't have lasted for so long.

The common goal for the theory and concept of security communities, is the aim for a stable peace. To reach stable peace there must be mutual trust and a sense of solving disputes through diplomacy (Ulusoy, 2003:3). Through the Peace Treaty, Jordan and Israel agrees to have full diplomatic relations with each other. Apart from that, they also agree that the now 'normal' relationship between them will include economic and cultural relations (UN document 179122, article 5). The author also found that when asked *'how does Jordan and Israel express their cooperation towards a third party?'* one of the foundations of the peace treaty was to ensure that the parties should not allow its territory

to become a staging ground for military strikes by a third party (UN document 179122, article 4:3). By ensuring this they have also promised the safe keeping of each other in terms of military conflicts or threats from a third party. In other words, they will cooperate together to solve issues diplomatically and to avoid conflict with third parties.

When asked the material '*does Jordan and Israel address themselves individually or together in terms of cooperation?*' the author found that to reach a mutual understanding and a sense of community Jordan and Israel set a goal in the Peace Treaty that;

Viewing economic development and prosperity as pillars of peace, security and harmonious relations between states, peoples and individual human beings, the parties, taking note of understandings reached between them, affirm their mutual desire to promote economic co-operation between them as well as within the framework of wider regional economic co-operation. (UN document 179122, article 7).

In short, the Peace Treaty goes through the wider range of security related issues as well as mutual understanding through economic, cultural and historic exchanges. In general, the Peace Treaty speak of Jordan and Israel as “the parties” throughout the entire document.

The author found, when asked the material '*Does Jordan and Israel express trust towards one another?*' that an article by the Washington Institute, Anani (2019) writes that since the signing of the peace treaty, Jordan and Israel have decided many different deals of cooperation. Among them, one that involves the economic perspective and gas delivery. It was a deal between two companies, one from Jordan and one from Israel. The deal met some uproar and many Jordanians asked why they should put their trust in Israel and Anani's response to this is; “if we can trust the Israelis on the water deal, we can trust them on the energy deal.” (Anani, The Washington Institute, 2019:1).

Even though the people of Jordan, in this case, express their doubt to trust Israel, one could argue that there must be some kind of trust anyway because the fact that the peace has kept going for 25 years and it has resulted in cooperation over water and gas, as presented. As the theory suggests, trust and belief must come from years of experience (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 46). One could argue that after 25 years, some trust and belief of mutual interest must have developed even though there could be differences.

Throughout the Peace Treaty, both Jordan and Israel agree to ratify the Peace Treaty by entering into several minor agreements over certain topics such as migration, cultural exchanges and agriculture UN document 172199).

On Israel's governmental website, that is public to the world and written in English, we can read the following on the implementation of the Peace Treaty;

The basis for implementation of the Israel-Jordan peace treaty was established with the signing and ratification of 12 bilateral agreements in economic, scientific, and cultural spheres. These treaties are to serve as the foundation of peaceful relations between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The most significant expression of the peaceful relations is the establishment of Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZs), which enables Jordan, via cooperation with Israel, to export to the US quota-free and tariff-free commodities worth more than one billion dollars. Israel is also cooperating with Jordan in two agricultural projects and in public health (State of Israel, 2013).

The UN helped to spur on the negotiations, but the theory of security community suggests that there is no need for an international organization to ensure state behavior, trust through knowledge and belief of each other is the key. This knowledge, belief and trust comes from years of experience (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 46).

Ahren & Rasgon (2019) write that the relationship between Jordan and Israel has never been colder than it is today. Although, at the same time they acknowledge that security and intelligence cooperation remain strong but other bilateral exchanges are declining (Ahren & Rasgon, 2019:1). Looking at the fact that the theory of security community states that the parties should be integrated to the extent that they feel trust towards one another (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 45-46), could in this case be questioned. On one hand, security and intelligence cooperation remain well but when people from the states do not trust each other as well as some governmental officials, it is difficult to draw a successful conclusion of a highly functioning case of security community.

Looking at what Israel have chosen to publish regarding the Peace Treaty, they have focused mainly on the background that lead up to the signing of the Peace Treaty but also, as presented above, the different aspects of the ratification process. The actual implementation of the Peace Treaty which in fact shows that they have done the work they promised they would.

Further, Israel acknowledge the fact that Jordan and Israel ran into a dispute in 2000. Israel writes that “following the renewed outbreak of Palestinian terrorism (September 2000) in the territories, relations with Jordan cooled and Jordan recalled its ambassador. There has been a gradual development of relations and Jordan returned its ambassador in 2005.” (State of Israel, 2013).

This situation says much about the Jordan and Israeli relationship and how vital the Peace Treaty’s obligation for the parties to resolve issues diplomatically. Despite their disagreement and a situation that threatened the peace, they resolved their issues and didn’t break the Treaty’s promise of solving issues through diplomacy.

