

Restructuring the State

EU Police Missions and the Consequences of Discourse

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Abstract

The purpose is to answer the question: what are the consequences of the EU discourse on civilian crisis management for the social structures? Critical discourse analysis has been used, both as theory and as method together with social constructivism and the concepts of power and policing. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews with 16 Swedish police officers with experience from EU missions were conducted and the transcribed interviews comprise the main material combined with key texts.

The analysis shows that the EU discourse has had profound consequences for the social structures. It affects the identity of those working and their view of the other but more importantly it alters the social relationships, placing the EU in a situation of control versus the states the missions are assisting with a focus more on the internal security needs of the EU than of the receiving state. The discourse also affects the systems of knowledge and by taking for granted the meaning of concepts such as best European standard the officers are left with little guidance and continuity is not created. All in all, the EU is engaged in a strengthening and restructuring of the state legitimised through the discourse.

Key words: EU, police missions, critical discourse analysis, power, civilian crisis management

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List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
CCM	Civilian Crisis Management
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUPM	European Union Police Mission (BiH)
MMI	Mentoring, Monitoring, Inspecting
NPE	Normative Power Europe
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNMIK	United Nations Mission In Kosovo
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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1 Introduction

The introduction of military capabilities into the EU through the European Security and Defence Policy, ESDP, decided at the Cologne Council in 1999 and finally realised in the first autonomous military Operation Artemis in Congo 2003 (Howorth 2007: 4, 233), has been widely analysed and discussed both politically and academically. That the EU has included this symbol of state power has by many been seen as a change of identity, not just means (e.g. Manners 2006, Whitman 2006). In the mean time, the civilian aspect of ESDP has received far less attention (Howorth 2007: 124). Yet it could be claimed that civilian missions, or civilian crisis management, CCM, as it is usually called, entail far more profound consequences for a society than the military missions as these aim at the restructuring and rebuilding of societies, not merely at a ceasing of hostilities. Police missions in particular are of importance as they often aim at restructuring the police and rule of law systems. Thus, it is usually not a case of only managing a crisis but rather of imposing a new social order.

So far though, police missions have received scant attention from political scientists and the research done in the area has mainly been policy prescriptive rather than directed by theory. The present thesis wishes to investigate the effects of police missions in the local societies and to bring political theory and not least power into the analysis. Furthermore, the analysis will focus on the role of language in this process to explore the consequences of discourse on the social structures to study the far reaching effects of discourse. The underlying premise is that how we talk about social phenomena have effects for both the social structures and the actors and discourses, meaning that discourses are as tangible in that sense as material structures. Therefore, it becomes important to study how and to what extent discourses have effects; to raise awareness of the effects of language. Furthermore, CCM should, due to its restructuring of societies, be given more academic attention and not be treated as merely a continuation of the old civilian identity of the EU identified already in the 1970's (Duchêne 1972) but more as a powerful foreign policy tool in its own right.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of the thesis can best be described as twofold. The analytical ambition is to explore the consequences of the EU discourse on CCM on the social structures. The thesis thus aims at investigating how and to what extent the police missions have structural effects. This implies that the theoretical ambition of the thesis is to analyse whether – or rather to what extent - language actually

has consequences for the social structures, as is often taken for granted in this strand of research. The thesis will therefore be able to make a scientific contribution both to the more empirical debate on the role of CCM and of police missions in particular and to the theoretical social constructivist debate concerning the role of language and discourse.

1.2 Research Question

The research question to be answered will be as follows: **which are the consequences of the EU discourse on civilian crisis management for the social structures?** The effect on identities will also be considered even if this effect can only to a limited extent be viewed as a structural consequence.

Thus, even if the thesis is focused on only one research question this is an open and multi-faceted one. Whilst the analysis will be supported by several theories the study has been undertaken with an open mind as to the conclusions drawn from the material.

1.3 Choice of Theory

The underlying theoretical framework of the thesis is social constructivism. Considering the research question and its focus on the effects of discourses a positivist theory was not an option. Rather, social constructivism has a fitting ontology and epistemology as well as a fruitful focus on language, making it a suitable theory for the thesis. Also its emphasis on the mutual constituency of agency and structure makes the theory suitable to answer the research question. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis, CDA, is used, both as theory and method. Ontologically and epistemologically speaking, it has very much in common with social constructivism but also has a more specific focus on language and tools for the analysis.

More specifically, a theory on policing and its role in society is applied in the analysis to explore the long term consequences of police missions. In addition, the concept of power will be used in the analysis.

1.4 Choice of Method

The overall method used is CDA. Methodologically, the focus is more on the discourse analysis than the analysis of the discursive practice. The third step in a CDA, the analysis of the social practice has here been modified as the research question is focused on the *structural* consequences of discourse. The last step of

the CDA will therefore consist of an analysis of the effects on the social structures. For this final step a complimentary method is needed and the one chosen is semi-structured interviews as it is the experiences and beliefs of the police officers which are of interest.

1.5 Material

The main materials used for the analysis are transcriptions from the interviews conducted with 16 Swedish police officers with experience from EU police missions. For the discourse analysis primary material is also used in the form of five key texts from the Council. The reason why all the texts chosen originate from the Council is simply that the police missions are part of the second pillar ESDP with which the Commission and European Parliament have fairly little to do. The years of publication ranges from 2003 to the end of 2008 to enable an evaluation of the stability of the discourse over time.

For the background other primary materials such as internet texts and secondary sources have been used. For the research overview and theory and method parts secondary sources such as previous research and literature have been used.

1.6 Delimitations

The focus in the present thesis is the police missions of the EU, so the military missions of the EU, which are deemed to follow a different and not long term restructuring logic, are not part of the thesis. Nor are all types of civilian missions covered but mainly police missions and one border mission, due to the limited time and space allocated. Similarly, UN or OSCE police missions are not the issue here, even if they might be mentioned in the analysis as some police officers have experience from these missions.

Nor will there be room to analyse the consequences of and for the material structures in the thesis.

1.7 The Actorness of the EU

The traditional notion that actorness is preserved for states only has become increasingly rejected as the EU has become an autonomous player in international affairs and it is now widely accepted that the EU can be treated as an actor in its own right (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 15). The actions of the EU have in many areas consequences for other actors, as will be analysed in the present thesis, and

others, be they states or organisations, also often treat the EU as an autonomous actor (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 17). However, it can still be discussed to what extent the EU can be treated as a unified actor, given its particular structure. In this thesis the Council is the main actor given that the subject of analysis is police missions under the intergovernmental ESDP. Yet the picture portrayed externally, comprising the discourse on CCM studied here, is conveyed as a unified one, and is usually accepted as such by those affected. Thus, the thesis will not distinguish between the different institutions of the EU as it is mainly the consumption, not the production, of discourse which is of interest.

1.8 Background

As it is not one mission in particular that is the focus of this thesis but more the consequences of discourse in general, a detailed account of the background of CCM is not necessary and only some minor points will be made here.

As mentioned in the introductory part ESDP was finally decided at the Cologne Council in June 1999 but the civilian aspect was first mentioned in the Presidency Report from the Helsinki Council in December that year, and then portrayed as a complement to the military capabilities (Howorth 2007: 124). The Feira Council in June 2000 spelled out the four priority areas for CCM: police, strengthening of rule of law, strengthening of civilian administration and the protection of civilians (Howorth 2007: 125). Over time, CCM shifted from reaction towards proaction, i.e. the prevention of conflicts and not just the reaction to them (Howorth 2007: 126). Today, the EU lists 23 missions, past and ongoing, ranging from peace monitoring and border control to police and military missions (Council 2009).

The missions covered by the informants in this thesis are EUPM Bosnia Herzegovina, BiH (2003 – ongoing), EU BAM Rafah border mission (2005 - ongoing), EU Support to AMIS Darfur (2005 - 2007) and EULEX Kosovo (2008 - ongoing). These have been quite different in character, especially as the mission to AMIS in Darfur, Sudan was aimed at supporting the AU police officers, who in their turn was to advise the Sudan police. EUPM and EULEX Kosovo are similar as regards the police part, focused on advice and restructuring on the basis of best European standard, usually through co-location, whereby EU police officers are located with a local counterpart. EULEX Kosovo however comprises the whole rule of law system and not just the police (Council 2009).

One important fact to note though is that the EU police missions so far are so called MMI missions, meaning mentoring, monitoring and inspecting, and not executive missions, or substitution missions as they are also called (Council 2008a). In executive missions such as UNMIK in Kosovo from which EULEX Kosovo proceed, the international police officers work as police officers, i.e. they substitute the local police and are thus armed (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan 2008: 183).

1.9 Outline of Thesis

The thesis will proceed as follows. The next chapter contains a discussion of the existing research in this field and the relevant themes to be explored in the thesis, mainly the power of the EU and police missions. The third chapter is focusing on the theories and crucial concepts used in the analysis – social constructivism, CDA, and the concepts of policing and of power - whilst the proceeding chapter discusses the methods used: CDA and semi-structured interviews. This is followed by the fifth chapter containing the discourse analysis. The sixth chapter contains the analysis of the consequences for the social structures. Lastly, the seventh chapter contains the conclusions of the thesis and a discussion of the results.

2 Research Overview

There are several different strands of research which are relevant for the topic at hand. EU police missions are the main focus, which are part of a larger peace building effort, not just by the EU but by other international actors as well. However, the main interest in the thesis is not to evaluate the results of the missions but to investigate the structural consequences of discourse. Thus, the peace building literature will not be discussed here. Rather the research overview will discuss firstly the more general literature concerning what type of power the EU can be conceptualised as, and secondly research specifically concerning police missions. These demarcations might seem clear cut but are as usually analytical.

2.1 The Power of the EU

Starting with what type of power the EU can be conceptualised as, this discussion has been lively since Duchêne dubbed it a civilian power in “Europe’s Role in World Peace” (1972), meaning that the union projected its power through diplomatic and economic means rather than the traditional military ones. This approach was refuted by Bull’s “Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” (1982) who claimed that without any military power the EU could not be considered a power at all on the international arena. But when the Cold War suddenly thawed and European integration gained new speed through the Maastricht treaty the definition of the EU as a civilian power gained more ground as could be seen for example in Whitman (1998). This notion of the EU as a civilian power was the dominant perspective until Manners published his article “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” (2002), causing a renewed debate on the nature of EU’s international role. Manners, whilst acknowledging the civilian power of the EU, wanted to draw attention to the normative aspects of its power projection. EU earns a special international role according to him not merely because of what the union does, but what it is; i.e. a *sui generis* organisation built on a number of particular values related to liberal democracy and human rights. Through this, the EU exerts its power over others to mould them into the same normative sphere as the EU. A similar point was made at about the same time by Nicolaidis and Howse in “This is my EUtopia...: Narrative as Power” (2002) using the concept of civilian power. They claimed that what was projected to the outside world was not so much what the EU was at the time but what it wanted to become, the utopian future.

This sparked off a debate concerned with whether Manners was correct at all and if so, whether normative power was a positive force, as pictured by the author

himself. Focusing here on some later research on the concept of normative power Europe, NPE, most researchers, even when being quite critical, do not question the underlying assumption that EU as a normative power is something positive for the world. Scheipers and Sicurelli in their article “Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?” (2007) investigate to what extent the EU can be considered a credible utopia, building on the work of Nicolaïdis and Howse. They claim that the EU is credible even if its actions are sometimes more motivated by strategic interests than normative concerns since the union is still viewed by others as being bound by international law.

Pace’s more policy prescriptive article “The Construction of EU Normative Power” (2007) is studying how the concept of NPE has been constructed and its effectiveness. She occupies herself with what she considers as flaws in how this power is projected and tries to make it more operable. Interestingly enough, she identifies power asymmetries as being risks for the execution of normative power, i.e. risking weakening it, rather than the obvious consequence of the export of norms from the EU. Here NPE is displayed as a positive force which just needs some fine-tuning to become more effective.

On the contrary, Merlingen’s “Everything is Dangerous: A Critique of Normative Power Europe” (2007) is more sceptical towards NPE. Merlingen is admitting that the normative power projected by the EU limits the suffering of individuals but the price to be paid is the domination of the international over the local and a technologisation of local politics. A similar argument can be found in Chandler and his “Normative Power and the Liberal Peace” (2008, see also 2005). He shows how this normative power is not a very soft power at all. One of his main points is that the normative power projected through the accession process is de-politicising, undermining the democratic process (for a similar argument in a different setting, see Ferguson 1994). These arguments will be revisited below concerning police reforms.

