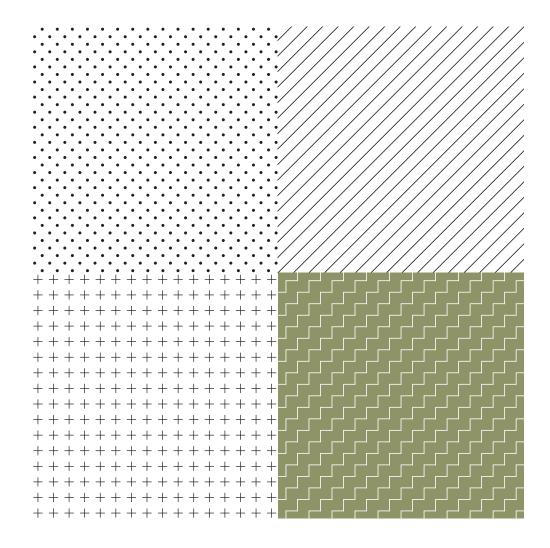
W O S C A P

ENHANCING EU PEACEBUILDING CAPABILITIES



Theoretical and Methodological Framework

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THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

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THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE



Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding

This Theoretical and Methodological Framework was produced as part of the project "Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding", which aims to enhance the EU's peacebuilding and conflict prevention capabilities.

It sets out the theoretical and methodological framework of the project, presenting the principal objectives and developing the intellectual research agenda. It situates the research agenda within wider conceptual, theoretical and policy debates, to provide a context for the research approach and core assumptions. In addition, it is intended as a standardised guidance for those working on the project. More information at www.woscap.eu



ENHANCING EU PEACEBUILDING CAPABILITIES



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Executive Summary

The WOSCAP project's research objective is to improve understandings of how EU civilian capabilities can facilitate peacebuilding and conflict prevention interventions and policies which are inclusive and sustainable, and provide scope for innovation.

The project follows a four-pronged operational logic: to *review* the EU's past and ongoing conflict prevention and peacebuilding interventions; to *reflect* on the analysis of the findings; to *recommend* possible policy changes; and to *innovate* including pointing out future avenues of research. This logic is implemented through six linked Work Packages, which are organised around three categories ('clusters') of EU peacebuilding/conflict prevention policies: multi-track diplomacy (MTD), governance reform and security sector reform (SSR). In assessing and reflecting on EU policies, we apply four 'cross-cutting themes': local ownership, gender, multi-stakeholder coherence (including civil-military synergies), and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs).

Across the project's Work Packages we aim to review, reflect, recommend and innovate through desk-based research of a wide geographic range of peacebuilding interventions, through in-context and in-depth country case studies in four selected cases, Georgia, Ukraine, Mali and Yemen and in an iterative and participatory engagement with a wide range of stakeholders from policy-makers, to practitioners and local societies.

The WOSCAP project's point of departure is the expectations and ambitions regarding outcomes and process of the EU's peacebuilding and conflict prevention policies. In the light of these expectations it seeks to assess current capabilities and look for ways to enhance them, not only by identifying limitations and weaknesses, and examples of good practice, but also by suggesting solutions and promising new courses of action, on the basis of novel sets of principles, practices and tools. It is designed to contribute to a practice-orientated definition of sustainable and inclusive peacebuilding while pointing at the boundaries of what can be expected and realized in particular contexts.

The project's theoretical approach and methodology is framed by the intellectual agenda based on a 'Whole-of-Society' perspective. An underlying assumption of 'Whole-of-Society' is that by extending the range of actors with a stake in peacebuilding beyond what most external actors usually practice, and by recasting the nature and focus of their engagement and interaction, intervention is more likely to facilitate processes conducive to stable and sustainable peace, through enhancing legitimacy, buy-in and the responsiveness of external action.

A 'Whole-of-Society' approach deals explicitly with issues of poor co-ordination and integration, aims to counter fragmentation within the policy process, promote synergies and make better collective use of resources. In the WOSCAP project, we seek a richer definition and elaboration of this prescription, in which 'Whole-of-Society' implies two kinds of integration: horizontally between different kinds of policy, linking security, development, governance and human rights, and bringing together civilian and military tools and capacities, within the EU's Comprehensive Approach. It also implies vertical integration between multiple stakeholders and different levels of action from the supranational and international, to regional, nation state, municipal and local. It is in the interplay between these two types of integration, horizontal and vertical, that we seek to redefine and propose changes to EU capabilities. At the same time, through practice-orientated review, reflection and recommendation activities, the project also seeks to identify the challenges and limitations of the normative assumptions underlying 'Whole of Society', and suggest ways in which inclusivity and sustainability can be operationalized through this approach.

In analysing the challenges that impact the EU's capability we define the central object of our research, i.e. the EU's capability or capabilities as a concept that points to the quality of being capable or able to achieve objectives in relation to the overall mission. Our approach to capabilities is informed by the structurationist view that both takes into account agency and structures. We assume that in principle, social phenomena are created, evolving and changing in a continuous social process of interaction and negotiation, which occur in context along the interfaces between different actors or groups of actors and their life-worlds. Our 'actororiented' and relational take on social reality enables us to understand dynamics, developments and change. It is in the social relations or 'social interfaces' between major actors that capabilities are forged and deployed.

In this document we set out the methodology of the project, its research agenda, a set of core and unifying questions to implement it, and indicate core inputs such as scoping studies and contextual information, which will enable us to develop and realise this agenda.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the Document

This document sets out the theoretical and methodological framework of the project 'Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding' (WOSCAP). Its aim is to present the principal objectives of the project and elaborate how we approach the key research puzzle, in terms of developing the intellectual research agenda, and the selection and organisation of activities which are designed to address the scientific and practice goals of the project. The theoretical and methodological framework also situates the research agenda within wider conceptual, theoretical and policy debates in order to provide a context for the research approach, the core assumptions which underpin this approach and the key animating ideas of the project.

The document is intended to serve as an overview of the research activities carried out in the first phase of the project, updating and elaborating on the original project proposal, and synthesising the scientific thinking which has been undertaken in the first nine months, which builds on the scientific and policy premises contained in the grant agreement. Thus it can be read as a summary of project thinking to date.

It offers an interim proposition concerning how we see the central research question related to enhancing EU civilian capabilities for peacebuilding and conflict prevention, and providing proprietary definitions of key concepts which anchor our thinking and research activities at this stage of the project.

It is also intended to justify and explain the parameters of the multiple activities of the WOSCAP project, and how, in combination, they serve the research goals. It thus attempts to present a coherent picture of different activity streams as well as showing how we bring together different conceptual and analytical perspectives in addressing the project's research objectives and key research questions.

Finally, and not least, the document is intended as a standardised guidance for those working on the project, in moving from initial outline and baseline orientation to a co-ordinated implementation of the research agenda.

This document is informed by the findings from Work Package 2 of the project (running from June 2015 to February 2016), and pays detailed attention and anticipates the research activities envisaged in the next Work Packages (in particular the country case studies in WP 3), while also guiding the planning and implementation of other activities in the overall project programme. Thus, different activities of the project will all take into account the parameters, research orientation and methodological approach discussed in this document and will – if necessary – develop their more specific methodologies in such a way that they are in line with this document.

1.2 Structure of the Document

The document is structured as follows: Chapter 2 sets out the organisational logic of the WOSCAP project, by briefly presenting the different Work Packages, the main principles which inform the methodology for implementing research and other activities, and the clusters and themes that are key in structuring the scientific agenda and research activities to support it, and which run through different phases of the project.

Chapter 3 presents the research approach of the WOSCAP project, building on the WOSCAP grant agreement and contributing new insights generated in the first phase of this project. In particular it presents in more detail the twin building blocks of WOSCAP, which are the distinctive characteristics of the theoretical framework and the project's contribution to scholarly and practice knowledge: the Whole-of-Society approach, and a (re)definition of capabilities and how we intend to study them. We move on, in Chapter 4 to summarise our baseline research with a presentation of the main findings of seven scoping studies on clusters and themes that were conducted in Work Package 2, as well as a policy briefing and preliminary insights from the country teams. These constitute another key building block for developing the theoretical framework, generating lines of inquiry for subsequent phases of research, while also suggesting areas of engagement with practitioners, policymakers and end users of research which will be relevant to the overall objectives of the project for activities such as Communities of Practice and policy recommendations.

Chapter 5 presents the main questions of the WOSCAP project. We make a distinction (following Yin 2009) between multiple levels of questions, and use this distinction to guide the development of the theoretical framework for research as well as to provide detailed guidance to research teams, both in country studies and on thematic areas. The use of standardised and multiple levels of questions is key to ensuring the overall coherence and consistency of a consortium project in which there are not only different research teams, but also different analytical/thematic perspectives (for example on gender, local ownership, ICTs), in order for these to converge.

In Chapter 6 we present more details about the role and selection of case studies within the research framework, as well as specific guidelines for the four case studies that will be conducted in Work Package 3 and provide an overview of the (second level) questions that will guide these country /geographic studies. Furthermore, this chapter pays some attention to the selection of research methods and identification/selection of stakeholders and research targets. The country teams will take this chapter into account when drafting the actionable research plans for implementing the country studies. Within WP3, other parallel research studies will also occur to support and supplement the work of country teams.

In Chapter 7 we discuss the outline and intentions of Work Package 4 which addresses the task of practitioner engagement and moving from a research focus of empirical data gathering and analysis, to one of validating the initial evidence base and stakeholder reflection on our core conceptual concerns of redefining / enhancing EU capabilities and elaborating a Whole-of-Society approach to give substance and focus to this redefinition. By including and anticipating WP4 in this theoretical and methodological framework report, we aim to show how the different activities of WOSCAP link together, are mutually reinforcing, and demonstrate our specific approach to the central research question/problematic which includes both top down and bottom up perspectives.

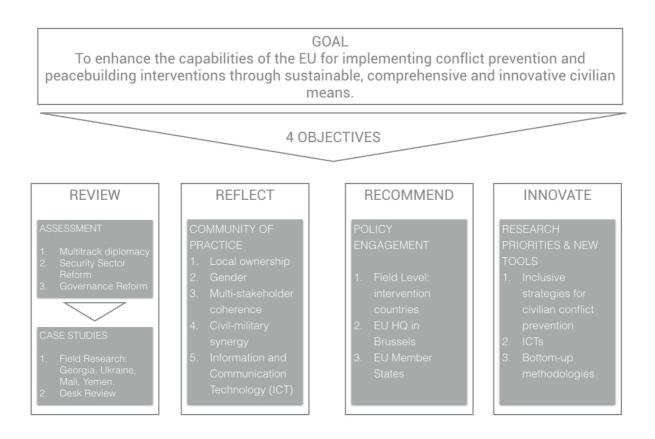
We also attach (in annex 1) a lexicon with the most important terms and concepts that are used in this project. This is a key document for enhancing consistency and standardization between multiple perspectives and providing guidance to consortium members, and thus forms part of WOSCAP methodology. The terms have been defined and iterated in a co-constitutive way through online contributions and amendments by WOSCAP project members. The lexicon is therefore a living document, which will continue to be updated – both in the scope of terms included and their individual definition/explanations – in the next phase of the project.

Chapter 2 – Project Overview and Logic

2.1 Review, Reflect, Recommend and Innovate

The WOSCAP project's main research objective is to improve general understandings of how EU civilian capabilities can facilitate peacebuilding and conflict prevention interventions and policies which are inclusive and sustainable. Informed by a critical-constructive reading of current conflict prevention scholarship and practice, and in line with the project's mandate to propose practical options for enhancing the EU's capabilities to implement conflict prevention and peacebuilding measures, the project follows a four-pronged operational logic: to review the EU's past and ongoing conflict prevention and peacebuilding interventions; to reflect on the analysis of the findings; to recommend possible policy changes; and to innovate including pointing out future avenues of research (RRRI).

Figure 1. Objectives and Activities



2.2 Work Packages

These tasks are organised in six complementary work packages, which taken together provide inputs towards achieving the overall objective as formulated in the project proposal. WP1 Co-ordination and Quality is tasked with the overall co-ordination and quality assurance of the project. In line with the project's RRRI operating logic, WP2, 3, 4 and 5 are designed to enable cross-fertilisation and synergies between the core empirical research (the Review stream of the project), engagement with practitioners (the Reflect stream of the project) and policy engagement and impact activities (the Recommend stream of the project).

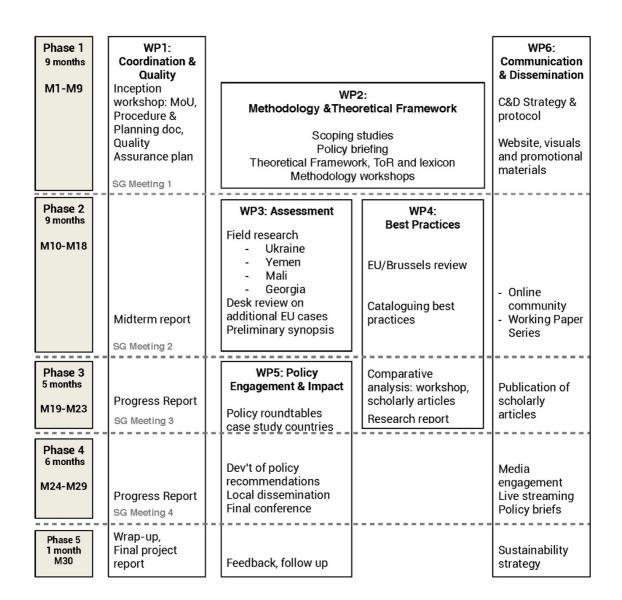
WP2 Methodology and Theoretical Framework develops, elaborates and refines the theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework of the project. It establishes the project's ontological and epistemological approach, sets out the key theoretical and methodological pointers to orientate empirical research work, clarifies working definitions of relevant concepts, and elaborates preliminary conceptualisations of the project's meta-themes; formulates the key research questions, and provides an overall conceptual and methodological guidance for teams researching case studies and cross-cutting themes.

WP3 Assessment entails empirical research to assess EU capabilities in peacebuilding interventions, grounded in the theoretical, conceptual and methodological foundations set up in WP2, and aimed at addressing theoretical and practical issues raised during preliminary research in WP2. This empirical investigation is envisaged as a multi-layered process consisting of detailed field work looking at EU capabilities in the four selected countries conducted by local partners as distinct as well as comparative exercises. WP3 for the most part runs in parallel to WP4 which is tasked with both conducting desk research on peacebuilding interventions in a broader set of countries by the thematic research teams, practitioners' inputs generated through various stakeholder engagements, and developing a Community of Practice (see Annex 1). WP3 both feeds field-based evidence into WP4 and makes use of the broader findings on the projects cross cutting themes conducted by the thematic research teams. Given their respective specific objectives, WP3 and WP4 deploy different methodologies which should generate a rich evidence base from diverse perspectives for WP5 and WP6.

WP4 is tasked with providing inputs on practice with regard to the cross cutting themes of local ownership, gender, multi-stakeholder coherence and ICT in international peacebuilding interventions through establishing a Community of Practice – a discussion and interactive mechanism of practitioners, experts and stakeholders. It is conceived as a pivot of the entire project in so far as it cross feeds with WP3 as well as WP5 to build on the existing knowledge and experience of EU practices in peacebuilding interventions. It is designed to facilitate communication with a broad range of actors with a stake in EU-related peacebuilding and conflict prevention interventions.

