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Soft Security in the Context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy: A Management Approach

SOCIAL SCIENCES,
MANAGEMENT (03 S)

MYKOLAS ROMERIS
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GLOSSARY

Governance	""Governance" refers to the formal and informal arrangements that determine how public decisions are made and how public actions are carried out, from the perspective of maintaining a country's constitutional values in the face of changing problems, actors and environments. Public administration is a constituent pillar of governance" (OECD, 2005:16).
Security governance:	• "Security governance [...] highlights the rise of increasingly transnational security risks emanating from non-state actors, the mounting importance of various public and private actors for the provision of security under these circumstances, and the proliferation of networked forms of coordination to facilitate flexible solutions among a growing bulk of national and international actors." (Hegemann, 2012:4). • In the framework of security governance "the state can no longer be considered the sole element authorising security provision (auspice); other non-state actors have assumed the responsibility for their own protection and exercise the power and capacity to arrange for and procure their own security, transforming the nature of security governance. Security is moreover being provided by actors additional to or other than the state, which may include commercial firms, community-based actors, non-state agencies and non-governmental organisations." (Caparini 2006: 265). • Being "applied to European security, governance involves the coordinated management and regulation of issues by multiple and separate authorities, the interventions of both public and private actors (depending upon the issue), formal and informal arrangements, in turn structured by discourse and norms, and purposefully directed toward particular policy outcomes." (Webber et al. 2004: 4).
Soft governance	Governance relying on soft instruments and voluntary mechanisms without direct mandatory formal enforcement.
Soft security	Security management which relies on soft instruments: social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders, without direct mandatory formal enforcement.
Soft power	Indicates a power of attraction, which "co-opts people rather that coerces them [...], rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others" (Nye, 2004:4) through "attraction to shared values and the justness and duty of contributing to the achievement of those values." (Nye, 2004 :7)
Multi-level governance (MLG)	A "system of multi-level, non-hierarchical, deliberative and apolitical governance, via a complex web of public/private networks and quasi-autonomous executive agencies, which is primarily concerned with the deregulation and re-regulation of the market" (Hix 1998:54).

Stakeholders	Those who have interest in the initiatives and activities, and take part in the related processes of initiating, support and implementing of EU- led projects.
International society	Indicates "situations in which the basic political and legal frame of international social structure is set by the states-system, with individuals and TNAs [transnational actors] being given rights by states within the order defined by interstate society (Buzan 2004: xvii)".
Pluralism	Defines "*second-order societies* of states with a relatively low degree of shared norms, rules and institutions amongst the states, where the focus of society is on creating a framework for orderly coexistence and competition, or possibly also the management of collective problems of common fate (e.g. arms control, environment)" (Buzan 2004: xvii).
Solidarism	Defines "international societies with a relatively high degree of shared norms, rules and institutions among states, where the focus is not only on ordering coexistence and competition, but also on cooperation over a wider range of issues, whether in pursuit of joint gains (e.g. trade), or realisation of shared values (e.g. human rights)" (Buzan 2004: xviii).
Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood states	Includes Eastern Partnership countries (EaP): Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Russian Federation (which is neither part of EaP nor among 16 EU partners which are addressed by the European Neighbourhood Policy) as an important factor of influence in respect of regional security and relations between EaP states and EU.
Soft security component of EU initiated joint project management	Set of soft security instruments in the form of congruence, sharing and development of values and competences of stakeholders without direct mandatory formal enforcement in the framework of EU initiated joint projects management.

Abbreviations

SSC	Soft security component
EUIJPM	European Union initiated joint project management
EDEN	Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood
SSI	Soft security instruments
MLG	Multilevel governance
OMC	Open method of coordination
BEMIP	Baltic Energy Market Interconnection Plan
EaP	Eastern Partnership
OECD	Organisation of Cooperation and Development
OSCE	Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
RF	Russian Federation
et al	And others

INTRODUCTION

The problem examined in the doctoral dissertation and the relevance of the research

States and international organizations have developed different approaches in order to mitigate insecurity problems. A long-standing debate related to those approaches usually raises the issues of effectiveness of particular approach, complementarities of those approaches or, on the contrary, risks of circumscribing one another. The process of formulating and implementing European Union (EU) policies related to managing international risks and enhancing influence schemes in the EU Neighbourhood requires constant identification and re-examination of routes and instruments for meeting challenges to peace and security. A permanently expanding spectrum of security risks, threats and factual disruptions resulted by globalisation which creates environment of increasing complexity and interoperability outside EU borders, as well as a number of unresolved conflicts (affected countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova with affected regions: Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, and Nagorno-Karabakh), which emerged during the dissolution of the Soviet Union, demand innovative solutions and increased attention to regional security issues. Inadequately policed/governed states which are turned into hostages in the absence of consensus between great powers do contribute to crime and instability in Europe. In addition, absence of political consensus, latent interstate confrontations are leading to disruptions of energy supply to Europe, prevent mobilisation of efforts in a sufficient scale to cope with security risks of environmental character, to tackle issues of spreading infectious diseases, increasing social inequalities and tensions or manage efficiently migration flows. Prevailing EU approach to regional security challenges on European level focuses on so-called "soft security".

Although the soft security issues in the framework of political discourse and public/scholar debate have been discussed already for several decades, this concept is still developing and has not reached its maturity stage. „Soft security" term is being used in the contexts of political initiatives and related projects, and often is associated with the European Union (EU) Neighbourhood policy, especially with focus on its Eastern Dimension. Focus on Eastern Dimension of EU Neighbourhood states, which in the framework of this research includes Eastern Partnership countries (EaP): Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Russian Federation (which is not part of EaP but is included in the research as a significant factor of influence and important potential), is important for Lithuania which is affected by the developments in this region. Nevertheless, common understanding has been reached neither in defining specific processes of political and social reality reflected by concept of "soft security" nor in assessing value added of this social phenomenon in comparison to "hard security". Academic literature and political discourse provide vast examples of social practices that are related to soft security instruments (SSI) and soft security issues, indicate the tendency of expansion of those practices and in parallel often reflect

expressed concerns related to low effectiveness of those practices as far as European Union's (EU) Neighbourhood is concerned. In addition, the notions of accidental and event-driven character of organizing those practices either in particular security-oriented projects or in competence enhancing EU frameworks have been reflected in academic literature and EU working papers. Methodological explanation of the process of expanding soft instruments in the areas of EU security governance is provided by a number of theories. Experts' concerns that soft security related practices are not effective enough are complemented by raising issues of the lack of political guidance and accountability. In this relation it is important to explore whether this expansion is a temporary phenomenon or it is a long-term tendency, and if expressed concerns related to low effectiveness of SSI could be addressed through concepts and methods developed by modern theories and practices of governance and management. Therefore, the key scientific problem addressed by this dissertation is **the lack of a consistent theoretical perspective and a systematic approach to soft security and assessing its effectiveness in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy.** In this context the key question is the following: *what are the features and content of soft security and the framework which enables its development as facilitator of effective security and stability enhancement in the EU Neighbourhood Policy's Eastern Dimension?*

The subject matter of the research, its objective and tasks

The **subject matter** of this research is the content, role and prospects of soft security in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy analysing soft security as a component of the European Union initiated joint projects management in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Russian Federation. Exploration of the circumstances under which the soft social instruments could be better suited for strengthening security at the European level is made through the definition and analysis of soft security component (SSC) of the EU initiated joint projects management (EUIJPM) in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood (EDEN) policy which is regarded as an important research avenue. SSC is regarded as a specific set of SSI within each of EUIJPM aspects. EUIJPM is chosen as one of central concepts which are used for the analysis of evolving mega system encompassing EU and EDEN states and embracing all EU security-related initiated activities in respect of EDEN states. EUIJPM is supported by the EU partners and attributed to both strategic management and project management, as well as to security governance, and includes policy proposals, long-term programme formulation and related activities of planning and organizing various projects, financial securing, managing and controlling resources to bring about beneficial socio-economic and socio-cultural changes leading to European security and stability enhancement.

The **objective** of this research is through thorough examination of the features, role and prospects of development of the soft security component (SSC) of the European Union initiated joint projects management (EUIJPM) in Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood (EDEN) Policy context to define its ability to facilitate the process of security governance (including reducing violence and conflict escalation)

leading to increasing level of regional security and stability in the EDEN states. Research is supposed to test the hypothesis that under relevant circumstances SSC of the EUIJPM within EDEN states could be better used for strengthening the security on European level through integrating modern management techniques as well as developing relevant competences of EUIJPM designers and implementers to underpin further European integration and expansion of European identity formation on the basis of European values.

The following **tasks** have been identified seeking to achieve the objective of the research:

1. To overview political literature providing insights in respect of concept "soft security" and related soft social instruments and to analyse the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power" in EU documents reflecting underlying understanding by EU policy makers of soft security issues in order to identify features of and to define soft security instruments.
2. To identify frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and cases of their association with EU policies in selected Lithuanian publications.
3. To identify methodological approaches for explanation of expansion of SSI in the context of EU security governance;
4. To identify methodological approach for the analysis of soft security in the context of European integration in respect of EDEN states.
5. To define SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states and integrated framework for effective EUIJPM in EDEN states.
6. To identify factors of effectiveness of EUIJPM within EDEN states and circumstances that enable SSC to facilitate effective security governance on European level.
7. To define prospects for expansion of SSC of the EUIJPM focusing on the ability of SSC of the EUIJPM to play instrumental and constructive role in the context of EDEN Policy, taking into account current strategies, tactics and practices of EUIJPM as well as possible incentives and modern methods of EU governance and project management techniques based on recent development of management theories.
8. To test the research assumptions and recommendations by in-depth interview of experts.

Theses of the dissertation to be defended

1. The underlying feature of soft security instruments is that they all are social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders involved in solving security-related issues.
2. Reliance on methodological approach as a mixture of constructivism and historicism of English school worked out by Buzan (2004) leads to understanding the genesis of soft security instruments within European

integration and assessment of their effectiveness in security management in European Neighbourhood states.

3. Other theoretical approaches explaining expansion and increasing role of SSI in the context of EU security governance: (1) approach based on the dominating power and national interests, (2) functionalism and (3) knowledge-based approach do not contradict to an approach worked out by Buzan (2004).
4. Concept of effectiveness of soft security management in the context of EDEN Policy is linked to ability of SSC to function as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European integration in respect of EDEN states.
5. A mega system of EU and EDEN states is gradually evolving which is encompassing all EU security-related initiated activities in the forms of EU initiated joint projects management in respect of EDEN states, which are supported by the EU partners and which are attributed to both strategic management and project management, as well as to security governance.
6. A subsystem within system of EU and EDEN states is gradually taking shape of a quasi organisation which encompasses EU and Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine as comparatively most open states to EU efforts to transfer elements of *acquis communautaire* to their socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts.The competence development recommendations on the basis of Responsive/Good Governance, Strategic Human Resource Development and Organizational Concepts can be applied within this quasi-organization in the form of additional privileges.
7. Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration constitutes its constructive role in the enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states. Expansion of SSC in the EUIJPM can lead to higher level of effectiveness of EUIJPM adding such SSC elements:
    a. extension of open method of coordination and other multilevel governance models towards EDEN states;
    b. using the EU-led educational system on wider scale for producing basic competences of EDEN states stakeholders for security governance;
    c. gradual expansion of participation of EDEN states stakeholders in EUIJPM.

The structure of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of: introduction, three parts, conclusions (including recommendations),

list of sources of the dissertation and list of academic publications of the author.

1. *The first part* provides the conceptual framework for the research and constitutes the theoretical background for the understanding of the contexts of SSI development and their interplay with other instruments. It focuses on the application of different approaches and perspectives for the analysis of SSI and discusses key features of their role in the context of EU policies. It concludes

with defining SSI based on the survey of their features which are broken down into two categories: those that are within consensus of researchers and policy makers and those that are questioned or contested by researchers and policy makers.

2. *The second part* focuses on the approaches and methodological considerations for the further research in order to achieve identified objectives. An integrated multidisciplinary approach based on the combination of constructivism and historicism (developed by English School) is regarded as a methodology suggesting a useful perspective for exploring EU approach to regional security and defining SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states in line with EU regional security agenda, as well as for the analysis of prospects for using those components as a factor for motivation and efficacy. It suggests definition of the concept of SSC which encompasses systematically manifested features in the process of European integration since the interception of the EU. It suggests solution for the contradicting evaluations of the potential of SSC in solving security issues in EU Neighbourhood proposing as a baseline to use factual interplay of the EU integration elements. It suggests regarding and analysing SSC of EUIJPM in the context of limited and enhanced EU approaches to regional security and in the framework of general and contingent EUIJPM in the EDEN states. It provides definition of SSC and reveals capacity of SSC to function as element of predisposing and enabling factors of EU integration.
3. *In the final part* the conditions of effectiveness of EUIJPM and of SSC of EUIJPM to function as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of EU integration are identified and analysed. A gradually evolving mega system of EU and EDEN states is described which is encompassing all EU security-related initiated activities in the forms of EUIJPM in respect of EDEN states. A subsystem within system of EU and EDEN states which is taking shape of a quasi organisation and encompasses EU and most open to EU efforts to transfer elements of *acquis communautaire* to their socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts EDEN states is described. EDEN states stakeholders' competence development recommendations on the basis of Responsive/Good Governance, Strategic Human Resource Development and Organizational Concepts are suggested. Possible expansion of SSC in the EUIJPM which can lead to higher level of effectiveness of EUIJPM is explored by focussing on such SSC elements as: extension of open method of coordination (OMC) and other multilevel governance (MLG) models towards EDEN states; using the EU-led educational system on wider scale for producing basic competences of EDEN states stakeholders for security governance; gradual expansion of participation of EDEN states stakeholders in EUIJPM. Formulated proposals and various outstanding issues related to definition and possible expansion of SSC of EUIJPM by adding new elements developed by EU governance practice and theory are tested through interview with selected experts.