A further contribution to the debate is Whitman’s argument in “Road Map for a Route March? (De-) civilianizing through the EU’s Security Strategy” (2006), where he points to some essential elements of civilian power. He also focuses on how the concept of civilian power is used as much as a political framework for action as an analytical concept. A parallel here could be how the EU has retained its self identity as a civilian power different from the US even if it at the same time has acquired military means and a political willingness to use these new instruments. It has been claimed (e.g. Manners 2006) that this could weaken the normative or civilian power of the EU.

Thus, the academic debate regarding the power of the EU is still a very active one, especially as regards to what extent the effects of NPE are to be considered positive. However, the debate on police missions to which the overview turns next has been more limited indeed.

2.2 Police Missions

Looking at the existing research on EU police missions, this strand of literature is rather thin. A substantive part of the literature is evaluative and/or focused on policy prescriptions. An example of this type is Grillot's "Policing via Principles: Reforming the Use of Force in the Western Balkans" (2008) which presents an empirical study of a limited project in a straightforward and uncritical manner. Another example of this is Martinelli's article on EUPOL Kinshasa (2006). Martinelli wishes to investigate the coherence, capability and effectiveness of EU CCM as well as contribute to the discussion on how a different social order is established in the DRC. The article clearly focuses on the first of these issues and contains policy prescriptions for the EU to follow, whilst hardly analysing policing as a social ordering, nor showing the author's theoretical outlook. Similarly, Collantes Celador adopts the same outlook in "Police Reform: Peacebuilding through democratic policing?" (2005). This article is even less theoretically informed and thus overly empirical in assessing mainly the police reforms of the UN in BiH, touching only on EUPM in passing. For her, the reform has been quite disastrous as it has neither succeeded in transmitting the desired norms to the rest of the society nor strengthened the police.

Merlingen and Ostraukaitė are more critical in their general outlook. Both their "ESDP Police Missions: Meaning, Context and Operational Challenges" (2005) and "European Union Peacebuilding and Policing" (2006) are rather early but still interesting pieces of research, binding together peace building and police missions. The arguments made are similar in the two texts, with the shorter and earlier one being less theoretical and more assessing the missions so far. They discuss the theoretical background, drawing on the governmentality theory of Foucault and on the policing theory of Waddington. The book is thus a good combination of theory and empirical study, ending on a prescriptive note. On the negative side is how the authors take for granted the EU as a civilising force, acting for the good and only with a very limited strategic agenda. The authors claim for example, without any source or analysis to support it, that the ESDP is "an expression of the EU's international mission for humanity" (2006: 2). In relation to their very critical and theoretical concept of power, discussed below, it is quite surprising for the reader that they suddenly display such a blind spot. Similar arguments have been made by Linklater (2005), however in both cases there is no questioning of the discourse and it seems taken for granted that the EU commits itself to help others mainly out of ethical reasons. In relation to the discussion on NPE mentioned above their point is that such power is not merely soft and non-instrumental but present in all reforms in a very real and often technological way. Their empirical material is mainly concerned with these power mechanisms at the local micro-level. These points will be returned to in the next chapter.

As has become clear during the preceding discussions, the availability of relevant literature differs between the two categories. In both categories though a substantial part of the literature is concerned with evaluations and policy

prescriptions, often only scratching on the surface regarding power relationships. For this thesis the discussion on the power of the EU is a necessary starting point and this will be expanded upon in the following theory chapter. Furthermore, that this power is de-politicising in one way or another has also been pointed out in different contexts and is something the thesis will build upon. All in all the thesis aims at a combination of the theoretical backgrounds just mentioned as well as a discursive foundation with an empirical analysis, thus giving voice to those actually carrying out the policies. Therefore, the aim is to avoid either being overly empirical and prescriptive on the one hand or being too distanced from and uncritical to events on the ground on the other. The next chapter will continue some of the points raised here when discussing the theories used.

3 Theories

The main theories used in this thesis are social constructivism and CDA. Where CDA is in agreement with social constructivism, i.e. regarding the ontological and epistemological outlook, these aspects are only mentioned when discussing social constructivism. Another complementary theory concerning the concept of policing will also be discussed before the chapter ends with a conceptual discussion regarding the concept of power.

3.1 Social Constructivism

The field of social constructivism is broad and the outline offered here will sketch some of the crucial aspects of the theory which most of the adherents agree upon. The version presented here is not following the significantly more structure-oriented version of Wendt (Reus-Smit 2005: 199). Rather, the version used in this thesis stresses the mutual constituency of agency and structure, believing that agents have room for manoeuvre within the constraints posed by the structures (Reus-Smit 2005: 197). Furthermore, this implies that structures are not necessarily stable; they can be resisted and reshaped due to the agency of actors. Within social constructivism, the emphasis is often on empirical analysis (Reus-Smit 2005: 195) which is also the aspiration of the present thesis.

3.1.1 Ontology and Epistemology

Starting with the ontological perspective of social constructivism, this is anti-foundationalist, meaning that the world is not thought to exist independently of our interpretation or knowledge of it (Marsh and Furlong 2002: 26). The world is accordingly socially constructed by actors.

The consequence of this outlook is that objective analysis is rendered impossible. We cannot know whether there is a real world out there to analyse, rather we are all, also as scientists, engaged in the construction, change and maintaining of that so called reality. Thus, epistemologically the theory is hermeneutic or interpretist, meaning that we interpret the world around us. The focus is generally on understanding behaviour rather than explaining it (Marsh & Furlong 2002: 20). However, this does not imply that there is no such thing as good research, or version of reality which are more plausible than others. If theory and method are used in a transparent way to allow the reader to follow the different steps of the research process, the piece of research lives up to the

accepted criteria in the academic world (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 153-154), even if it cannot claim to be “true”. See also the discussion of reliability and validity in the next chapter.

3.1.2 Identity and Interests

One of the main assumptions of social constructivism is that actors are social (Reus-Smit. 2005: 192), engaging in interaction with other actors within the overall structures. This implies that constructivism rejects the assumptions of rationalism (Reus-Smit 2005: 195). Regarding structures, constructivists stress the importance of normative structures as compared to material ones, claiming that normative structures form social identities (Reus-Smit 2005: 196). This does not mean that the theory disregards the role played by material structures but rather that even these material structures gain their meaning and potential power through the normative structures (Reus-Smit 2005: 196); e.g. wealth in itself does not in a mechanistic way entail power.

Thus the identities of social actors are shaped through normative structures, and our identities help determine our interests, and accordingly also partly determine how we act (Reus-Smit 2005: 197). Furthermore, this means that interests are formed in interaction and not exogenously given as claimed by rationalists (Reus-Smit 2005: 199). As stressed above, agents have agency which means that discourses either maintain or transform the normative structures (Reus-Smit 2005: 197).

Constructivists view power as being constituted to a lesser extent by material factors and to a greater extent by non-material or ideational ones meaning that concepts like norms and legitimacy become important for the analysis (Reus-Smit 2005: 209), as will be further discussed below. However, material structures can help uphold normative structures and strengthening them (Walt 1998: 7).

3.1.3 The Role of Language

Language is of crucial importance within social constructivism as it constitutes the social world (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 16), including the normative structures, identities and interests. Therefore the study of discourse has become one of the most frequently used methods within constructivism (Reus-Smit 2005: 195). Discourses are important as it is often through these that normative structures are created, upheld or contested (Walt 1998: 6). This implies that power can be thought of as working through discourses by making certain behaviours acceptable and others not, as well as being constituted in itself by norms such as legitimacy (Reus-Smit 2005: 207, 209). Discourses can thus also form normative structures as for example what an actor can legitimately do. These last points will be explored in the analysis.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory

CDA is a version of discourse analysis mainly invented by Norman Fairclough and it is his version that will mainly be used in this thesis. The main advantage of this distinctive version as compared to other types of discourse analysis is that CDA is a combination of close textual analysis and political theory (Fairclough 1992: 62), making it a more complete package than most other forms of discourse analysis.

3.2.1 Underlying Premises of CDA

One important aspect of CDA is the focus on *critique* as stated by the term itself. The aim of CDA is not merely understanding but rather to gain a critical explanation, an “explanatory critique” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 31). One of the premises is that discourses have ideological effects which are creating asymmetric relationships of power between actors (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 69). Fairclough thus stresses that power relationships are either contested or maintained through the use of discourse (1992: 87), making discourses important areas of research.

Within CDA, society is seen as composed of social structures of which some are discursive and others are not, with a dialectical relationship between the discursive and the non-discursive ones. The focus of CDA is to analyse the connections between the discourse and the social practice or more generally structures, depending on the ambition of the study. The question is whether the discourse is reproducing and maintaining a particular social structure or if it is an agent for change (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 71, 76).

Another distinctive feature of CDA is that Fairclough suggests that a communicative event has three dimensions – the text itself, the discursive practice – i.e. which other discourses the analysed one is building on - and the social practice (Fairclough 1995: 56-57). The wider social structures, comprised of social relationships and systems of knowledge in the society at large, are built of both discursive and social practices (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 71). Of these three dimensions, CDA in itself can analyse the first two; for the final step in the analysis a complimentary political theory have to be used (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 72). This will be further elaborated upon in the method chapter. This also implies that social practices are constituted by other elements as well, besides the purely discursive ones (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 13, Fairclough 1992: 64), allowing for a consideration of material structures. However it must be stressed that even if the consequences analysed in the thesis are seen as closely knit to the prevailing discourse, other structures, outside the scope of this thesis have of course also effects on the social structures.

3.2.2 Defining Discourse

Fairclough is using the term discourse in two interrelated ways. First, and most importantly, he uses it on a general level as a social practice in itself; an action that has consequences for the social structures (Fairclough 1992: 63). Secondly, he uses the term to distinguish between different perspectives, as when discussing *a* discourse, and the implication is that it allows the scientist to demarcate between different discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 72).

But the problem remains, how do we recognise a discourse when we encounter it? Can it even be claimed that discourses “exist” given the ontological outlook? This seems doubtful to say the least. The adaptations on the view of discourse proposed by Winther Jørgensen and Phillips will be used in this thesis, meaning that discourses are seen as tools of analysis rather than discrete entities to be found by the scientist. Thus, discourses are constructed by the researcher, with the aid of secondary literature and primary sources, and used to find structures within the analysed texts (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 137).

3.2.3 Language

The mutually constitutive relationship between agency and structure discussed above also applies to the view on language in CDA. The relationship between language and discourse on the one hand and social practices and structures on the other is dialectical. Therefore, discourses are affected and usually constrained by the social practices and structures at the same time as discourses have tangible effects on the social practices and structures as these are upheld or contested (Fairclough 1992: 64). This makes linguistic analysis an important aspect of CDA, even if it alone is not sufficient.

More specifically, Fairclough claims that discourses have three related constitutive functions, as they help constitute identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1992: 64). Thus, CDA shares with constructivism the view that identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge are susceptible to change through interaction. Furthermore, CDA stresses that language should be studied empirically within the social context (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 68), as is also claimed by constructivism.

3.3 The Concept of Policing

To be able to analyse police missions it is also of importance to define what is meant by the term policing. The most commonly used definition is that of law enforcement (Waddington 1999: 4), which also is a discursive element present in EU texts. This could be called the common sense definition most likely used by people in ordinary speech. However, according to Waddington this is not the defining characteristic of policing. The police is only one law enforcer among

many, it is not the most effective way of law enforcement and it is only concerned with certain types of crime, preferably those considered as public (Waddington 1999: 6-11). Thus, crime fighting is not the primary goal of policing. For Waddington, policing is rather the exercise of state authority over the civil population (1999: 30), a view endorsed in this thesis. He points to this role of the police in relation to the state as both a guarantor and a threat to the liberty of its citizens. Accordingly, the police, as custodians of the state's monopoly of violence, should be considered as both a force for the good and a potentially oppressive force (Waddington 1999: 22). Importantly, the police on this reading become a force for imposing a particular social order endorsed by the state.