WP5 Policy Engagement and Impact focuses on enhancing the impact of the project's findings and experience by developing a tailored set of policy recommendations that will be discussed by a range of stakeholders, targeting foremost those within the case- study countries, EU institutional actors and EU member states. For its activities, WP5 builds on the outputs generated by various project activities.

WP6 Dissemination and Communication is concerned with outreach activities intended to communicate the project's findings and information on project activities to relevant audiences. As this work package is ongoing throughout the lifeline of the project, the intention is to utilise a full spectrum of opportunities for communication and dissemination provided by different activities and at different stages of the project.





2.3 Practice-Orientated

The project methodology is framed by the intellectual agenda based on a 'Whole of Society' perspective, which we define and articulate in Chapter 3 below. In terms of project methodology this perspective is also informed by an analysis of EU conflict prevention and peacebuilding, which is problem-solving and pragmatic as well as raising and addressing more fundamental theoretical and normative challenges to the process of externally delivered peace interventions. The research findings are designed to contribute to a definition of sustainable and inclusive peacebuilding which is rooted in the professional and operational views of policy practitioners and those who are on the receiving end of EU policies. Thus the project methodology seeks to build on evidence from the ground and from policy-makers, exploring the interfaces between these two levels, while recognising that within these perspectives, there will also be multiple sub-sets of positions; to be disaggregated. A core assumption of 'Wholeof-Society' is that by extending the range of actors with a stake in peacebuilding beyond what most external actors usually practice, alongside recasting the nature of their engagement and interaction, external intervention is more likely to facilitate processes conducive to stable and sustainable peace. However, this ambition entails practical dilemmas and challenges, therefore the project will tailor its recommendations based on exploring realistic matches between local problems and international and local capacities, the setting of viable objectives, and appropriate roles for all stakeholders (van der Borgh 2009).

The 'Whole-of-Society' perspective also informs the organisation of the research agenda and the collection and analysis of relevant data, through privileging bottom-up as well as top-down accounts of peacebuilding/conflict prevention experiences, and the first-hand evaluations and data of those who operationalise EU interventions and those on the receiving end. Thus the project is designed to allow meaningful and continuous inputs and interaction with the local/operational level to both generate data and validate research findings.

2.4 Clusters and Cross-cutting Themes

In pursuing its research objectives, the project sets out investigations around a number of key areas of peacebuilding practices and key themes informed by the 'Whole-of-Society' perspective on peacebuilding interventions. Its point of departure is a critique of the current practice of externally- led EU peacebuilding which in the main through the 'Comprehensive Approach' follows a 'whole of government' logic and its concern with achieving stability through assisting formal institutions and by engaging foremost at the elite level in conflict-affected societies. The areas of interventions selected for the purpose of this investigation are security sector reform initiatives (SSR), multi-track diplomacy (MTD) and initiatives in the area of governance reforms. Although these clusters do not offer an exhaustive account of EU external action which also encompasses development, human rights and humanitarian assistance inter alia, they represent typical areas of EU engagement in conflict- affected clusters to explore the EU peacebuilding interventions. As such, the formulation of these clusters is led by an assumption that there is a significant overlap – both conceptually and in practice – in terms of how various components of these policies play out in bringing about

peacebuilding outcomes. This overlap is one of the areas to be explored through the 'Wholeof-Society' approach.

The investigations under the rubric of these three clusters will apply an analytical lens using four criteria informed by the 'Whole-of-Society' perspective that speak to the normative aspiration of an inclusive and sustainable peacebuilding. The four criteria – or the project's cross-cutting themes –are local ownership, gender, multi-stakeholder coherence, with civil-military synergies as an integral part, and the application of information and communication technologies. The research objective involves exploring how the EU addresses concerns for local ownership, issues of gender equality, coherence of its interventions across ever-expanding scope of peacebuilding partnerships, and makes use (or not) of the potential of new technologies for enhancing peacebuilding.

Importantly, the formulation of the research agenda around the three clusters and four themes has followed a particular project methodology designed to enhance the input of the local country research teams, and through them a broad range of stakeholders in the context of this project. The cornerstone of this methodology has been an interactive process of developing the 'scoping studies' – state of the art reviews of the scholarship and policy practice of external peacebuilding interventions covering the three areas and four cross-cutting themes – and preliminary in-country assessments of EU interventions. Through this process the main lines of inquiry and the key analytical issues have been defined as a base to develop the project's main research questions.

2.5 Lexicon

From the outset the project developed its own lexicon to cover key conceptual and operational terms. The lexicon was intended to establish consensus definitions of significant terms and labels which are important within the WOSCAP project. In many cases these terms and labels are contested or are definitionally unclear. Establishing the lexicon provided a vehicle for discussing important meta concepts (such as peacebuilding, conflict prevention), for identifying which terms were salient in the field and to the project, and for conducting collaborative research across different disciplinary sub-fields and theoretical perspectives. Within the consortium, members have different epistemological orientations and the discussion and review of key terms allowed the project to exchange views and search for common ground to generate shared meanings. The WOSCAP lexicon is a living document which can be extended into the Communities of Practice and shared with stakeholders. A preliminary iteration is contained in the annexe to this document.

Chapter 3 – Research Approach

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we set out the ontological and epistemological starting points which underpin our research agenda, and which provide a framework to address the project's research objective. We begin with two conceptual cornerstones of our project: explaining first our 'Whole-of-Society-approach', indicating how WOSCAP seeks to go beyond existing formulations to explore how inclusivity and sustainability might be achieved through applying a more detailed and grounded prescription of 'Whole of Society'.

Secondly in this chapter we offer a preliminary reframing of the notion of EU 'capabilities', again moving beyond traditional formulations to propose enhancements of capabilities which arise out of a richer understanding of social processes and relations in peacebuilding and conflict prevention.

Finally in this chapter we place these conceptual anchors of the WOSCAP project in the context of meta-theoretical and operational concepts, within the scholarly and practice literature on peacebuilding and conflict studies such as human security and hybrid peace. We also briefly set out how our research methodology will also contribute to a coherent, consistent approach to our central research puzzle.

3.2 A 'Whole-of-Society' Approach to the Research Objective

The goal of WOSCAP is to assess and enhance the *capabilities* of the EU to support conflict prevention and peacebuilding processes which are inclusive and sustainable. We do this by applying a prescriptive and normative ideal of 'Whole of Society'.

Traditionally understood, this is an approach to peacebuilding and conflict prevention, which pays particular attention to the role of local societies, relationships at policy level and on the ground, with a wide range of stakeholders. It emphasises the importance of inclusivity of a variety of societal actors and their inter-relations. The approach draws on 'Whole of Government' and joined-up government approaches in public administration, which seek to address different departments working in silos by applying a more coherent strategy. It deals explicitly with issues of poor co-ordination and integration, aims to counter fragmentation within the policy process, promote synergies and make better collective use of resources, including the use of both military and civilian means (WOSCAP Grant Agreement).

In this project, a 'Whole-of-Society' approach adds the importance of inclusivity and ownership, emphasising the manner in which policy and societal actors engage with and participate in the implementation of conflict prevention and peacebuilding initiatives.

Role division and means of engagement amongst these different actors are specific points of attention. This includes taking account of informal or traditional structures and practices as well as formal institutions (Chesterman, Ignatieff and Thakur, 2005: 1). We will

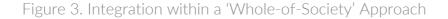
reflect on how relations between actors and linkages across policy domains impact the EU's ability to deliver effective interventions and peacebuilding actions.

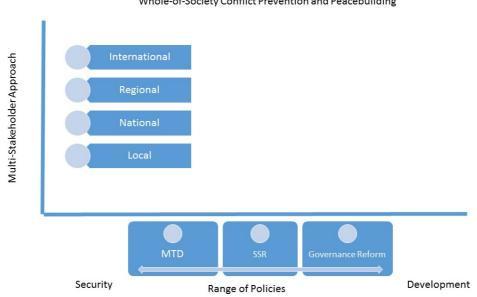
Thus, the 'Whole-of-Society' approach seeks to encompass the complex dynamics of the conflict and post-conflict environment and the presence of different interactions through problematizing not only the multi-actor environment, but also the integration of different policies and peacebuilding actions across a broad spectrum of security needs.

In the WOSCAP project 'Whole-of-Society' implies two kinds of integrated, coordinated or synergistic behaviour in response to conflict. Firstly, linkage takes place along a horizontal axis. This is consistent with a holistic perspective on conflict and conflict response, which sees the necessity of linking security, development, governance and human rights. Horizontal linkage also brings together civilian and military tools and capacities, applying them singly or in synergy to tackle insecurity and conflict.

'Whole-of-Society' derives from a human security approach which frames security as emanating from a broad spectrum of threats including material and physical harms and threats to personal dignity. This holistic and broadened view of security is integral to the EU's Comprehensive Approach.

The second kind of integration within a 'Whole-of-Society' approach is along a vertical axis which links multiple stakeholders, actors (both active and passive), interests/agendas and different levels of action from the supranational and international, to regional, nation state, municipal and local. Each of these categories and levels can be further unbundled to reveal multiple groups and layers of activity.





EU Comprehensive Approach Whole-of-Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding

The WOSCAP approach is to take account of the wide range of efforts by diverse actors on the supply and demand sides of intervention, but also recognize that only some of these are readily visible. As a prescriptive approach, 'Whole-of-Society' assumes that peacebuilding and conflict prevention will be more effective when a broad(er) range of actions and intentions are identified and taken into account. It is also an assumption in scholarly and practice literature that governance approaches that are based on local realities, traditions and culture are preferable to state-building projects focusing primarily on creating new institutions (Jarstad and Belloni, 2012; Dillon and Reid, 2000; Boege et al. 2009).

However, through applying a critical-constructive perspective, the project will also pay attention to the limitations of 'Whole-of-Society' and inclusivity, for example through problematizing dissonances between such diverse groups and processes, in order to understand practical barriers to and exploit potentials for improved integration and synergies between them (Dorff and Volker, 2012).

As Schirch (2012) notes, the relationships between stakeholders, potential peacebuilding actors, the factors driving and mitigating conflict, and activities taking place in different sectors comprise an "ecological relationship" characterized by interdependence. A 'Whole-of-Society' approach emphasizes the importance of understanding the totality rather than discrete elements of conflict and responses to it (Schirch, 2012), but it will also problematize the nature of interdependence and the perverse relational dynamics which are triggered by both the conflict and its aftermath in external intervention.

A 'Whole-of-Society' Approach in which traditional organisational distinctions disappear to be replaced by collaborative working and the diffusion/reassembling of responsibilities is situated within the broad historic shift from 'industrial' to 'knowledge-based' technologies, which is occurring in many domains from healthcare to environmental policy (Kickbush and Gleicher, 2015). It also chimes with external strategies towards conflict which rather than attempting to pacify conflict societies through military and coercive means, seek to engage and mobilise civil society to accept stabilisation and reform measures. This new generation of strategic thinking is focused on the co-production of peace and organic interaction between multiple external and internal stakeholders. Organic interaction, which may be consensual or frictional, is also a characteristic of hybrid peace, as outlined above.

Unlike Whole of Government approaches, 'Whole-of-Society' emphasises not only internal co-ordination among external actors, and the coherence of intervention, but also seeks a better understanding and evaluation of local society. While Brunk makes the case for building the 'social capital' of intervention through engaging so-called 'forgotten' in the sense of overlooked stakeholders among the private sector and constituencies in the domestic sphere of donor/intervening countries (Brunk, 2015), there is also a need to further unpack significant constituencies and relationships within target /beneficiary countries.

Thus a 'Whole-of-Society' Approach rooted in a critical-constructive analysis of inclusivity and sustainability of peacebuilding, goes beyond the suggestion to simply implementing bottom-up approaches or local ownership. It affords a critical reflection of the Comprehensive Approach through interrogating inter alia the goals of peacebuilding missions, tensions between competing security paradigms, perceptions of security threats and the appropriateness of conflict responses. It also seeks new purchase on the coherence and constructive collaboration of multiple types of actor in the conflict environment.

3.3 Capabilities

Debates about capabilities are at the heart of the discussion about the development of EU foreign policy. Since Hill (1993) argued that there is a huge gap between capabilities and expectations of the EU, this gap has, according to some observers, narrowed considerably over the past decades (Toje, 2008). However, it is widely agreed that the EU still faces a 'formidable challenge in coordinating a significant number of institutional actors and policy domains within the Union, both at the political-strategic level and at the level of planning and operations' (Whitman and Wolff, 2012: 5). In addition, the EU has to deal with multiple external actors and developments, including those at the recipients' end, as well as other international stakeholders active in the countries or domains concerned.

Before we can analyse what challenges impact upon the EU's capability to realize what is expected of her, it is of the essence to define how we understand the central object of our research, i.e. the EU's capability or capabilities. Capability can be defined in different ways and we use it as a generic concept that points at the quality of being capable or able (Business Dictionary, 2016). More precisely it is about the ability and capacity to achieve objectives in relation to the overall mission. This implies that capability has to be understood in relation to expectations and ambitions with regard to stated (policy) goals. The higher the expectations and ambitions with regard to these goals are, the greater the capabilities needed to realize these.

The notion of capability inheres power, since it suggests that an actor can 'get things done' in the way that he or she deems relevant. In EU studies the notion of 'soft power' is

often used, which emphasizes the use of non-coercive measures aimed at gaining the consent of other stakeholders in policy implementation (Nielsen, 2013). However, in the specific policy area of conflict prevention and peacebuilding the ambitions of the EU are to take a Comprehensive Approach, co-operate with relevant actors and, if so required, to deploy both military and civilian resources. Hence, the ambitions go further than solely acquiring 'consent', but require proactive and active consensus building and collective problem solving. To what degree this may involve more coercive forms of leverage and whether these more coercive forms can be combined with forms of 'soft power', is debatable, but in EU policy documents this option is not ruled out.

3.3.1 The WOSCAP Approach to EU Capabilities

The WOSCAP project departs from the expectations and ambitions regarding outcomes and process in externally-led peacebuilding of the EU. It seeks to assess the existing capabilities (in relation to policy ambitions and expectations), and to look for ways to enhance them. It aims to do so in a critical-constructive way, not only by showing limitations and weaknesses, but also by suggesting solutions and promising new courses of action, while pointing at the boundaries of what can be expected and realized in particular contexts.

A leitmotif in the policy of the EU is a Comprehensive Approach to security. This is a broad term that has many similarities with (and is partly based on) the notion of human security. Human security proposes a deeper and broader approach to security than traditional approaches, focusing on the conditions that ought to pertain for people to be secure (Kerr, 2006: 92-3). It entails safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (ibid). Human security also ties in with the search for more 'emancipatory approaches' to peacebuilding mentioned by Richmond (2005). The Comprehensive Approach to security is the way the EU seeks to operationalise these ideas and emphasises the need to co-ordinate between different policies and actors (Gebhard and Norheim-Martinsen, 2011:221). It is widely recognized that implementation raises a range of challenges 'at the politico-strategic level, at the level of operational and policy planning and in day-to-day implementation' (ibid 221).