The sources of the research

1. Theoretical analysis of the SSC in the framework of security governance and its content, features, role and prospects in the context of EDEN Policy was built on the original works of foreign and Lithuanian scholars.
2. Analysis of different EU documents was applied in the dissertation both for discourse analysis and identification of status and problematic issues of EU policies related to their implementation of cooperative projects in EDEN states.
3. Selected Lithuanian publications were used for content analysis for identification of trends of using "soft security" and "soft power" notions as well as their association with the EU policies in public/scholar debate in Lithuania.
4. Expert knowledge obtained through semi-structured interview.

The overview of the academic sources and the novelty of the dissertation

Demand in constant identification and re-examination of routes and instruments for meeting external challenges to peace and security in the EU Neighbourhood calls for better use of resources to increase regional security and stability. The suggested management approach in current research in respect to soft security is based on the assumption that "security perspective rejects the notion that the problem of insecurity can be solved. It tries instead to develop a management approach which is equally sensitive to both the national and the international dynamics of the insecurity problem." (Buzan, 1984:112).

However, different opinions of researchers in both political science and governance theoretical studies are expressed on the issues of relevance of soft management instruments and their effectiveness in managing transnational security: some of the researchers question the ability of soft instruments to ensure transnational security while others advocate expansion of current soft security governance towards EU Neighbourhood.

Despite increasing attention over the past several decades to the issues of soft security on EU political agenda and references to soft social instruments in political literature, academic discourse and public debate, they are often regarded controversially and still lack common understanding, systemic approach and integrated framework as the basis for development of appropriate instruments and raising effectiveness of their application. Researchers' (Becher, 2001; Lomagin, 2001; Pop, 2000; Very, 2005; Lindley – French, 2003) insights regarding diversification of security instruments and prospects to rely more on soft security means, since the usage of hard (especially military) instruments are becoming more and more limited or risky, are met by scepticism (Kagan, 2002) in respect of the ability of soft instruments to produce desired outcomes on regional and international levels. This calls for deeper research of the capability of soft instruments to facilitate an effective implementation of EU Neighbourhood policy. Useful insights on a system of the EU security governance and increasing scope of its reliance on soft instruments, which emerged in order to reconcile the need for more

integration with national interests and sensitivities, are provided by Hegemann (2012) and Kahl (2010). Conceptual widening of security is provided by Buzan et al (1998). Involvement of a wide range of public and private actors in governance and reliance on formal and informal arrangements, in which hierarchy is becoming less important, as well as orientation of security governance towards coordinative processes and mechanisms (rather than towards structures of coercion and control) is described by Webber et al. (2004), van Kersbergen and van Waarden (2004), Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006), Trubek and Trubek (2007). New modes of governance encompassing a hybrid mix of public and private actors, relying on horizontal networks, multiplicity of actors, and on soft instruments are explored by Hix (1998); Kohler-Koch and Eising (1999), Caparini (2006), Chayes and Chayes (1995), Rhinard et al. (2007), Bossong (2011). Issues of security governance are examined in the EU documents as well.

In order to understand underlying conditions of EU behaviour focused on the problem of insecurity in the Neighbourhood and development of EU management methods and instruments, including soft instruments, as well as assessment of their effectiveness, a relevant methodological approach is required. Buzan (2004) and Wendt (1999) provide useful insights within mixture of constructivism and historicism as methodological background for understanding the genesis of soft security instruments within European integration and EU preferences in using security instruments in the broader context of societal development. Insights in respect of interplay of elements of European integration and security governance through conflict transformations, management and culture, which are useful for analysis of soft security instruments (SSI), have been developed by Emerson (2006), Lederach (2003) and Ross (1993).

Soft security is viewed as a social phenomenon requiring multiple different approaches worked out in different fields of science, such as political science, sociology, international relations studies, international political economy and theories of governance, management, including conflict management, and cultural studies. Such an environment requires a systemic approach for both identifying imminent relationships among specific features of a phenomenon named „soft security" and creating an integrated framework on regional level for effective development and application of SSI. Application of the number of methods of theoretical and empirical nature is regarded as one of the solution for accomplishment above mentioned tasks

Important aspect in addressing and revealing potential of SSC in security governance through more substantive analysis is to take into account studies using broader approach to soft instruments which are associated with concepts of soft power and soft legislation and which have been extensively researched by a number of scholars (Bonoma, 1976; Boulding, 1989; Mansbridge, 1990; Johnston, 2011; Vedrine and Moisi, 2001; Nye, 2004; Abbott and Snidal, 2000; Trubek and Trubek, 2005). In addition, in order to reveal how politicians identify the concepts with common EU policy focusing on EU Neighbourhood and its implementation instruments, the EU documentation containing notions of soft security and soft power are inspected. The trend of using soft security and soft power notion in public/scholar debate in Lithuanian media is considered as indicator of the interest in the issues related to using soft means and therefore is to be explored as well.

New modes of governance such as open method of coordination (OMC) and other multilevel governance (MLG) models which facilitate further deepening of European integration and create possibility for expanding application of SSI and new emerging practices towards EDEN states have been documented, explained and evaluated by Eberlein and Kerwer (2002), Héritier (2001), Hodson and Maher (2001), Ekengren (2006), Ahonen (2001), Vanhercke (2010), Papadopoulos(2011), Hix (1998), Marks et al, (1996), Quermonne et al (1996), Soetendorp and Hanf (1998), Kassim et al (2000), Sandholtz and Sweet (1998), Borzel (1998), Hooghe and Marks (2003), Wiener and Dietz, (2004), Kaiser and Prange (2002), Lundvall and Tomlinson (2002), Hooghe and Marks (2003), Papadopoulos (2003), Conzelmann and Smith (ed.) (2008), Corfee-Morlot et al (2009) and Marzeda-Mlynarska (2011).

Some important aspects for revealing the potential of SSC and its dependence on the interplay with other factors of policy making and project implementation are found in sociological literature which suggests several approaches for the identification and evaluation of conditions which could facilitate effective design and implementation of EUIJPM in EDEN states. Those have been investigated from different perspectives by Maul (2005), McCormick (2006), Gourlay (2004), Grabbe (2001), Schimmelfennig et al (2003), Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004), Sergunin (2010), Kohler-Koch and Eising (1999), Kahler (1992), Killick (1996), Oberschall (l978), Olson (1968), Frohlich et al (1971) and McCarthy and Zald (1973).

However, the majority of those studies do not address soft security issues in the EU Neighbourhood context directly, though they provide basic insights for defining a starting point for deeper investigation leading to the clearer understanding and consensus in respect of the features, definition, potential and enabling integrated framework for ensuring effective use of facilitating power of SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states. The goal of current study is not to resolve these debates once and for all, but to help to clarify the issues raised and identify questions and recommendations for further work.

The main aspects of theoretical significance and novelty of the dissertation include:

1. Dividing features of soft security into 2 categories: those corresponding to an overall common understanding and those that are questioned in academic literature and political discourse. Dividing analysis of soft instruments in the frameworks of twofold and threefold taxonomies in order to highlight aspects of the processes of social transformation and instrumental combination.
2. Clarified definitions of the soft security instruments (SSI) in the contexts of EU security governance as well as of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy have been offered. SSI are defined as purposefully organized social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems. The novelty of the definition of SSC of EUIJM in the context of EDEN Policy manifests itself through revealing the complexity of the concept of SSC which accommodates interrelated paradigms namely *set of soft instruments – social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences* of EU and EDEN states stakeholders *in the framework of EUIJPM* focused on *facilitation of solving se-*

curity-related problems. SSC as a component of security governance is shared-value and shared-competence driven and *operates through sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders.* Concept of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states accommodates additional interrelated paradigms such as *SSC as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European integration in respect of EDEN states.* Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration constitutes its constructive role in enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states.

3. Application of systemic approach facilitating both analysis of the SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN states and identification of guidelines for SSC's expansion through adding new elements. Analysis and identification of guidelines is based on (1) dividing the EU approach to regional security into *preventive (reactive/limited)* and *transformational (proactive/enhanced)* depending on the characteristics of socio-cultural contexts of EU policy recipients which are either negatively or positively/neutrally associated with the EU normative power and rule transfer; (2) dividing EUIJPM in the EDEN states into *general* and *contingent;* (3) construction and exploration of dynamic model of the production of transformational effects focussing on relationships between program/project objectives and set of shared values and shared competences in the form of tangibles and intangibles; (4) exploration of involvement of quasi-organization within the system of EU and EDEN states.
4. Identification of factors of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy in particular and of EUIJPM in general. The main factors influencing effectiveness focus on competences of stakeholders of EU and EDEN states and include competences of using windows of opportunity, generating EU economic growth and managing economic crises, social and environmental risks for creating force of example, managing interrelations among EU institutions, modern project management and team building on the basis of shared values and shared competences for implementation of the pivotal task. The need of enabling environment for producing and further development of those competencies is highlighted which could be met by recommendations suggested by theories of Strategic Human Development, Responsive/Good Governance and Organization Theory. In addition, enabling environment should contain elements providing linkages to EU political guidance and accountability, and, in some cases, to transparent competition for resources.
5. Application of theories of modern management and models of EU governance for identification of possible additional elements of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN states in order to strengthen predisposing and enabling factors for European integration and thus increase motivation of EU and EDEN states stakeholders engagement into EUIJPM and their effective implementation. Identified additional SSC elements encompass such means as (a) extension of open method of coordination (OMC) and other multilevel governance (MLG) models towards EDEN states; (b) using the EU-led educational system on wider

scale for producing basic competences of EDEN states stakeholders for security governance; (c) gradual expansion of participation of EDEN states stakeholders in EUIJPM.

Practical significance of the dissertation

The research is expected to suggest an instrumental approach to SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states which could open an avenue to use modern governance and management techniques as well as to develop relevant competences of stakeholders to underpin further European integration and expansion of a territory for European identity formation on the basis of European values. Current research by focusing attention on SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states is supposed to contribute to the analytical background used by policy makers in designing and implementing EU regional policies oriented to solve insecurity problems through combining various methods and elements. Current study of the social and political processes related to soft security is supposed to work out a perspective for increasing the effectiveness of EU SSI as well as to define prospects for their further development

Methodology of the research

- *Analysis of scientific literature:* scientific literature research was applied for the conceptual analysis of the problem with specific attention paid to theoretical and empirical research carried out in the fields of EU governance, management, conflict transformation and resolution, international relations and sociology, including its branch offering multidisciplinary approach. The applied research methods include: systemic and comparative analysis of scientific literature, synthesis, abstract and logical formulation of conclusions leading to identification of further steps for exploration.
- *Application of theoretical modelling* for description and study of complex and dynamic process of transformation of socio-economic and socio-cultural structures for solving security related problems. The model encompasses factors that affect choices of stakeholders related to offers in respect of joining project management. Applications of the economic modelling are based on the assumption expressed by Estrada (2011:1) that "economic modelling can be considered as a multi-discipline research approach that can facilitate the study of different socio-economic-political problem [...] can become more powerful analytical tool if different authors adapt new techniques, methodologies, methods and research approaches from sociology, political sciences, technology, environment, sciences to explain more deeply dynamic and complex socio-political-economic phenomenon". Factors that affect choices of stakeholders related to offers in respect of joining project management have been singled out from sociological literature.

- *Empirical research:* Qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied in the study.

1. *Discourse analysis method*: Analysis of the description and content of the concepts „soft security" and „soft power" in the EU documentation containing those notions has been applied using discourse analysis method.

2. Content analysis method has been used to discover trends of using "soft security" and "soft power" notions in public/scholar debate in Lithuanian publications as well as their association with the EU policies, reflecting tendency and interest in using soft means, especially as EU policy and projects are concerned. EU document analysis has been carried out to clarify EU position on security governance issues and describe status and problems of the EU policies in respect of EDEN states. Studies have been taken into account for summary of modern project management techniques suitable for expansion of SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states.

3. Semi-structured in depth interviews with selected experts have been carried out to clarify and follow up various outstanding issues in formulating proposals for testing assumptions and recommendations related to expansion of SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states by adding new elements developed by EU governance practice and theory and project management techniques.

Approbation of the research results

The doctoral dissertation was discussed and approbated at the meeting of Department of Political Sciences of Mykolas Romeris University, which took place on the 5th of November 2012.

Certain parts and results of the research were published in the scientific publications of Mykolas Romeris University: Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2011). Comparative Analysis of Concepts "Soft Security" and "Soft Power" in EU Legislation. Public Policy and Administration, 10(2): 231-246; Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2012). European Union Soft Security: a Cost-Benefit Approach. International Scientific Conference Practice and Research in Private and Public Sector – 2012. April 26–27, 2012. Vilnius, Lithuania. Section Public Economy and International Relations: 279–289.

PART I:
SOFT SECURITY AS EVOLVING CONCEPT IN THE EU CONTEXT: INTEGRATIVE REVIEW

1.1. Scientific Perceptions of Soft Security

The concepts of security and power in international relations have a number of different aspects, since they reflect a number of closely interrelated phenomena and processes. For defining soft security as a component of external policy and joint projects, the following observations made by Buzan (1984) in respect of abstract concepts such as peace, power and security, which to some extent overlap with one another, are taken into account. "Concepts like peace, power and security lack precise, agreed definitions: they identify broad issues or conditions clearly enough to serve as important frameworks for discussion, but at the empirical level they cannot be, or have not yet been, reduced to standard formulas" (Buzan, 1984: 118). In addition, the "security perspective rejects the notion that the problem of insecurity can be solved. It tries instead to develop a management approach which is equally sensitive to both the national and the international dynamics of the insecurity problem (Buzan, 1984: 112)".

States and international organizations have developed different approaches in order to mitigate insecurity problems. A long-standing debate related to those approaches usually raises the issues of effectiveness of particular approach, complementarities of those approaches or, on contrary, risks of circumscribing one another. The tendency to look at soft security issues as a secondary avenue of international relations is affected by a dominating view on the level of "high politics" which, while dealing with security issues, usually focuses on hard security concept.

The concept of "soft security" in political literature is associated by Becher (2001) and Lomagin (2001) with non-military dimension, a secondary role within the system of international relations and a common denominator featuring a very wide and pluralistic coverage of different issues.