Furthermore, Waddington involves a historic perspective by showing how the concept of citizenship developed dialectically with the extension of the Westphalian state. This led to a separate civil part of the state's monopoly on legitimate force apart from the military one; it was simply not viable anymore to exert military control over the civil population (Waddington 1999: 22-23). Furthermore, this means that the style of policing is "shaped by the relationship between the police and citizens" (Waddington 1999: 30), so that the police are restrained in using its authority against the citizens when accountable. This can be compared with the unrestrained use of violence by the police in settings where the subjects of authority are not seen as citizens with rights to claim, as for example during the colonial times (Waddington 1999: 25, 30). This can have consequences for policing in societies with minorities which might not effectively have complete citizenship rights and can lead to a brutalisation of the police (Waddington 1999: 29). Similar problems exist in most societies with for example racist motives but can be aggravated in post-conflict areas where ethnicity has been a political tool during the conflict.

The definition of policing as the exercise of state authority has two main advantages. Firstly, it leaves open the exact functions and mechanisms of policing, as these changes over time and with the context. Still, the definition gives the essence in all these different functions. Secondly, it also draws our attention to the fact that policing and its structure are highly political (Merlingen and Ostrauskaitė 2006: 19). Thus the policing of a society depends on the nature of the state and its relationship to its citizens.

Using this theoretical outlook on how to conceptualise policing means that police missions are effectively about consolidating the state in places where this institution has been significantly weakened due to e.g. internal conflicts.

3.4 The Concept of Power

When approaching a topic such as the structural effects of discourse it is hard, if not impossible, to refrain from taking the concept of power into consideration, especially when employing CDA. Even if the aspiration in this thesis is to enter the field as open minded as possible, this does not mean that the scientist has not prepared herself and studied the relevant research area. Thus, it becomes clear

from the research overview that the concept of power is important and needs to be discussed.

Nye’s classical division into hard and soft power is common knowledge today, but the claim that power has a second face apart from the traditional coercive one was less so when it was first uttered in the 1980’s. Soft power according to Nye is the power to “[get] others to want what you want” (Nye 2003: 60), by using ideological and agenda setting means of power. However, for most scientists this crude division is no longer sufficient.

As was discussed in the research overview, there are numerous definitions of different facets of power. Civilian power is as previously mentioned a common, if not always completely clear, concept used when analysing the power of the EU. This has to some extent been succeeded by Manner’s term normative power (2002). Still, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, his reasoning is quite uncritical and becomes one-sided in its single focus. Similarly, the notion of power used by Merlingen and Ostraukaitè (e.g. 2005 & 2006), whereby they focus on the physical and quotidian nature of the EU’s power in police missions is fruitful, but seems to be lacking in theoretical rigour and diversity. By turning to the taxonomy created by Barnett and Duvall, a more complete picture is presented.

Power works through	Relational Specificity	
	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Diffuse</i>
<i>Interactions of specific actors</i>	Compulsory	Institutional
<i>Social relations of constitution</i>	Structural	Productive

Table 3.1, (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 12)

As can be seen by table 3.1 above, Barnett and Duvall try to incorporate the existing debate about the nature of power into their framework, allowing for the possibility to focus on one or several of the different dimensions whilst still acknowledging the existence – and importance – of the others. Importantly for the present thesis, their framework also takes normative structures and even discourses into consideration (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 3). Another important aspect of their theory is that they also allow for an analysis of how different forms of power can relate to each other, and implicitly how a combination of different forms can lead to an exponential increase in power (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 4).

According to Barnett and Duvall, power works either through the specific interactions between actors, in a direct or diffuse way, or through social relations of constitution, meaning that these relations constitutes the actors as social beings (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 9). Again this can happen both through direct and diffuse relations. This latter conception of power lies very close to the social constructivist viewpoint, however as constructivism focuses on the mutual constituency on agency and structure, this allows for power to work through

interactions as well, as agents have agency within the structure to knowingly apply their power resources. In a similar vein, the authors argue that power has effects both on the social identities (and thus interests) of actors and on specific actions (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 10-11), an argument close to the constructivist perspective.

Looking at the four types of power in table 3.1 above compulsory power is the good old hard (although not necessarily military) power which used to be the main focus in political science. Institutional power on the other hand concerns indirect control for example through the design of international organisations (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 3). Continuing with the power that works through social relations of constitution, structural power concerns the constitution of social capacities and interests (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 18). Obviously, this sort of power is not something inherent in an actor, rather it is a constraining or enabling factor which the actor can contest or take advantage of. Lastly, there is the productive power which concerns systems of meaning and knowledge and the production of subjectivity (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 3). Thus, productive power is about how discourses are used to frame issues in a certain way and make some actions possible whilst rendering other impossible, not about relatively enduring social structures as the structural power. From a strict constructivist side, these systems of knowledge could also be seen as structures, but the distinction here can still be helpful.

The main advantage of the framework provided by Barnett & Duvall then is not its neatness – reality is never that neat – but that it encompasses all aspects into one framework. Using social constructivism, the present thesis will mainly use the two last facets however the analysis will be open for any type of power.

3.5 The Analytical Framework

To tie these different pieces together the framework for the analysis of the consequences for the social structures will be as follows. The analysis will mainly be founded on the assumption of CDA that discourses have three constitutive functions, on identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge and belief respectively. These three consequence or structure areas will be analysed one at a time with social constructivism as the underlying theory. When appropriate, the concepts of policing and power will be incorporated in the analysis. But before proceeding to this step the methods used will be discussed and the results of the text analysis presented.

4 Method

The overall research design for the thesis is CDA. This method has three main steps, two discursive ones and a final step analysing the social practice or in this case the social structures, see below. For this last and in this essay most crucial step, semi-structured interviews have been used and this method will also be discussed below. However as mentioned, the use of interviews is part of the overall framework of CDA, fitting the two methods together. Thus, an analysis of the effects on the social structures is incorporated into the overall CDA framework. The proper discourse analysis is performed to establish what elements are present in the EU discourse on CCM.

Both methods are qualitative, sharing the ontological and epistemological of constructivism (Devine 2002: 201). The goal is to get access to subjective experiences and how the individual gives meaning to them. Still, the focus is also on the context of these experiences (Devine 2002: 199), or the social structures as it is named by constructivists. The main goal is not generalisation but understanding; however a reliable sample makes it possible for the researcher to make some limited generalisations (Devine 2002: 207). Therefore, the choice of methods fit very well with both the theories chosen and the research question.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as Method

4.1.1 Positive and Negative Aspects of Using CDA

As the research question is concerned with the structural consequences of discourse, which are usually taken for granted within social constructivism, some sort of discourse analysis had to be performed to study what the discourse to be projected on the social structures was in the first place. CDA was deemed the most rewarding method in this case as it also incorporates the social structures into the analysis, making CDA both a framework for the whole analysis and a useful and specific tool for the discourse analysis. The theoretical underpinnings of CDA also fit very well with the theory of social constructivism chosen for the thesis, as discussed in the preceding theory chapter. Compared to other types of discourse analysis, CDA is also more methodologically rigorous, with many specific tools for the discourse analysis, making it easier for the reader to follow how the analysis has been made. However, on the negative side is the fact that this rigour is lost in the last step, where the researcher is left quite on his/her own to

decide how to conduct the analysis of the social practice. However in this case it is not only the consequences for the social practice, i.e. the police missions, which are of interest. Rather, the focus is on the long term consequences of the police missions in the local societies and the structures at large. Thus, the last step of CDA in this analysis will entail mainly an analysis of the consequences of discourse for the social *structures*, not the practice, see Figure 4.1.

Method: Critical Discourse Analysis

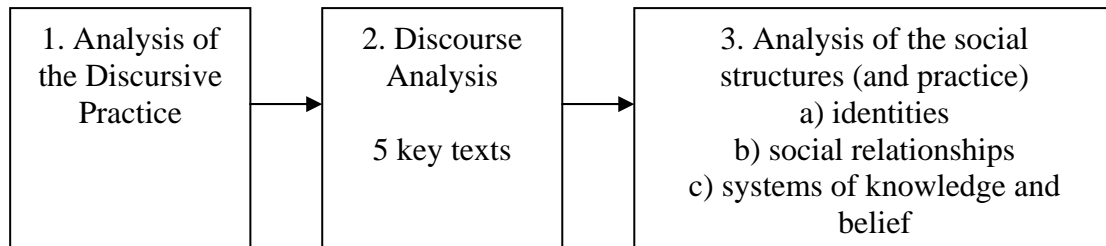


Figure 4.1

For the third step semi-structured interviews are chosen as a complementary method, with their own methodological criteria to be fulfilled. Taken together, the complete method thus becomes a whole with specific tools in both cases, so that the reader easily can follow the reasoning behind the analysis.

CDA was mainly invented by Norman Fairclough and the method now has many followers. He has published several different versions of the method. The method sketched here is a combination of the ones in *Analyzing Discourse* (2003) and *Discourse and Social Change* (1992).

Any CDA must start with delimitation and definition of both the order of discourse and the discourses to be analysed and this is done in chapter four, just before the analysis.

Fairclough is usually stressing the need to start the discourse analysis with an analysis of the discursive practice; what other discourses and/or texts the discourse to be analysed is building on. In many cases this is accompanied by an analysis of the production of the chosen texts. In the present case, the main focus will be on the structural consequences of discourse, in line with the research question, and a fully-fledged analysis of the discursive practice is therefore not necessary (Bergström & Boréus 2005: 28). The discourse analysis will however start with a brief sketch of the discursive landscape; to see which other major discursive strands the EU discourse on CCM is building upon. Regarding intertextuality (Fairclough 1992: 232-233), this will be discussed during the discourse analysis itself.

Not every textual tool of analysis mentioned in the works above will be used in the discourse analysis, and neither has this been intended by Fairclough. Rather, the researcher chooses the tools most fruitful for the study and texts at hand. In this analysis, the chosen tools for the discourse analysis are the

representation of social actors, the concept of difference, modality (commitment to truth claims) and assumptions (Fairclough 2003: 191-194).

4.1.2 The Choice of Texts

As discourses are ongoing and susceptible to change it is appropriate to analyse both older texts from around the start of CCM and newer ones to see whether the discourse is undergoing any significant changes or whether it is relatively stable over time. Thus, three out of five texts are from 2003-2004 and the two last ones from late 2008. They are all Council texts since the reference texts are all from the Council as ESDP belongs to the second pillar. Also, it is the Council that is transmitting its version of the world to those on the ground. The texts are also chosen because they are portrayed as reference texts by the EU itself and thus seen as important both internally and externally, besides being relevant for the topic. Lastly, the texts are chosen because they constitute a clear textual chain where each document is building on the previous ones, making them suitable objects of analysis for studying change or lack thereof. The five chosen texts are *European Security Strategy - A Secure Europe in a Better World* (Council 2003), *Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP* (Council 2004a), *Declaration of EU Chiefs of Police following the meeting on police aspects in the ESDP-framework* (Council 2004b), *Civilian capabilities - Extract from the Council Conclusions on the ESDP* (Council 2008b) and *Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World* (Council 2008c).

4.2 Semi-structured Interviews

To conduct the last part of the CDA, i.e. the analysis of the social structures, semi-structured interviews were chosen. Qualitative interviews fit well with social constructivism as the starting point for this type of research is that people construct their reality in a given context or social structure, and it is this construction and way of giving meaning that the scientist wishes to access (Dalen 2007: 14). Thus there is not one single truth or reality, as stressed by social constructivism.

4.2.1 Positive and Negative Aspects of Using Interviews

As the aim was to investigate the beliefs and experiences of the police officers carrying out the policies some sort of interviews were the best choice by which to get as much information as possible from the informants (Bryman 2002: 300, Dalen 2007: 9). Furthermore, in the process by which people give meaning to their experiences language is the most crucial tool meaning that qualitative interviews are a very appropriate method for studying this process. As the

interviews are transcribed, they become texts which in accordance with this theoretical outlook can be interpreted (Dalen 2007: 69). A questionnaire would for example have resulted in a too limited and probably unsuitable material where the subjective viewpoints of the participants might not be fully expressed (Flick 2006: 149). A completely unstructured interview might not have answered the research question (Flick 2006: 169). Thus, semi-structured interviews were the best choice, whereby it was possible to focus on the main themes and questions of the thesis whilst at the same time being flexible during the interviews (Bryman 2002: 304).