With regard to the further categorization or delineation of capabilities our starting point is Whitman and Wolff's distinction between three capabilities: the capability to act, to fund, and to coordinate and cooperate (2012: 11). In this formulation,

- The capability to act deals with the 'extent to which the availability of personnel and hardware (or lack thereof) has aided or stifled the EU's ability to pursue more proactive policies, and the degree to which the full range of policy instruments was used (or not) [...] depending on the ability to back intentions with concrete actions' (2012: 11). This capability is closely linked to the intention to work in and across different policy domains.
- The capability to fund looks at the 'flexibility of the Instrument for Stability (IfS) to address specific crisis situations', the efforts of transitioning towards longer term financing and the broader question of whether EU funds made available for conflict management are sufficient (2012: 13). (Note that the IfS runs under a new name: Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace, IcSP.)

With regard to co-ordination and co-operation the authors place emphasis on the relations with other international actors (such as states, IOs, and NGOs), and internal relations within the EU. This capability is linked to the intention to work in an inclusive way. Whitman and Wolff propose to focus on the extent to which the expected benefits of multilateralism have been realized and in how far the EU's mechanisms and procedures for co-ordination and co-operation with third parties have been effective on the ground (2012: 14).

Our main assumption with regard to the *nature* of capabilities is that we assert that EU capabilities develop, adapt, grow or erode in complex and largely unpredictable processes.

These processes are context-specific and thus highly dependent on 'external factors'. Whitman and Wolff (2012: 16) identify four contextual levels that are relevant to the EU in its activities of conflict prevention and peacebuilding: the local, national, regional and international level. We argue that the 'political or conflict context' at these different levels creates a range of particular challenges and opportunities to the EU and that it is up to EU staff and agencies (both on the ground and in Europe) to seize opportunities. In other words, **capabilities are forged in interaction with other actors.**

These interactions can take many forms: consensus, obedience, confrontation, negotiation, resistance, persuasion, etc. Thus, instead of looking for capability as something dichotomous that the EU 'either has or has not', we want to improve our understanding of the social processes that determine how capabilities are made and unmade, what the perceptions are of different stakeholders about these capabilities, and the degree to which they are deemed effective (which may be informed by different experiences with the EU, or different expectations about the EU). In addition, we are interested in other possible capabilities (other than the ones mentioned by Whitman and Wolff) that the EU may have, lack or develop. E.g. the capability to adapt policies in context, and to learn from different types of experiences.

3.4 Grounded and Context-based Research

Our approach to capabilities is informed by the structurationist view that both takes into account agency and structures. We assume that in principle, social phenomena are created, evolving and changing in a continuous social process of interaction and negotiation along the interfaces between different actors or groups of actors and their life-worlds. These processes, however, take place in 'context' and are influenced by more 'structural factors', such as the physical environment, and existing norms and cultural impediments. However, the space of actors is not fixed or predetermined, but rather the result of social interactions (including negotiation, conflict, reproduction, etc.). Our 'actor-oriented' and relational take on social reality enables us to understand dynamics, developments and change. It is in the social relations or in Long's words 'social interfaces' (2001) between major actors that capabilities are forged and deployed. It is also here where the element of power and power differentials enter into the equation. In this perspective one attempts to understand how interests, resources, ideas, knowledge and ideologies are put to use to effect certain outcomes. The other way around, one could deconstruct policy outcomes by tracing them back to those component factors.

This implies that in our research approach our starting point is the realities and processes on the ground and not an a priori theoretical position or theory-driven hypothesis that steers our studies in a deductive manner. In contrast, we emphasize an inductive and exploratory approach where insights develop according to what Glaser and Strauss (1967) have called a 'grounded theory'. Here insights grow and develop along ongoing data collection and analysis, till the moment where a 'saturation point' has been reached, new data do not result anymore in new insights, and the phenomenon under study can be deemed properly understood.

It will be evident that this type of research is highly contextualized and can never be separated from its real life context. Hence, the adoption of a case study approach is very suitable for this type of work as the link between subject and context is maintained in case studies, and hence a phenomenon can be studied fully in all its real life dimensions. While this perspective is based on a number of foundational and philosophical (ontological and epistemological) principles, it is at the same time also very practical, as in this way policy implementation is studied as it develops or happens in practice. This enables a realistic problem-solving exercise based on lived experience that could never be reached in more experimental or deductive research designs.

3.5 Social Construction of Policy

In order to improve our understanding of how capabilities develop in context, Colebatch's (2009) ideas about the 'social construction of policy' comes in handy. Colebatch sees the policy process not simply as the pursuit of 'shared goals', but also as the more difficult task of constructing a basis for collective action among participants with quite diverse views on the nature of the task (2009: 4). He makes a distinction between three accounts of policy making:

- 1. The authoritative or 'vertical' account, which stresses the instrumentality and hierarchy of the policy process and focuses on the main 'policy maker' (in this case the EU). This process resembles a type of 'decisionism' that implies that once a decision is taken implementation will follow relatively unproblematically;
- 2. The structured interaction (or 'horizontal') account, which emphasizes the interactions between a number of players in a given 'policy area' or 'policy arena' (these can be players that are directly involved, but also stakeholders that would like to be included); and
- 3. The social construction account that looks at the ways in which problems and responses are identified and challenged, thus paying particular attention to the expertise that is mobilized by different agents and their (conflicting or converging) 'interpretations' and labelling of problems and responses.

Colebatch argues that all three accounts are relevant. We are interested in the 'agenda' of the EU, its performance in a complex multi-actor environment, and its ability and power to label problems and responses and to (re)negotiate these.

3.6 Peace, Contesting Peace, Hybrid Peace

The EU aims to support processes of conflict prevention and peacebuilding (For definitions see Annex 1). In the definition used in the WOSCAP project these concepts point to activities and ways of working that are intended to contribute to either prevent conflict or to build peace. This is not to say that policy makers, parties to the conflict and scholars do actually agree about the question of which policies or actions are needed to prevent conflict and build peace, and whether policies have actually contributed to conflict prevention or peace building. What's more, the very understanding of what peace entails and what conflict is about can fundamentally differ. While the EU has its own (differential, and sometimes conflicting) understanding of what peace is and what is needed to build peace and to prevent conflict, other actors may have different understandings. This diversity of definitions of peace and their underlying assumption is a starting point of this study. Hence, following Richmond (2005), we do not assume that peace has an 'ontological stability', but instead that there are different understandings of peace, and different roads towards peace (ranging from more conservative to liberal and more emancipatory ones). This means that the EU is likely to face challenges to its approaches, since it has on one hand a strong belief in the liberal peace as the best way to overcome societal conflict and to build peace, while on the other hand it recognizes the need to involve as many stakeholders as possible in the processes of 'building peace'.

In the academic literature there is a growing critique on the assumptions underlying the liberal peace and the practices to 'implement' the liberal peace (van der Borgh, 2009). Oliver Richmond (2005: 193) has argued that contemporary interventions share a number of ontological and methodological assumptions about peace. 'Its ontology suggests co-existence is possible if certain modes of governance are adopted. Its methodology requires its construction by many types of intervening actors' (Richmond, 2005: 193). The 'modes of governance' are a combination of political liberalisation (elections, state building) and economic liberalisation (privatisation, market reforms, trade liberalisation, etc.) (Selby, 2013: 61). These assumptions and goals have either been called unrealistic, or overblown, while missions to build liberal peace have been called ineffective or neo-imperial. The academic literature that 'supports' the assumptions and practices of the liberal peace project, recognizes the challenges and dilemmas of peace building and the fact that in many cases the outcomes of international missions are mixed at best (Jarstad and Belloni 2012. Paris, 2010; Paris and Sisk, 2009). This also implies that positive outcomes generally do not reflect the ideal of a liberal peace, but at best a move towards that ideal. Different concepts have been coined for these outcomes, depending on the assessment of the authors. In some cases the term 'failure' has been used, others have pointed at the fact that countries are somewhere in between war and peace (no peace, no war, Richards, 2005), and others again have coined the concept of 'hybrid peace'. This latter concept points to the idea that the type of peace that is created is 'context specific' and the outcome of top-down interventions in combination with bottom-up actions. The latter consist of both formal and informal practices and also sites of resistance and contestation (Mac Ginty, 2010; Richmond, 2015).

It is increasingly recognized that processes of conflict prevention and peace building are political to the core, involving negotiations and power struggles (see e.g. Putzel and Di John, 2012; UN, 2015; van der Borgh, 2009). In these processes the imaginaries and projections of victory and peace that are discursively constructed play important roles. This discursive dimension of the interplay between external and local actors is extremely important, since peace-building operations by donors and NGO activities are subject to discursive manufacturing and contestation (Bush, 2004; Chandler, 2009; Duffield, 2008). Discourse is seen as a system of representation that attributes meaning and frames how actors understand and act upon the world around them. In the field of peace and conflict, discourse analysis would focus on the discursive framing of the (post)-conflict situation and associated peace-building interventions by the different stakeholders involved. Conflict and peace are thus considered socially constructed phenomena based on perceptions and discourses.

With regard to the assessment of the capabilities under study and in line with our contextualized and constructivist perspective, we do not set criteria to measure the EU capability per policy area or per country, but we are interested in different views of how these capabilities evolve, why this happens in a particular way, and how different actors assess capabilities (and the related expectations and ambitions). Whitman and Wolff (2012) argue that many EU policies have been successful, because the stated policy objectives have become much more modest or vague in the past decade or so. This may be an indication that the EU has lowered its expectations. Therefore rather than focusing on an 'objective' assessment of outcomes, we propose that if we want to understand capabilities we need to understand the

dynamics of policy processes and how these capabilities come about, evolve, are challenged, run aground, etc.

Chapter 4 – Lines of Inquiry

4.1 A Review of EU capabilities

In line with the project aims to 'Review, Reflect and Recommend', the project began the Review phase taking stock of accumulated scholarly and practitioner knowledge and experience about the clusters and cross-cutting themes in general, and by assessing past and ongoing conflict prevention and peacebuilding initiatives of the EU and its partners, where the clusters and themes are particularly salient to its interventions. Given the breadth of EU intervention, and a time scale since the first development of EU civilian capabilities it was necessary to narrow the field of inquiry and structure it in a way which was consistent with WOSCAP objectives, and capable of delivering meaningful research findings.

The project took three types of activities or 'clusters', which represent *what* the EU does/can do in relation to conflict prevention and peacebuilding. These clusters are: governance reform, defined as coordinated action or initiative that aims to strengthen governance structures, processes, and outcomes by increasing their accessibility, representativeness, and responsiveness (see also Annex 1 on governance), security sector reform (SSR), which aims at "seeking to increase partner countries' ability to meet the range of security needs within their societies in a manner consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of governance, transparency and the rule of law" (OECD, 2005; Annex 1). And multi-track diplomacy, referring to interconnected activities, individuals and institutions which seek to prevent or resolve conflicts peacefully, primarily through (direct or mediated) dialogue and negotiation (see Annex 1 on multi-track diplomacy).

The choice of these clusters reflects the spectrum and diversity of EU 'capabilities' where capabilities are defined *prima facie* as the EU's propensity to act. They enabled us to conduct a preliminary triage and organisation of multiple policies, practices and initiatives. The clusters also represent the institutional mix which supports EU foreign and security policy, emanating from various EU institutions, and including Community, intergovernmental and member state contributions. The clusters are deliberately broad based, yet not exhaustive: for example they do not specifically include trade policy or humanitarian aid, however within the general rubrics of diplomacy, security sector and governance it is possible to review a wide range of large and small scale EU initiatives, and include those which may be more or less salient in the local context. By examining these clusters we sought to not only organise our research, but it led us to develop a more focused definition of 'capability (ies)', as socially constructed interactive, and context driven processes which reflect the EU's ability to act (see above Chapter 3).

4.2 Assessment Criteria

The Review process is supplemented and further refined by the application of four crosscutting themes which function as assessment criteria. They are: local ownership, gender, multistakeholder coherence, and the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs). A fifth criterion, civil-military synergies is dealt with in the project as a sub-set of multistakeholder coherence. These cross-cutting themes represent how the EU deploys its civilian capabilities, and are intended to provide an analytical lens for examining the extent to which this deployment to date has been inclusive and sustainable, and whether interventions are disposed towards a 'Whole-of-Society' model, as outlined in the previous chapter. The themes of local ownership (see Annex 1) and gender are critical to the project for three reasons: firstly they reflect a desired ideal of peacebuilding and conflict prevention to be inclusive, to take account of the views of all those who are affected by or engaged in the creation and sustaining of peace, including people who are marginalised in traditional/classic forms of security policy. This ideal is driven by a desire to improve the credibility, viability and representative legitimacy - the 'buy-in' of external actions. Secondly, by including perspectives on local ownership and gender the project addresses the wider agenda in EU peacebuilding as a process for norm transfer between globalised western ideals and target societies (Borzel and Risse 2012, Whitman 2011). Thirdly, the presence of these ideal concepts as part of the discourse of EU policy gives rise to questions about how these concepts are understood and practiced, thus they are potential sites for disconnects, gaps and operational difficulties.

Multi-stakeholder coherence also acknowledges a core theme within the WOSCAP project, that peacebuilding is a multi-actor domain, comprising multiple contributions and forms of agency, and recognising the potential of plural contribution and co-ordinating them in an efficient way is essential to producing positive results and generating effectiveness legitimacy. Multi-stakeholder *coherence* builds on the multi-stakeholder approach which refers to co-operation and support between various actors involved in a situation, in order to promote better decision-making, by taking into account their different interests and means at all stages. The aim of the EU in implementing a multi-stakeholder approach is to improve the effectiveness of key relationships: with other international actors such as the UN, the OSCE or regional actors, between EU agencies, and also with the local stakeholder, meaning civil society and the private sector (see Annex 1: multi-stakeholder approach).

The inclusion of ICTs as a cross-cutting theme addresses the project aim of assessing EU capabilities in a forward-looking way which takes account of innovation and the possibilities that technology provides to enhance effectiveness, inclusiveness and legitimacy. The sustainability of EU interventions is linked to their ability to not only keep pace with and take account of emerging trends, but to exploit and leverage these possibilities. ICTs are an emerging area of practice for peacebuilding actors, but also provide a window onto the complex and evolving dynamics of conflict. Consistent with the research focus of the project as a whole, we are interested in the social relations and dynamics which underpin the use of technology and how information and communication tools are deployed in a multi-actor, holistic security environment. The inclusion of this theme enables WOSCAP to assess EU use of technology as an additional capability, as well as to examine how it adapts to the use of ICTs by other peacebuilding and conflict actors.

4.3 State of the Art

The project began by undertaking seven scoping studies, of each cluster and cross-cutting theme. The aim of each study was to provide an initial orientation of the subject based on desk research, to identify and explain key terms, concepts and practices. Given the broad and contested nature of some of the terms attached to and embedded within the clusters and cross-cutting themes, it was important to establish a clear definitional position from which to move forward. (See also chapter 2.5: Lexicon).

Secondly each study sought to provide an overview of scholarly knowledge, represented by secondary literature, policy developments (primary texts) as well as grey literature, reflecting practitioner discourse. This review of key literature, although not exhaustive, itself represents a contribution to knowledge and to the goal of outlining a future research agenda on the topic of EU peacebuilding. The studies attempted to take account of broad range of scholarly disciplines in summarising the state of the art – recognising that insights are available not only from security studies (which itself contains sub-disciplines and approaches) or European studies but increasingly from sociology, psychology, anthropology to name but a few.