The latter feature poses a risk of losing practical value and proceeding within pluralistic trend. The following citation captures the main features singled out from the processes and phenomena that are usually attributed to soft security: **"**The term 'soft security', at the time of East-West detente, was originally used to distinguish military issues from other relevant security issues, including such military-related issues as confidence-building measures and arms control. The subsequent widening of the notion of security has added environmental themes, transnational risks and security challenges, plus a wide spectrum of economic, social and political factors that affect the prospects for enhanced security through 'stability export' and transformation. "Soft security' is thus apparently about almost everything except defence proper. In this sense, it is not really a term of practical value" (Becher, 2001:1). In addition, Becher (2001:1) points out: "A different distinction may be more significant: that between those

issues that can be properly dealt with between governments; and those issues, often of a technical nature, that need also to be effectively addressed on a local and regional level across national borders. When I speak of soft security, I therefore mean those issues that involve mainly technical, organisational, administrative or informational interaction on the working level and are not in essence elements of the 'high' politics best addressed in formal diplomatic channels. In this sense, the soft-security agenda opens up a decentralised secondary avenue for international cooperation that in certain circumstances is easier, although not necessarily simple, to pursue."

Similar approach is used by Lomagin (2002:1) in relation to soft security issues with non-military origin of threats: "Soft' security threats are those of non-military origin. Hard security concerns are considered more important in Russia, to the extent that some members of the political elite do not even know what soft security threats are. Because of the region's proximity, soft security problems in northwest Russia receive more attention from the EU than other issues, although these problems are in no way limited to this region".

However, such tendency to regard soft security organisations as secondary players in the system of international relations has been questioned by a number of analysts. As Pop (2000:1) mentions, "subregional frameworks of cooperation were perceived, due to their "soft" security issue approach, as "the Cinderellas of European security". However, throughout the last couple of years, there has been a growing awareness, both politically and institutionally, of the value of these groupings. Consequently, subregional arrangements have begun to gain their rightful place within the new evolving, institutionally comprehensive and complementary European security architecture." Vrey (2005:1) points out:" Proponents of soft security strive to ensure the goal of individual security without resorting to armed coercion. Given the extended scope of security sectors falling within the ambit of soft security regional co-operation is indispensable – a phenomenon most visible in European security architecture and that of Northern Europe in particular. Not only European decision-makers, however, pursue the soft security option". According to Lindley – French (2003), dividing lines between hard and soft, military and civil security are dissolving and more flexibility as well as new sets of relationships are required to cope with new problems and manage new interactions associated with security issues. This is partly attributed to comprehensive approach to security underlying the European Security Strategy, which, according to Biscop (2005), aims to integrate different dimensions of the EU's external policies: the military, economic, political and social.

In order to work out an instrumental approach in respect of management of security risks in EDEN states and to define factors of effectiveness of soft security instruments, it is important to take into account observations and conclusions of analysts in respect of the EU security governance and increasing scope of its reliance on soft instruments as well as concerns related to their weaknesses emanating from the member states' and institutional self-interests prevailing over regional security demands. Those aspects are explored by Hegemann (2012), van Kersbergen and van Waarden (2004), Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006), Trubek and Trubek (2007), Rhinard et al. (2007), Bossong (2008), Hix (1998), Kohler-Koch and Eising (1999), Caparini (2006), Webber et al. (2004), Krahmann (2003) and Chayes and Chayes (1995).

Hegemann (2012:2) provides useful insights on the EU security governance and increasing scope of its reliance on soft instruments. His analysis highlights a shift towards informal arrangements. According to Hegemann (2012: 2), "an ambiguous and multifaceted system of security governance has emerged that aims to reconcile the need for more integration with national prerogatives and sensitivities. This system leaves most formal competences to member states but incorporates a growing number of actors, issues, modes of cooperation, and compliance mechanisms that vary in their degree of formality and informality."

The development of the concept of security governance is related to transnationalization of security risks (Kahl 2010) and the widening of the concept of security (Buzan et al.1998). "Security governance thus highlights the rise of increasingly transnational security risks emanating from non-state actors, the mounting importance of various public and private actors for the provision of security under these circumstances, and the proliferation of networked forms of coordination to facilitate flexible solutions among a growing bulk of national and international actors" (Hegemann 2012:4). Evolving modes of governance encompass public and private actors, rely on horizontal networks and soft instruments such as exchanging best practices and others (Hix 1998; Kohler-Kochand Eising 1999).

According to Hegemann (2012:5), "security governance can encompass informal and decentralized networks or formal integration and centralization". The protection and response mechanisms have been developed in the framework of EU counterterrorism leading to cooperation which, according to Hegemann (2012:8),"has been more incremental and technical. The EU has built up some collective capacities for civil protection and crisis management, but their use so far remains largely on paper and, particularly in the response field, that it seems doubtful whether member states will actually use them in real crisis situations. In addition to a series of action plans on critical infrastructure protection or explosives security, most practical action has taken the form of joint exercises, best practices exchange, security research funding, and networks for the coordination of local authorities and the private sector " (Hegemann, 2012:8, refferring to Rhinard et al., 2007, and Bossong, 2008). The European Commission has focused on security research and public-private dialogue since they are "a less-controversial upstream activity where the Community's, the Member States' and the Industry's co-ordination activities can yield results in a short to medium time frame" (European Commission 2007: 3). "One needs to identify best practices as well as produce concrete operational tools that can be shared with other Member States. Common for all projects is that they will involve and draw upon other interested Member States. This will ensure that the end result will be of concrete relevance to as many as possible" (Council of the European Union 2009: 6). In such context the competence becomes very important: "EU crisis management capacity is to a large extent ultimately relying on the willingness and 'know-how' of the multitude of European actors and levels to pool resources and assist each other". (Ekengren 2006: 91). Another important soft instrument which is being increasingly used in the framework of security governance is peer reviews (Bossong 2011).

Hegemann (2012:19) points out both potentially positive and negative outcomes of the increasing scope of the EU security governance's reliance on soft instruments. According to him, member states and EU institutions created new and more informal mechanisms that produce some results and to some extend can rely on funding and coordinative platforms. However, it is not known "much about the long-term impact of incremental exercises such as peer reviews or security research on the development of actual national policies and the EU's comparative advantage remains fragile with a view to the much larger national budgets and institutional infrastructures. Eventually, the plethora of informal networks and projects might be a problem itself and spread more confusion than coordination and coherence."(Hegemann 2012:18).

Taking into account that security issues are a top priority for the EU when dealing with EDEN states because of such security issues as a number of unresolved conflicts and unrecognized states which are inadequately governed and lead to crime acceleration and complicate management of other security risks resulted by globalisation, it is considered that the process of the design and implementation of EUIJPM is regarded by EU through the lenses of regional security. In this relation it is important to overview analysis of soft social instruments in a wider scope disregarding weather they are used as directly related to "soft security" or in association with to concepts of "soft power" or "soft law".

1.2. Overview of Soft Social Instruments in Academic Discourse

1.2.1. Concepts Soft Power and Soft Law in the Framework of Twofold Taxonomy

Having overall understanding that security, defence and promotion of a desired order heavily depend in one way or another on the possession and use of power, scholars and politicians often differ in describing what is implied as "power". The interrelation between underlying understanding of "power" and subject's attachment to particular concrete strategic policy is obvious in the following statement: "It is time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world. On the all-important question of power — the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power — American and European perspectives are diverging. Europe is turning away from power, or to put it a little differently, it is moving beyond power into a self-contained world of laws and rules and transnational negotiation and cooperation. It is entering a post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity, the realization of Kant's "Perpetual Peace." The United States, meanwhile, remains mired in history, exercising power in the anarchic Hobbesian world where international laws and rules are unreliable and where true security and the defence and promotion of a liberal order still depend on the possession and use of military might. That is why on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus" (Kagan, 2002:3).

Approach based on the understanding of power in international relations as military power operating on the basis of destruction/threats of destruction is frequently found in the literature on international relations. For example, Burton (1972:45) provides a statement that "Communications, and not power, are the main organising influence in world society".

Descriptions of organizing/integrative/aggregative capability of social phenomenon to produce effects (desirable or as a side-effect) have led to indications of the existence of another kind of power of non-military (non-coercive) character, referred to as "civilian power" (Maull, 1990, Smith, 2000).

While some states often demonstrate preference of engagement in coercive (including military) power politics, others (like European Union) are keen to solve insecurity and international influence problems by paying more attention to construction of loose socio-economic networks and partnerships, operating on the basis of "positive conditionality", using wide range of potential civilian instruments of conflict prevention, strengthening cooperation relations with other states and organisations, etc.

Formation and implementation of different strategic policies and their combinations have gradually widened definition of power in international relations moving away from identification of power with military power. Boldvin (1979) has shown power's dependence on the context in which the relationship exists and its interrelation with such characteristics as behaviour and motivation or possession of capabilities or resources that can influence desired outcomes. A number of studies (e.g. Mansbridge, 1990, Vedrine and Moisi, 2001) provide description of non-coercive motivation tools used by politicians.

Through contrasting two models of power – domination and cooperation, Francis (2011) argues that the dominant concept of "power over" has led to a damaging global culture of militarism and suggests a "power with" (Francis, 2011:507) using an "interdependence approach" (Francis, 2011:507) to life. Dichotomist approach to power and security is often detected in the broader context of „conflict transformation" concept introduced by Lederach in the 1980s when he began exploring "how do we transform those things that damage and tear apart human relationships to those that protect and build healthy communities" (Lederach, 2010:7). The conceptual framework of "conflict transformation" is oriented towards addressing the root causes of violent conflict and focuses on both structures and processes of interaction between stakeholders in protracted social conflicts. Conflict transformation is regarded as a complex process of changing the relationships, attitudes, interests, discourses and underlying structures that encourage and condition violent political conflict. According to Fischer and Ropers (2004:13), it refers to "actions that seek to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of conflict by addressing its root causes over the long-term, with the aim to transform negative ways of dealing with conflict into positive, constructive ones." Reimann (2004:6) mentions such non-coercive measures used in the framework of conflict management (including conflict transformation) as "facilitation, negotiation, mediation, fact-finding missions, "good offices", "consultation in the form of problem-solving, workshops and round tables, capacity building, trauma work, grassroots training, development and human rights work".

In his thesis "Power plays in a de facto state: Russian hard and soft power in Abkhazia", Johnston (2011:1) claims: "The conceptual divide between "hard power" and "soft power," and the resources that constitute the basis of each, remain hotly debated topics among International Relations theorists as well as foreign policy advisors and analysts. Two developments in the last decade that have greatly influenced the study of the hard-power/soft-power dichotomy are: (1) the pursuit by many single-state actors of foreign policy strategies identifying and actively incorporating soft-power instruments, and (2) the realization by political theorists that individual policy instruments often exhibit unexpected hard and soft-power characteristics and effects, sometimes resulting in hard power acting soft and soft power acting hard". Concept of soft law within dichotomy of "hard/soft" also has been explored in the different branches of social sciences. Almost two decades ago, in the article "Soft Law and Institutional Practice in the European Community", Snyder (1994) noted that rules of conduct that may have no legally binding instruments/force can have practical effects for European integration. In relation to the debate over the relative value of hard and soft law, Buzan (2004) provides the argument "that soft and hard legalisations do not necessarily correlate with soft = bad/weak and hard = good/strong" (Buzan, 2004:56, referring to Abbott and Snidal, 2000). In the article "Hard and Soft Law in the Construction of Social Europe: the Role of the Open Method of Co-ordination", Trubek and Trubek provide observations in respect of the relative value of hard and soft law in EU social policy "which should help us as we seek to move past dichotomous thinking and fully engage hybrid constellations. Once we understand the limits of approaches that stress one mode at the expense of the other, recognise that every judgement must be comparative and look at relative capacity for specific objectives in varied contexts, see that there are ways these approaches can be combined, and recognise that such combinations may be essential to accomplish specific goals, we should be able to transcend the terms of the hard/soft debate. And in doing that we will find ourselves with a new and richer understanding of what we mean both by "law" and "European integration." (Trubek and Trubek, 2005:346).

1.2.2. Soft Power as a Power of Attraction in the Framework of Threefold Taxonomy

The concept of "soft power" was defined in the context of international relations theory as a specific kind of power differing from "hard power" and "economic power" by Joseph Nye, in a 1990, and further developed in a systemic manner in by him (Nye, 2004) in his study "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics". In his comprehensive analysis of the concept "soft power" as power of attraction which "often leads to acquiescence" (Nye, 2004:6), and its role in world politics, Nye describes in a detailed manner three types of power: (1) *Military power* which is associated with such kinds of behaviour as "coercion, deterrence, protection" (Nye, 2004:18), features such sources of motivation as "threats, force" (Nye, 2004:18), and is related with government policies using "coercive diplomacy, war, alliance (Nye, 2004:18); (2) *Economic power* which is associated with such kinds of behaviour as "inducement, coercion" (Nye, 2004:18), features such sources of motivation as "payments, sanctions" (Nye, 2004:18) and is related with government policies using "aid, bribes, sanctions" (Nye, 2004:18),

and (3) *Soft power* which is associated with such kinds of behaviour as "attraction, agenda setting" (Nye, 2004:18), features such sources of motivation as "values, culture, policies, institutions", (Nye, 2004:18) and is related with government policies using "public diplomacy, bilateral and multilateral diplomacy" (Nye, 2004:18). Thus the term of "soft power" and its definition coined by Nye during several past decades has widely spread in political discourse.