4.2.2 Telephone Interviews

Telephone interviews turned out to be necessary due to the limited population. It has been argued that telephone interviews can have an advantage compared to contact interviews, except the obvious difference in demands on time, which would be to minimise the risk that the interviewee will be affected by the interviewer, for example in this case age and sex (Bryman 2002: 128-129). However, contact interviews are normally to be preferred, as it is easier to see the non-verbal reactions of the interviewees such as gestures and facial expression (Bryman 2002: 129). Yet, the telephone interviews worked better than hoped for and the recorder could still be used, making the data reliable in both interview situations.

4.2.3 Sampling and Access

As regards the sampling for the interviews, only a sample based on criteria was feasible (Dalen 2007: 56). The term criteria sampling is used here as the term convenience sampling (Flick 2006: 130) is hardly correct in this case. The interviewees had to fulfil two criteria: 1) be a police officer and 2) have experience of EU missions. The population was thus very limited, only 80 individuals in total in the whole country, of which 17 in Scania, which was one of the reasons for also using telephone interviews

Interview no	Sex	Mission/s	Years
1	Male	EUPM BiH UN BiH	2006
2	Female	EUPM BiH UN BiH UN Sudan	2004-2005
3	Male	EUPM BiH UN Cyprus, Croatia OSCE Croatia	2002-2003
4	Male	EUPM BiH	2003, 2004-2005
5	Male	EUPM BiH UN Cyprus	2004-2005
6	Male	EUPM BiH UN Cyprus, Namibia, Angola.	2004-2005
7	Male	EUPM BiH UN Kosovo	2004-2006
8	Male	EUPM BiH EUJUSTLEX Iraq EUPT Kosovo	2003-2004 2005-2006 2006-2007
9	Female	EUPM BiH	2004-2007
10	Female	EUPM BiH UN Kosovo	2004-2005
11	Male	EU Darfur UN Kosovo	2007
12	Female	EU Darfur	2007
13	Male	EU Darfur UN BiH	2007-2008
14	Male	EU BAM Rafah Border mission	2005-2006
15	Male	EULEX Kosovo UN Kosovo	Ongoing
16	Female	EULEX Kosovo	Ongoing

Table 4.1

The interview numbers in table 4.1 will be used when referring to the interview material in the analysis. Still, when it is deemed to be of importance for the analysis factors such as sex, mission and year will be mentioned during the analysis to make the text easier to follow for the reader.

Another aspect here was how to get access to the field and due to the sensitive area it was only possible to get in contact with Swedish police officers. As there

are not any official records of police officers who have done EU duty, it was necessary to have a gate keeper who could provide the necessary contacts with the relevant police officers (Dalen 2007: 37). I was at an early stage given a contact person at the Swedish state police authority who forwarded my request to the population, who then in their turn contacted me if they were interested in participating. A couple of the interviewees were also approached through a more personal channel as my father is a police officer and knew some persons who had participated in EU missions.

As can be seen from the sample women are underrepresented. This is most likely due to the fact that they are underrepresented in the missions but there are no available statistics on this. Similarly, the study comprises more participants with experience from BiH than from the other missions. This is mainly a result from EUPM in BiH being the largest mission so far. Also, not all police missions with Swedish personnel are included as it was not possible to steer the sample.

It could be claimed that the sample was eschewed as those with very negative experiences might refrain from participating when being approached by the state police authorities. However, this was not the experience when conducting the interviews. On the contrary, the sample turned out to be quite varied, as regards age, sex and the role the persons had had in the missions, ranging from police advisers at the lowest level to very high ranking officials, increasing the reliability of the study (Devine 2002: 205).

4.2.4 Ethical Considerations

When participating in research interviews such as these, the participant should always be guaranteed anonymity. However, in the present case this proved not to be entirely possible. Obviously, no one will be granted access to the recorded interviews and both in the transcripts and in the present text the names have been deleted. Thus, from a research point of view, the participants are anonymous. Still, as the population is so limited it could still be possible for their colleagues to identify the persons in some cases. This has been avoided as far as possible (Flick 2006: 50) but since some background information is necessary, and some statements might give away what role the person had during the mission, it is not always possible. The participants were informed of this at the start of the interviews when giving their consent (Flick 2006: 49) and seemed to be aware of this.

The participants were informed of the context and aim of the research both at the first contact, usually by e-mail and at the start of the interviews, and were asked to give their expressive consent to participate (Bryman 2002: 446, Dalen 2007: 21).

4.2.5 Constructing the Interview Guide

When constructing an interview guide it is important to cover all aspects of the research question. The theories used as well as the discourse analysis and its design was used as a starting point when constructing the interview guide (see appendix 1) so that the two results would cover the same area. The guide was grouped along several themes with more specific questions. Furthermore, both open and more theoretically informed questions were used (Flick 2006: 156). When choosing the relevant questions and themes this was based on issues such as the link to the research question and whether the question was open enough (Flick 2006: 167, Dalen 2007: 32)

After having conducted the two first interviews, which were contact interviews and done at the same workplace, the interview guide was slightly modified, and it is this version, translated into English, which is an appendix to the thesis. For example, it turned out necessary when indicating the areas of interest to emphasise that it was their opinions and experiences which were of interest and accordingly there were no wrong answers.

4.2.6 Coding and Analysing the Interviews

First, it must be stated that the transcribed interviews are treated as texts in this thesis. Thus, they are separated from the specific interview situation and are open to interpretation (Dalen 2007: 69). This also implies that it would be possible to make a discourse analysis based on the material, which however is not the purpose here as they constitute material for the analysis of the social structures.

The first general coding was based on the analytical framework, i.e. the categories of identities and the image of the other, social relationships and systems of knowledge. Within each of these categories finer coding was traced which can be seen in the subcategories used when presenting the analysis, based both on theoretical assumptions (such as the categories identity of the EU and image of the other) and on empirical basis (such as the category the technical vs. the political). Accordingly, other categories could have been used but in the light of the material, the theoretical background and the research question these categories seemed the most fruitful ones. The coding is thus structured by abstract concepts but thoroughly founded in the empirical material (Dalen 2007: 74).

To increase the reliability and validity of the analysis the original Swedish version of the quotes is provided in footnotes. As language is seen as crucially important in this strand of research, the reader should be able to see the original quotes. However, as Swedish is a minor language the translations have been carefully made to convey the same message as the original text.

4.3 Reliability and Validity

Being a qualitative thesis, the usual concepts of reliability and validity used to measure the quality of the research are less easy to apply and need some special considerations. Many other criteria such as trustworthiness, credibility and objectivity are also used in qualitative research (Flick 2006: 375-276, Dalen 2007: 115), however due to limited space only reliability and validity will be considered here.

4.3.1 Reliability

The concept of reliability in quantitative research concerns whether the method used would produce the same result if followed by another scientist (Babbie et. al. 2007: 16). In qualitative research it is unlikely that the same results can be reproduced as most of the material depend either on informants, whom might not give the same answers to another person, and on the scientist herself and her constructions of reality. However, by trying to be as clear as possible in showing every procedure of the thesis and explain the choices made, as well as using a considerable amount of quotes to show how the analysis is founded (and to generate a closeness to the material for the reader) procedural reliability can be achieved (Dalen 2007: 114, Flick 2006: 370) which has been the aim of the thesis.

4.3.2 Validity

Validity within qualitative research is not a straightforward concept either. Validity traditionally concerns whether the method chosen actually measures the concept under investigation (Babbie et. al. 2007: 15) but within qualitative research it has come to denote whether the scientist actually sees what she thinks she sees when analysing the material (Flick 2006: 371). Basically, the question concerns to what extent the conclusions drawn by the scientist are empirically founded in the material, i.e. the social constructions of the informants, and how this is made transparent to the readers (Flick 2006: 371). Again, by using many quotes to support the analysis and also by providing the original Swedish version of them the thesis aims at being as transparent as possible, giving the readers the possibility to draw their own conclusions.

5 Discourse Analysis

To start the discourse analysis the order of discourse has first to be defined. Here it is defined as civilian crisis management, CCM, which is an expression commonly used by the EU itself in key texts. To define the order of discourse as police missions would be too limiting for the analysis as police missions are seldomly dealt with on their own but as a part of CCM. The discourse analysis will analyse the essential elements of the dominant discourse on CCM expressed externally by the EU. The analysis will also show the dominated discourses which are competing to define the order of discourse.

There is neither room nor need for a fully-fledged analysis of the discursive practice as discussed in the previous chapter; however the text analysis will start with a brief overview of the discursive landscape to set the scene for the subsequent analysis. After this step, the discourse analysis will follow.

5.1 The Discursive Practice

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the discursive practice shows what other discourses the one to be analysed is building on.

Traditionally, the EU has always presented itself, and been perceived by others, as a civilian actor (e.g. Manners 2002, Whitman 1998, Duchêne 1972). However with the introduction of military capabilities into the union first used in 2003, military means became both available and desirable, effectively shifting the previously dominant discourse. Another contributing factor to this was the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the following wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as later terrorist deeds on European soil, which also led to a securitisation of many issues such as migration (see Manners 2006, Rynning 2003). These events have had effects on the EU discourse on CCM.

At about the same time however, a different discursive strand was gaining ground globally, based on the concepts of human security and later the responsibility to protect. These discourses focused on the security of the individual and the responsibility of those capable to do so to intervene in internal matters in case of massive human right violations (UNDP 1994, UN 2003, Hannay 2005). These discourses made their way into EU texts and discourses as well, as can for example be seen in the Barcelona Report on Human Security (2004) requested by the Commission. However it can – and will in the following analysis – be questioned to what extent the concept of human security is used in the sense originally anticipated. Innovative uses of existing discourses are often a

fruitful and not always recognised way of effectively changing the meaning of a concept over time (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 78).

The following analysis will show how these different and quite opposing discursive strands have made an imprint on the EU discourse on CCM.

5.2 Discourse Analysis

The discourse analysis is divided in four parts - the representation of social actors, the representation of threats, the purpose of CCM and the goals of CCM - which together will show a clear picture of the dominant EU discourse on CCM. These four parts have been chosen both based on categories used by Fairclough and based on the research area. Under each of these headings the five texts will be analysed chronologically, one at a time.

5.2.1 The Representation of Social Actors

The representation of social actors is a crucial part of how a discourse is built. In the present case the social actors of interest are the EU on the one hand and “others” on the other hand, seldom clearly defined in the texts as will be discussed below.

Starting with the *European Security Strategy*, ESS (Council 2003), the EU is in this text depicted as a rescuer and an actor ready to play its rightful role on the world stage. There is willingness on the part of the EU to step up and answer the calls for rescue around the world, and also to become an effective world player. Statements like “an active and capable European Union would make an impact on a global scale” (Council 2003: 14) show the growing ambition of the EU. There is a clear sense of agency and all such sentences are active rather than passive – the EU is already an actor, even if it is struggling to become more effective.

When looking at the representation of other actors, the concept of difference is very obvious. Other actors are displayed passively, as a fond against which the EU can act, as when stating that “others have perceived globalisation as a cause of frustration and injustice” (Council 2003: 2). Thus, whilst the EU is actively choosing its future through the ESS, others are passively experiencing the world around them. There is furthermore a clear us-them dichotomy even if differences to a certain extent are endorsed at the textually manifest level. However, there is a limit – the EU wants to develop strategic partnerships with all those “who share our goals and values”. (Council 2003: 14). Therefore the same values are needed for any real cooperation. The remaining question is of course which these assumed values exactly are and this is not spelled out in the text. Exactly who the undefined others are in the ESS is less clear, sometimes the expression seems to denote the international society and at other times those which the EU expects to help through its international engagement.

Continuing with the *Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP* (Council 2004a) the same pattern can again be noticed but with an even greater focus on the capabilities of the EU. It is the ambitions of the EU that are the main interest and these are pushed further than in the ESS: "...the EU should become more ambitious in the goals which it sets itself in civilian crisis management" (Council 2004a: 3). Thus the operational goals are slightly altered in this text compared to the ESS.

Other actors are not very visible in the *Action Plan* as the main focus in the text is rather on what the EU wishes to be capable of doing itself than on what is demanded of it by others. "Member states are strongly committed to give the enlarged European Union the tools to make a major contribution to security and stability" (Council 2004a: 2) – only the relevant tools are needed for the EU to become a world player. It is only implicit that others are expecting the EU to act.