Thirdly, the studies focused on identifying practice phenomena that related to the project's core concerns with: inclusiveness and a bottom-up perspective; gaps, disconnects and paradoxes in the deployment of EU civilian peacebuilding capabilities; sustainability and synergies and overlaps between civilian and military capabilities. The studies were also intended to provide a perspective of EU initiatives beyond the countries selected for in-depth case study research. The project is cautious about the concept of 'best practices' on the basis that effective and legitimate action is rooted in context specificities as much as generic principles, and that capabilities are a function of complex relational interfaces between actors and policy problems. Therefore practices which work in one set of relationships and circumstances may be inappropriate in another. However, the scoping studies provided an opportunity to take account of significant EU initiatives, as well as lessons learned and to identify practices which may or may not have been seen as effective, in a range of locations.

Finally, the scoping studies were intended to indicate lines of inquiry and propose research questions in line with WOSCAP objectives, but also current trajectories in academic research and practitioner discourse. Thus they were an important ingredient in generating an appropriate and relevant research agenda for the project. They were supplemented and clarified by a discussion among all project members in December 2015 at a theoretical and methodological framework meeting. The findings below provide a grounded approach to developing a theoretical framework for the project, and they guided the selection of a core set of research questions. These questions will inform the case study and fieldwork phase of the project and will also be used to frame discussions with practitioners and policy-makers in the establishment of communities of practice in Work Package 4. In this respect research questions are intended to serve both an academic purpose of scholarly inquiry and a practice/policy goal of enabling the emergence of practice innovations.

4.4 Findings of Scoping Studies

The papers provided evidence of the trajectory of EU policy and a progressive process of refining the EU's capability to act, both in terms of specifying conceptually and legally the Union's areas of competence and ambition, and of setting concrete goals, policy ideals and delivering the required resources. Key milestones began with the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and include the European Security Strategy of 2003, the Lisbon Treaty of 2009, and other core texts such as the 2000 Report on Improving Coherence and Effectiveness of the European Union Action in the Field of Conflict Prevention (Secretary General/High Representative and the EC, 2000)1, the 2001 Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention (EC, 2001), and the EU Gothenburg Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts (2001) (Benraïs and Quinet, 2015; Benraïs and Simon, 2015).

Within this progressive process one can detect several significant shifts, which provide a context and conceptual starting point for our investigations: towards greater diversification of instruments and policy 'envelopes' in addressing conflict, reflecting both an increase in EU ambitions, the changing nature of conflict and the conflict cycle, and an increasingly complex and dynamic matrix of security issues and actors with which the EU is seeking to engage (Dudouet and Dressler, 2015).

In each issue area one can discern the emergence of a broader spectrum of agency, reflecting an increase in the number of stakeholders, whether acting to deploy EU capabilities and implement policy, or on the receiving end of them. For example in diplomacy there has been a recent policy shift from a sole reliance on traditional state diplomacy towards multi-track engagement in conflict constellations. Mediation/dialogue support teams comprise not only multiple stakeholders, they also implement diversified methods of 'soft power' diplomacy, according to the various stages of conflict and peacebuilding and the degree of power asymmetry between the primary contenders. Thus the paper on multi-track diplomacy noted a "rapid proliferation of mediators, growing involvement of regional organisations in peace processes, and increasingly more complex and demanding mediation processes". This presents challenges for vertical integration of capabilities as well as the need for a more systematic horizontal integration of different types of security challenge/response.

There has also been a shift away from 'muscled' strategies, for example in mediation, SSR and governance reform towards light-handed facilitation, increased support for locally-led initiatives, and the promotion of mechanisms to facilitate the participation of, and communication with, civil society and the broader public (Dudouet and Dressler, 2015).

¹ "The central issue for the Union is one of coherence in deploying the right combination and sequence of instruments in a timely and integrated manner" (Secretary General/High Representative and the EC, 2000, p.4)

4.4.1 The Nature of Gaps, Disconnects and Tensions

The scoping studies highlighted the present practice gaps, disconnects and tensions which arise in peacebuilding. In the case of the EU, these gaps and tensions are evident both in relation to a horizontal spectrum of actions within the Comprehensive Approach, and a vertical 'top-tobottom' spectrum where the integration challenge is between different types of actors.

Out of these two spectrums, gaps arise between commitments to policy ideals, and actual implementation, a gap between the conflicting agendas of different groups of actors in a "crowded" operational space, disconnects which arise inadvertently within the EU's own political agendas, between its component institutions, and credibility and legitimacy gaps which arise where the EU's ability to act and its leverage as a global or regional actor is mitigated by local and third party contestation.

In the case of gender, although the EU works within a clear overarching policy framework as laid out by the Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security (CA 1325) it is still lagging behind on implementation. Moreover the example of gender shows that reductionism occurs when translating and implementing the global Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda by focusing mostly on the security sector and neglecting other dimensions (Villellas et al, 2015).

Similarly on local ownership, the ambiguity of the concept in both of its components, namely 'local' and 'ownership' suggests it operates as a policy idea/ideal rather than as a practice of EU intervention, or a cornerstone of building legitimacy of externally led peacebuilding. An overt (national) state focus, underdeveloped strategies of civil society mobilisation and insufficient attention to supporting other types of local actors and societal arenas, as well as the failure to produce inclusive institutions mean that it remains an imprecise and hollow concept (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2015).

In other policy areas, for example SSR, multi-stakeholder coherence, and the use of new technologies, problems arise because of unclear or contested conceptualisations. In addition the existence of competing and contrasting approaches or the lack of an express policy – as in the case of ICTs and the multi-stakeholder approach – mean that EU action often lacks concrete guidance and sub-optimal strategies and structures for implementing concepts and norms (Jayasundara-Smits and Schirch, 2015; Benraïs and Simon, 2015; Gaskell et al, 2015).

Coherence illustrates another area of practical difficulty for EU peacebuilding, that of managing the multi-actor environment. As noted in the WOSCAP proposal, the multi-actor presence in the field can be problematic, causing issues of poor co-ordination, diverse agendas and operating practices and incoherence (Morsut, 2009; Dursun-Ozkanca and Vandemoortele, 2012: 150-155). Local ownership is an example of where the inherent ambiguity and imprecision of the ideal is exacerbated by trying to operationalise it across multiple stakeholders with potentially different and conflicting interpretations (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2015).

Gaps between the agendas of the EU and Member States present a common hurdle to EU effectiveness particularly where a greater role for the Commission and EEAS goes against the current Member States preferences for bilateral policy. The studies underline the fact that there are few instances where the EU acts alone, and that there are numerous ways in which it undertakes joint actions through recurring patterns of partnership with states such as the

United States in mediating the conflict in **Georgia**, or with the UN promoting an inclusive dialogue process in **Yemen**. It has been argued that the EU's most successful cases of peacebuilding through mediation and dialogue (such as in Aceh/Indonesia and Mindanao/Philippines) have involved a multi-level and multi-stakeholder approach (Sheriff et al. 2013). On the other hand it is noted that in several ongoing conflicts such as Libya or Colombia, the proliferation of official envoys to help resolve the conflict, create a risk of cacophony and mixed messages (Garrigues, 2015).

The credibility and perceived neutrality of EU action on dialogue and mediation is a significant consideration which mitigates or underpins the ability to act (Dudouet and Dressler). Gender presents another example of a credibility gap where the failure of the EU to appoint women to senior positions in external missions and peacebuilding posts is seen as a stumbling block to its aim of gender mainstreaming and promotion of the women peace and security agenda (Villellas et al, 2015).

The duplication of instruments for external relations impacts the EU's credibility as well as coherence and co-ordination. Another example of a disconnect concerns the EU's promotion of gender norms while it is seen as having failed to appoint women to senior positions within its own institutional structures.

At the operational level a common disjuncture noted particularly in the studies on SSR and governance is between the technical nature of EU programmes, and the deeply political context and implications of where they occur. Technical support consists of capacity building, training, logistical support and the provision of expertise. SSR is an example of where the EU attempts to adopt a technical position, favouring train and equip programmes without actively acknowledging and allowing for the political nature of this type of engagement (Jayasundara-Smits and Schirch, 2015). The gap between how reforms are intended and operationalised by the EU on the one hand, and how they are perceived and instrumentalised by locals on the other; – with domestic elites often misappropriating them to consolidate their own (perverse) power – generates ample conditions for unintended outcomes. SSR and governance reforms exemplify a key tension between state building projects which serve elite interests, and a more broad based social rehabilitation. The main outcome of this tension is a legitimacy gap in which EU interventions fail to achieve the level of local support required for them to be effective in either the short-term or to produce sustainable change.

A potential area of dissonance is between short term and long-term activities, and between simultaneous forms of intervention (Jayasundara-Smits and Schirch, 2015). Questions arise as to whether interventions such as **Mali** – where the EU was involved as a co-mediator in the Algiers negotiations, while providing military training to the national army that fights the insurgents – are perceived as complementary or contradictory, and how/whether account is taken of any inconsistences, or conversely any multiplier effects in integrating horizontally these different types and durations of crisis response. A lack of consistency in maintaining objectives and programmes rather than discarding them and changing goals and metrics was also noted in the studies on governance and SSR as impinging on EU credibility.

4.4.2 Nature of Peace

An evolution in conflict dynamics means the EU is attempting to address conflicts which are increasingly complex, protracted and persistent. Studies showed the need for a greater diversity of responses to address this complexity.

EU interventions reflect this complexity, but are often also ambiguous about specific goals. Responses aim to produce both negative and positive forms of peace: an absence of violence (typically this is an aim of diplomacy and mediation) as well as structural reforms which seek to deliver peace with justice, and peace which addresses so-called root causes or the underlying drivers of conflict.

Often EU actions are not clear about what kind of peace objective an action is intended to produce or is most likely to generate. The context of peacebuilding interventions, and whether they are initiated when conflict is ongoing or partially resolved, was significant in many of the cases reviewed. Timing of intervention was particularly important to the success of governance reforms, SSR and multi-track diplomacy and whether they were appropriate for the particular phase of the conflict cycle. SSR often takes place in a post-conflict setting where there is a formal peace process and peace agreement. When SSR takes place without a peace agreement, it is more difficult. In Afghanistan, for example, General Petraeus described the SSR process as "repairing an aircraft while in flight-and while being shot at". The studies indicated that detailed conflict assessments, engaging with different stages of conflicts and making context specific interventions were critical to providing sustainable security responses.

The studies indicated that EU deployments are frequently linked to a form of 'perverse peace' in which reforms conceal and sustain structural inequalities, reinforcing an unequal status quo. For example, it has been argued that the ENP Action Plan for Georgia takes an 'externalist' approach fostering confidence-building measures without any significant efforts to transform the structural conditions that created the conflict with Abkhazia, by supporting reform and addressing people's needs (Macharashvill et al 2015).

4.4.3 Nature of EU Role and Leverage of Capabilities

An important characteristic of intervention which emerged in the studies was how the EU enacted its leverage in relation to other actors, and how it was perceived by both collaborators and the target beneficiaries of its intervention. The ability to choose between different instruments however also entails a risk that they impede each other, requiring the EU to make strategic choices, according to the capacity and/or interests of EU institutions and other actors operating on the ground. The study on MTD showed that the EU role can also be broken down into prescriptive or facilitative interventions, either prescribing a desired political outcome, or leaving the agenda and outcome of diplomacy to local stakeholders.

There is an increasing tendency for the EU to take indirect approaches to peacebuilding such as the growing role in multi-track diplomacy of dialogue and facilitation, defined as "an open-ended process which aims primarily at creating a culture of communication and search for common ground, leading to confidence building and improved interpersonal understanding among representatives of opposing parties which, in turn, can help to prevent conflict and be a means in reconciliation and peace-building processes." (Council of the European Union, 2009:

3). An illustrative example cited by the study on MTD is the hybrid form of (non-governmental, regional and international) mediation support in Mindanao (Philippines) which enabled the 2011 Framework Agreement between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

The introduction of the Instrument Contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP) suggests an increased salience of indirect measures, for example funding the participation of third parties in peace talks in Mali, Yemen and Ukraine. In Georgia the EU funded both civil society participation and supported mediation by G10 diplomats.

An examination of different forms and locations of intervention also reveals that the EU encounters different perceptions of its role, and therefore enjoys differential degrees of leverage. One aspect is whether it is seen as an impartial actor. For example it can be described as an interested – rather than fully impartial – mediator when intervening in its geopolitically-tense Eastern neighbourhood, including in Georgia and Ukraine (where the EU enlargement prospect became a direct trigger of the ongoing conflict). In deploying many of its capabilities in governance reform and SSR and seen through the lens of local ownership and gender, the EU often appears as favouring an elite, or the status quo. This is particularly true in SSR.

In contexts where the EU is a privileged actor it also has access to supplementary means or capabilities to reinforce its actions. The scoping study on SSR showed how EU attempts at securing 'buy-in' for its interventions, through offering top-down incentives such as aid or EU membership, worked where they occurred within its sphere of influence. In fragile political contexts outside the European Neighbourhood, SSR interventions had less appeal, and lacked local buy-in. This raises questions about where and how the EU is able to generate more bottom-up forms of local legitimacy for its actions.

4.4.4 Levels of Action and Relational Dynamics

The studies show that the emergence of a multi-stakeholder environment in peacebuilding and security means that EU capabilities have to be seen in terms of a vertical integration among many actors, and where each actor on this vertical axis also operates in a relational context. This creates multiple crucial interfaces between different actor groups and the dynamics and fluid movements of power which occur at these interfaces need to be explored to understand how interventions work.

Information sharing, planning and the co-ordination/synchronisation and sequencing of instruments are concrete ways in which multiple actors engage and instantiate a variety of relationships which play out at multiple functional levels and points of intersection.

Within the EU itself actions occur at different levels including Delegations, EUSR teams, CSDP missions and support teams from the EEAS. The EU's self-declared need to pursue "a top-down and a bottom-up approach in parallel tracks, which reinforce and inform each other" (2009 Concept on Mediation and Dialogue) means that the interaction between these tracks or levels will also be an important component in deploying its capabilities.

Taking one example from the EU's intervention in peace processes in Yemen and Mali, there are simultaneous interactions between member states and EU institutions; between those with a more political role (EU Council/Presidency and HR/VP) and those with a more

operational and technical role (EEAS, Commission and EU delegations); between EU thematic and geographic sections; and between Brussels and in-country staff (Sheriff et al., 2013: 35).

Among external constituencies the growing importance of regional institutions especially in SSR and in multi-track diplomacy, particularly notable in Africa, creates interfaces and relational dynamics inside-inside (between different EU agencies); inside-outside (between the EU and local populations) outside – inside (where local stakeholders drive EU capability deployment), but also outside-outside (between external stakeholders).

Within this relational perspective, perspectives such as trust/mistrust, experience of cooperation and the compatibility of operational goals and practices also serve as a guide to how EU interventions are realised in practice, with what difficulties and what outcomes. The operation of the subsidiarity principle and the nature of dependency within relationships between internationals and locals are also issues which the scoping studies have identified. Studies on SSR and governance also raised the question about how to assess and measure the success of EU actions, and therefore the accountability and transparency of EU interventions, and how they adapt to changing conditions on the ground. For example in SSR, the EU can measure the success of reforms asking questions either from the top-down – how well does the security sector control non-state armed groups and how efficient is it? Or with a bottom-up approach, it would ask whether civilians feel safe.