Focusing on one of the main characteristics of soft power: "getting others to want the outcomes you want" (Nye, 2004: 4), Nye defines soft power as a power of attraction, which "co-opts people rather that coerces them" and "rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others" (Nye, 2004:4) and which is capable to influence political outcomes. Soft power has high degree of independence and in some cases its direction of influence can either coincide with governmental political goals and policy line or contradict/undermine them and even become a factor of deep changes in politics and social developments. According to Nye, if compared to two other kinds of power: military power and economic power, soft power works in different way – it engenders cooperation through "attraction to shared values and the justness and duty of contributing to the achievement of those values" (Nye, 2004 :7) and therefore soft power should be taken into account while formulating policies. The role of soft power's resources is attributed to "institutions, values, culture, policies" (Nye, 2004:8), they are transformed into outcomes through "agenda setting, attraction and co-opt" (Nye, 2004:8) and this role can be played in different ways since "the effectiveness of any power resource depends on the context" (Nye, 2004:12). Nye emphasizes, that "firms, universities, foundations, churches, and other nongovernmental groups develop soft power of their own that may reinforce or be at odds with official foreign policy goals"(Nye, 2004:17) and provides many examples of international influence of US, EU, Canada, Norway, former Soviet Union and some other states that derives from soft power. Nye notes that "The soft power that is becoming more important in the information age is in part a social and economic by-product rather that solely a result of official government action. " (Nye, 2004:32). Soft power can "work" selectively: "Attraction does not always determine others' preferences, but this gap between power measured as resources and power judged as the outcomes of behaviour is not unique to soft power. It occurs with all forms of power." (Nye, 2004:6). Resources of soft power have different sources: "In international politics, the resources that produce soft power arise in large part from the values an organization or country expresses in its culture, in the examples it sets by its internal practices and policies, and in the way it handles its relations with others" (Nye, 2004:8) and they depend significantly on governmental policies: "Government policies can reinforce or squander a country's soft power." (Nye, 2004:14).

Similar approach based on threefold taxonomy in respect of power is used by Boulding (1989) who describes the nature of power as a social structure which can be described in three categories based on the consequences: destructive power, power of exchange and integrative power. According to Boulding, one type of power may be predominant in some behaviours or organizations; however, generally the elements of each power are present.

Threefold taxonomy approach is also used by Bonoma (1976) in description of interrelation between certain types of power-conflict dynamics. In this relation Bonoma

(1976) outlines "three different prototypical power systems [...]: the unilateral power system, in which a strong source imposes influence on a weak target; the mixed power system, in which partially equivalent interactants bargain to agreement or deadlock; and the bilateral power system, in which interactants are in unit relation and formulate joint policy programs" (Bonoma,1976: 499). Similar threefold taxonomy approach in used by Wendt when he describes three kinds of macro-level systemic structures, "each based on the kind of roles that dominate the system" (Wend, 1999:247): Hobbesian, Lockean, and Kantian. They are based, respectively, on such property as states viewing each other as enemies, rivals or friends as a fundamental determinant. According to Wendt, the current system of international relations is dominated by mixture of Lockean and Kantian systemic structures. According to Buzan (2004: 222), "The triumph of European power meant not only that a sharp and apparently permanent rise in the level of interaction (and thus density and interdependence) took place, but also that Western norms and values and institutions dominated the whole system," using a mixture of coercion, copying and persuasion.

Survey based on the threefold taxonomy related to underlying forces influencing systemic changes and continuations on international level and referring both to the mode of influence and durability of effects is provided by Buzan (2004:103) and presented in the box below:

Box 1. **Underlying Forces Influencing Systemic Changes and Continuations on International Level**

"Wendt (1999: 247–50) offers three possibilities which he sees as both degrees, and modes, of internalisation: coercion, calculation and belief. Something close to this formulation is also present in Kratochwil's (1989: 97) much more complicated account, which talks of 'institutional sanctions' (Hobbes), 'rule-utilitarianism' (Hume), and 'emotional attachment'(Durkheim); in Hurd's (1999) set of coercion, self-interest and legitimacy as the determinants of social behaviour; and, with coercion excluded, in March and Olsen's (1998: 948–54) discussion of the bases of social action in terms of either a logic of expected consequences(= calculation) or a logic of appropriateness (= belief). In all of these schemes, the shallowest, and least stable, is coercion, when the social structure is essentially imposed by an outside power. A social structure built on this foundation is hardly internalised at all, and is unlikely to survive the removal of its outside supporter. The underlying fragility of social system of coercively imposed norms is amply illustrated by the rapid collapse of the Soviet empire, and then the Soviet Union itself and many similar cases can be found in the history of empires. In the middle is calculation, when the social structure rests on rational assessments of self-interest. Such a structure is only superficially internalised, and remains stable only so long as the ratios of costs and benefits remain favourable to it. A concert of powers, for example, will collapse if one power comes to believe that it can and should seek hegemony, and a liberal trading system will collapse if enough of its members begin to think that the costs of exposing their societies and economies to global trade and finance outweigh the benefits. As Hurd (1999: 387) puts it: 'asocial system that relies primarily on self-interest will necessarily be thin and tenuously held together and subject to drastic changes in response to shifts in the structure of payoffs'. The deepest and most stable models belief, where actors support the social structure because they accept it as legitimate, and in so doing incorporate it into their own conception of their identity. Deep internalisation of this sort can survive quite major changes of circumstance, as shown by many cases of the persistence of religion long after its sponsoring imperial power has faded away."

Source: Buzan (2004:103)

In addition Buzan (2004) points out that economic sector can be considered as a shared value of contemporary interstate society. According to Buzan (2004:269), "solidarity is about shared interests and sympathies, and can encompass a wide range of values". He stresses that "there are interesting opportunities to bring English school (whose solidarist tradition has excluded the economic sector) thinking and International Political Economy work into closer contact, not least in thinking about the interplay of the market and multilateralism with other institutions" (Buzan, 2004 :232).

Approaches related to soft power described above have spread worldwide engendering further studies of soft power's influence and exertions and using this concept in political debates and official documents. However, political literature also refers to limited scope of application of European style of influence related to soft power to other regions: according to Chan (2009) in his study aiming to test "the Superiority of Soft Power" thesis, the "soft power approach to international relations is found to be inadequate in dealing with long drawn- out security issues which persist in Asia or in promoting European values in the Far East" (Chan, 2009:5).

Overview of concepts of soft power and soft legalization suggest an approach which is useful for further research: (1) soft social instruments could be better suited for some circumstances, hard instruments could be more beneficial for others, (2) there is a possibility to engage in constructing hybrid constellations for accomplishment of specific goals, (3) the process of EU security governance and sustaining stability on European level by non-coercive means which are associated with soft law and soft power, and which rely on shared values and shared competences, can be also attributed to and captured by the concept of soft security, (4) soft instruments in the context of security governance are regarded by analysts as (a) being in opposition to coercive (hard) instruments in the framework of transformation and conflict management, (b) being in interplay/interrelation/interoperability with hard instruments, (c) being in interplay with coercive (hard) and economic instruments in the framework of influence enhancement.

1.3. European Union Approach to Regional Security

The approach preferred by the European Union for security governance in its Neighbourhood is to proceed with European integration through legal harmonization, which translates into binding commitments by each EU Party to implement the *acquis communautaire*.

One of the examples of joint projects based on such approach to regional security and stability is an initiative to create Energy Community as a response to the conflicts of the 1990s which, as it is stated in the website home page of Energy Community, "led to the disintegration of a unified energy system that stretched from the Adriatic to the Black and Aegean Seas" (Energy Community, 2012a:1).

Transforming EU power in this case into desirable external socio-economic and socio-cultural changes through intertwining security and economic goals with cultural aspects within the process of designing policies and implementing joint projects has been positively evaluated by EU institutions and a number of EU neighbouring states.

As it is stated by the European Commission, "Energy Community is about investments, economic development, security of energy supply and social stability; but – more than this – the Energy Community is also about solidarity, mutual trust and peace. The very existence of the Energy Community, only ten years after the end of the Balkan conflict, is a success in itself, as it stands as the first common institutional project undertaken by the non-European Union countries of South East Europe (European Commission, 2006b: 2)."

EU policy targeted at creation and supporting of the Energy Community resulted in binding commitments by non-EU member Parties to incorporate relevant EU-originated *acquis communautaire:* "By extending the internal market for network energy beyond the boundaries of the European Union, the Energy Community carries forward the success story of European integration. Just as the European Union's, the approach taken by the Energy Community is one of legal harmonization, which translates into binding commitments by each Party to implement the *acquis communautaire* as set out in the provisions of the Treaty and the measures adopted by the Ministerial Council of the Energy Community" (Energy Community, 2012b : 6).

However in those fields where EU neighbours are not willing to accept this approach the EU is initiating cooperative projects acquainting with EU style of governance, spreading best practices, monitoring social and economic processes, continue trying to encourage proactive reforms and shared problem-solving in the economic and social field, relying mainly on soft instruments and economic measures in order to prevent appearance and escalation of conflicts as well as to join competences of EU stakeholders with those of stakeholders within Neighbourhood for other security threats management. Competence of finding solutions for "best fit" of "best practices" in the context of security governance within EDEN states becomes one of the major factors of achieving desired outcomes.

EU combines transformational approach highlighted in dichotomist analysis framework and combinatory approach reflected in the analysis within threefold taxonomy based on interaction and congruence of soft, hard and economic instruments.

1.4. Soft Security and Soft Power Concepts in European Union Legislation: Review of Discourses

This section provides an overview of the concepts "soft security" and "soft power" in EU legislation in the framework of discourses of politicians who design EU external policy.

European Union has used in its legislation the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" derived from political discourse and academic literature, particularly that of Anglo-Saxon, since 1999. Having appeared in general as well as academic publicity, these deeply intertwined notions reflect specific qualities of the EU and its role within international relations. Those concepts are important when formulating Europe's foreign policy, managing international risks and enhancing external influence schemes, identifying routes and instruments for meeting external challenges to peace and security.

Research based on discourse analysis method in respect of EU documentation containing these notions aims to reveal how politicians identify the concepts with common EU foreign policy and its implementation instruments. In addition, research tries to reveal some features of underlying assumptions and principles of policy makers representing states with different cultural and linguistic contexts. Such analyses which examines the usage of the above mentioned terms (and related connotations) as well as the contexts influencing the EU level decision making is useful in attaining greater understanding of EU common foreign and security policy formation and implementation and provides better opportunities for EU policy's efficiency enhancement as well as ability of individual EU member states to align their own interests with common policy. The section presents the analyses in two perspectives. First, an overview of the terms "soft security" and "soft power" and their equivalents within EU documents is presented minding their different linguistic and cultural contexts. Second aspect involves the review of statements which include mentioned concepts and their descriptions. Those descriptions reflect identification within the texts of particular sets of specific forms, patterns and features of social practices (processes, activities, norms and values) with which these notions are related.

1.4.1. Review of European Union Documentation Containing the Concepts of "Soft Security" and "Soft Power"

A search engine "eur-lex.europa.eu" contains 14 EU documents [1-14] which include the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power". The list of the documents appears in Table 1 and encompasses European Union's Parliament resolutions, Commission Communications, Commission Working Documents, Opinions presented by Europe's Committee on Economic and Social Affairs, ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly resolution and EU's 2008 budget.

Table 1. List of Documents Containing Notions of "Soft Security" and "Soft Power"

[No] Doc CELEX No	Title	Author / Form
22009P0316(02)	Resolution on aid effectiveness and defining official development assistance	The ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly/ Resolution
2009/C 61/04	Joint Parliamentary Assembly of the Partnership Agreement concluded between the members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of States, of the one part, and the European Community and its Member States, of the other part Minutes of the sitting of Tuesday, 25 November 2008	Joint Parliamentary Assembly of ACP -EU/ Minutes
52009SC0831	Commission staff working document - Annex to the Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Annual Report 2009 on the European Community's development and external assistance policies and their implementation in 2008	European Commission / Various acts

32008B0165	Final adoption of the general budget of the European Union for the financial year 2008	European Parliament / Budget
52007DC0242	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world	European Commission / Communication
52006DC0649	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council – Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006 – 2007 Including annexed special Report on the EU's capacity to integrate new members	European Commission / Communication
52005SC0892	Commission staff working document – Annex to the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Annual report 2005 on the European Community's development policy and the implementation of external assistance in 2004	European Commission / Various acts
52006IP0270	European Parliament resolution on the EU-Russia summit held in Sochi on 25 May 2006	European Parliament / Own-initiative resolution
52005IP0207	European Parliament resolution on the EU-Russia relations	European Parliament / Own-initiative resolution
52004IE0855	Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on Transatlantic Dialogue: how to improve the Transatlantic Relationship	Economic and Social Committee, Section for External Relations BELABED / Own-initiative opinion
52001DC0154	Communication from the Commission to the Council - Reinforcing the Transatlantic Relationship: Focusing on Strategy and Delivering Results	European Commission / Communication
52001DC0026	Communication from the Commission to the Council - The EU and Kaliningrad	European Commission / Communication
52000DC0241	Commission working document - Perspectives and Priorities for the ASEM Process (Asia Europe Meeting) into the new decade	European Commission / Various acts
91999E0555	Written question No. 555/99 by Anita Pollack India and the environment	European Parliament, Pollack / Written question

Source: www.eur-lex.europa.eu

The documents reflect outcomes of political debates related to initiation, promotion, expansion and funding of EU programmes and projects outside its borders The term "soft security" is encountered in 10 documents [2:10; 5:113, 6:1; 7:15; 8:484; 9:236; 10: 9; 11:21; 13:26, 14: 98] while "soft power" in 5 [1:9; 3:3, 4:1, 5:105; 12:49-57]. With the exception of 2008 budget of the Union, all documents focus on solving external relations problems currently or potentially impacting EU and/or identifying

the common grounds and views of EU member states. The majority of the documents (except for the two [1, 5] that exist only in English) are presented in 23 EU languages [3, 10, 11, 13] or 21 EU languages [4, 8, 9, 12], up from 11 [2, 6, 7, 14] within period of 1999-2004. Tables 2 and 3 show the dynamics of interpretations of the terms "soft security" and "soft power" over a variety of linguistic contexts as they evolved from 1999 to 2009, proving the difficulty of synchronizing internationally used notions to locally recognized discourse. This variety reflects the process by which the abovementioned notions (their meanings) are transferred and adapted from Anglo-Saxon context to other linguistic – cultural contexts.