In the *Declaration of EU Chiefs of Police* (Council 2004b) the pattern is very similar to that of the *Action Plan* with the capabilities of the EU in focus. However it is more explicit as it is seen that others request help from the EU – "The Chiefs of Police recognised that EU policing is in high demand" (Council 2004b: 3). Again, others are depicted passively.

When analysing the *Council Conclusions* four years later it is striking that the discourse on how the EU presents itself and others is very stable. Here, many of the ambitions in the earlier texts have been realised and the EU is acknowledged as a major player in CCM whilst other actors call upon the union for help as in "...the Union must expect ever more calls on its assistance" (Council 2008b: 2). As in the earlier texts the EU wishes to cooperate with other actors such as international organisations and other states but here is a crucial difference compared to the other texts since the union only wants to do so "while respecting the European Union's independence" (Council 2008b: 3). Here the EU is sure enough of itself regarding CCM to want to stand on its own and be the active driver, not merely helping other actors such as the UN.

The same tendencies can be noticed in the *Report on the Implementation of the ESS* from December 2008. The EU is a leader not a helper; the EU will shape events, not merely react to them; "...Europe must lead a renewal of the multilateral order" (Council 2008c: 2). As in the ESS, Europe and the EU seem to denote the same entities, even before the enlargement of 2004, giving a unified and strong actorness for the EU.

5.2.2 The Representation of Threats

The representation of threats in the different texts are almost completely based on the reasoning in the ESS as it is a textual chain, either explicitly or implicitly, so the analysis here will focus on that text with only a few comments on the following ones.

The most striking fact to note when analysing the framing of threats in the ESS is the massive amount of hedging used in the first part of the text. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are "potentially" the greatest threat

to the security of the EU (Council 2003: 3), collapse of the state “can be” associated with other threats, organised crime “can have” links with terrorism (Council 2003: 4). Such hedging limits the authors’ commitment to the truth in the statements and lowers the modality. Interesting enough these threats are later on in the text reified as the actual and no longer the potential threats when the strategic objectives and policy implications for the EU are discussed. When discussing the addressing of threats, it is the threats just some pages earlier defined as the possible threats which are now reified as the actual ones. Similarly the *Declaration by EU Chiefs of Police* stress the “*potential* links between organised crime and terrorism” (Council 2004b: 2, my italics).

Furthermore, the main threats identified are concerned with hard security as can be seen in the examples above, a fact that can be connected to the securitisation of issues after 9/11. Where softer security threats are noted for example in connection with internal conflicts these are seen as security threats only to the extent that they can lead to the hard security threats, not as threats to individuals as when stating that “the most practical way to tackle the often elusive new threats [those mentioned above] will sometimes be to deal with the older problems of regional conflict” (Council 2003: 4).

The threats identified in the ESS, although initially with a low modality, are reified in the later texts and it seems often to be enough to refer to the ESS without being too specific (e.g. Council 2004a: 2). In the *Declaration of the Chiefs of Police* organised crime is singled out as the greatest threat that policing can combat. A difference however, compared to the other texts, is that the *Report on the Implementation of ESS* explicitly mentions the concepts of human security and the responsibility to protect, which are only implicit in the original ESS. However it is framed in the security of Europe rather than that of individuals.

Otherwise regarding the framing of threats the discourse is very stable in the five years between the ESS and the 2008 report.

5.2.3 The Purpose of CCM

Analysing next the purpose of CCM, the question is why the EU is committed to these types of missions. As it concerns the engagement of member states’ personnel in crises outside the borders of the EU this is a very political question. However as will become clear below there are no clear answers given.

In the ESS, there are two different answers to the question of the purpose of CCM. Already on the first page it is stated that “Europe should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and in building a better world” (Council 2003: 1). According to this, the EU has a responsibility to help those less prosperous or secure. But when charting the key threats the focus is rather on the security of the EU, not of individuals regardless of origin. Even regional conflicts and development are framed in terms of European security, so that the EU can become more secure if the level of development is raised across the world, lowering the risks of WMD, terrorism and organised crime.

The purposes are quite clearly spelled out further on in the text though: “to defend its security and to promote its values” (Council 2003: 6). Here, it is stated that it is the security of the EU that prompts the union to engage in conflicts across the globe and to spread its norms. Another frank expression of international engagement being in the self interest of the EU is given under the heading “Addressing the Threats”: “Restoring good government to the Balkans, fostering democracy and enabling the authorities there to tackle organised crime is one of the most effective ways of dealing with organised crime within the EU” (Council 2003: 6). So even if the ESS ends with a hope of contributing to a “fairer, safer and more united world” (Council 2003: 14) this is because such a development would increase the security for the EU; quite far away from the concept of human security.

The *Action Plan* is not explicit as to the purpose to be achieved by the plan and is simply referring to the ESS. The text is also more neutral and depoliticised than the ESS. The EU wants to “make a major contribution to security and stability” (Council 2004a: 2) but it is less clear whose security the text is referring to. Stability here becomes a goal in itself almost, leaving out the political decisions behind the ESDP.

Interestingly enough, the *Declaration of EU Chiefs of Police* from half a year later is more explicit than either the ESS or the *Action Plan*. In relation to organised crime the text states that “external actions [...] can help improve our internal security” (Council 2004b: 2). Here, it is beyond questioning that police missions are seen as tools to improve the security of the EU even if the missions are taking place outside its borders.

Four years later the same neutral language as in the *Action Plan* can be noted. Civilian missions are important tools “in support of peace and international security” (Council 2008b: 2), which is presented as a purpose in itself.

The *Report on the Implementation of the ESS* is less neutral and the term “our security” is used repeatedly in the first pages as for example when stating that “to ensure our security and meet the expectations of our citizens, we must be ready to shape events” (Council 2008c: 2), making the citizens of the EU the subjects of security, not individuals generally. As in the original text, the EU is threatened by the insecurity of others through crime, illegal immigration and piracy for example. However, the text explicitly mentions human security and the responsibility to protect, if only in passing, showing that there are competing discourses within the order of discourse.

In the end though it seems clear that the discourse focusing on the security of the EU is gaining the upper hand. “There is an onus on governments, parliaments and EU institutions to communicate how this [global engagement] contributes to security at home.” (Council 2008c: 12). Thus, the missions are framed in terms of the security of the EU, not that of human beings.

5.2.4 The Goals of CCM

Again concerning the goals of the civilian missions, i.e. what is to be achieved to reach the purpose of enhanced security for the EU, the discourse is very stable across the five texts and will be treated together in the analysis. Two distinct strands of discourse can be noted: the assumed nature of political concepts and the fusion of civilian and military capabilities into the same package.

How to govern a community is a very political question indeed. Yet, in all texts it is merely assumed what concepts like good governance, democracy and well-governed states actually mean in statements such as “the best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states” (Council 2003: 10), where well-governed only seem to denote lack of corruption and abuse of power. Furthermore, it is also implicitly assumed as obvious that these are the means of achieving European security. The impression for the reader is that the necessary reforms are technological rather than political and can thus be imposed by civil servants and other types of personnel. Still, the EU wishes to “support social and political reform” (Council 2003: 10) but it is unclear how this is going to be achieved, or even what is meant with the expression. Another assumption is that there exists an unambiguous “best (European) practice” concerning most reforms. Best practices are mentioned in all texts in statements such as “aim of establishing sustainable policing arrangements under local ownership according to best European and international practice” (Council 2004b: 2). The intertextual chain is very clear and the subsequent texts are all based on the ESS.

Another issue is the way civilian and military measures are treated as being parts of the same toolbox as when stating the goal to “developing operations involving both military and civilian capabilities” (Council 2003: 11). The purposes and goals are portrayed as the same and it is only the context that decides which tool is the most effective in a given case. On the contrary it could be claimed that civilian capabilities have much more profound consequences as they aim to rebuild and restructure a society, not merely uphold a ceasefire or contain a conflict. This difference is invisible in the texts, again giving the impression that CCM missions are more technical than political. This also hides the far reaching, long term consequences of CCM.

5.3 Summary

The dominant EU discourse on CCM has been very stable across the five years analysed. Some new elements have been added and competing discourses are present, especially in the *Report on the Implementation of the ESS*, but on the whole the framing of events in the ESS has to a great extent shaped the subsequent policy formulations and reference texts.

To summarise, the dominant discourse on civilian capabilities portrays an EU ready and capable to shape global events and be an active interventionist, as compared to undefined others who are portrayed passively. The reason for the

EU's active international engagement seems to be mainly that the only effective way to protect the union from the hard security threats identified in the ESS is to tackle the root causes abroad and remake these "others" in line with the norms the EU is founded on. However, exactly what this means or what is implied by the norms of good governance and democracy or the concept of best European practice which are the goals of CCM is not spelled out in any of the texts.

Next, the thesis will analyse the results of the interviews to explore the consequences of this EU discourse on CCM for the social structures.

6 Analysis of the Social Structures

As mentioned in the method chapter the analysis will be divided into three categories, analysing how the discourse on CCM has had consequences for the constitution of identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge and belief respectively. When relevant, the specific theory on policing and concepts of power will be taken into account. Furthermore, to the extent possible, depending on the material, the mechanisms of *how* the discourse has effects will be analysed. Here, language is of crucial importance.

It must however be pointed out that these three different divisions are analytic in their nature, in line with the ontological outlook of the thesis. They simplify the analysis but are at the same time interlinked, as will become apparent in the analysis.

The analysis will try to take both the theoretical and the empirical into account. The analysis will also, to the extent allowed by the material, try to see how the discourse is maintained or contested by the police officers. This is desirable since structures and agents, according to social constructivism, are mutually constitutive. So, even if the analysis is mainly concerned with the effect of structures on agents, it will try to take the dialectical relationship into consideration.

6.1 The Constitution of Identities & Images of the Other

That identity is affected by discourses and interaction is commonplace knowledge within constructivism and CDA. However, in this analysis the images of the other are also included. As self identities are often, if not always, crafted against the other, which incorporates those traits the self does not wish to be associated with, the inclusion of these others are a crucial part of an analysis of the constitution of identities. Furthermore, it is the self identities in combination with the images of the other that are the ground for the social relationships to be analysed in the next section.

6.1.1 The Identity and Role of the EU

The identity and role of the EU, which was very obvious in the discourse, can be seen in the interview material as well. The EU is usually seen as more competent, more capable and as helping out.

This line of discourse is however also heavily contested by several of the sample. “[Some colleagues] came there and thought that they should tell people to do things this way, this is best and we are best, that didn’t work”¹ (Interview 2). Here, we can see how the identity of the EU as the superior helper is contested and several police officers questioned the right to tell others what to do, as will be discussed further below. The same police woman also stated that she thought that some humbleness was necessary when coming to another country, instead of taking for granted that the EU is a welcome helper in all cases. Yet the contesting takes place against the stable backdrop of the EU discourse, which is taken for granted but in some cases rejected. The strong underlying discourse portraying the EU as the saviour is of crucial importance as it is the foundation and reason for all missions, and without which the EU could not engage in foreign conflicts.

Some police officers also questioned the role of the EU in CCM, saying that the overall approach might be badly suited for the areas concerned. “Sometimes I wonder if not both the UN and the EU become engaged in these types of conflicts at such an early stage that the conflict never has the time to heal but keep smouldering and remains all the time”² (Interview 5) is a quote that summarises the views of several police officers in this regard³.

This theme also shows how integrated these analytical divisions are in reality. The role of the EU as being both the saviour and superior taps into both the social relationships and becomes part of the systems of knowledge, especially at the point where the discourse becomes the natural focus of those concerned and thus in one sense accepted. Regarding power, it is very powerful to be able to make others internalise one’s own identity, as the EU to a large extent seems to have been able to do. This power is productive, as the role of the EU becomes part of the systems of knowledge as just stated, and these systems then set the limits, or in the case of the external engagement of the EU rather push the limits, of what the EU can legitimately do. The EU would not be capable of launching missions such as their police missions if its identity as a superior helper was not to some extent accepted, both by the states in which missions are launched and by other organisations engaged in similar activities such as the UN.

6.1.2 The Identity of the Police Officers

Regarding the identity of the police officers, this aspect of identity seems to be the one least affected by the EU discourse. The reason for this is probably the strong sense of collegiality existing within the police corps as mentioned by several of the interviewees; “you are a police officer regardless of where”⁴ (Interview 8).