4.4.5 Capacity to innovate

The project includes a specific focus on the use of technology as a way to explore experience and potential of the EU to innovate. The paper on ICT provided preliminary evidence of how Information and communications technology (ICT) is itself a 'new' capability, which can contribute in a pragmatic way to EU actions, bridging knowledge gaps on conflict dynamics in order to help EU staff to either act preventively or to better design interventions. Examples include monitoring movements of troops or violent incidents through advanced satellite imagery in South Sudan (Legatis, 2015), triangulating social media sources with local informants in Syria (Carter Center, 2015), and monitoring the social media accounts of Russian soldiers in **Ukraine** (Volchek and Bigg, 2015; Gaskell et al., 2015).

However, the ICT paper also highlighted the dilemmas which ICTs pose through reshaping conflict dynamics, as well as the challenges of using new technology tools in conflictaffected environments. Rather than simply affording an innovative solution to peacebuilding dilemmas, ICT use itself raises issues of legitimacy and sustainability. These need to be further investigated empirically and conceptually in the project research agenda. By unpacking ICT use into four 'affordances' or functions: data, communication, networking and mobilisation; it is possible to see how and why different actors might leverage different functions in different contexts as part of a dynamic process, with unpredictable outcomes.

In the absence of a systematic strategy for ICTs in peacebuilding the scoping study identified a wide range of uses by other peacebuilding actors for purposes such as conflict prevention through early warning systems; rebuilding broken social ties through communication and the creation of safe spaces for contact and networking across divided communities. These uses are generally underpinned by a positive bias in favour of the transformative potential of ICTs, but the study highlighted a series of operational and ethical challenges such as limited

access, risks to peace and human rights and the presence of often unintended, contradictory sets of consequences.

Therefore in our research agenda, a focus on how ICTs are being used serves a dual purpose of revealing the capacity for innovation and hence the longer-term viability and sustainability of EU peacebuilding and conflict prevention actions, and secondly providing an additional lens on inclusivity as well as the practical and operational challenges of intervention.

4.5 Inputs from Country Teams

In addition to reviewing EU peacebuilding through the prism of clusters of activities and crosscutting themes, an important input to the research framework was preliminary information from the ground in selected countries. The project methodology included the participation of country partners in the four chosen case study locations, Ukraine, Georgia, Yemen and Mali. Inputs from country teams provided a geographic and contextualised orientation, with the aim of identifying significant policies and programmes undertaken by the EU in country during the last five years. Particular attention was paid to issues which corresponded to WOSCAP objectives, such as the comprehensiveness of EU engagement, collaboration with other actors including the buy-in from local societies, and the sustainability/innovation aspects of EU capability deployment. Country inputs provided guidance firstly regarding the choice of relevant interventions to include in the in-depth country case studies for Work Package 3, and also provided further indications of important themes and lines of inquiry for the research.

Despite different conflict contexts between each of the four countries, the project seeks to highlight both similarities in the challenges facing EU peacebuilding, as well as to note the specificities in order to be able to draw conclusions for future practice changes. European integration with Georgia and Ukraine is perceived as a "threat" for Russia's capacity to project its power in the post-Soviet region and therefore EU policy in the eastern neighbourhood provokes anxiety, if not war (Popescu, 2014). Georgia and Ukraine both negotiated an Association Agreement with the EU and this provides a context for examining how the EU manages not only coherence in a multi-stakeholder environment, but contestation and competition.

On the other hand Association Agreements are political 'envelopes' which trigger multiple form of intervention, thus they cannot be regarded as technical action by the EU. They impinge on domestic policy with reforms in areas such as corruption, independence of justice, reform of the law-enforcement agencies, but also various reforms in social and economic areas.

An important theme is the extent to which EU interventions are aligned with local expectations and needs, and the degree of leverage afforded to the EU as an external broker and/or reformer, either as a single actor or in collaboration with others.

In Ukraine and Yemen there is evidence of an increasing use by the EU of 'support' mechanisms, which are both indirect and imply a multilateral approach in which the EU engages alongside other international actors, while also attempting to help local societies implement reforms or peace processes, through the transfer of knowledge and expertise, and to ensure the local legitimacy of actions. In Ukraine support mechanisms have been applied to

presidential elections, energy talks between Ukraine and Russia and implementation of the 2014 Association Agreement.

Disconnects between EU actions and ambitions for intervention and the effects of action on the ground were evidenced in Ukraine by disagreements over the supply of lethal weapons. EU policy towards the conflict is that there is no military solution and therefore any resort to weapons would only increase tensions without solving the conflict. The lack of a CSDP mission to Ukraine is another source of difference, as well as the failure of many reforms to impact on the personal situation of Ukrainian citizens.

In Georgia, EU rhetoric often does not make clear how EU co-operation mechanisms work and what the concrete benefits for Georgian citizens are. Recent public opinion polls in Georgia suggest that public attitudes to the EU and reforms are becoming less favourable. There is a declining belief in the prospect of EU membership, suggesting that EU leverage and the salience of policy envelopes such as enlargement and the Neighbourhood policy are important factors in the deployment of capabilities.

The levels and means through which the EU engages in all four countries emerged as an important determinant of EU influence. Heads of delegations and EU Special Representatives have played significant roles. In Ukraine, the EU has utilised a "good offices" approach, through the Kwasniewski & Cox mission of the European Parliament but also through multiple visits of the HR of the EU Catherine Ashton and Commissioner Stefan Fule. In February 2014 the foreign ministers of Germany, France and Poland became the mediators between president Yanukovych and the opposition.

In Yemen, the engagement of the head of the EU Delegation was crucial to the EU role, and it was seen as an impartial actor. EU support was also significant because it was channelled towards Local Dialogues as a way of assisting and reinforcing the National Dialogue Conference (NDC), through a series of dialogue forums in five local governorates.

In Mali, in contrast, the EU intervention was much less clear: it faces challenges of coherence between member states of the EU, and between the EU and other actors. The EU training mission EUTM-Mali amounts to a vector of assistance without coherence, as well as being technical rather than systemic and threatens to aggravate rather than address weaknesses. It suggests the presence of significant gaps – in credibility and legitimacy, and between short- term actions and long-term gains. It is badly adapted to the reality of Malian terrain and an army weakened by lack of investment and a culture of short-termism. Questions about EU policy after the conclusion of the peace agreement, amid a growing food crisis and a re-emergence of security issues also relate to how well EU intervention has adapted to local needs.

Chapter 5 – Research Questions

In this section we present the research questions of this project. We follow Yin's (2009: 87) distinction between five levels of questions, briefly refer to the fourth and fifth level, and focus in this section on levels three and two.

Yin (ibid) distinguishes between:

- Level 1: questions asked of specific interviewees
- Level 2: questions asked of the individual case
- Level 3: questions asked of the pattern of findings across multiple cases
- Level 4: questions asked of an entire study (including information beyond the case study evidence, such as other literature)
- Level 5: normative questions about policy recommendations and conclusions, going beyond the narrow scope of the study

In the WOSCAP project, there is a close link between the fifth and fourth level. With regard to the *fifth level*, the overall objective of this study is to assess and enhance the capabilities of the EU (in general) to support conflict prevention and peacebuilding processes in an inclusive and sustainable way. Thus the central question is:

What are the current EU civilian capabilities in the fields of peacebuilding and conflict prevention, and how can these be enhanced in order to make policies more inclusive and sustainable?

The fourth level question focuses on the selected cases and asks what are the current EU civilian capabilities in the selected cases of peacebuilding and conflict prevention, and how can these be enhanced in order to make policies more inclusive and sustainable?

The answers to the *fourth level* question will be based on research in work packages three and four. As mentioned in the WOSCAP Grant Agreement and in the section on the research approach, research is informed by a critical-constructive reading of current conflict prevention and peacebuilding practice, which forces us to rethink several of the underlying assumptions and practices in this field. In working towards our objectives, we recognize the multi-actor nature of contemporary security and security policy-making, on the one hand and the EU's ambitions to offer comprehensive and holistic responses to conflict on the other. We also will take into account the operational dilemmas and disconnects identified in international peacebuilding interventions, and seek to assess and enhance the EU's capabilities in relation to two central challenges: (a) enabling co-ordination and synergies among multiple peacebuilding actors and approaches, (b) ensuring local ownership in peacebuilding processes, notably in the sense of relating to a broader range of local stakeholder groups, and researchers can focus on a particular subset of questions. *Third level* questions relate to the patterns of findings about the policy clusters and the crosscutting themes. The following questions will guide our research.

With regard to capabilities in the four countries:

- What capabilities in terms of coherence, local ownership, gender and ICT has the EU developed in the selected policies clusters in each country?
- What factors account for the development (or lack thereof) of capabilities in the interrelated processes of policy design, implementation and change?
- What is the quality of these capabilities according to different stakeholders and in what ways do stakeholders think capabilities can be enhanced in these policy processes?

Based on the answer to the previous three questions an additional question is: what are the possibilities to enhance EU capabilities in the selected countries?

With regard to the *second level* we argue that in order to assess and enhance the capabilities of the EU we need to focus on EU policies and the ways these policies play out. The focus is on the interrelated processes of policy design, policy implementation and policy change, asking: in what ways were EU policies designed, and implemented, and how were policies changed or adapted over time. We are interested in *actions* undertaken by the EU, the *interactions* of the EU with other relevant actors, the *outcomes* as perceived by the different stakeholders, and the relevant *contexts* in which these policies were developed, were deployed and changed. In the box below we show the different relevant dimensions and questions of the policy process (see box 1). These second level questions will guide the research in the different case studies. The categories shown at the two axes in box 1 will be briefly introduced below.

	Actions	Interactions	Outcomes	Context
Policy Design	What was the policy plan?	Who designed policy? Who are relevant stakeholders? How is policy designed?	How was policy design assessed and perceived by stakeholders?	Which context(s) influence(s) design and how?
Policy Implementation	What are the main activities and actions undertaken?	Who implements policy? Who are relevant stakeholders? How is policy implemented? Was the process consensual or contested?	How is policy implementation perceived by stakeholders?	Which context(s) influence(s) implementation and how?
Policy Change and Adaptation	What are the main changes in the policies? Why did these occur?	How and why are policies changed? Who were responsible for changes? Who are relevant stakeholders? Were changes contested?	How are these changes explained and assessed by relevant stakeholders? How can (could) policies be (have been) improved?	Which context(s) influence(s) change and how?

Box 1 - Level 2 Questions About the Policy Process

Policy design, implementation and change are interrelated dimensions of the policy process and the distinction between them is made for analytical reasons. Policy design or development is about the phase in which decisions are made to start a policy, the objectives of a policy are discussed, (draft) policy documents or papers are produced, eventually leading to a moment that the policy can be implemented. Policy implementation (or deployment) is about the process in which actions and measures are undertaken. In many cases policy implementation involves processes of rethinking, (re-)negotiating objectives and roles in the process. These can be highly contested processes. Contention may be the result of the fact that the initial policy documents are too vague and do not provide enough guidance about implementation, or they may reflect a lack of consensus about objectives and procedures. Policy change is about the changes in the design and implementation. These can be smaller changes, or larger ones. They can be the result of changes in the context (re-escalation of conflict, new actors entering the policy area) or the result of new deals between stakeholders. Attention for these changes is of great importance, since – as indicated in previous chapters – it is a major challenge of the EU to adjust, re-negotiate, and re-design its policies in the face of new political dynamics or changes in the conflict.

The *actions* of EU policy are about the 'what' of these policies, and how the outcomes of these policies are assessed and perceived by different stakeholders. This item provides information about the vertical dimension of policy (see section research approach); about the intentions (as written down in policy documents) and actions (projects, initiatives, etc.) of the EU.

The *interactions* in policy focuses on the 'how', 'why' and 'who' of the policy. It asks how and why particular policies were designed, implemented, and changed. Thus, it focuses on the process dynamics, the chances (perceived, or real) to participate in these processes, the arrangements, mechanisms, or networks created to cooperate and coordinate in these processes. It also looks at the (degrees of) consensus and/or conflict in these policies. In the social process of policy we are interested in actors involved, their stances and interests, as well as their perceptions and frames. The process dimension provides information about the four cross-cutting themes: the involvement of actors in the policy process, the forms of interaction between international actors and (diverse) national ones (mostly top-down or bottom-up?), the use of ICT in these processes, the involvement of women in these processes.

As to the assessment of the choice for, and the *outcome and effectiveness* of these activities, we are interested in the experiences and assessments of all relevant stakeholders involved. These can be official counterparts of the EU (e.g. staff from government agencies, or NGOs), as well as staff of organizations that were not involved in the particular policy, but that are active in the same policy area, or well informed about developments in the particular policy area. Instead of determining what the benchmarks for evaluation of policy should be, we are interested in the criteria that different stakeholders find important. What policies do they deem relevant? When and why do they think (and argue) that a policy has been effective? What are points of discussion? In this regard it is also relevant to ask how these policies could have been improved according to key stakeholders and/or other knowledgeable persons. Do they think there are potential opportunities to further develop these policies? How and why?

Finally, the design, implementation and change of policies are highly context specific. The *context* is both important in understanding the type of problems that policies try to affect, as well as the very opportunities and limitations that policy makers have. Indeed, 'context' is not simply a given; it changes over time and is interpreted and represented in different ways by different stakeholders. Policy makers – and other stakeholders – do not have a 'fixed' room of manoeuver' but can also influence the 'context'. In this regard a distinction can be made between the 'volatile aspects' or 'windows of opportunity', and on the other hand to the 'more stable aspects of contexts' that are of a more structural nature (adapted from Guigni, 2009: 362). As mentioned in the section on research approach, there are different levels of context: global, regional, national and local. E.g. an important context can be the national re-escalation of conflict, or a change in the international approach towards the conflict or country.

The *first level* questions will be developed by research teams. Yin (2009: 87) stresses the importance to make a distinction between level one and level two questions. The level two questions are not necessarily the questions one will ask in the field. Yin (ibid) makes the comparison with a detective who has in mind 'what the course of events might have been [...] but the questions posed to any witness do or suspect (level one) do not necessarily betray the detective's thinking. The verbal line of inquiry is different from the mental line of inquiry, and this is the difference between level 1 and level 2 questions' (ibid). Obviously we do not want to suggest that our work resembles the work of a detective, and that our interviewees are

suspects, but it is important to emphasize that the questions asked in interviews have to be well prepared and thought through.

Chapter 6 – Review: Case Studies of EU Interventions

6.1 Introduction

The objective of WP3 is to review EU capabilities through assessing existing interventions in national contexts. As already discussed the focus is on three EU types of action: multi-track diplomacy, security sector and governance reforms, while in each cluster a number of themes will be analysed: multi-stakeholder coherence, local ownership, gender and information and communication technologies'. The research in work package 3 consists of four country studies in Georgia, Ukraine, Mali and Yemen, conducted by teams in these countries, and desk studies of relevant EU policies conducted by Utrecht University. This section focuses on the four country case studies and only briefly discusses the criteria of selection for the desk studies. Below we firstly discuss some of the main characteristics of the case centric approach, the criteria for selection of countries and the criteria for selection of policies per country, the sets of level 2 questions that will be addressed in each of the countries, as well as a brief reflection on the methods that will be used.