1.4.2. Review of Translations of "Soft Security" and "Soft Power"

Retrospectively reviewing the transfer of abovementioned notions from Anglo-Saxon context to other linguistic – cultural contexts and their adaptation process, i.e. starting from the most recent (2009) and terminating with the first (1999) document and identifying the notions "coined" within Anglo-Saxon cultural-linguistic tradition and "exported" into different European cultural-linguistic contexts, it is useful to divide the timeframe and the respective documents into two parts: from year 2004 (year of accession of Lithuanian and other former communist countries to the EU) to 2009 (Table 2) and from 1999 to 2004 (Table 3). This division is supposed to detect possible differences (if they exist) between two sets of interpretations of the same concepts made by representatives of two different "blocs" of countries which represented for several decades quite different political systems.

Table 2. "Soft Security" and "Soft Power" in 23 or 21 Linguistic Versions
(*Corresponding to the number of official languages of the period of review*)

Doc	**22009P0316(02); C2009/061/04 52006IP0270* 52005IP0207***	**32008B0165**	**52007DC0242 52006DC0649* 52004IE0855***
EN	**Soft security** *issues*	**Soft security** dimension	**Soft power**
BG	въпроси, свързани с "**меката сигурност"**	областите, **в коитовоенното измерение на сигурността не присъства**	„нежна сила"
CS	otázkách**"bezpečnosti nevojenské povahy" nevojenských bezpečnostních** problémů, problémů**"bezpečnosti nevojenské povahy"**	Hledisko **bezpečnosti Nevojenské povahy**	„**soft power**" **měkkévelmoci měkkásíla**

DA	**“blødesikkerhed***sopgaver*” **blødesikkerhed**sanliggender **“bløde” sikkerhed**strusler	**Blødesikkerhed**s dimension	**“blødmagt” Blød magtfaktor**
DE	**“sanftenSicherheit***sfragen*” **“weiche” Sicherheit**sfragen **WeichenSicherheit**sfragen	**Nichtmilitärische** Aspekte der **Sicherheit**	**„sanfte Macht“ Weiche Macht «weiche Machtausübung»**
EL	ζητήματα **μηστρατιωτικής ασφάλειας** ζητημάτων”**ήπιας ασφάλειας”** θεμάτων”**ήπιας ασφάλειας”**	διάσταση **ασφάλειας μεειρηνικάμέσα**	**«ήπιας δύναμης» ήπιας δύναμης**
ET	**Pehmejulgeolekuga** seotud küsimustesse **“pehmejulgeoleku”** küsimustega	**pehme julgeoleku**	**„pehmest jõust“ Pehme jõ uolemus soft power (mahejõud)**
ES	asuntos de **“seguridad leve”** asuntos de **seguridad de baja intensidad**	**“baja intensidad en seguridad”**	**«poder suave» poder suave**
FI	**Pehmeän turvallisuuden** kysymyksiin **Laajan turvallisuuden** kysymyksiä **“pehmeisiin” turvallisuus** kysymyksiin	**“pehmeään turvallisuus**ulottuvuuteen”	**”pehmeästä vallankäytöstä” Pehmeänä voimana Pehmeän vallan käytöllä Pehmeällä vallankäytöllään**
FR	opérations de **sécurité non militaire** questions de **“soft security”** problems relatifs à la **sécurité “non militaire” (“soft security”)**	**Légère** dimension de **sécurité**	**« pouvoir discret » un pouvoir discret la «force tranquille» (en anglais: «soft power»)**
HU	**puhabiztonsági (“soft security”)** problémákkal **nem-katonai biztonsági** kérdésekben	**Biztonsági** dimenzió **nemannyira kiélezett**	**„puha hatalom” puha hatalom szelídhatalomť (angolul: soft powerť) szelíd hatalmával**
IT	problematiche di **“sicurezza cooperativa”** questioni di **“soft security”**	dimensione di **soft security**	**“poteremorbido” (soft power) forza “tranquilla” soft power**
LV	**“vieglāsdrošības”**jautājumu risināšanā **“vājāsdrošības”**jautājumus	**neietver drošības militāro** aspektu	**„maigāsvaras” diplomātiska spēka (soft power)**
LT	**“švelnaus saugumo”**klausimų sprendimu **“švelnaus saugumo”** klausimus	**“minkštojo” saugumo** aspektų	**„švelniąją galią“, Švelnią traukiančiąją jėgą minkštoji jėga**

MT	kwistjonijiet ta **'soft security'** "**soft security**" issues	Dimensjoni tas -**"soft security"**	**"poter artab" forza "prudenti u moderata"**
NL	het gebied van **"zachte veiligheid"** **"zachte veiligheid**sthema's" vraagstukken op het gebied van **"zachte veiligheid"**	**"zachte veiligheid**s dimensie"	**"zachtekracht" soft power**
PL	kwestie z zakresu**"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"** kwestii**"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"** sprawachtzw **"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"**	kwestiątzw. **"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"**	„łagodnejsiły" siły oddziaływania
PT	questões de **"soft security"** problemas de **"segurança suave"** problemas relatives **à segurança não militar**	dimensão de **segurança civil**	**«poder suave» "poder discreto"**
RO	aspecte de **"securitate scăzută"**	Dimensiune **nemilitară a securității**	**„putere subtilă"**
SK	Otázkach **nevojenskej bezpečnosti** otázoktzv. **"soft security"** záležitostí**"mäkkej bezpečnosti"**	Rozmer tzv **mäkkej bezpečnosti**	„**mäkkej veľmoci" („soft power")** **silu**
SL	vprašanja, **ki ne zadevajovojaške varnosti** problemov**"mehke varnosti"** **drugih varnostnih** vprašanj	**"blaga" varnostna** razsežnost	**„mehke sile" mehke sile**
SV	**"mjuk säkerhet"** **"mjuka" säkerhetsproblem** problem somrör**"mjuksäkerhet"**	**mjuka säkerhet**s aspekter	**"mjukmakt" «soft power»**
EL	ζητήματα **μηστρατιωτικής ασφάλειας** ζητημάτων**"ήπιας ασφάλειας"** θεμάτων**"ήπιας ασφάλειας"**	διάσταση **ασφάλειας μεειρηνικάμέσα**	**«ήπιας δύναμης»**
* Document is not translated into BG and RO Source: www.eur-lex.europa.eu			

Within EU documents, ranging from 2004 to 2009, which are presented with a Lithuanian translation, the notion "minkštasis (švelnusis) saugumas" is used for "Soft

security *issues*" (four documents*) or* Soft security dimension (one document), which are then translated to: "švelnaus saugumo" klausimai and "minkštojo saugumo" aspektai. This is evidence to suggest that the Lithuanian linguistic-cultural context transposes the Anglo-Saxon single notions using more than one phrase or term. A similar situation occurs in Bulgarian, German, Greek, Spanish, Finish, French, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovakian and Slovenian languages. In the remaining languages (English, Check, Danish, Estonian, Maltese, Dutch, Polish and Swedish) constant terms are used. Malta is unique in retaining the English term "soft security" to represent the notion in its national texts. Also, the English term "soft security" is, albeit not always, used in various document translations as the main (French, Portuguese, Italian) or supplementary (added in brackets, as the case in French and Hungarian texts) means of identifying the notion. In some documents the term "soft security", whether in English or translated to other languages is surrounded by apostrophes, while in others there are none.

Another aspect of translation is that the Lithuanian translators focus on the English adjective "soft" and depict it by its literal translation ("minkštas", "švelnus" i.e. "soft", "gentle"). A similar strategy is depicted in many other EU languages. In some cases national languages consistently hold on to this strategy throughout their texts (translation to Danish, Estonian, Dutch, Polish, Swedish, and Lithuanian) within EU documents, while others do this only periodically (Bulgarian, German, Greek, Spanish, Finish, Hungarian, Slovakian and Slovenian). As an alternative to the abovementioned approach, the term "soft security" is primarily depicted not by its literal translation but by its recognized identity (supposed substance): "non-military", "absence of military dimension", "peaceful", "peaceful means", "broad", "not easily visible", "light", "weak" or "low".

Table 2 also displays a variety of translations of the term "soft power" within three documents. Within Lithuanian version of EU documents the word "soft" is expressed by several adverbs with meanings "gentle, gently attractive, soft" ("švelnioji", "švelni traukianti" or "minkštoji"), while "power" is translated as "power" or "force" ("galia" or "jėga"). Epithets "soft", "gentle" are used in other languages as well; however we can find such epithets as "discretional", "quite, tranquil", "diplomatic", "subtle", "light" and "easy" or the epithet is missing. The noun "power" in a number of cases is presented as (literally) "power" or "force". In some translations the English term ("soft power") is used as the main (Italian, Check, Dutch, Swedish texts) or in conjunctions with the national language translation (Estonian, Latvian, French, Hungarian, Slovakian, Italian). This term, like the abovementioned soft security, is in some cases enclosed in parenthesis, while in others not.

Table 3 reflects on the translation of the term "soft security" within four EU documents released prior to Lithuania's and other former communist countries accession to the EU. It includes different translations within 10 languages (besides the original English) of this term and related combinations: soft security issues , "soft" security co-operation and soft security threats.

Table 3. "Soft Security" in 11 Linguistic Versions
(*Corresponding to the number of official languages of the period of review*)

Doc	91999E0555	52000DC0241	52001DC0026	52001DC0154
EN	**Soft security** issues	**"soft" security** co-operation	**soft security**	**soft security** threats
DA	**Mindre kritiske sikkerheds**anliggender.	**"bløde" sikkerhed**ssamarbejde	**"bløde" sikkerhed**	**blødesikkerhed**strusler
DE	**"sanfte" Sicherheits**maßnahmen	**"weichen"** Zusammenarbeit in **Sicherheit**sfragen	**weichenSicherheit**smaßnahmen (soft security)	**latente**Bedrohung der **Sicherheit**
EL	**Απλά** ζητήματα **ασφαλείας**	συνεργασίας σεθέματα **ασφαλείας**	**(μηστρατιωτικής) ασφάλειας**	Απειλέςστην**ασφάλεια μηστρατιωτικού χαρακτήρα**
ES	asuntos de **seguridad leves**	la cooperación en materia de **seguridad no militar (soft security)**	**la seguridad no militar**	los riesgos de **inseguridad latentes**
FI	**Pehmeän turvallisuuden**alalla	-	**Pehmeää turvallisuutta**	**"pehmeät" turvallisuus**uhat
FR	questions de **sécurité non-militaire**	coopération en matière de **sécurité non-militaire**	**le sentiment de sécurité**	les risqué **d'insécuritélatents**
IT	questioni di **sicurezza meno gravi**	cooperazione**"leggera" nel settore della sicurezza**	**la sicurezza**	le minacce**latent alla sicurezza**
NL	**Secundaire veiligheid**skwesties	**"zachte" veiligheid**ssamenwerking	**soft security (niet-militaire-veiligheid)**	**niet-militaire** bedreigingen van de **veiligheid**
PT	assuntos de **segurança menos prementes**	cooperação emmatéria de **segurança não militar (soft security)**	**segurança**	as ameaças **latentes à segurança**
SV	**mjuka säkerhets**frågor	**"mjukt" säkerhet**ssamarbete	**"mjuka" säkerheten**	**"mjuka"** hot mot **säkerheten**

Source: www.eur-lex.europa.eu

As Table 3 shows, besides the English and Swedish documents, the rest contain large fluctuations when translating epithet "soft". Besides the common "soft" and "gentle" texts in national languages also contain such epithets as "less critical", "simpler", "not militaristic", "less important, serious", "secondary", "less problematic", "light", "latent", "civil", the phrase "feeling of safety", or the epithet is missing. Like in Table 2, the English

phrase "soft security" rests as either the main or supplementary term and is sometimes enclosed in parenthesis, while in others it is not.

It is important to notice that no noticeable differences between two sets of interpretations of the same concepts made by representatives of two different "blocs" (those of former communist countries and those with liberal democratic tradition) were detected.

The analysis of the texts of the abovementioned documents suggests that notions "soft security" and "soft power" are only in the process of being fully transposed from the Anglo-Saxon context to other linguistic-cultural contexts since currently those notions are being represented by different terms even within the same language or using terms in English as replacements or complimentary terms in the non-English texts, and quite often those terms are within parenthesis. Even though both concepts ("soft security" and "soft power") represent some similarity (the epithet "soft" is included in both cases), their interpretations in certain languages differ due to politicians' and/or translators' belief that they reflect some certain features, including social connotations, that should be reflected in the text. For example, "soft security" is described as "peaceful", "peaceful means", "broad", "insignificant", "weak", "other", "low", "less critical", "simpler", "not militaristic", "less important, serious", "secondary", "less problematic", "light", "latent" or "civil" security. These epithets are never used in translations of "soft power" into other EU languages.

1.4.3. Identification of Social Practices Related to "Soft Security" and "Soft Power"

Table 4 shows certain forms, patterns and features of social practices related to "soft security" identified in different EU document texts. As a general rule, they are presented as list of examples of organised activities ranging from humanitarian aid to quality management. One of the documents underlines the notion's "soft security" relation with norms and values (human rights, social equality).

Table 4. Description of Social Practices Related to „Soft Security"

Document CELEX Number	Description"
22009P0316(02) C2009/061/04	"Whereas the multitude of tasks entailed in mandates for protection of civilians pulls peacekeepers in different directions and forces are increasingly engaging in "soft security" issues, such as development, reconstruction and long-term peace building, all activities for which military forces do not typically train."
52006IP0270 52005IP0207	"Acknowledges Russia's potential as a special strategic partner for providing peace, stability and security, and fighting international terrorism and violent extremism, as well as addressing "soft security" issues such as environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organized crime in the European neighbourhood in cooperation with the OSCE and other international fora."