6. Conclusions

With the help of the theory of security community the author has managed to analyze vital peace parameters that could explain why there has been long term peace between Jordan and Israel. Initially, this thesis aimed at finding, investigate and analyze a wider set of material, data and sources, but came up with only a smaller part of what the author searched for. This gives the results of the thesis a smaller strength in validity because there hasn't been that width in material and validation of theory. Although, the material and sources that were found and analyzed has a lot to say, the author could not investigate and test the whole width of the theory. For example, part of the second and third tier speak of collective identity and exchanges that has led to integration among society. This has been difficult to confirm through the material because no material or data has been found on social exchanges. Further, everything that was initially agreed upon in the Peace Treaty was difficult to analyze and confirm because the lack of material throughout the 25 years that has passed by.

In general, the text of the peace treaty is written as they had agreed upon everything beforehand and as if they have been at peace with each other prior to the Peace Treaty. Looking at the articles written in 2019, it is clear that peace indeed has endured although there are some aspects that Jordan and Israel disagree upon. The Peace Treaty identifies several security aspects and parameters for peace according to the theory of security community.

After exploring and analyzing the material with the help of the theory of security community the author would argue that Jordan and Israel have reached a lasting peace by cooperation on many levels and can thus be regarded as a case of security community, but not fully according to the three tiers. The Peace Treaty laid a firm foundation and adjusted some insecurities that existed between the parties. By doing so Jordan and Israel created a more just relationship towards each other. Even though one might be superior towards the other in some sense, they have at least settled the basics by bringing up the insecurities such as land and water accessibility for Jordan as well as laying the ground work for the future by guarantying the change in border if the river changes course. According to the theory, recognizing a common threat or insecurity, here achieved by the threat to people's

lives by threatening the lasting peace, is indeed a vital first step and in this sense a vital peace parameter for the lasting peace.

The author would argue that Jordan and Israel have not integrated to the point where the security aspects are more important than their country or states self-interest. Both parties acknowledge how the treaty has benefitted their country first, and secondly about the relationship between the countries. Although by settling some issues that are important for them individually, they might have created a better common ground and a better starting point as more equal towards each other. This also shows in the material from 2019, that peace has indeed endured the test of time and many cooperative measures are used and being used daily.

Further, the author also draws the conclusion that they emphasized the aspect of mutual understanding and cooperation regarding a majority of issues and not just that of security but also agriculture, economy and communication and more. Which also has lasted to some degree according to the material from 2019. Another reason for the peace between the parties to be successful could be that they initially decided to solve any dispute or differences through negotiation which they indeed have followed. The author argues that it has been successful to a point where there has not been any armed conflicts and Jordan and Israel have both settle disputes diplomatically and through negotiations, just as the theory declares.

One important aspect that the author believes plays a vital role in the puzzle of 'how come there is peace' is simply because both of them benefit from it, even though they might not be integrated to the extent that they consider themselves one entity. This in turn is highly unlikely for most sovereign states, but they still benefit from this Peace Treaty in different aspects, like they have expressed themselves in different ways. This differentiate security community from security regime because security regime is about rules and norms that restrain behavior and the belief that other will reciprocate. The conclusion described above appeals to another foundation of belief. The Peace Treaty is not based on rules and norms, but on promise that has later led to trust because of the simple fact that what was promise has been held to a larger extent even if everything hasn't been.

One could argue that as long as there is mutual trust there can be a security community. The case of Jordan and Israel's peace is identified as trust through non-armed-conflict and exercising diplomacy. Both parties benefit from the deal, more or less, and would suffer a greater deal from conflict. This is the reason why the author believed the peace has endured. Another important aspect that explain the peace, as the author described it previously, is the acknowledgement of lives being threaten in both countries by water and land accessibility. Also, the promise to fight security threats together.

The reason for equalizing some differences in basic human security such as water accessibility, gives the long-term peace a better chance of lasting. If those factors weren't settled, it would probably have become an aspect of possible conflict between Jordan and Israel. As climate change and the lack water accessibility is becoming more evident around the world one can only assume it could have created indifferences because it would set one or the other in a depended position of the other which gives that state a geopolitical advantage to play on. And even if Israel, in this case, has the upper hand on water flows and accessibility, they benefit from staying out of conflict with Jordan as their immediate neighbor. If this was to be explained by the theory of security regime, it would rather talk about 'hard' factors, laws and rules than soft factors as the author concludes are highly visible in the case of Jordan and Israel.

Another important aspect for peace in the case of Jordan and Israel, is the fact that they indeed have created agreements for almost everything that could and most likely would come in contact with them both. In order to grow more together and having less object that differ them from each other, this could have been a vital aspect. Although there are some questions they disagree upon, there are still positive outcomes that have come from the peace between the parties.