6.2 A Case centric Approach

We use a case study approach which enables us to investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context (Yin, 2008: 18). This type of research is especially relevant when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2009: 18). In addition, Swanborn (2010: 38-48) argues that case study research is relevant when detailed knowledge of a phenomenon is needed and in particular when the researcher wants to gain insight into social relations and interactions. An important feature of the 'case centric approach' is that the researchers do not start their research looking at a fixed number of variables but begin with a case that is somehow defined by a spatial, temporal or conceptual boundary and then must discover the most significant variables and values to describe the case or commonalities between cases (Curtis and Curtis, 2011: 7).

6.3 Research Question

The research question for the case studies is how has the EU developed its capabilities in the three policy domains and in relation to the four selected themes in the selected countries, and what are the main characteristics of the social and political processes in which these capabilities have evolved over the past one or two decades. While the research is informed by the existing

literature on EU capabilities, as well as scoping studies on three policy clusters and four crosscutting themes, it is primarily exploratory and empirical in that it looks for relevant factors (both contextual and internal to the EU), as well processes and patterns of interaction, that provide information about the ways in which the EU deploys, develops, and adapts its capabilities in multiple policy domains and in interaction with other stakeholders. On the basis of these data, and where possible, we will make comparisons between the overall EU capabilities in the countries and the EU capabilities in selected policies in and/or between the different countries.

6.4 Choice of Cases

In the three country studies we are interested to gain insight in the 'general picture' of EU presence and intervention and the EU capabilities to act and to coordinate and cooperate in a particular country context. The EU capability at the national level is thus the 'larger unit of analysis' (Yin, 2009: 52). We will also take a more in-depth look at selected policies (ideally 4, or 5) in each of these countries, which are subunits of analysis, or embedded cases (Yin, 2009: 52). The purpose of these in-depth studies of selected policies is to gain more detailed insight in the EU policy process and in the ways the EU capabilities are forged and used in selected policy areas.

In identifying the case study countries, several criteria were applied. Firstly, including a mix of cases from the European Neighbourhood and beyond, providing different types of contexts and conflict stages. Secondly, considering EU operations that have seen a longer-term presence contrasted with more recent engagements. Thirdly, we focus on countries that present imminent concerns with the EU and member states, and are on the political agenda of the EU. And finally, a key consideration was the availability of reliable and experienced research/consortium partners that can deliver the studies as envisaged.

The selection of the policies that will be discussed per country is based on several criteria. The research teams should argue why they have made a particular selection of policies/intervention, how this sample relates to the EU presence in general, what the strengths and weaknesses of the sample are, etc. Criteria for selection are: (a) Policies should be in the fields of MTD, GOV, or SSR; (b) They should be specific and focused to allow for fine grained research; e.g. not an Association Agreement or a Peace Process but a specific initiative within this; (c) They should relate to core WOSCAP themes such as inclusivity, coherence, comprehensiveness and /or technology/innovation; (d) There should be a diverse range of policies – which represent a broad /human security definition of security. Two points merit particular attention. Firstly, the different types of EU engagement: does the EU work on its own, or in coordination with other actors? Secondly, the level of intervention. Does intervention primarily focus on the local, national, or regional level?; (e) They should be salient and significant in terms of the EU's intervention in the country; (f) They should be researchable, and allow for original findings, not a repackaging of existing research; (g) A bonus is comparability between different desk studies.

In addition to the country studies Utrecht University will analyse EU policies in other countries. In this case the focus will be on EU capabilities in selected policy areas (e.g. SSR, rule of law reform, mediation). As to the selection policies, Utrecht University should argue why

they have made a particular choice and how that choice relates to EU policies in general and what the strengths and weaknesses of the selected cases are. Criteria for selection are similar to these for the country studies: (a) Policies should be in the fields of MTD, GOV, or SSR; (b) They should be specific and focused to allow for fine grained research; e.g. not an Association Agreement or a Peace Process but a specific initiative within this; (c) They should relate to core WOSCAP themes such as inclusivity, coherence, comprehensiveness and /or technology/innovation; (d) They should be salient and significant in terms of the EU's intervention in the country; (e) They should be researchable , and allow for original findings, not a repackaging of existing research; (f) A bonus is comparability/overlap with policies in other case study countries.

6.5 Topics and questions

The research in the four countries consists of three parts: (a) analysis of the national context and international involvement; (b) analysis of the EU presence in the national contexts, which takes into account its politics and policies during different phases of the conflict, and its relations with other national and international stakeholders; (c) analysis of selected EU interventions, with a focus on capabilities to act and to coordinate and cooperate. Below each of these parts is further discussed.

6.5.1 Conflict, Responses, Options

An analysis of the national context and the international presence per country will provide for an overview of the conflict setting (and changes therein), the efforts to resolve the conflict and the strategies and options to resolve the conflict today. It is suggested that the manual produced by Jonathan Goodhand (2002) on which this distinction is based, is used when developing this part of the research. In the analysis it is important to be as objective as possible and take into account the interpretations of the conflict and conflict resolution efforts of all relevant stakeholders (including armed groups, international organizations, neighbouring states). Different views can provide important information about the context in which the EU operates. Importantly, this part of the research is not meant to provide for a comprehensive overview of the conflict and of the efforts to resolve the conflict, but rather to provide the **relevant background information** which is indispensable to understand the next sections that focus on the EU.

Questions that guide this part of the research are:

- As to the conflict: What are the characteristics of the conflict in the country. What are the main parties, issues, background factors, most important changes and dynamics of the conflict?
- As to responses: What has the international involvement in the conflict been over the past decade or so (international organizations, states, non-state actors)?

• As to strategies / options. What are currently the main efforts to resolve the conflict? What are bottlenecks? What are the attitudes and perceptions of different stakeholders about strategies of conflict resolution? E.g. resistance, hesitance.

6.5.2 EU Presence

The objective of the section is to get an overview of the EU presence and policies.

Questions that can guide this part of the research are:

- How has the relation between the country and the EU developed over the past 10 – 20 years? Which policies has the EU implemented in the selected countries in that period? What is the importance of individual member states in the selected countries?
- What are the most important EU policies with regard to conflict and (human) security in general? What are the most important policies with regard to MTD, SSR, or GOV in the selected countries in the selected periods?
- Which other policies or engagement of the EU (e.g. association agreements, development aid, diplomacy) are relevant in the given time period?
- (How) Does the EU internally coordinate its policies with regard to each of the countries?

6.5.3 Selected EU policies

In this part of the research the focus is on selected policies. It should be clearly explained why policies have been selected. This section should focus on the design, implementation and changes of the selected policies (see section Mid-Level research questions).

Below we give an overview of each of three sets of questions for the design, implementation and change of policy respectively:

- How is the EU policy designed?
 - What does/did the EU set out to do? What were its original plans?
 - To which (one or several) of the three policies clusters does the policy belong?
 - What were the underlying principles of these policies (as stated in policy documents or as expressed by relevant EU staff)?
 - Why did the EU (and possible other actors) decide to develop this policy? What are the formal explanations (policy statements)? What are alternative claims about the reasons to develop the policy of EU and non-EU actors?
 - What was the gender dimension in these plans?
 - Was there any mention to ICT projects in these plans?
 - How was the policy design assessed by different stakeholders? What criteria are relevant according to different stakeholders? Why do they think so?

- Which agency (agencies) or institution within the EU was (were) responsible?
 Which other (non-EU) actors were involved? Did the EU look for broad based support? Why (not)? If so, how? Were specific member states key drivers behind the policy?
- Where there any other international agencies working in this field or on this topic? If so, was there contact between the EU and these organizations?
- Looking at the broader 'policy area' what was the view of other relevant actors in the relevant policy area towards the plans of the EU? Was the policy of the EU – at the time of its development – welcomes, contested?
- What was the conflict situation when the EU developed its policy?
- In what way did the policy intend to address the conflict situation (either directly or indirectly)?

• How is EU policy implemented?

- What kind of actions or activities did the EU undertake?
- What were the most important actors (national and international) the EU worked with? Why and how did it get in contact with these actors?
- What was the nature of the relationships with each of these actors? E.g. where local actors involved in activities, contracted, consulted? Did the EU use any incentives to foster co-operation?
- Which other actors (national and international) were involved in the policy process? What were their roles and / or levels of participation in these policies? (In case the EU was a stakeholder in initiatives with other international and national actors, how did the EU become involved and what was its role in the policy process?)
- Did the EU create any networks or mechanisms with local / international actors?
- How was gender taken in the implementation of the policy?
- How was ICT taken into account in the implementation of the policy?
- Which developments in the international/regional/national/local contexts affected the implementation of the policy? Which developments are important to know as background information to understand the ways the EU policy was implemented? What were the main problems or contestations during the implementation of the programme? Was there resistance against implementation of the programmes, either from within the EU institutions, or on the part of partners and target groups?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses according to key stakeholders (EU, non-EU) of the program? Were there differences in the views of the different actors?
- What important changes did EU policy undergo? (How) was EU policy adapted?
 - Were there changes in the program? What kind of changes?

- Is it possible to identify 'phases' of EU policy implementation (E.g. a phase of easy implementation, followed by resistance and contestation)? What are the main characteristics of these phases?
- How and why did these changes take place? E.g. changes in context, contestations.
- How are these changes evaluated by different relevant stakeholders?
- How could policies be (have been) improved according to different stakeholders?
- Which relevant context factors contributed to these changes?

6.6 Country studies - Methods

6.6.1 Identifying key stakeholders and data collection

The methods used in the country studies will be determined and further elaborated in the proposal of the country teams. The teams will use a variety of methods, consisting of literature review (policy documents, evaluations, academic articles, policy reports, etc.), semi-structured interviews with a range of stakeholders, participant observation and focus groups. The choice of methods per country will be described in the plans for each country.

Since the research aims to provide for more fine-grained information of selected EU policies processes, that includes a wide range of stakeholders that may have different views of the policy process, the identification and selection of stakeholders and clear procedures about the level one questions asked to them are necessary as will be briefly discussed below.

The identification of 'key stakeholders' is an important part of the research process. It is important that researchers argue why the experiences and views of certain stakeholders have been included. Stakeholders can either play a role in the policy process (the EU, government agencies, civil society organizations, non-state armed groups); be involved in similar policies in the same policy area (e.g. another SSR program); not be involved in any of the policies in the policy area, but possess knowledge about the policy area (such as think tanks, journalists, researchers, NGOs); being affected by the policies (target groups); other *relevant* actors that are not involved (e.g. warring parties).

Stakeholders can provide various types of information. A first type of information is documentation. The EU itself will have documentation about most of its policies. There may also be evaluations of policies, either by the EU or other stakeholders. Furthermore, there may be correspondence about policies between different stakeholders, or notes of meetings between stakeholders.

Since in most cases stakeholders will be collective actors like organizations, agencies, parties, etc., it is important to be aware that information that comes from individuals in these organizations does do not necessarily represent the position or view of the organization. In this regard, the formal point of view of the organization can be quite different from the experiences, tacit knowledge and opinions of staff working in the organization. Researchers should take into account these positions of staff. This is also important when respondents are

asked about their experience with and assessments of EU policy. It should be clear on the basis of what information stakeholders or others make their claims or express their views. The statement that a policy had 'no effect' or was 'a success' is of less interest than the explanation why and how a policy had a certain effect. In other words, we are primarily interested in the experience of different stakeholders and in how stakeholders assess this experience.

Chapter 7 – WP4: Reflections on EU Capabilities

7.1 Top down and bottom up perspectives

A core pillar of the project is engagement by practitioners in the task of enhancing EU capabilities in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The aim is to focus on the practical challenges of operationalising the EU's normative goals in external relations, and to bring together academic, policy, practice and grass roots perspectives, identifying, analysing and resolving these challenges. This is consistent with the WOSCAP proposition that effective, inclusive and sustainable approaches to peacebuilding need to reflect both top-down and bottom-up points of view. How this is and can be achieved in practice, especially given a more robust and nuanced definition of inclusive and sustainable proposed by the project on the basis of a Whole-of-Society approach, will be the focus of our investigations and discussions within the Reflect phase of WOSCAP.

Work Package 4 is designed as both an evidence gathering and a discursive exercise within the project methodology. In this WP the project will incorporate and build on the existing knowledge and expertise of multiple constituencies: those involved in designing and implementing EU policy and those who are intended to benefit from it, or whom it affects. In our project proposal we have characterised these constituencies not just as 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' but as the 'supply and demand sides' of intervention. On the supply side the aim is to propose concepts and changes in practice and tools which will make EU actions more effective, robust, and legitimate over the long term; The 'demand side' of interventions prompts us to look at the challenges of raising awareness and engagement, increasing possibilities for holding EU interventions to account, and contributing to the resilience of conflict-affected societies through problematizing issues of long-term assistance, and engaging grass-roots stakeholders in discussions about effectiveness and sustainability (Grant Agreement, 2014: pp. 63)

Both evidence gathering and discussion will aim to analyse lessons learned and identify 'good practice', seeking to define what constitutes 'good practice', and analysing concrete examples of processes and tools. The evidence base will draw on empirical findings in the case study countries undertaken as part of Work Package 3, findings from further investigation of the clusters (multi-track diplomacy, security sector reform and governance reform), and inputs from research on cross-cutting themes (local ownership, gender, civil-military synergies, multi-stakeholder coherence and ICTs).

The 'Reflect' process provides a framework to develop objective understandings of EU capabilities, which are a pre-requisite for exploring changes in EU practice. Within this framework we look at practice in two dimensions: the horizontal spectrum of interlocking policy domains across which interventions are implemented, and the vertical integration of multiple intervention levels and actors in the peacebuilding process. Lessons learned and the identification of good practice will focus on how capabilities are deployed, and where, how and why this deployment is seen as either beneficial/successful or unsuccessful in terms of inclusivity and sustainability.

In line with our assumption that there is a need for tailored approaches, and our proposal to regard 'EU capabilities' not as a generic tool kit or set of resources, but an approach to intervention and the deployment of a capacity to act, our mapping of practices and lessons, does not aim at formulating better solutions per se, or compiling so-called 'best practices'. We assert that there are no ideal solutions that fit the diversity of conflict situations and contexts the EU is dealing with. We are therefore cautious in our approach to '*best* practices' and 'lessons learned', and focus on principles, processes and tools that need to be assembled, deployed and adapted each time, recognising both the supply and demand logics of the situation in the best imaginable combination given the problem at hand. This assemblage of *principia media* is contingent on prevailing conditions (context and opportunity) as opposed to any blueprint or one-size-fits-all approach. Thus 'Reflect' will concentrate on generating 'how-to-do' findings rather than arriving at 'what-to-do' prescriptions. It will provide a critical-constructive analysis which seeks out and examines *good* practices from a range of contexts and perspectives, through problematizing the gaps, disconnects and challenges which currently prevent optimal implementation of EU policy.

7.2 Leveraging the Evidence Base

A primary task is to identify and document experiences of peacebuilding and conflict prevention as they pertain to the key themes of WOSCAP – whether they dispose intervention to be inclusive and sustainable. This exercise will have access to original data from the country case studies and micro-investigations of EU interventions within those country contexts. It will also use the findings of additional investigations by cluster and thematic teams to build an understanding of key practices, principles and tools in achieving inclusivity and sustainability.