52001DC0154	"18. The notion of foreign policy co-operation is widening to encompass global challenges from organized crime, money laundering to cybercrime and other illegal use of the Internet as well as migration-related issues; non-proliferation and soft security threats such as the spread of infectious diseases, environmental degradation and global warming. We have a common interest in dealing with this growing set of problems that cannot be solved by individual countries. Moving into this new zone of cross-border activities will require ever closer co-ordination with the United States."
52000DC0241	"In pursuing the goal of global security the European Union is interested in engaging with Asian ASEM partners in a security dialogue, which should complement this ongoing work by drawing in particular on the informality of the ASEM process, and in sharing our respective regional experiences in fields such as analysis, planning and training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance and other aspects of "soft" security co-operation. Exchanges on "new security issues" including international crime and terrorism, information and other piracy and cyber warfare will also be important. Fostering support, in relevant fora, for determined action to stem proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, encouraging universal compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention could supplement the agenda."
52005SC0892	"More specifically, human security has mainly been analyzed at individual and community level and is often seen as a 'soft security' issue. However, bringing human security into the picture is also relevant for an analysis at state level. At this level, using people's security as a point of reference means emphasizing good governance, Human Rights, sustainable development, social equity and poverty reduction at the centre, rather than focusing on the power, the territorial integrity or the military security of the state. Here too, the human security perspective is crucial since it helps us to highlight a number of issues which are now seen as integral objectives of EC development policy, including poverty reduction, sustainable development and good governance."

Source: www.eur-lex.europa.eu

In majority cases, notion of "soft security" refers to two different sets of social realities. One of those sets is reviewed as a generator of harmful effects and is indicated as "soft security threats" or "soft security issues to be addressed" and refers to (a) environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organised crime; (b) the spread of infectious diseases, environmental degradation

and global warming. The second set is presented as combination of instruments supposed to countervail, diminish or eliminate those harmful effects and is referred as "soft security issues to be engaged in" or "soft security cooperation" and concerns such social practices as (a) "engagement in "soft security" issues, such as development, reconstruction and long-term peace building, all activities for which military forces do not typically train"; (b) "addressing "soft security" issues[…] in cooperation with the OSCE and other international fora"; (c) "analysis, planning and training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance and other aspects of "soft" security co-operation"; (d) "good governance, Human Rights, sustainable development, social equity and poverty reduction at the centre, rather than focusing on the power, the territorial integrity or the military security of the state".

Table 5 encompasses characteristics in respect of notion "soft power".

Table 5. Description of Social Practices Related to "Soft Power"

Doc CELEX No	Description
52009SC0831	"Development and external assistance are now central policies of the EU. They are major components of its international influence and effective instruments of its soft power."
52007DC0242	"Europe's cultural richness and diversity is closely linked to its role and influence in the world. The European Union is not just an economic process or a trading power, it is already widely - and accurately - perceived as an unprecedented and successful social and cultural project. The EU is, and must aspire to become even more, an example of a "soft power" founded on norms and values such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue, values which, provided they are upheld and promoted, can be of inspiration for the world of tomorrow."
52006DC0649	"Enlargement has been at the heart of the EU's development over several decades. The very essence of European integration is to overcome the division of Europe and to contribute to the peaceful unification of the continent. Politically, EU enlargement has helped respond to major changes such as the fall of dictatorships and the collapse of communism. It has consolidated democracy, human rights and stability across the continent. Enlargement reflects the EU's essence as a soft power, which has achieved more through its gravitational pull than it could have achieved by other means."
52005SC0892	"In 2004, the Commission financially supported initiatives undertaken by European development NGOs in areas where the beneficiary populations are the poorest, the most vulnerable and the most marginalized. This area of activity is significant in size (budget €200 million) and in geographical scope (206 new projects in over 100 developing countries in 2004), and is viewed by other stakeholders like the European Parliament, the Member States and the international donor community as a fundamental component of the soft-power projection of the European Union."

52004IE0855	"2.5 Although Americans were more internationalist in 2002 than prior to September 11, 2001, Americans and Europeans differ widely on foreign policy issues such as US global leadership or on how to respond to threats (7). Both Americans and Europeans see unilateralism as a problem. Both view the United Nations favourably and want to strengthen it, but Americans are willing to bypass the UN if required by national interest. Although soft power grows out of both US culture and US policies (8), Europe places a greater emphasis on it (9) and large majorities on both sides of the Atlantic say that the EU's soft power can have influence to solve world problems through diplomacy, trade or development aid (10)."

Analogically, some of abovementioned features are noticeable and also applicable to the texts related to the notion of "soft power": it is presented as referring to certain non-military social practises (social actions, social processes, or social systems). In one of the documents "soft power" is defined as related to certain norms and values (such as human dignity, solidarity, etc.). From the point of view of functional relationship those characteristics as well can be divided into two groups (sets) of specific social practices. One of them relates to the description of problematic from the EU politician's point of view social processes and social systems: (a) "dictatorships, communism", (b) "poverty, vulnerability and marginalization of certain populations". They are viewed as producing certain threats and challenges which can be met with the help of the instruments related to "soft power". Second set is description of those instruments and their application (reflected as "soft power projection", "inspiration", "achieving through gravitational pull") and refers to: (a) "development and external assistance"; (b) "initiatives undertaken by European development NGOs as a fundamental component of the soft-power projection of the European Union"; (c) "diplomacy, trade or development aid"; (d) "EU enlargement which reflects the EU's essence as a soft power; (e) EU norms and values such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue".

Table 5 also provides reference to "soft power" as a product of US culture and US policies which, though, received greater emphasis within EU policies.

It is important to note, that description of "soft power" includes attempts to present its positive role and comparative strength based on its attractiveness in achieving policy goals by the EU. This has never been the case in the texts related to concept of "soft security". It should be also noted that in one of the reviewed documents, which contains the notion "soft power", an attempt is made at comparing EU and USA in terms of their attitude and resources allocated to this form of power as well as the similarity of their views in respect of this kind of power. However, certain sets of organized activities that produce risks and threats to societies and are mentioned in the texts containing "soft security" (drug trafficking for example) are never presented as related to "soft power". The latter is projected towards long – term processes and political systems ("dictatorships, communism, poverty, vulnerability and marginalization of certain populations") that are viewed as producing certain threats and challenges, which can be met with the help of "soft power" related instruments.

On one hand, the analysis shows that the notions of "soft power" and "soft security" of EU documents are not yet clearly defined. Variety of terms that are used in numerous EU cultural – linguistic contexts and their descriptions within EU documentations in many cases is very broad. On the other hand, it suggests that there is an overall shared understanding that the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" are associated with sets of certain non – military social practices. Usually those sets are regarded as belonging to two different groups. One set is regarded as EU international policy issues and external instability management targets embedding certain risks and threats, which are supposed to be countervailed by "soft measures". Another is reviewed as particular set of instruments for countervailing, minimizing and elimination of those risks and threats. As far as "soft" (security or power) related international policy and management targets are concerned, their scope and content is very broad and is described by mentioning a number of examples of social practices which are viewed as problematic issues that could be solved without application of "hard" measures. Function of "soft" (security or power) related instruments of international policies and management is attributed to certain non-military forms and patterns of social practices which also are described as an extensive list of examples.

Interpretation of the notions involves not only a large domain of associated phrases and their meanings but also some contradictions: while instruments associated with "soft power" are generally valued as beneficial and positive (political statements refer to "soft power's" comparative strength based on its attractiveness in achieving policy goals), "soft security" is interpreted, in some linguistic cases, as "insignificant", "weak", "low", "less critical", "simpler", "less important (serious)", "secondary". Such scepticism in respect of "soft security" related instruments could be caused by several factors, such as an evidence of low efficiency or failure of some "soft security" related EU programmes and projects, and/or the stereotypes and pre-assumptions attributing strength to "hard" (power or security) and weakness to "soft" measures. Nevertheless "soft power" and "soft security" related instruments are actively promoted and expanded by EU programmes and projects outside its borders.

Contradicting tendencies reflected in EU documents could be regarded as reflection of EU political debate in which EU member states attempt to harmonize their goals (and their means of realizing those goals) while maintaining their sphere of influence and meeting contemporary challenges to peace and security. On the one hand, this shows that albeit the process of convergence of underlying assumptions, views and cultures exists, they in some aspects remain polarized as different agents seek to find new political tools to replace or complement existing ones. On the other hand, these contradicting views and evaluations call for deeper and more extensive debates and research, which could enhance efficiency of the "soft" security and power instruments and thus provide better opportunities for effective EU foreign policy.

As far as the scientific perceptions and findings related to soft security that have been highlighted in the previous sections are concerned, the overview of the concepts "soft security" and "soft power" in EU legislation in the framework of discourses of politicians who design EU external policy has to some extend confirmed some of the earlier described features of soft security in terms of attributing soft security

with particular social practices, expanded a list of social practices attributed to soft security and questioned ability of soft security to function as effective tool of security governance. The confirmed and additional features in terms of attributing soft security with particular social practices involve:

- non-military activities on the working level of technical, organisational, administrative, informational character;
- association with new concerns and new challenges in complicated international environment in the process of maintaining and increasing security on regional level;
- association with such social practices as: confidence-building measures, arms control, development, reconstruction, long-term peace building, training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance, good governance, Human Rights, joint exercises, best practices exchange, capacity-building, mutual learning, security research, peer reviews, creating networks for the coordination of local authorities and the private sector, development, external assistance; European development NGOs' initiatives, diplomacy, trade, development aid; EU enlargement; spreading EU norms and values such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue; facilitation, negotiation, mediation, fact-finding missions, "good offices", consultation focused on problem-solving, workshops, round tables, trauma work, grassroots training, analysis, planning, training in relation to conflict prevention/peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance;
- mitigation of: environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organised crime, the spread of infectious diseases, environmental degradation and global warming;
- ability to function as a component of European security architecture/ European security governance/ integrated component of EU external policies;
- similarities in the meanings of "soft security" and "soft power" in respect of their non-military nature, association with the process of mitigating threats and reliance on shared values and shared competences.

The questioned features of soft security involve:

- capability of SSI to play important role for coping with new problems and managing new security related issues;
- effectiveness of soft security related instruments in enhancing European security.

The next section explores the tendencies of reflection of the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" as well as association of those concepts with the framework of the political discourse on EU policies in the selected publications of one of EU member states – Lithuania.

1.5. Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies in Selected Lithuanian Publications

This section presents attempts to determine frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in selected Lithuanian publications using content analysis method.

Lithuanian periodicals for current content analysis have been selected using following criteria:

1. They should fulfil condition of being uploaded in the website
2. The terms "soft power/force" (minkštoji/švelnioji galia/jėga) and/or "soft security" (minkštasis/švelnusis saugumas) should be used more than one time.

Two journals published in Lithuania were found as being in compliance with both criteria: "Politologija" and "Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review".

"Politologija" was the first academic journal covering politics in Lithuania. It was first published in 1993. Since 1999 the journal is published four times per year.

Table 6 presents the frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in this journal.

Year	Number of terms found	Journal number	Related to European Policy	Number of articles
1993				
1994				
1995				
1996				
1997				
1998				
1999				
2000				
2001				
2002				
2003				
2004				
2005	1	39	1	1
2006	5	42	1	1
2007				
2008				
2009				
2010				
2011				

Table 6.

Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Politologija"

Source: http://www.leidykla.eu/mokslo-darbai/politologija/

The data in the Table 6 show that within the journal "Politologija" the terms "soft power"/"soft security" have been mentioned 6 times since 1993 in two different issues. In both instances, "soft power" was linked to policies of European Union issues. Apart from the period 2005-2006, usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power" has not been detected in any of articles on political issues.

"Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review" is devoted to foreign policy issues. The journal archive goes back to the year 1998 and the journal is published once or twice a year. Table No. 7 presents the frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in this journal.

Table 7. Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Foreign Policy Review"

Year	Number of terms found	Journal number	Related to European Policy	Number of articles
1998				
1999	2	1	0	1
2000	2	5	1	2
2001				
2002				
2003				
2004				
2005	4	15	2	2
2006	4	17	3	2
2007				
2008	7	20	6	3
2009	4	22	4	2
2010	7	23	6	2

Source: http://www.lfpr.lt/

The data in Table 7 show that the search has detected mentioning of the terms in question for 30 times in 14 different articles. 22 times the terms were used in relation to the policy of European Union.

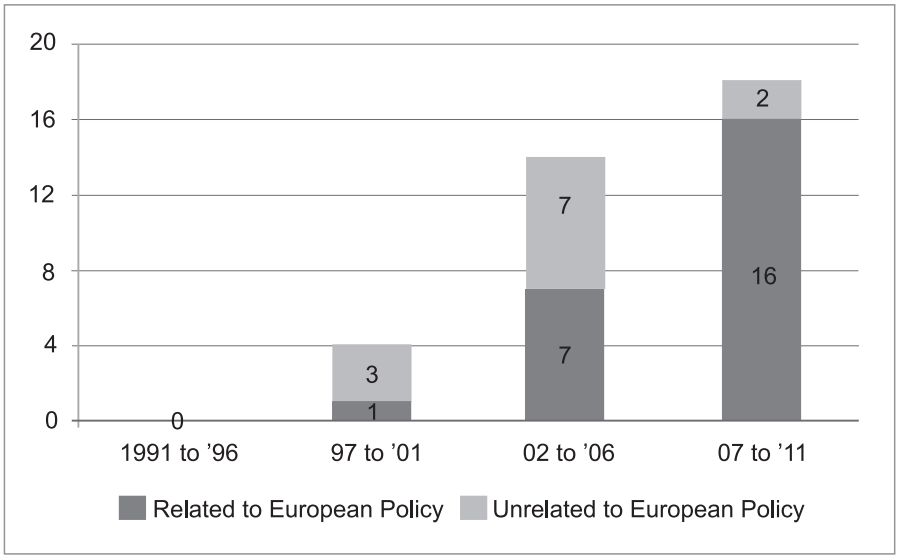
Table 8 provides integrated data for both journals: "Politologija" and "Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review" together to see the dynamics of appearance of the terms „soft security" and "soft power/force" over time. The period under exploration is beaked down within 5-6 years periods. The bar graph in Diagram 1 is constructed using data of Table 8.