¹ ”kom dit och trodde att dom skulle tala om för folk att så här ska ni göra, det här är bäst, och vi är bäst, det gick inte hem”

² ”Ibland undrar jag om inte både FN och EU rycker in i såna här konflikter i ett sånt tidigt skede att konflikten aldrig hinner läka ut utan den pyr och finns kvar hela tiden”

³ A similar academic argument can be found in Miall et. al. (1999).

⁴ ”Man är ju polis oavsett var.”

Even when critiquing foreign police officers they referred to them as their colleagues. However, it is clear that the general discourse on the identity of the EU to some extent is extended to their own identities as several see themselves as helpers. This is mostly visible in the cases where the images of the other, discussed below, are not contested but the asymmetrical relationship between the giver of help and the receiver is accepted. Also, as mentioned above, certain police officers obviously integrated the identity of the EU with their own, which is quite understandable, as when they believed to know better than the local police. This aspect of identity is straightforwardly negative, as it reinforces the asymmetrical relationship down to a personal and not just structural level.

However, some police officers also showed that they had changed their identity in certain respects when reflecting on their experiences during the missions. One officer, who also contested the projection of values on other people stated this when she said that “no, I notice that you really have to change your opinion that everything I do is the best, because maybe that’s not the way it is, maybe I have to adapt a little to the environment I’m in”⁵ (Interview 12).

6.1.3 The Images of the Other

The image of the other within the discourse analysis was quite clear, at least as them being what the EU or police officers are not. In the interview material, the image of the other is shifting, to a large extent depending on the context.

On the one hand, which is likely to be the consequence of a combination of the dominant discourse and personal experiences, is the distinction between European (including Balkan) police officers and those from the third world. Many refer to these other police officers, usually within a UN context, as less willing and capable to work, depending on poor training and motivation, as well as framed in more cultural terms. “We were well seen there [in BiH] and we were from, how shall I say, European countries with a little larger and better qualifications if you compare with Asia and Africa”⁶ (Interview 2). Here, the image of these others are part of the building of the identities of the Swedish police officers as they set themselves apart from these third world officers, whilst still viewing them as colleagues. In the context of the mission in Darfur, the interviewees pointed to the difficulties when AU police officers were supposed to act as advisors to the Sudan police: “and many of the local [Sudan] police had both better education and better knowledge than those who should advice them [the AU police]”⁷ (Interview 13).

⁵ ”Nej, jag märker ju att man får verkligen ändra sin uppfattning om att allt jag gör är bäst, för så kanske det inte är, jag kanske måste anpassa mig lite efter den miljö jag är i”

⁶ ”Vi var välsedda där, och vi var ju från, hur ska jag säga, från europeiska länder med lite större och bättre kvalifikationer om man jämför med Asien och Afrika”

⁷ ”och många av dem lokala poliserna hade ju både bättre utbildning och bättre kunskaper än dom som skulle rådgiva dom”

On the other hand, when it comes to the local police in the Balkans, and especially BiH, these are in many instances seen as sharing our values, to a certain extent. “We [the Swedish and the local police officers] didn’t work in exactly the same way but we had similar values [as compared to Asia and Africa]”⁸ (Interview 2). Still, that the local police officers are in need of help and training, as the discourse stipulates, is accepted by some of the interviewees as when one police officer said that “any Swedish police officer coming down there has something to teach them”⁹ (Interview 7). However, several others strongly contest this, meaning that in some cases they had nothing to teach the local police, as they knew at least as much as the advisors: “I didn’t really have that much to teach them because they were so skilled, they were really good”¹⁰ (Interview 2). Yet again, it is clear that when some police officers claim that for example the local police was very well trained indeed, it is clear that they do so in response to the dominant discourse, of which they are well aware. In several instances, they responded to me that they knew that it was usually thought that the local police needed very much help, but that they contested this view. The same pattern was visible when police women claimed, against an unspoken discourse, that they really did not feel discriminated against during the missions (Interviews 2, 12, 16). This is one of the most obvious ways to see the discourse “in action” and that the EU discourse actually is the dominant one, even at this level. However, having seen that the training of the local police is not always necessary, the remaining question is why the EU then engages itself in the conflicts. This will be clarified in the analysis of the social relationships below. Also, the images of the other become part of the systems of knowledge, legitimising the EU missions and making them hard to contest. Here the discourse and the productive power of it has far reaching consequences as the identity of the EU together with the images of the other create the foundation and reason for CCM.

Taking the analysis a step further, it is clear that the identities of the police officers and their images of the other, as well as the perceived identity and role of the EU, also strongly affect the social relationships of the missions. To this issue the analysis will turn next.

6.2 The Constitution of Social Relationships

As the identities and images of the other uphold a very unequal relationship, even if contested by many, the obvious consequence is that the social relationship between the EU police officers and the local police becomes unequal, as well as the overall relationship between the EU and the receiving state. This is thus a

⁸ “Vi jobbade inte på riktigt samma sätt men vi hade lika värderingar”

⁹ “vilken svensk polis som helst som kommer ner dit har någonting att lära dem”

¹⁰ “Jag hade egentligen inte så mycket att komma med för de var så skickliga, de var jätteduktiga”

consequence both of the discourse and of the resulting identities and perceptions of the other, showing how these distinctions are thoroughly integrated.

6.2.1 Control Mechanisms

One consequence mentioned by many of the interviewees is the level of control towards the local police and the local context. In many instances the possibility to maintain control over their work is seen as one of the main *raison d'être* for the missions, both in the Balkans and in Darfur and even official documents stress the need to “provide guidelines and control” (Lindgren & Jensen 2006: 60).

Being non executive missions, the control and persuasion abilities are mainly maintained through language. As one very high ranked official said about his experience from BiH, what he mainly did was “talk, talk, talk, make demands, talk, make demands, talk, they’re stubborn as hell down there”¹¹ (Interview 8). Another, when reflecting on the fact that they were unarmed, said that “our weapon was the pen and the big mouth”¹² (Interview 11). Through language the missions exert a crucial productive power which aims at changing the systems of knowledge and beliefs, or norms simply, in the states affected. What is really done during the missions is that the local police and also government are told and shown that their systems of knowledge are wrong and must be changed in line with EU standards (which are not all too clear, see below). However control over the police work is also carried out more executively in many cases, as for example by “going out to different police stations to inspect the activities, check[ed] the papers and such at the stations”¹³ (Interview 3). This type of control mechanisms go down to a very individual level and have also been present for a very long time as expressed by an interviewee who said that “you have to think about that for more than ten years they have had people standing over them inspecting, scrutinising everything they’ve done, it’s unbelievable that they have had the patience, I wouldn’t have been able to stand it”¹⁴ (Interview 1).

More profoundly, this degree of control exerted by the police mission taps into the theoretical outlook of Waddington, as discussed in the theory chapter. He sees policing as establishing a particular social order and as upholding the state. When viewed in this light, the missions become in one sense executive, not because the police officers always do the job for the local police (even if this also seems to be the case now and then) but since they help uphold state capacity. The states in question cannot be called failed but are very weak and post conflict. Furthermore, the conflicts in question have occurred when the state’s monopoly on violence has been eroded (Kaldor 1999: 12). In this stage, the extension of the power of the police becomes crucial for being able to claim to be a state at all, especially as

¹¹ ”prata, prata, prata, ställa krav, prata, ställa krav, prata, dom är tjuriga som fan där nere”

¹² ”Vårt vapen det var pennan och den breda truten”

¹³ ”åkte ut till olika polisstationer och kontrollerade verksamheten, kollade papperna och sånt inne på stationen.”

¹⁴ ”Man får ju tänka på att i över tio år har dom haft folk stående över sig och kollat, nagelfarit allt dom har gjort, att dom haft det tålmodet förstår jag inte, jag hade inte klarat det”

regards organised crime which is parallel to the state in many ways, especially in the Balkans. Thus, the role of the missions can be seen as not merely MMI but much more a profound reorganisation and strengthening of the state. This view is further strengthened by the fact that EUPM has been pushing for a whole restructuring of the police system in BiH with very political undertones as the reform aims at establishing one unified police force in this otherwise divided country¹⁵ (Interview 8). Of course, the reasons for this cannot be established here, but many interviewees point to the future membership of the Balkan states into the EU as one reason for engaging in the area, and as all EU members are nation states, this could be one reason.

In connection to this, it is clear that the focus of the missions are areas which are of more interest to the EU, than perhaps always to the local population or police corps. When the EU does not deem the state in question to exert enough control itself, the missions in several instances have taken a much more executive turn, in both BiH and Darfur. In the case of BiH, organised crime is seen as the main threat, as was shown in the discourse analysis and also very present in the interviews. One police officer expressed it thus, that in order to avoid a potential conflict at the borders of the EU, he believed that the EU “probably is prepared to commit itself to be able to keep it under control, and to exert a certain control”¹⁶ (Interview 3). Many interviewees also talked explicitly about the problem of organised crime as when saying that “Bosnia is an important country for security [that of the EU], many trafficking routes go through Bosnia, both human trafficking and drug trafficking”¹⁷ (Interview 9). Regarding Sudan, the interviewees saw the potential refugee problem as one of the main reasons for engaging in the area. “I think that they have seen it this way, that to avoid refugee flows to Europe it is better to support them where they are honestly, I think that is the main reason.”¹⁸ (Interview 13) Here, the discourse that portrays the missions as being to a large extent in the security interest of the EU justifies that the missions are carried out with a focus on the self interests of the union. This of course does not mean that most interviewees did not also say that humanitarian considerations were most likely present as well, but for almost all interviewees the security concerns of the EU were seen as the main reason for engaging.

Furthermore, as change was usually slow in coming, several police officers stated that the line between an MMI and an executive mission at times was crossed. As one police officer with a high position said that “in our mandate we weren’t allowed to use law enforcement, we were advisers and supported them [...] then perhaps we have taken some step too far sometimes, to show them a

¹⁵ BiH is divided into Bosnia and Republika Srpska, the Serbian part of the country, in accordance with the Dayton Peace Agreement from 1995.

¹⁶ ”nog är beredda att satsa för att kunna hålla det under kontroll, och ha viss kontroll”

¹⁷ Bosnien är ju ett viktigt land för säkerheten, det är ju många traffickingvägar som går genom Bosnien, både human trafficking och drug trafficking”

¹⁸ “Jag tror att man har sett det såhär, att för att undvika flyktingströmmar till Europa så är det bättre att hjälpa dom på plats, jag tror att det är huvudskälet om jag ska vara ärlig”

good model, that has happened as well”¹⁹ (Interview 13). In BiH, the original project approach was dropped after some time after a change of head of mission as expressed by an officer who stated that “our boss said that let’s leave the office and go out and work with them instead”²⁰ (Interview 7). Yet, this was done within the framework of the original mandate as the discourse on civilian missions is focusing on the MMI type of mission rather than the executive type. Here, we can see how the discourse is acting as a constraint on what can be said and done, but also how concepts can gain new meanings, making earlier unthinkable practices possible and also legitimate.

6.2.2 The Projection of Values

In the discourse analysis it was seen that the EU is portrayed as actively interventionist and wishing to remake the others in line with its identity. This seems to have had strong consequences for how the missions are carried out. Values such as human rights and democracy are frequently mentioned in the interviews and are seen as some of the basic pillars of the missions, even if not everyone has been working explicitly with them. Yet, even those who have focused on the teaching of specific police methods point to the diffusion of norms by example, i.e. by acting in a manner showing these values.

Interestingly, this consequence is the one mostly contested in the interviews. In many cases, the police officers ask themselves with what right we may preach our values to others, not least in cultures very different from our own. From experience they have reached the conclusion that our values are not always appropriate or even desired: “you can’t always project how we work in Sweden and think that it must necessarily fit Bosnia”²¹ (Interview 2). In one case, a police woman with experience from Darfur rejected this projection of values, but also started saying that she did not think that was what they had done in Darfur when training the AU Police. Then she went silent before realising that was exactly what they had done (Interview 12). In several cases the police officers pointed out that their roles had not been suitable either for their background or the context and one of them even aborted the mission because of a combination of private reasons and that he “considered myself not being useful down there, the whole activity which I was pottering about, it just wasn’t transferable”²² (Interview 6). Some interviewees made a distinction between missions close to the EU culturally speaking and those taking place in Africa, which were seen as radically different. This was summarised by a police officer with experience from Darfur who said “that is where we have possibilities [in Europe], that is where we can reach them

¹⁹ “ i vårt mandat fick vi ju inte använda law enforcement, vi var rådgivare och stödde dom [...] sen har vi ju kanske också tagit nåt steg för långt ibland, för att visa dom en god modell, det har förekommit också”

²⁰ ”vår chef sa att nu lämnar vi kontoret och åker ut och jobbar med dom istället”

²¹ ”man kan inte alltid projicera hur vi jobbar, i Sverige, och tro att det ska absolut passa i Bosnien”

²² ”ansåg ju själv att jag inte gjorde nån nytta där nere, hela upplägget som jag pysslade med, det var ju inte överförbart”

with our message. To go to Africa and think you can convert the Africans in a week, it just doesn't work"²³ (Interview 11).