The cross-cutting themes in particular – on gender, local ownership, multi-stakeholder coherence and civil-military synergies – will provide entry points for a detailed analysis of the horizontal and vertical integration of EU actions (across policy domains and involving multiple actor constituencies). They allow us to reflect on the extent to which deployment is inclusive and sustainable – in other words whether EU interventions are disposed towards 'Whole-of-Society' model, as outlined in the previous chapter. Local ownership and gender reflect desired ideals of peacebuilding and conflict prevention to take account of the views of people who are marginalised in traditional/classic forms of security policy and thus improve the credibility, viability and representative legitimacy – the 'buy-in' of external actions. Topics such as the private sector and peacebuilding, and the use of technology are areas for additional original research which will help the project develop its core propositions about a 'Whole-of-Society' approach to EU capabilities, and how ideals such as inclusivity and sustainability can be operationalised, as well as suggesting avenues for practice change.

Combining these ingredients within the process of reflection will enrich our conceptualisation of EU peacebuilding, and provide a more nuanced base of evidence from which to suggest practice change. Thus in the second phase of the project, the aim is to create knowledge of practices, which is geographically and contextually specific, drawing on the country case studies, and also wide-ranging, using research on clusters and cross-cutting themes to generate data and analysis from diverse contexts, and from a range of actors within the EU, within other international organisations and civil society. This knowledge base consists

not only of empirical data and focused analysis from specialised cluster and thematic research, but also the inputs of stakeholders, providing experiential perspectives. A qualitative review will be carried out amongst relevant EU policymakers and staff in Brussels to assess the institutional framework in relation to the EU's Comprehensive Approach to conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

7.3 Communities of Practice

In Work Package 4, the project will bring together research findings and experiential inputs in platforms which enable them to be exchanged and discussed. 'Reflect', in order to crystallise past successes and encourage ongoing improvements, will involve interactive, on and off-line engagement and consultation with practitioners and policymakers, as well as beneficiary groups. Our approach to this engagement is to ensure peer review of our evidence base (from WP3 and the cluster and thematic studies) stakeholder consultations and policy-practice dialogues on research topics, and to combine analysis of EU policy and institutional landscape with needs on the ground.

These combinations and discussions will form the core of a Communities of Practice, defined as 'groups formed by practitioners who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of activity'. It implies a shared identity, which is defined by what the group does, a commitment to the activity (in this case conflict prevention and peacebuilding), and a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people' (see Annex 1). CoPs are central in providing a framework and structure for reflection, which captures the multi-actor, multi-directional dynamics at the heart of externally led peacebuilding: from the 'inside out' (the transfer of intra-EU concerns to conflict-affected societies), 'outside in' (the transmission of the views and needs of local societies and intervention beneficiaries to external practitioners) as well as 'inside-inside', and 'outside – outside' interactions within discrete constituencies of peacebuilding actors and networks.

Communities of Practice will not only validate the knowledge/ evidence base, but generate ideas and opportunities for practice change. Activities will identify salient practice examples using thematic axes of local ownership, gender, multi-stakeholder coherence, civil-military synergy and the use of ICTs. The CoPs will also serve to identify a future research agenda and priorities around EU conflict prevention and response. An online workspace will be used to organise the findings and complement face to face engagement with experts and stakeholders.

This methodology of Communities of Practice to implement stakeholder engagement involves a recognition and instrumentalisation of multiple interfaces within conflict prevention and peacebuilding. It is consistent with our theoretical approach that the relational dynamics within conflict and peacebuilding are critical to a robust and organic understanding of crisis and crisis response, and they also inform the EU's capacity to act.

The findings of WP4 activities (additional research, Communities of Practice discussions) will be presented in a workshop along with the case study reports and comparative analysis. The community of practice will tap into the wide network of subject matter experts

and practitioners as well as policymakers and security sector representatives which the consortium members are already working with from around the globe.

To aid its assessment of existing EU capabilities, and to develop forward looking proposals consistent with our approach outlined above, the project will incorporate a number of cross-cutting themes. These relate to the range of principles, processes and tools that can enhance coherence and context-specific interventions. The themes help us problematize and address the practical dilemmas and operational challenges facing the EU across its civilian toolkit. They will be used as an analytical device for assessing existing capabilities, and as criteria for benchmarking EU policies, tools and actions. Each theme also represents a normative ambition for the EU to be a distinctive and capable peace actor with a contextual approach. The themes have been selected based on their relevance to the scope of the project as provided in the sections above. Overlap and linkage between the individual themes means that together they will enable us to realise a 'Whole-of-Society' approach to our investigations.

- Multi-stakeholder coherence: IRENE will look at the EU's choice of partners, the effectiveness of key multilateral relationships, such as with the UN, the OSCE and other regional actors, and the potential for more creative peacebuilding partnerships including with civil society and the private sector. The findings will relate to the EU and member states' policy developments on a 'Comprehensive Approach'.
- Local ownership: The LSE will examine the accountability of EU policies towards local actors, inclusiveness and the outside-inside/external-local dynamics of EU peacebuilding, including to what extent EU engagements respond to local demand for assistance and reform. It will seek evidence and make recommendations on how different cultural concepts of ownership and local empowerment can be operationalised.
- Gender: ECP will examine whether and how the EU integrates and implements its gender commitments in its peace operations and missions, it will look at dilemmas and obstacles that may constrain implementation and it will assess the degree of inclusiveness with regards gender (participation of women and integration of gender perspective) of EU conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts.
- Civil-military synergies: EU policy on civil-military relations currently focuses on humanitarian assistance. GPPAC will build on a related initiative to inform how the EU should conceive of its civil-military relations policy 'vis a vis' the broader approach to conflict prevention and peacebuilding, including governance and SSR. This will include the quality of relationship between the public, civilian government and security forces, and how security forces relate to civilian humanitarian, development, conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts.

 Information and Communication Technologies (ICT): an interdisciplinary, sociotechnical perspective allows us to investigate the opportunities, operational barriers and ethical dilemmas presented by the use of particular technologies.
 LSE, in collaboration with the specialized social enterprise Build Up, will pay attention to formal and informal practices, by various peacebuilding actors in specific peacebuilding contexts. This will inform our assessment of EU capabilities, and provide a more complete picture of technology needs and how technology can serve the operational goals of the EU. Examining the application of 'benevolent' ICT will also reveal actual and potential synergies between military and civilian capabilities.

The thematic investigations will provide a source of empirical and analytical knowledge on which to base the project's conclusions and recommendations. This process will include an outreach and engagement strategy with a wide range of practitioners in order to inform practical recommendations and ensure impact beyond the project duration.

Annex 1 – Lexicon

8.1 Acronyms

CMCO – Civil Military Co-ordination CSDP – The Common Security and Defence Policy CIMIC – Civil Military Co-operation CoP – Community of Practice SSR – Security Sector Reform IO – International Organization NGO – Non-Governmental Organization EPLO – European Peacebuilding Liaison Office EEAS – European External Action Service RRRI - Review, Reflect, Recommend and Innovate

8.2 Concepts

Accountability

The acknowledgement and assumption of responsibility for actions, decisions and policies. Accountability describes a relationship between the person or organisation, and those they are accountable to. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Capacity building

The process of enhancing, improving and unleashing skills, competencies and abilities (GPPAC Glossary, 2015).

Civilian Capabilities

Civilian capabilities are the operational tools and instruments, non-military, used to perform civilian crisis management objectives and tasks.

Civil-Military Relations

This is an umbrella term used to describe the range of relationships between civilians and the military. Democratic civil-military relations require civilian oversight of the security sector. The EU security strategy emphasizes that the four threats facing the EU (terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts and state failure (European Security Strategy, 2003: pp.3)) cannot be addressed with the military alone.

Civilian crisis management

Civilian crisis management is an EU term to describe non-military crisis management used in EU CSDP missions. At the European Council meeting in June 2000 in Feira, four priority areas for EU civilian crisis management were identified: 1) Police; 2) Rule of Law; 3) Civilian Administration; and 4) Civil Protection.

Civil Military Co-ordination (CMCO)

It aims to coordinate the military with civilians for an overall civilian purpose. It is defined as an "effective co-ordination of the actions of all relevant EU actors involved in the planning and the subsequent implementation of EU's response to the crisis" (Council Doc. 14457/03, 2003)

Civil-Military Humanitarian Co-ordination

It is a specialized sub-set of CMCO and is defined as "the essential dialogue and interaction between civilian and military actors in humanitarian emergencies that is necessary to protect and promote humanitarian principles, avoid competition, minimize inconsistency, and when appropriate pursue common goals. Basic strategies range from coexistence to co-operation".

Civil Military Co-operation (CIMIC)

It is also a sub-set of CMCO and aims to coordinate civilians with the military to support the military missions. It also refers to co-operation at operational and tactical levels "with the specific aim of connecting and making use of military capabilities in theatre for the co-ordination of and co-operation with national, international and non-governmental civilian actors."

Civil-Military synergies

Synergies between civilian and military capabilities are required to increase co-operation and co-ordination of action, in order to improve general effectiveness, in coherence with the comprehensive approach concept. Civil-military synergies include shared pool of resources, dual use of military personnel and equipment, administrative co-operation and co-ordination.

Civil society

"The concept of "CSOs" embraces a wide range of actors with different roles and mandates. The EU considers CSOs to include all non-State, not-for-profit structures, non-partisan and non -violent, through which people organise to pursue shared objectives and ideals, whether political, cultural, social or economic." (European Commission, 2012).

Community of Practice

CoPs are groups formed by practitioners who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of activity. It implies a shared identity, which is defined by what the group does, a commitment to the activity (in this case conflict prevention and peacebuilding), and a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people.

Comprehensive Approach

The Council of the European Union defines it as "both a general working method and a set of concrete measures and processes to improve how the EU, based on a common strategic vision and drawing on its wide array of existing tools and instruments, collectively can develop, embed and deliver more coherent and more effective policies, working practices, actions and results." (Council of the EU, 2014). The EU Comprehensive Approach to External Conflict and Crisis of December 2013 suggests the need for synergy amongst the conflict prevention, development and security activities of the Commission, the Council and other international agencies.

Conflict

A conflict is a clash between antithetical ideas or interests – within a person or involving two or more persons, groups or states pursuing mutually incompatible goals. Like all social phenomena, conflicts are usually complex and may emerge on different levels. Each and every conflict has its own history, features and dynamics. Conflicts may either be manifest through behaviour and action, or latent, remaining inactive for some time, while incompatibilities are not articulated or are part of structures (political system, institutions, etc.) (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 10-11).

Conflict Management

It focuses on how to control, handle and mitigate an open conflict and how to limit the potential damage caused by its escalation. Like prevention, it can include military and non-military components. It is mainly understood as looking for ways to deal with conflict constructively and aiming to engage opposing sides in a cooperative process that can establish a workable system for managing their differences (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 18).

Conflict Prevention

It entails four pillars of short to medium-term activities in conflict-prone environments identifying situations that could result in violence, reducing manifest tensions, preventing existing tensions from escalating and removing sources of danger before violence occurs. While prevention activities should ideally be undertaken pro-actively, most are usually applied in a post-war setting, in order to prevent a renewed outbreak of fighting. Typical tools and methods include early warning, confidence- and security-building measures, preventive diplomacy and preventive peacekeeping, and peace education (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 17). These actions and strategies aim to prevent violence from starting or restarting by addressing factors driving conflict towards violence. Operational prevention focuses on short-term crisis response, whereas structural prevention focuses on long-term efforts to address root causes such as economic, social and political exclusion of some groups. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Conflict Sensitivity

An approach to programming and policymaking that aims to minimise unintentional negative impacts of interventions in conflict-affected contexts; also known as the Do No Harm approach. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Conflict Resolution

It focuses on the deep-rooted causes of conflict, including structural, behavioural and above all, attitudinal aspects. Generally speaking, conflict resolution aims to help parties to explore, analyse, question and reframe their positions and interests as a way of transcending conflict and find further resolutions instead of resorting to violence (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 18). The process of facilitating a peaceful ending to armed conflict, often through negotiation, diplomacy and other peacebuilding efforts.

Conflict Transformation

It is best described as a complex process of constructively changing relationships, attitudes, behaviours, interests and discourses in violence-prone conflict settings. Importantly, it also addresses underlying structures, cultures and institutions that encourage and condition violent political and social conflict. It is a multi-dimensional, non-linear and unpredictable process involving many different actors in moving from latent and overt violence to structural and cultural peace (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 23f).

Dialogue

It implies mutual understanding or the desire to identify common ground between the parties involved. It is a process that brings together actors from across a conflict divide, using confidence building measures in order to develop a common understanding of the concerns, interests, and needs of each side (GPPAC Glossary, 2015) Initiating, organising and facilitating dialogues have become one of the key methods of peacebuilding. At the same time, dialogues are no substitute for efforts to address structural causes and engage with the power-political aspects of the conflict (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 29).

Dialogue refers to "an open-ended process which aims primarily at creating a culture of communication and search for common ground, leading to confidence building and improved interpersonal understanding among representatives of opposing parties which, in turn, can help to prevent conflict and be a means in reconciliation and peace-building processes. Successful dialogue can de-escalate conflict and render more formal mediation unnecessary" (Council of the European Union, 2009, 3).

(Dialogue) Facilitation

Facilitation is a third-party approach which "does not necessarily strive to reach an agreement... [but] primarily seeks to improve the relationship between the parties. Consequently, the participants in facilitated encounters do not have to be mandated to enter into a binding agreement" (Berghof Foundation, 2012, 50).

Diplomacy

"Diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy and influence which might be used to advance strategic interests as well as to support (or export) the normative values of peace, human rights, democracy, development etc. It encompasses four distinct (but overlapping) strategies that can be employed consecutively or simultaneously (albeit rarely by the same individuals or organisations) to effect change: negotiation, mediation, facilitation and dialogue" (Dudouet and Dressler, 2015:7).

Early warning [and Early Response]

It refers to the efforts to detect and prevent the escalation of violent conflicts early on or at the moment it emerges, instead of responding later. It can also be defined as an instrument, which aims to detect any development of violence. An Early Warning system is the systematic collection and sorting of early warning information, packaged and communicated to inform early response actions. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

The EU Early Warning System involves the EU External Action Service, the European Commission, Member States and civil society organisations; including those in-country and in headquarters. In this context, staff across the EU operations is encouraged to "identify and communicate where they see long-term risks for violent conflict and/or deterioration in a country or region and to stimulate early preventive actions to address those risks." (EEAS, 2014)

Gender

The socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviours, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to male and female identities. While biological sex is determined by genetic and anatomical characteristics, gender is an acquired identity that is learned, changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures. A gender sensitive approach implies an awareness of how different people and groups think about gender, to minimise relying on assumptions and traditions. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Gender as defined by the EU refers to the socially constructed differences, as opposed to the biological ones, between women and men; this means differences that have been learned, are changeable over time, have wide variations both within and between cultures.