Table 8. Integrated Data on Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Politologija" and "Foreign Policy Review"

Year	Number of terms found	Related to European Policy	Number of articles	Unrelated to European Policy
1991 to '96	0	0	0	0
97 to'01	4	1	3	3
02 to '06	14	7	6	7
07 to '11	18	16	7	2

Source: http://www.leidykla.eu/mokslo-darbai/politologija/ ; http://www.lfpr.lt/

Diagram 1. Integrated Data on Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security"and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Politologija" and "Foreign Policy Review"



Source: http://www.leidykla.eu/mokslo-darbai/politologija/; http://www.lfpr.lt/

Diagram 1 shows that even though the terms are used sparingly, they are becoming increasingly popular in mid to late 2000s. Furthermore, the terms are increasingly used in connection with European Union policy. This suggests that Lithuanian policy makers and academics from time to time do associate European power/security with a soft power and analyse Lithuania's foreign policy via a soft power and soft security lenses.

Next, four online newspapers and popular websites that contain topics and articles about political topics will be analysed: "Lietuvos Rytas", Alfa.lt, Delfi.lt, and geopolitika.lt.

"Lietuvos Rytas" is daily refreshed and has been uploaded to LietuvosRytas.lt since 2006. Table 9 presents frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in this publication.

Table 9. Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Lietuvos Rytas"

Year	Number of terms found	Related to European Policy	Number of articles
2006			
2007			
2008			
2009			
2010	1	1	1
2011	2	1	2
2012	1	1	1

Source: http://www.lrytas.lt

The data in Table 9 demonstrate that in total, 4 times terms in question have been mentioned in 4 different articles, 3 of which were related to European policy issues.

Afa.lt has launched its website in 2006 and has been rated as the third most viewed site after "Delfi" and "Lietuvos Rytas". Table 10 presents frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in this publication.

Table 10. Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Alfa"

Year	Number of terms found	Related to European Policy	Number of articles
2006			
2007			
2008	6	0	2
2009	14	0	3
2010	1	0	1
2011	2	0	2
2012	2	1	2

Source: http://www.alfa.lt/

The data in Table 10 demonstrate that on average, 2 articles appeared per year discussing the soft dimension of Lithuania's policy. Unlike other sources, in the publications in Alfa.lt, connection between mentioning "soft power" and "soft security" and reference to the EU policies has not been detected.

One of the most popular news portals in Lithuania is Delfi.lt which was launched in 2000. Table 11 presents the frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in this publication.

Table 11. Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Delfi"

Year	Number of terms found	Related to European Policy	Number of articles
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			
2004			
2005	1	1	1
2006			
2007			
2008	5	2	3
2009	1	0	1
2010			
2011	16	0	2
2012	6	0	3

Source: http://www.delfi.lt

Data in Table 11 demonstrate that since 2000, the terms in question have been mentioned 29 times in 10 articles. In this case, only 3 times they have been used in relation to mentioning European Union initiatives/policies.

"Všį Geopolitika" was established in 2005 and the website came out at a similar time. Its purpose is to analyse economic, political, demographic and other changes in the neighbouring states. Table 12 presents the frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU policies in this publication.

Table 12. Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/ Force" and their Association with EU Policies within "Geopolitika"

Year	Number of terms found	Related to European Policy	Number of articles
2005			
2006			
2007			
2008			
2009	12	2	2
2010	2	0	1
2011	7	3	4
2012	1	0	1

Source: http://www.geopolitika.lt/

Data in Table 12 demonstrate that a total of 8 articles containing 27 terms in question were used in the discussions of policy and power elements. Five times terms were used in relation to describing European policies.

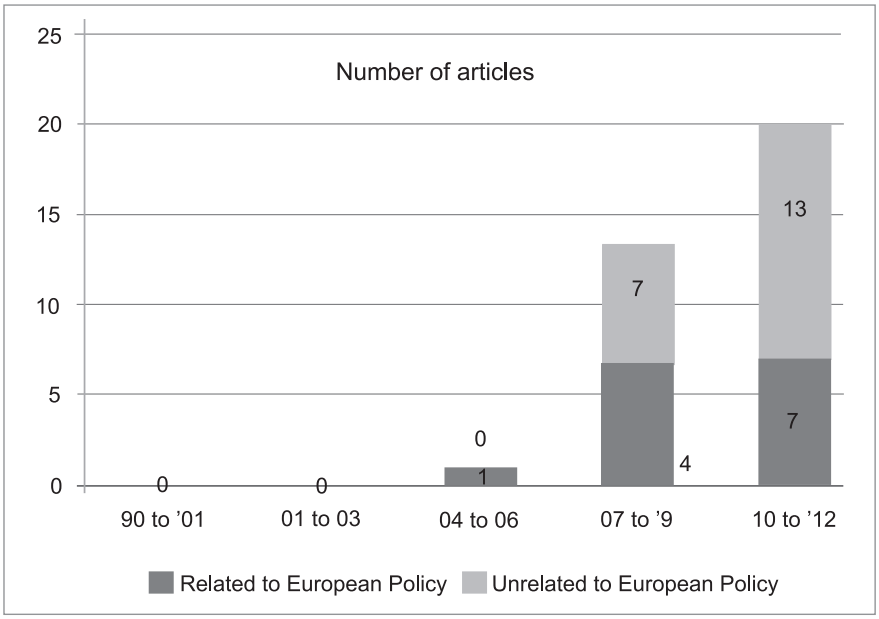
Table 13 presents integrated data on frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and their association with EU Policies within "Lietuvos Rytas", "Alfa", "Delfi" and "Geopolitika" Diagram 2 is constructed using data in the Table 13.

Table 13. Integrated Data on Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and Their Association with EU Policies within "Lietuvos Rytas", "Alfa", "Delfi" and "Geopolitika"

Year	Number of terms found	Related to European Policy	Number of articles in which the terms were found	Unrelated to European Policy
'90 to'93	0	0	0	0
93 to '97	0	0	0	0
98 to '02	0	0	0	0
03 to '07	2	2	2	0
08 to '12	79	11	31	68

Sources: http://www.lrytas.lt; http://www.alfa.lt/; http://www.delfi.lt; http://www.geopolitika.lt/

Diagram 2. Integrated Data on Frequency and Dynamics of the Usage of Terms "Soft Security" and "Soft Power/Force" and Their Association with EU Policies within "Lietuvos Rytas", "Alfa", "Delfi" and "Geopolitika"



Sources: http://www.lrytas.lt; http://www.alfa.lt/; http://www.delfi.lt; http://www.geopolitika.lt/

Grouped numbers in Diagram 2 show that it is becoming more common to distinguish the soft element of power and security in discussing external policy and more often over time. Unlike within the academic journal analysis, more than half of the cases in which the terms were found do not indicate close relationship with European Union policies.

If we considered the number of terms found in the articles, we would see that while there were fewer articles in which the terms in question were found from 2007 to 2009, each article contained, on average, more terms. This could indicate that during the previous period the terms were not familiar enough to authors and they were keen to explore the topics. Currently, more writers are aware of the terms and use them more casually.

The study in the first part of the research revealed a number of features of social practices related to soft means of security governance which correspond to the common understanding of the theory of security governance, dynamics of social processes and EU policy making in both academic literature and political discourse, as well as those features that are questioned by theorists, policy advisors, political decisions makers and cooperative projects implementers. They are summarized in Table 14.

Table 14. Features of Soft Security Instruments

Soft instruments of security governance: *common understanding* of features in terms of coverage of social practices and capabilities	Soft instruments of security governance: *questioned features* in terms of capabilities to produce desired outcomes and relationship with coercive and economic instruments
Association with : • social practices on the working level of non-military, non-coercive character; • a focus on technical, organisational, administrative or informational interaction; • needs and concerns in respect of maintaining and increasing security on regional level within increasingly complicated international environment; • social practices such as confidence-building measures, arms control development, reconstruction, long-term peace building, training in relation to conflict prevention/peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance, good governance, human rights, joint exercises, best practices exchange, capacity-building, mutual learning, security research, peer reviews, creating networks for the coordination of local authorities and the private sector development, external assistance; European development NGOs' initiatives, diplomacy, trade, development aid; EU enlargement; spreading EU norms and values such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue; facilitation, negotiation, mediation, fact-finding missions, "good offices", consultation focused on problem-solving, workshops, round tables, trauma work, grassroots training, analysis, planning, training in relation to conflict prevention/peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance; • needs to mitigate environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms, human trafficking, cross-border organised crime, the spread of infectious diseases, environmental degradation and global warming; • legitimacy concerns; • functioning as a component of European security architecture/ European security governance/integrated component of EU external policies.	• capability of SSI to play an important role for managing new security related issues; • effectiveness of soft security related instruments in enhancing European security. • dichotomist relationship between soft and hard (coercive) instruments; • combinatory approach in respect of soft, hard (coercive) and economic instruments.

Source: author

The research provided in the first part of thesis suggests the following approach to the SSI. In the context of a comprehensive EU approach to international security, SSI are regarded as a component of security governance within mutually facilitating

relationship with economic component and legal enforcement as well as within a social-economic transformational process which is supposed to lead to higher level of regional security. Using of SSI is associated with concerns of their low effectiveness as well as legitimacy concerns which raises a requirement of political guidance and accountability.

Taking into account the widespread approach to competence as incorporating skills, experience, knowledge, attributes and behaviour of an individual which are necessary for a job effective performance (Hirsch and Stabler, 1995), it can be concluded that the underlying feature of SSI is their reliance on voluntary mechanisms disregarding coercive enforcement since they are shared-value-driven and shared-competence-driven in terms of motivation and influence for achieving security governance goals. All listed social practices are related in higher or lower degree to stakeholders' value and competence sharing, congruence and development for coping with security challenges. Therefore SSI can be defined as purposefully organized social practices which are various forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders' for facilitation of solving security-related problems, without direct enforcement.

PART II:
METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS OF SOFT SECURITY COMPONENT OF EUROPEAN UNION INITIATED JOINT PROJECT MANAGEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY

2.1. Review of Scientific Assumptions in Sociological Literature

Existing theories of European integration explain an expansion of SSC in different ways (Hegemann, 2012, Stone, 2011, Schout, 2009, Stetter, 2004). For the explanation of an expansion of SSC is important an observation made by van Kersbergen and van Waarden (2004: 143) that for getting "a thorough understanding of 'shifts in governance', political science needs, and is also likely to adopt, a much stronger multidisciplinary orientation embracing politics, law, public administration, economics and business administration, as well as sociology, geography and history" (van Kersbergen and van Waarden 2004: 143). Scholars who follow an approach which focuses on dominating power and national interest, point out that the bigger and concerned member states prefer informal bilateral channels/soft instruments and frameworks without enforcement on security issues since such choice makes easier to pursue their interests without numerous binding commitment. According to supporters of the organisational learning theory, the stakeholders who are involved in process through learning do adapt structures and processes as a result of newly obtained knowledge. Logic of functionalism suggests that informal arrangements as a framework for SSC functioning are the effect of spill-over and functional ties among institutions and actors.

A useful perspective for explanation of SSC expansion and exploring of EU approaches to regional security as well as defining SSC of EIJPM process which goes in line with the EU regional security agenda, as well as for analysis of prospects for increasing of SSC efficacy in the process of European integration is suggested by an integrated multidisciplinary approach based on combination of constructivism and historicism of English school as a methodology. This approach is expected to provide several important social scientific insights in respect of: (1) binding and transforming forces in the international community, (2) process of enhancement of regional stability in Europe through gradual movement from pluralism to solidarism, (3) factors reducing violence, disorder, enmity and the possibility of conflicts and war, and (4) capacity of the process of making strategic choices by policy decision-makers and policy practices to sustain and/or transform systemic cultures leading to higher levels of regional stability and security. Those insights that are used as methodological guidance are based on holistic approaches presented by Buzan (2004) and Wend (1999) in their studies on binding forces, factors of socio-cultural change and dynamics of international society. In addition, some assumptions presented by Norkus (2008) and

Šaulauskas (2000) that are in line with this approach are used as well. Approaches are based on sociological thinking bridging the disciplinary boundaries.

According to Buzan (2004: 25), who innovatively combines English school tradition with constructivism, "English school thinking has transcended the conventional boundaries of both sociology and political theory in one important way. Its main concept of international society has moved the idea of society out of the state, and away from individual human beings as members. International society is not based on the crude idea of a "domestic analogy" (Suganami 1989) which simply scales the society within states up to the global level. Instead it argues for a new second-order form of society, where the members are not individual human beings, but durable collectivities of humans possessed of identities and actor qualities that are more than the sum of their parts. This move opens up an aspect of sociology that has not been much, if at all, explored by sociologists, but that should be the natural meeting point between Sociology and Political Theory on the one hand, and International Relations on the other." This approach suggested by Buzan is important since it gives guidance for "grappling with integration theory, and how to understand, and manage, developments in the EU" (Buzan 2004:4) and provides sharp analytical tools for this research by exposing the dynamics and driving forces underlying international society in a precise and clear manner. Taking into account "Wendt's (1999) attempt to pose Constructivism as a social theory of international politics" (Buzan 2004:25) and bringing together the international society tradition within English school thinking and the Wendtian mode of constructivism, Buzan suggests "a radical reinterpretation of English school theory from the ground up, but one that remains supportive of, and in touch with, the basic aims of both English school and Wendtian theory – to understand and interpret the composition and the dynamics of the social structure of international politics" (Buzan 2004:3). This approach offers "a Wendt-inspired social structural interpretation of English school theory as a good solution to the problems of how to think both analytically and normatively,[...] captures the simultaneous existence of state and non-state systems operating alongside and through each other" (Buzan 2004:3) and is regarded within this research as a methodological guidance for conceptualizing "soft security" phenomenon in the framework of EU initiatives and projects in respect to EDEN states in the broader framework of globalisation and regionalisation as a complex political interplay among state and non-state actors. The following insights which are regarded as important scientific assumptions for defining soft security components of EU initiated joint regional security projects and for exploring their efficacy prospects are presented in the boxes and the table below:

Box 2. Composition, binding forces and factors influencing dynamics of international society

> "Any given international social structure is representing a complicated mixture of domains and levels, as well as mixtures of coercion, calculation and belief, and much about its particular workings will depend crucially on how the mixture is composed. International society has both the coercive and the consensual side and the interplay between both sides can result in reducing unnecessary frictions and inefficiencies in the intercourse of states and peoples, sustaining dialogue, establishment of a significant array of norms, rules and institutions, in areas where states fates are linked and they see common dangers. Both the nature of the binding forces (in the sense of their distribution at any given point in time) and the interplay among them in relation to any given value or set of values (in the sense of the actual or potential shifting either up or down the coercion-calculation-belief spectrum), are a key part of the dynamics of stability and change in the structure of interstate/international societies".