Several police officers also pointed to the informal projection of norms and how they promoted human rights simply through their way of behaving in relation both to the local police and the local population. One police officer when comparing his own experience from BiH with what he had heard about the mission in Darfur summarised his impression by saying that "she [a colleague who had been in Darfur] has told me that they were locked in the camp all the time and weren't allowed to go outside, and what then can you give?"²⁴ (Interview 5).

This projection of values could be seen as proof of the so called normative power of the EU, had the norms to be projected been clearly defined. However, as will be analysed below, it is not clear for the police officers what they are expected to teach the local police. Thus, there is no one set of norms that is projected, rather the discontinuity shows again and amplifies the importance of national mind sets. Furthermore, it is clear from the interviews that this projection of values and methods were quite often contested by the local police, sometimes actively and sometimes more subtly. Also, most police officers doubted the long term effects of the missions in respect to this, as when one police officer said that "well they listened a bit to our opinions and such, but it's hard to know how much changed afterwards"²⁵ (Interview 10). Another police officer who had been to Darfur expressed this by saying that "we gave them tools but they forgot the toolbox when they left the camp"²⁶ (Interview 12). Some also gave examples of how this projection had been openly challenged in discussions, for example in telling a police officer that "[the Sudan police officers] said to me, X, think about it this way, we live this way and we have these traditions and this culture, and you can't apply everything on us, firstly it won't work and secondly, does it have to work, do we have to become like you? Maybe we want to stay the way we are"²⁷ (Interview 12).

Thus, the consequences regarding social relationships are to a large extent depending on the effects on the identities of the EU and the people involved. However, the systems of knowledge and belief are also an important prerequisite for the missions as will be explored below.

²³ "Det är där vi har möjligheter, det är där vi kan nå fram med vårt budskap. Att åka till Afrika och tro att man kan omvända afrikanerna över en vecka där, det går bara inte"

²⁴ "hon har berättat att dom var instängda på campen hela tiden och inte fick gå utanför portarna, och vad kan man då ge för något?"

²⁵ "...eeh, ja dom lyssnade ju lite på vad vi hade för synpunkter och så men sen, det är ju svårt att veta också hur mycket det förändrades i efterhand"

²⁶ "Vi gav dom verktyg men dom glömde verktygslådan när dom lämnade campen"

²⁷ " de sa att X, tänk såhär, vi lever såhär och har den här traditionen och den här kulturen, och ni kan inte applicera allt på oss, för det första kommer det aldrig att funka och för det andra, måste det funka, måste vi bli som ni? Vi kanske vill vara som vi är"

6.3 The Constitution of Systems of Knowledge

Systems of knowledge and belief define the limits for what is possible and thinkable, making some actions legitimate and others not. As such, they shape the missions by defining desirable and legitimate behaviour.

6.3.1 Taken for Granted Concepts

It was very clear in the discourse analysis that concepts such as best European standard, democracy and human rights were not properly defined but that it was taken for granted what was meant by them. Obviously then, the planners of the missions have not seen any reason for defining them at a later point and this consequence was easily spotted during the interviews. Several interviewees themselves questioned the concept of best European standard, mocking its claimed existence. "It's hopeless to get an understanding of what best practice is, it doesn't work"²⁸ (Interview 4), one officer stated. The differences between the member states of the EU were simply seen as too great to make a common standard possible. One example of this at a higher level would be the replacement of head of mission in BiH mentioned above which resulted in a more executive mission, even if not on paper. A police officer described him as "full of medals, he looked like a Christmas tree when he came [...], coming directly from the military camp"²⁹ (Interview 9). Many were also sceptical towards the lack of follow up. "It became a lot of unfounded opinions; yes this is working very well..."³⁰ (Interview 4) This lack of definition also meant that in many cases the police officers were left at their position with little if any guidance regarding the work they were supposed to carry out, as exemplified in the following very representative quote. "They told me that X, you're going to have training. Ok, and what does that mean? Well, you're going to hold classes for AU police officers. Ok, but in what? Well, it was just to gather some material about things you thought was important. [...] It was up to the individual police officer"³¹ (Interview 12). According to the evaluation of the projects in BiH this problem was obvious regarding the projects as well, which lacked objectives and guidelines (Lindgren & Jensen 2006: 7, 57).

In relation to this most police officers pointed to the problems arising from the existence of different police corps within the union, usually comparing the Nordic, civilian police with the paramilitary police of Southern Europe, but also at

²⁸ "det är hopplöst att förstå vad som menas med best practice, det fungerar bara inte"

²⁹ "fullspäckad av medaljer, han var som en julgran när han kom [...], kom direkt bortifrån militärförläggningen"

³⁰ "Det blev ett allmänt tyckande, ja det fungerar bra..."

³¹ "Dom sa till mig att X, du ska ha training. Jaha, vad innebär det då? Jo, du ska hålla lektioner för AU:s poliser. Jaha, i vadå? Ja, det var bara att plocka ihop lite material om sånt man tyckte var viktigt. [...] Det var upp till den enskilda polisen"

an individual level. As one police officer who has been in BiH stated, “everyone has their frame of reference and everyone is upholding it, and then it goes down the drain because there is no cooperation because everyone are right somewhere and no one gives in, that’s about how it’s like in an EU mission, everyone has the answer to the question but it’s different answers”³² (Interview 5). The resulting problem, as claimed by the interviewees, is the lack of continuity during the missions. This is effects at several levels. At the local, personal level where EU police officers are co-located with their counterparts in the mission state the local police officers risk being taught different values and methods at different times. As the positions rotate once a year, a person who has been advised by a Swedish police officer might then instead have a police officer from Southern Europe with differing standards meaning that the local police “would have to choose which of us they thought was most sensible”³³ (Interview 5). The local police also voiced this opinion in the evaluation report from 2006 (Lindgren & Jensen 2006: 59). Furthermore, this pattern is reproduced at the highest level as well, as the head of mission usually leave a visible mark on the mission. In the end, it seems that the goal of spreading the norms of the EU is less prioritised than to be able to exert control and aim at a restructuring of the mission states

6.3.2 The Technical vs. the Political

In the EU discourse on CCM the political was in most instances not present and the reconstruction of societies seemed more technical than political. This pattern is also found when analysing the effects on the social structures. One police officer, when talking about the present mission EULEX Kosovo, said that “they say from the management that it is an apolitical mission [...], a technical mission, a law mission, that no matter what happens there must be law and order, there is an enormous corruption and organised crime, and that’s why we’re there”³⁴ (Interview 15). Several interviewees pointed to this official technical picture of the missions but some were also sceptical, pointing to how political the reforms in especially BiH are. Some police officers also lamented the lack of democracy in BiH, as the parties take turns in ruling the country (Interview 9). However the extent to which the missions can be claimed to be technical seems to have depended to a large extent on the type of post occupied by the police officers. Some stressed the teaching of police methods of working and did not believe to have taken part in any dispersion of norms, except in some cases informally by their way of acting. Others pointed to how issues such as human rights,

³² “alla har ju sin referensram och alla hävdar den, och då blir det pannkaka för det blir inget samarbete för alla har rätt någonstans och ingen ger med sig, det är ungefär så i en EU-mission, alla har svaret på frågan men det är olika svar”

³³ “fick dem ju välja vem av oss dem tyckte var vettigast”

³⁴ “Man säger från ledningen att det är en opolitisk mission [...], en teknisk mission, en rättsmission, att hur det än blir måste det bli ordning och reda, där är enorm korruption och organiserad brottslighet, och det är dem grejerna vi är där för”

fundamental freedoms and democracy were built into projects and ways of working to the extent of permeating the whole mission.

There are several problems here. Firstly, it should be stated that these decisions are political and normative rather than merely technical in their nature (Frost 1996: 77). Secondly, it is important that conflicts are viewed as political and not framed in ethnical terms as unavoidable disasters (Lindholm Schulz 2002: 25), meaning that the peace building and restructuring after a conflict will always be a political enterprise focused on replacing the previous social order. Thirdly, there is the question whether it is even possible for external actors to “teach” state building in the terms of democracy and human rights to a local community (Lindholm Schulz 2002: 172), no matter the talk of local ownership. By imposing far reaching restructuring of the police as a technical matter this is done without democratic accountability, making the changes hard to contest for the local population. By denying the political nature of the reforms, these are imposed undemocratically on the local societies. This is another way of exerting control and the discourse is necessary in order to project this powerful control as legitimate, both to the locally and internationally.

6.4 The Contesting and Maintenance of Discourse

As has become apparent during the analysis, even if the identified EU discourse is treated as the dominant one by the interviewees during interaction it is heavily contested on several issues. The question is then how and to what extent the actors can affect the discursive practice within the structures. This is not the place for a fully fledged analysis on the subject but based on the interview material some points can be raised.

Firstly, agreeing with, and thus maintaining, a discourse should make it significantly stronger as the discourse becomes no longer merely official but also supported by ordinary people, in this case in their roles as police officers. This widens the scope and reach of the discourse as it is dispersed through the personal and professional networks, as well as authorities, upon returning home. The reports that the officers write for the authorities also strengthens the public level of the discourse, thus both reinforcing the existing discourse and widening its scope and reach.

Secondly, contesting the dominant discourse is most likely seldom destabilising to the same degree. Whilst contesting the official discourse prevents it from being accepted more generally, thus reducing its reach, it will still be harder for the individual to change the structure. Several police officers expressed the view that it was difficult to change the discourse or way of talking and writing about the missions, for example by saying that “what is written about the missions it’s so correct, and then this language comes in, the bureaucratic, it can never be a

failure. [...] It becomes a lot of strange truths without anyone knowing where they come from”³⁵ (Interview 9). The interviews also displayed several instances where persons contesting the discourse, and usually also the behaviour accompanying it, were sent home or ignored.³⁶ Here the power relationship between the structure and the individual becomes apparent and how the agency is restrained by the structures.

6.5 Summary

From the analysis it is clear that the EU discourse on CCM has had effects on the social structures analysed and therefore also on the actors involved. The discourse can be easily spotted in all three areas even – or especially – as it at times is heavily contested. It is also clear that the discourse on CCM is a necessary prerequisite for the existence of the police missions as the discourse through productive power depicts the missions as legitimate and needed in the local societies.

Regarding the first structure, concerning the identity and role of the EU and the image of the other, this has clear connections to the dominant discourse but is at the same time contested by many of the police officers who reject the workings of productive power, e.g. how the local police are framed as less competent than the EU police. Interestingly enough, it seems clear that further education is not always considered necessary or worthwhile, eroding the claimed *raison d'être* of the police missions. Rather, when analysing the structures of the social relationships the issue of control towards the local police is prominent, and seemingly in the interest of the EU. The specific control mechanisms take the power asymmetries down to a personal level as well, reflected in the relations between the local police and the EU police officers.

Furthermore, the unequal social relationship between the receiving states and the EU makes it possible for the union to project its values, even if the content of the norms are less clear than depicted by the NPE literature. Also, this aim of transferring its values is contested, both by the local police and by the EU police officers.

Finally, when studying the knowledge structures it is clear that concepts such as best practice and democracy are framed as straightforward matters which do not need any further guidelines, leading to a lack of continuity in the missions. More importantly still, the missions are framed as technical rather than political,

³⁵ “det som är skrivet om missionerna, det är ju så tillrättalagt, och så kommer det här språket in, det byråkratiska, det får aldrig vara något misslyckande. [...] Det blir en massa konstiga sanningar utan att man vet var dom kommer ifrån”

³⁶ One example would be how a woman reporting on the inappropriate behaviour of the highest ranking officials regarding prostitutes was sent home. According to the asymmetrical relationship upheld by the discourse the behaviour of the officials could be seen as normal, whilst it is not accepted to criticise this.

denying real democracy to the populations. Taken together, the police missions lead to a strengthening of the state and also often to a far reaching restructuring of the state through its monopoly on violence.