Gender in Peacebuilding

This refers to the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of policy process – design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation – and into all policies of the Union, with a view to promoting equality between women and men. (European Commission, 2011). A gender analysis uncovers how gender relations affect a conflict situation. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming should be seen as a continuous process – a systematic effort to integrate gender at all levels, in all areas and into all stages of policy making and implementation processes. This requires not only adding gender perspective to the content of the different policy areas but also addressing the issue of representation of men and women in the given field based on concrete objectives, targets and a clear action plan." (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2015)

Governance

Governance is a set of social, political and private institutions from and beyond government coming together in collective action with the aim and purpose to shape, rule and/or control society and state. Although governance per definition is an act, there can never be any actions without actors behind them. Governance tackles issues about the distribution of power, the actors involved or excluded from the process and the way the agreed rules should be enforced. (Dudouet and Lundström, 2013). Governance covers three possible dimensions: (1) governance steered by the state (governance by government); (2) governance through cooperative networks of public and private actors (governance with government); (3) governance by non-state actors and self-regulation by civil society (governance without government) (Risse, 2013: 9)

Democratic Governance (EU definition)

"The EC distinguishes between three dimensions of democratic governance: a) the core governance issues of rules, interests, resources and power; b) the governance principles: 'participation'; 'inclusion'; 'transparency' and 'accountability'; c.) the governance themes or governance clusters: (i) support to democratization, (ii) promotion and protection of human rights, (iii) reinforcement of the rule of law and the administration of justice, (iv) enhancement of the role of civil society, (v) public administration reform, management of public finances and civil service reform, (vi) decentralization and local government reform." (European Commission, 2008: 5)

Governance reform support (whole-of-society approach)

Governance reform support is any coordinated action or initiative that aims to strengthen inclusive governance structures, processes, and outcomes by increasing their accessibility, representativeness, and responsiveness to all segments of society. (Lundström and Dressler, 2015: 8). "Governance reform support has a threefold purpose: 1) providing support to core political decision-making structures and institutions from and beyond government; 2) strengthening state-society relations by supporting the active participation of civil society, the private sector and marginalised social groups in governance institutions, processes, and outcomes; and 3) strengthening governance outcomes through increased legislative, policy, and service delivery responsiveness towards the whole spectra of society" (Lundström and Dressler, 2015: 8)

Human Security

It is a concept and an approach to security, which frames the analysis of security and insecurity, and security policy and practice in terms of individuals. It seeks to reflect and address a broad range of threats and security problems, which are related to individual existence, rather than the safeguarding of states or international organisations. For this reason it is regarded as a comprehensive approach to security expressed in three types of individual rights: freedom from fear, freedom from want and the right to dignity.

Human security has been articulated as a set of principles, called the Human Security Doctrine. These principles include the primacy of human rights, the need for a bottom-up approach, the importance of working with a legitimate political authority and effective multilateralism. (Wall and Aulin, 014; HSSG, 2004, 2007; Kuhne, 2008; Martin and Owen, 2014)

Impartiality

Not favouring one group, belief system, culture or tradition over another, but looking at all options in a just and unbiased way. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015) Impartiality is understood negatively, in the sense of being not connected to either disputant, not biased towards either side, and having nothing to gain from aiding either protagonist (Young 1967). It could also be translated more positively in terms of balance, or even-handedness. (Dudouet and Dressler, 2015: 27)

Inclusivity

It refers to the degree of access to decision-making by various actors concerned with/affected by a given conflict or political settlement, beyond the most powerful (pre-war) elites – both by participating (directly or indirectly), or by having their concerns addressed by the state. Levels of inclusivity can be both assessed internally (within a single actor or institution), at the interactor level (when different actors or institutions come together in a dialogue or governance platform), or externally (towards 'non-elites' who do not participate in a political settlement) (Dudouet and Lundström, 2013).

Intersectionality

It was originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to point out that the subordination and discrimination of black women did not occur along a single axis (gender or race) and was more than the sum of both. Intersectionality referred to the interaction between the different forms of subordination. Since this initial definition, this category of analysis has expanded to refer to the "interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis, 2008). Some authors have expanded the notion to include not only race, class and gender but also the intersections of any social statuses including sexuality, religion, ethnicity, and age (Jones, Misra and McCurley, 2013).

Local Ownership

It is a normative concept, which envisages that local people control reform and reconstruction processes in the context of an external intervention. Local ownership is seen as a prerequisite for the legitimacy and effectiveness of any intervention, and implies a redistribution of power within the peacebuilding relationship. It includes attempts to bring together policy-level initiatives and perspectives with the views and expectations of end-users of security among populations in conflict-affected societies.

Mediation

Mediation aims to reach agreement among two or more conflict parties through negotiation processes, through the intervention of a third party who is responsible for directing and supporting the flow of communication, and assisting the parties to design a solution to address the dispute. The mediator needs to be accepted by the parties, which usually implies some measure of neutrality, impartiality or multi-partiality. (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 49-50). Dialogue can be used as a tool for mediation.

In the context of EU foreign policy, Mediation can be defined as "intervention(s) in the multi-layered environment in a process of peacebuilding or crises management by an intermediary representing the EU ... who actively support the conflict parties in settling their conflict or resolving their differences without resorting to physical force or invoking arbitration; by negotiating an agreement which is mutually acceptable to the parties and in line with relevant national or international law, standards or norms" (Davis, 2014, 38).

Herrberg, Gunduz and Davis (2009) have conceptualised three models of international peace mediation, anchored in distinct peacebuilding schools or paradigms – most commonly labelled as conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation: (1) Power-based, deal-brokering mediation is led by powerful third-parties who use their leverage, incentives and threats of punishments ('carrot and stick' strategies) and manipulative tactics in order to get the parties reach a settlement. (2) Interest-based, problem-solving mediation is employed by facilitators promoting the parties' ownership of the process and outcome in order to generate creative solutions satisfying the underlying interests of all parties, and who draw on external expertise and parallel tracks to address 'sticking points' through confidence-building measures. (3) Transformative, long-term mediation is conducted by interventions at different levels that support the empowerment and recognition of a broad variety of actors in conflict societies with the aim to change the relationships between the parties as well as their self- and mutual perceptions (Dudouet and Dressler, 2015:9).

Multi-Stakeholder Approach

It refers to a reflection on the EU's choice of partners in order to act coherently in the field of peacebuilding and conflict prevention. The term "multi-stakeholder approach" does not exist as such, neither in EU official documents, nor in the literature. It has been an intrinsic part of the EU's Comprehensive Approach, based on co-operation and collaboration among multiple actors involved in a situation, in order to promote better decision-making and effectiveness on the ground. In the particular case of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, the aim of the EU in implementing a multi-stakeholder approach is to improve the effectiveness of key multilateral relationships, with other international actors such as the UN, the OSCE or regional actors, but also with the local stakeholder, meaning the civil society and the private sector.

Multi-track diplomacy

It describes the web of interconnected activities, individuals and institutions that cooperate to prevent or resolve conflicts peacefully, primarily through (direct or mediated) dialogue and negotiation. The term 'multi-track' refers to interventions targeting multiple levels of society

and decision-making simultaneously and in an inter-connected (or at best coordinated) manner. These interventions on different tracks include:

- **Track I**: Official discussions between high-level governmental and military leaders focusing on ceasefires, peace talks, treaties and other agreements.
- **Track II**: unofficial dialogue and problem-solving activities aimed at building relationships between civil society leaders.
- **Track III**: People-to-people interactions at the grassroots level to encourage interaction and understanding between communities through meetings, media exposure, political and legal advocacy for marginalized people and communities (Diamond and McDonald, 1993; Lederach, 1998).

Negotiations

"Negotiation can be broadly defined as a direct encounter aiming to reach an agreement on a situation that is perceived as a problem or conflict. As bluntly but accurately expressed by Fisher and Ury (1992, xvii), "negotiation is a basic means of getting what you want from others"" (quoted in Dudouet and Dressler, 2015:7).

Non-state Armed Groups

"Groups operating primarily within state borders engaged in violent attempts to challenge or reform the balance and structure of political and economic power, to avenge past injustices and/or to defend or control resources, territory or institutions for the benefit of a particular ethnic or social group" (Ricigliano, 2005:98)

Peace

Peace, as defined by Johan Galtung, can be distinguished into negative and positive peace. Negative peace describes peace as the absence of war or direct physical violence. A positive notion of peace also includes an increase in social justice and the creation of a culture of peace within and across societies. Most scholars agree that peace is a complex, long-term and multilayered process. Therefore, peace is not only a matter for diplomats but is an ongoing task for stakeholders at all levels of society (Berghof Glossary, 2012: 60-61).

The EU draws its understanding of peace on its own values and principles "that have inspired its creation, development and enlargement" (Title V, Article 21). These principles translate into foreign policy goals inspired by a comprehensive definition of peace which includes not only security and stability (i.e. absence of armed violence), but also addresses the root causes of conflict by promoting democracy, good governance, human rights, sustainable development, and human security." (Dudouet and Dressler, 2015: 6)

Peace Operations and Peace Missions

They refer to any international peace-making, peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, peacebuilding or preventive diplomacy operations that include a multinational military force aimed at restoring or preserving peace.

Peacebuilding

It comprises a wide range of efforts by diverse actors in government and civil society to address the root causes of violence before, during and after violent conflict. This process addresses the factors driving and mitigating conflict in order to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of fighting. Peacebuilding can also refer to efforts to coordinate a comprehensive, multileveled, multisector strategy, including development, humanitarian assistance, governance, security, justice, and other sectors that may not use the term "peacebuilding" to describe themselves. (Schirch, 2013). Peacebuilding has three overarching goals: transforming the structural contradictions which underlie the conflict; improving the relations between conflict parties; and changing individual attitudes and behaviour (Berghof Foundation, 2012, 62-63).

Peace enforcement

It is the threat or use of non-defensive military force to impose, maintain, or restore a ceasefire.

Peacekeeping

It is the deployment of a lightly armed, multinational contingent of military personnel for no enforcement purposes, such as the observation of a cease-fire.

Peace making

It is the attempt to resolve an ongoing conflict, either by peaceful means such as mediation and negotiation, or, if necessary, by the authorizing of an international military force to impose a settlement to the conflict.

Preventive diplomacy

It is the action to prevent conflicts from starting in the first place or spreading to neighbouring territories.

Policy

It refers to a defined programme of action - including official statements, funding priorities, system of laws and regulatory measures - concerning a characteristic topic promulgated by one or several public or governmental authorities.

Rule of law

The principle that everything within the state, including the state itself, is ruled by, and subject to the law. This law is understood as being represented by a body that speaks on behalf of the people, and should be enforced equally and independently to ensure fairness. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Security sector

Includes 'core security actors (e.g. armed forces, police, gendarmerie, border guards, customs and immigration, and intelligence and security services); security management and oversight bodies (e.g. ministries of defence and internal affairs, financial management bodies and public complaints commissions); justice and law enforcement institutions (e.g. the judiciary, prisons, prosecution services, traditional justice systems); and non-statutory security forces (e.g. private security companies, guerrilla armies and private militia). (OECD, 2005, p. 5)

Security Sector Reform

SSR aims to improve civil-military relations in partner countries. The EU uses the OECD definition of SSR, which aims at "seeking to increase partner countries' ability to meet the range of security needs within their societies in a manner consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of governance, transparency and the rule of law. SSR includes, but extends well beyond, the narrower focus of more traditional security assistance on defence, intelligence and policing." (OECD, 2005)

The UN defines security sector reform as "a process of assessment, review and implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation of the security sector, led by national authorities, and that has as its goal the enhancement of effective and accountable security for the State and its peoples, without discrimination and with full respect of human rights and the rule of law." (UNSG, 2008).

Stability

Stability is the ability of a political system, a government or a conflict settlement to remain unchanged – which does not mean that it cannot be reformed within the limits of defined norms. In the context of peacebuilding it is often joined by stabilisation, which refers to the process of transforming an unstable situation into a stable one. In this specific context, it means in the strictest sense ending violence and restoring security and the rule of law (often labelled as negative peace).

Stakeholder

Anyone who has a stake or interest in a specific problem or issue is a stakeholder —those who are affected by a particular problem (e.g. conflict), and those who can affect it. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

State building

It refers to the technical and political process, most often led or supported by external actors in the wake of violent intra-state conflicts, aimed at strengthening formal governance institutions and enabling them to provide physical and economic security to citizens (Chandler 2006: 1). This process usually can be based on roadmaps, which usually include, but are not limited to, "security and the rule of law; transparent and efficient bureaucratic institutions; the provision of essential services to the population; the operation of democratic processes and norms; and the fostering of the conditions for market-led development (Wesley, 2008: 373).

Structural violence

Systematic violence of social institutions that oppress certain social groups (often condemning them to abject poverty) and the marginalisation that accompanies severe inequality. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Sustainability

The capacity of a project or process to endure indefinitely and remain effective, or to produce results that have a lasting impact. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Regional Conflict System

The notion of regional conflict systems is based on the assumption that every individual conflict having relationships regionally. Therefore, what appear as individualised conflicts in fact are parts of wider pattern of conflict regionally and an integral part of a wider conflict system. This understanding calls attention to take systemic regional conflict dynamics into consideration, if conflict management efforts to be realised.

Resilience

In the context of social science, resilience is commonly applied to the ability of political systems and governance arrangements to adjust to changing political and social conditions while keeping their structures intact (Carpenter, 2008: 6). In other words, "resilient states are able to maintain order and stability, keep societal expectations and capacity in equilibrium, and survive and ameliorate the negative effects of external and internal shocks" (McLoughin, 2012: 9). A resilient state or society can be seen as a better precondition to handle situations of turbulence and changing political and social environments (Dudouet and Lundström, 2013).

Transparency

In social contexts transparency means openness, communication and accountability. It implies policies are in place to allow individuals access to information held by authorities or those in power. (GPPAC Glossary, 2015)

Whole of Society

It is an approach to peacebuilding and conflict prevention, which pays particular attention to the role of a wide variety of societal actors and their inter-relations in the analysis and implementation of conflict prevention and peacebuilding initiatives. It seeks the representation and participation of the local level in actions to promote peace. It emphasises the importance of inclusivity, comprehensiveness and coherence. It acknowledges the multi-faceted nature of conflict and peacebuilding, and the presence of multiple relationships at policy level and on the ground. It seeks to encompass these complex dynamics and the presence of different interfaces through problematizing not only the multi-actor environment, but also the integration of different policies and peacebuilding actions across a broad spectrum of security needs.

8.3 WOSCAP Project Management Terms

Best Practice

Term used to describe an ideal set of practices in order to make policy recommendations or improve actions relevant to the object of study.

Bottom-Up

Refers to the activities led from the local level and by the local population in order to create social, community and institutional structures to promote peace.

Clusters

They refer to categories of civilian capabilities which relate to different forms of EU intervention. Clusters represent "what" the EU does in its external actions, and what WOSCAP will assess.

Cross-cutting issues / themes

There are thematic policy areas, which inform and distinguish the European Union's approach to intervention, and the goals of its external policies; which are present, or can be applied in multiple categories of EU capabilities and action, and which are underpinned by a set of norms/values. Cross-cutting issues represent "how" the EU seeks to deploy its capabilities, and are entry points/vectors for WOSCAP's qualitative assessment of capabilities.

Executive Board

Comprising leaders of work packages i.e. GPPAC, LSE, UU and ESSEC-IRENE.

Steering Group

All members of the WOSCAP consortium (excluding associates). They are responsible for the monitoring of the overall progress of the project.

Milestones

In project management, milestones mark events, achievements or other points of progress along a project's timeline.

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