Furthermore, in this case the parties have adapted a top-down perspective which have proven successful in terms of staying out of conflict, which indeed could be a 'security regime tendency because security community is more likely to come from the bottom-up. On the other hand, one could argue that even though it is a top-down perspective that was first applied, the circumstances and factors that was addressed in the Peace Treaty are covering much more than just rules and norms that are to be 'followed'. It is a treaty that had a wider perspective to begin with. Although, one aspect that this thesis hasn't been

able to investigate is the relationship between the citizens of Jordan and Israel and their view of one another. When striving for a top-down agenda, this is one factor that could end up suffering because of the simple fact that it is a governmental decision.

When looking at what the theory of security community suggests being vital for lasting peace and thus a case of security community, it is on the one hand to reach a point where mutual trust and the sense of community have reached a point where there are no reasons or willingness to fight each other. Although, some previous research is saying that one can indeed have a lasting peace without becoming integrated to that point, the most important aspect is mutual trust, which is also the fact according to the theory of security community.

Drawing on the author's conclusions in terms of this analysis, the author would argue that Jordan and Israel are indeed considered a case of security community but according to the theory of security community, albeit a lighter version of it. When referencing 'lighter' the author means that Jordan and Israel have not become integrated to the point where they no longer have borders between them and view themselves as one in the context of others. They still consider their sovereignty to be of importance but also values the peace between them which has clearly been written on their governmental websites, in different ways. This information could be considered being up to date. Although, the author would argue that Jordan and Israel in fact have reached some level of non-security (where an earlier security issue is no longer threatening), which the theory argues to be vital in the aspect of successful peacebuilding. This argument is mainly based in the fact that they haven't had any conflicts that hasn't been able to resolve through discussion and diplomacy and issues that were initially addressed as 'security threats' have been stable since 1994 up until 2019 at least, like the water question.

As presented in the theory section, the second tier which relies on the cultural and scientific exchanges together with change in social interactions, presents the largest step to provide a sense of community and mutual trust (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 39-40). But as previous theory (Alkoper, 2017) also has stated, the mutual trust must not be linked to the change in social interactions between states, in order for having a lasting peace. Security communities can be stable with less common ideas and exchange as well as a more deeply rooted sense of common belief (Alkoper, 2017:512).

The investigation presented a least likely case of security community in the region of the Middle East, between Jordan and Israel. Some of the conclusions of this thesis are that a case of security community in an environment that it is not likely to occur, is possible. This conclusion gives the thesis and the testing of the theory of security community, a stronger explanatory power with reservation for missing some material. The material and the analysis indicate that the relationship between Jordan and Israel have stayed peaceful for the last 25 years and have tackled the differences that has risen, with diplomacy.

For example, the theory of security community suggests that in order to reach trust and therefore become a security community, the parties, in this case Jordan and Israel, must integrate culturally, socially and experience a common identity (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 41-42). As the author has presented, Jordan and Israel are a case of different cultural backgrounds and also still have 'issues' they differ in. The author argue that they have not integrated culturally and socially but they still experience trust because they have managed to stay out of violent conflicts with each other for the past 25 years. This indicates that the least likely case of Jordan and Israel, still can be considered a security community of some sort. They have a peaceful relationship. Peaceful in terms of no military confrontations with each other.

The author has acknowledged some improvements regarding the theory. The theory has been a useful tool for analyzing the peace between them Jordan and Israel. When reviewing the material, one can assume that Israel is mostly benefiting from this security community. They had the 'power' to grant Jordan access to land and water in a different sense than the opposite. On the one hand, it could be argued that as an aspect that goes against the theory but, when looking at the three tiers, the relationship between Jordan and Israel fulfill two out of three tiers, at least initially.

Another aspect that was acknowledged during the analysis is that the theory does not address the issue of states having different prerequisites when entering a security community which might not be needed in some cases but would be a positive aspect to address. Further, to draw back on what the author mentioned earlier in this thesis, the generalizability of this investigation could be applied to the Middle East region as an area of investigation. Even though this in fact is a case study with limited spread it still has

found interesting results relating to a middle eastern case. Another conclusion the author makes after doing the least likely case study is that the results give the theory of security community, a stronger generalizability to test broader, in environments or cases that might not be a solid choice for security community.

This investigation has looked at Jordan and Israel, two cases, to test the theory of security community. What could increase generalizability further would be if the author investigated and tested the theory on more cases than just two. If conducting an investigation on a bigger number of cases the investigation could receive a stronger generalizability. This investigations case selection was partly based on the fact that Jordan and Israel had entered a peace agreement and the investigation was build further on that note. The results must also be taken into consideration of the number of cases when discussing generalizability. A least likely case study could increase the generalizability when doing a case study on a smaller number of cases but the fact is that a larger number of cases would be even more beneficial for the testing of the theory. A suggestion for further investigation on the testing of the theory of security community would be to test in broader terms, on more cases to be able to generalize the results or finding even further. Lastly, the theory of security community as a tool in finding long term solutions for conflicts, needs further investigation, at least in the areas outside of the western world and Asia.

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