Next, the thesis will end with the overall conclusions and some reflections on these.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Conclusions

To start, it should be acknowledged that according to the results it seems clear that the EU discourse on CCM has had profound consequences for both structures and agents, even if the exact procedures for this are hard to pinpoint. Thus, it was a wise decision not to focus solely on the effects on the social practice, i.e. the police missions. Furthermore, it is also clear that the EU through its productive power is in control of a stable discourse on CCM which has hardly changed during the years studied.

To continue with the research question, this was formulated as follows: which are the consequences of the EU discourse on civilian crisis management for the social structures? It seems that the identity of the EU and its role, as well as the view of others as inferior, pushes the limits of what the EU can legitimately do, making its presence in the receiving countries almost necessary. Through this unequal relationship structure the EU can exert control over the policing in other states, in line with the perceived security needs of the EU. The overall structural consequence of the EU discourse on CCM is thus a restructuring of the local societies and a strengthening of the state apparatus as such through the strengthening of the monopoly on violence, of which the police act as custodians. However as this is framed as a technical rather than political issue it becomes hard to counter for the citizens, meaning that in the end both local ownership and real democracy is denied the populations. The new social order is imposed from above, not coming from below. To achieve this, the dominant discourse is a necessary prerequisite to legitimise the behaviour of the EU and the productive power projected through the discourse is thus what makes EU CCM possible in the first place.

In accordance with the theoretical outlook of this thesis, it is clear that the power of the EU is not only based on its material resources – which undoubtedly also play a role – but on normative structures and the power of discourse, making the behaviour of the EU legitimate and desirable.

7.2 Reflections

The remaining question is of course whether these conclusions, based on a limited sample both in numbers and nationality, can be generalised to some extent to the population. I would like to argue that this is possible, at least to a limited extent. Obviously, police officers with other nationalities are likely to see their own systems as the best one, as emphasised by the interviewees, and would accordingly have highlighted other issues than those focused on by the informants here. Yet, the picture provided by the Swedish police officers is a unified one in character, even if the personal opinions vary. Thus, it seems likely that the more important conclusions regarding the degree of control over the local societies, the projection of values as well as the lack of definitions and a technologisation of the political would be visible also with a different sample.

Regarding further research, a study including police officers from different member states would of course increase the generalisability of the findings and could probably shed more light on the mechanisms at work. More interestingly, a comparison between the views of civilian and military personnel would probably be fruitful to explore the essential differences between civilian and military missions.

Reflecting on the theories and methods used, these were well suited for the research question. CDA was fruitful as the overall framework, however the researcher should think twice about whether it is the more limited social practice or the more general social structures which are of interest in the last step of the analysis. Here, a focus on the social practice would have produced rather self evident and flat conclusions, not in line with the critical outlook of CDA. Regarding the more specific method of interviews, this method was thoroughly rewarding, providing me with my own, very interesting material and a useful experience as well.

The aim of this thesis was not to be policy prescriptive, however after the interviews and the interesting information given in them it is difficult not to end with some concluding remarks on how the police missions could be improved upon. I do, as all my informants, firmly believe that the EU has a role to play internationally, and that police missions can bring relief to the local populations. However, I am sceptical towards an approach that favours the helping of states, be they EU member states or the states in need, over that of individuals

Local ownership is a concept that is paid much lip service by the EU and which sounds very rewarding on paper, but as the analysis has shown the concept does not always transform into reality. Even though corruption is a huge problem in several of the places touched upon in this study the local police should become more engaged, as well as the local population. More profoundly still, the EU – and the West more generally – has to acknowledge that not everyone wishes to become images of Europeans and to adopt exactly the same norms and values. Furthermore, even in cases where one might hope to export our norms, as for example to stop gender based violence, this effort most likely has to come locally

to have any real effect. As several informants stressed, the EU cannot remake a society in a couple of years, and should perhaps not strive to do so either.

On a more practical note, it seems obvious that the EU should define concepts such as best European standards and democracy, both to provide guidance for the EU police officers and to be able to measure the success of a mission. It is remarkable that this has not already been done. Also, both the EU more generally and the member states should become better at listening to the police officers participating in the missions and to use their opinions and experiences to become more efficient. It is true that some reports based on this have been made to date but I cannot see that their opinions have been used when looking for example at the new mission in Kosovo.

To end with a last recommendation or hope for the future, I suggest that missions, be they civilian or military, are planned with the individual in mind, not the state.

8 Executive Summary

Whilst the military operations of the EU have been thoroughly discussed the police missions have received much less attention, both academically and politically. However, the present thesis claims that police missions, and other types of civilian missions, are different in their essence as they aim at the restructuring of the local societies and thus have more long term and far reaching effects than the military missions. Furthermore, the thesis wishes to explore the role of language and discourse in the process, especially the consequences of discourse on the social structures. Therefore, the purpose is twofold, both to investigate empirically the structural consequences of the EU discourse regarding CCM and to, on a more theoretical note, analyse whether and to what extent discourses have effects on the social structures, as is usually taken for granted in this strand of research. The research question to be answered is accordingly: which are the consequences of the EU discourse on civilian crisis management, CCM for the social structures?

To place the study in its scientific context the thesis contains a research overview. The review considers the literature on the power of the EU, be it civilian, military or normative. Whilst drawing on some of the insights of the normative power strand of research, it is found that several researchers are quite uncritical to the power of the EU and how it is used, resulting in a eschewed analysis. A similar pattern can be seen when proceeding to the literature on police missions, where many researchers are more policy prescriptive, and also generally descriptive, rather than theoretically guided in their research. However, some scientists in this strand have a more critical outlook and form a basis for the thesis.

The theories used to answer the research question are social constructivism and critical discourse analysis, CDA, which are suitable to combine as they share the same ontological and epistemological outlook, as well as a focus on the crucial role of language. Both theories also stress the importance of normative structures regarding the constitution of identities and interests. The concepts of power and policing are also central to the analysis. Here, especially the taxonomy of power by Barnett and Duvall is discussed together with the policing theory of Waddington. For Waddington policing is a form of social ordering work, rendering policing a highly political enterprise and connected to state capacity and autonomy.

Regarding the methods used, Fairclough's version of critical discourse analysis is used as the overall framework, keeping the analysis together, with some minor changes regarding the definition of discourse endorsed by Winther Jørgensen and Phillips. This method implies three steps of analysis, firstly that of the discursive practice, i.e. which other discourses the EU discourse on CCM is building on, and secondly the discourse analysis itself. The last step is usually an

analysis of the social practice, which in this case would mean the police missions. However, as the ambition of the thesis is to analyse the effects of the discourse on the social structures at large, not merely the social practice, the last, and here most important, step has been moderated. Thus, the last step in a CDA is here replaced by an analysis of the social structures rather than of the practice.

For the third step in CDA a complimentary method is used, in this case semi-structured interviews with 16 Swedish police officers with experience from EU missions. The transcribed interviews comprise the main material for the analysis, together with primary sources such as Council texts for the discourse analysis and some secondary supporting sources. The Council texts chosen for the discourse analysis are *European Security Strategy* (2003), *Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP* (2004), *Declaration of EU Chiefs of Police following the meeting on police aspects in the ESDP-framework* (2004), *Civilian capabilities - Extract from the Council Conclusions on the ESDP* (2008) and *Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy Providing Security in a Changing World* (2008).

The analysis of the discursive practice shows how the EU discourse on CCM is affected on the one hand by an increasingly militaristic post 9/11 discourse, securitising many issues, and on the other hand by a human security discourse emphasising the security of the individual and the responsibility to protect.

Continuing with the discourse analysis, it was based on the research question and the material, divided into four different headings, analysing the representation of social actors, the representation of threats, the purpose of CCM and the goals of CCM. All in all, the discourse is surprisingly stable across the five years analysed and is clearly affected by the militaristic discourse and only to a less extent by the human security discourse. Looking at the representation of social actors, the EU is in all texts displayed as an active player and actively interventionist; ready to shape events. Undefined others are on the other hand portrayed passively and in need of help from the outside world. Regarding the representation of threats the hard security threats introduced in the *European Security Strategy* are reified in all texts. Other types of threats such as failed states, which have profound consequences for individuals in other parts of the world, are only considered as threats to the extent that they can lead to the hard security threats like terrorism and organised crime. Furthermore, the purpose of CCM seems to be to secure the EU from these threats rather than the protection of individuals. The goals are thus to remake the others in line with the EU through concepts such as good governance, democracy and best European practice, all very unclear and undefined concepts.

Which are then the consequences for the social structures of this discourse? To structure the analysis, the social structures are divided into first the identity and role of the EU and the image of the other, secondly social relationships and thirdly systems of knowledge and belief, based on the three constitutive effects of discourse as defined by Fairclough. In all three areas, it is clear that the EU discourse on CCM has had effects and even when the police officers make statements which are contrary to the dominant discourse it is obvious that they do so with the discourse in mind. Concerning identity questions and the image of the

other the discourse is here often contested by the police officers who in many cases portray their local colleagues as at least as competent as they are and fully trained by now. This of course raises the question why the police missions then exist, if mentoring and monitoring, two of the foundations of the police missions, are not necessary. When proceeding to the social relationships the answer seems to be that focus is rather on inspecting, the last foundation in these missions, than on teaching. The concept of control is important here and the different mechanisms, mainly language based, through which this takes place. Furthermore in this unequal relationship between the EU and the receiving states the union tries to project its values, a process which is heavily contested by the interviewees. They question both to what extent this projection of norms is effective or even possible but also more profoundly with what right the EU tries to spread its norms to others. Exactly what is meant by norms such as democracy or good governance – or even more best European practice regarding policing – is however less than clear, as the analysis of the systems of knowledge and belief shows. The nature of all these concepts is taken for granted, leaving the EU police officers with little guidance and the local police with little continuity. Even more importantly, by treating the missions as technical rather than deeply political as they are, the citizens are denied any real democracy and possibility to contest the reforms.

To summarise the findings of the thesis it is clear that the productive power of the EU is pushing the limits of what the EU can legitimately do. This power is used to exert control over the local police in areas where this is deemed necessary according to the perceived security threats of the EU, in line with the discourse. All in all, the EU is engaged in the restructuring of the local societies and a strengthening of the states through the monopoly on violence, of which the police act as custodians. This means that important reforms are imposed from above rather than coming from below, putting into question the claimed local ownership in the police missions. The dominant discourse and the power projected through it are necessary in order to make EU CCM a possible and legitimate enterprise, showing how powerful the consequences of discourse can be.

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Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Introduction

- Presentation of myself, my background and the purpose of the interview.
- Short mentioning of areas of interest.
- Informing the interviewee of the right to anonymity and the problems with a limited population, as well as ensure that no one else will access the audio files or transcriptions.

Background and Opening Questions

- Personal and work background?
- Motivation to participate in police missions?
- Which missions? When?
- Which role during the mission(s)?
- Differences between UN and EU missions? (if relevant)
- Differences between different EU missions? (if relevant)

Problems/ Threats and Results

- Which did you understand were the problems you were there to attend?
- Was it possible to achieve change, considering the design of the mission?
- Which are your opinions regarding the results of the mission – was it successful?
- What could have been done differently?

The Projection of Norms vs. the Teaching of Methods

- The EU portrays the goals of their police missions as to transfer best European practice. Do you agree and why/ why not?
- Is it possible to define a best European practice regarding police methods and organisation? Why/ why not?
- Could you describe the information/education you were given beforehand and during the mission as regards what you were expected to teach the local police?
- Do you think that you also helped transfer more general norms such as human rights and democracy or was the focus more on specific police methods?
- Do you believe that the transfer of best European practice and/ or norms succeeded?

The International Engagement of the EU

- Do you believe that the international engagement of the EU is more due to a sense of responsibility and humanity towards others or to addressing the security needs of the EU?
- Do you believe that there are security threats towards the EU and its citizens that missions like this can remove?
- Do you personally believe that the EU should engage in these types of missions? Why/ why not?

The Role of the Police

- How would you generally describe the role of the police within a society?
- Did you see any difference between the role of the police in Sweden compared to the role of the police in the state you were stationed in?

Any questions?