Source: Buzan, 2004: 230, 231, 254.

Set of positions, based on the idea that each of the types/models, with the probable exception of asocial, can be held in place by any mixture of coercion, calculation and belief, along the spectrum of interstate societies (Buzan, 2004:159-160) can be summarised in the following table (apart from the *Asocial* which is confined to the rather rare condition, found mostly in science fiction)*:*

Table 15. Models of Interstate Societies

Model	Description
Power political	"is an international society based largely on enmity and the possibility of war, but where there is also some diplomacy, alliance making and trade. Survival is the main motive for the states, and no values are necessarily shared. Institutions will be minimal, mostly confined to rules of recognition and diplomacy."
Coexistence	"is focusing on the exemplar of modern Europe, and meaning by it the kind of Westphalian system in which the core institutions of international society are the balance of power, sovereignty, territoriality, diplomacy, great power management, war and international law."
Cooperative	"requires developments that go significantly beyond coexistence, but short of extensive domestic convergence. It incorporates the more solidarist side of what the English school calls Grotian, but might come in many guises, depending on what type of values are shared and how/why they are shared. Probably war gets downgraded as an institution, and other institutions might arise to reflect the solidarist joint project(s)."
Convergence	"means the development of a substantial enough range of shared values within a set of states to make them adopt similar political, legal and economic forms. The range of shared values has to be wide enough and substantial enough to generate similar forms of government and legal systems based on similar values in respect of such basic issues as property rights, human rights and the relationship between government and citizens. In a society of states the Kantian form of solidarism around liberal values identified by the English school and Wendt is one option, but not the only one."
Confederative	"defines the border zone between a solidarist interstate society and the creation of a single political entity. It is a convergence international society with the addition of significant intergovernmental organisations (EU model)."

Source: Buzan, 2004:159-160.

Box 3. Logics and criteria of movement from pluralism to solidarism, and of durability of solidarism

"Solidarism at least initially builds on pluralism to become pluralism-plus but can then develop into a variety of thicker versions. Pluralism is abandoned when states not only recognise that they are alike in this sense, but see that a significant degree of similarity is valuable, and seek to reinforce the security and legitimacy of their own values by consciously linking with others who are like-minded, building a shared identity with them. Convergence in this sense begins to look like a form of community and in its stronger forms will involve acceptance of some responsibility for other members of the community states. Solidarism rests on the idea of solidarity, which implies not only that a unity of interests and sympathies exists amongst a set of actors, but that this unity is of a type sufficient to generate capability for collective action. Two ideas are the key to unlocking the full meaning of solidarism: shared values, and the use of these to support collective action. A high degree of ideological uniformity is expected, as well as a substantial degree of homogeneity amongst the domestic constitutions of the members acknowledge common values among them that go beyond survival and coexistence, and which they agree to pursue by coordinating their policies, undertaking collective action, creating appropriate norms, rules and organisations, and revising the institutions of interstate society. Two areas in which real solidarist developments have been most spectacular are the pursuit of joint gain and the pursuit of knowledge. Collective security, human rights and environmentalism still represent the aspirational more than the empirical side of solidarism – a campaign for collective self-improvement of the human condition. Within the collective pursuit of knowledge, featuring international cooperation in 'big science' projects, some of which lies in the transnational domain, but a great deal is interstate, in contrast to the economic sector, coercion plays almost no role. Belief not only in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, but also in the means by which such knowledge can be pursued, is sufficiently widespread in the world to underpin cooperation motivated by belief and the calculation of joint gain. It is worth noting that this kind of joint project is highly constrained under pluralism, where it might cut too closely to concerns about technologies with military applications. Where solidarism is based mainly on belief, it will be most durable. Where based on calculation or coercion, it will be much more vulnerable to changes of circumstance".

Source: Buzan, 2004: 141- 142, 147, 154, 158.

Factors of reducing violence, enmity, disorder, the possibility of conflicts and war within selected models of interstate society are presented in the Table below:

Table 16. Factors of Reducing Violence, Enmity, Disorder, the Possibility of Conflicts and War within Selected Models of Interstate Society

Model of interstate society	Factors reducing violence, enmity, disorder, the possibility of conflicts and war
Coexistence	· "interest in survival and the avoidance of unwanted disorder", · "the balance of power", · "respect to sovereignty, and territoriality, diplomacy", · "great power management", · "market", · "international law," · "arrangements for arms control", · "environmental stewardship (partly), environmental management"

Cooperative	· Coexistence model factors plus · "economic sector as a shared value", · "joint projects as a feature of shared values", · "Cooperative logic of collective pursuit of shared values (economic growth and development, human rights)."
Convergence	· Cooperative model factors plus · "idea of solidarity" · "similar political, legal and economic forms", · "substantial degree of convergence in the norms, rules, institutions and goals of the states concerned".
Confederative	· Convergence model factors plus · "addition of significant intergovernmental organisations"

Source: Buzan, 2004:159-160, 232.

Table 16 demonstrates that moving from coexistence towards confederative model each consequent model contains more factors diminishing probability of conflicts and war, as well as reducing violence, enmity and disorder.

Box 4. Interrelation between mixture of binding forces of international society and stability

"The pattern of binding forces is itself part of the social structure of interstate society. In a crude way it suggests the hypothesis that, other things being equal, interstate and international societies based on coercion will be less stable than those based on calculation, which will be less stable than those based on belief/identity".

Source: Buzan, 2004: 253.

Box 5. Approach to liberal values and liberal logic in respect of reducing motivation to fight

"The historical legacy we have is that the three world wars of the twentieth century were about what form of political economy was going to shape the future of industrial society, and liberalism emerged victorious in all three rounds. It is thus not at all unreasonable to look closely at the particular character of the interstate and international societies generated by a liberal core. But one has to keep in mind that liberal values are not universally dominant. While realist, or balancing, logic suggests that it is unwise to trade with, and invest in, and thus empower, states one may later have to fight. Liberal, or market, logic suggests that one can reduce the probability of having to fight by allowing the operation of market economy to democratise and entangle potential enemies."

Source: Buzan, 2004:194, 227.

Box 6. Capacity of strategic choices of policy decision-makers and policy practices to sustain and transform social-economic structures and systemic cultures through different mechanisms in the long term

According to Buzan such task is achieved by "practice of projecting values, besides coercion, by logic of persuasion, by spreading policy decision-makers culture and influencing on the process of how those within affected socio – cultural context think about their identity. It can be done both by co-opting elements of the local cultures and by offering attractive new practices. Patterns of identity may be slower moving than patterns of power, but they are not static. In this process relevant is the social context into which any value is projected. It is important how values will be evaluated morally at the receiving end, and therefore whether more, or less, coercion will be necessary to insert them. An easy or difficult fit of values will probably play a big role in how binding forces work or don't work. Regardless of this, there is also an efficacy factor, which is whether given values are seen to produce an advantage for one or more sectors of society. This element points towards calculation, and perhaps in the longer run, belief, and was/is a key part of the promotion of both communist and liberal values. Liberals assume that people will come their way because they will first see the advantages of doing so, and having entered into the practice, come to accept the values as a matter of belief. Processes of interaction reproduce and transform systemic structures. If adherence to some values does indeed make some wealthier, more knowledgeable, more powerful or more interesting than adherence to others, then this facilitates the move away from coercion towards belief. It was part of the crisis of the communist world in the later stages of the Cold War that its values visibly lagged in many of these practical respects compared with those of the West. A lopsided distribution of power enables the strong to impose themselves on the weak through all kinds of softer forms of coercion, usually labelled 'conditionality', and applied in relation to access to diplomatic recognition, aid, loans, markets, weapons and memberships of various IGOs (most obviously NATO, EU, WTO). This type of coercion is especially effective if the strong are not ideologically divided among themselves (as they were for much of the twentieth century), but all more or less on board in their own sub-global interstate/international society. If the social structure of the international system has a strong core–periphery form where the core is relatively homogenous, then imposition of a 'standard of civilisation' is much facilitated."

According to Wendt identities evolve through two basic processes, natural and cultural selection, the latter consisting of mechanisms of imitation and social learning, while "collective identity formation is caused by interdependence, common fate, homogenization, and self-restraint".

Norkus refers to "rhizomatic network where social systems are related by the filiations and cultural diffusion [...] as unique features of socio-cultural change".

According to Šaulauskas, the orientation of the transformation can be innovative, imitative, continuative or restorative.

Source: Buzan, 2004:224, 255 -256, 258; Wendt, 1999: 44; Norkus, 2008:724; Šaulauskas, 2000.

The highlighted theoretical insights as assumptions will be used for further research for differentiating modes of EU security governance approaches in respect of EDEN states.

2.2. Differentiation of EU approaches to Security Management in EU Neighbourhood

2.2.1. Transformational/Enhanced and Preventive/ Limited EU Approaches to Regional Security

Taking into account highlighted theoretical insights as assumptions for further research the following logics for separating two modes of EU approaches: (1) proactive: transformational or enhanced approach and (2) reactive: preventive or limited approach to regional security is suggested:

The EU has reached the development stage featured in higher or lower degree by cooperative, convergence and confederative models presenting thick layer of institutions, norms and shared liberal values that constitute comparatively high level of solidarism which ensures comparatively high level of stability and security. The regional security dimension of its external policies is focused on neighbouring states that feature coexistence and partly cooperative (mainly its pluralist side) models of interstate/international society presenting thinner layer institutions and norms with weak or without sufficient adherence to shared liberal values. From the point of view of the EU politicians, the latter is seen as more vulnerable to changes of circumstance and less stable than international society of the EU itself. As a long-term solution for enhancing regional security and stability within its neighbouring states the set of various EU external policies and joint projects are used to encourage and assist those states to gradually transform their social and economic relationships in a variety of ways (innovative, imitative, continuative or restorative) as well as (in the long run) their socio-cultural contexts and collective identities enabling movement towards convergence model based on shared liberal values in the spirit of *acquis communautaire* since this model is seen as an advanced option in stability, security and economic terms, as it has been proved by EU historic development since its interception.

Trying to avoid unnecessary confrontation, the EU, according to this logics, should be keen to rely mainly on non-coercive means featuring attractiveness of the projects' offer suggested to the EU partner state(s) leading to establishment of a social interactive process of the pursue of joint regional security gain. The coercive instruments (mainly in the form of conditionality and binding legislation) are seen as means playing complimentary role and introduced on the basis of mutual consent.

An EU initiative illustrating above mentioned logics is Eastern Partnership within EU Neighbourhood Policy described in the following way: "What happens in the countries in Eastern Europe and the Southern Caucasus affects the European Union. Successive EU enlargements have brought these countries closer to the EU and their security, stability and prosperity increasingly impact on the EU's. The potential these countries offer for diversifying the EU's energy supplies is one example. All these

countries, to varying degrees, are carrying out political, social and economic reforms, and have stated their wish to come closer to the EU. The conflict in Georgia in August 2008 confirmed how vulnerable they can be, and how the EU's security begins outside our borders. The European Commission put forward concrete ideas for enhancing our relationship with: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. This would imply new association agreements including deep and comprehensive free trade agreements with those countries willing and able to enter into a deeper engagement and gradual integration in the EU economy. It would also allow for easier travel to the EU through gradual visa liberalisation, accompanied by measures to tackle illegal immigration. The Partnership will also promote democracy and good governance, strengthen energy security, promote sector reform and environment protection, encourage people to people contacts, support economic and social development and offer additional funding for projects to reduce socio-economic imbalances and increase stability" (European External Action Service, 2012:1).

The above mentioned citation reveals the underlying logics of the EU initiated processes for addressing challenges to regional security and stability through transfer of tailor-made elements in the spirit of *acquis communautaire,* projecting liberal values and encouraging solidarism which are believed to function as stability and security enhancers (as well as prerequisites for advanced and sustainable economic growth) and are closely associated with prospects for attraction of investments, economic development, solidarity, mutual trust and peace.

However, two conditions for enabling EU to proceed with joint cooperative projects based on proactive transformational (enhanced) approach to regional security in respect of neighbouring states are to be fulfilled:

1. Neighbouring states should not resist the transfer of tailor-made elements in the spirit of *acquis communautaire,* projecting liberal values and encouraging solidarism in EU acceptable mode embedded in specific set of rules. In other words, they should be neutral or positively related to EU rule transfer and attempts to enrich/modify their socio-economic and socio-cultural systems. If neighbouring states resist the EU rule transfer, only the limited preventive (reactive) option (which goes in line mainly with realist logics of peaceful coexistence) of joint cooperative projects can be applied.
2. Since neighbouring states, even being neutral or positively related to EU rule transfer, would not necessarily regard implanting in their own social – economic and cultural contexts tailor-made elements in the spirit of *acquis communautaire,* including liberal values, as an important value-added component (shared by majority of stakeholders of the EU and its member states) which require costly social and economic changes, they would expect in return some additional financial and technical support as well as some privileges (which are the values shared by majority EDEN states stakeholders) from EU stakeholders who are interested in projecting those elements.

In this relation important role will be played by socio-cultural contexts which are, according to previous overview of types of power-conflict dynamics, dominated either by bilateral (multilateral) power systems or unilateral power systems:

I. Socio-cultural contexts which are based primarily on the mixed and the bilateral (multilateral) power systems are neutral or positively associated with outside influence seeking to strengthen and transfer elements of the bilateral (multilateral) power system. Within such contexts the response to EU policy proposals is expected to be more open and flexible and focus on the expected joint gains, i.e. reaction will be based mainly on cost-benefit calculations. Such logics could explain eagerness of a number of Central and East European countries to accept EU proposals aimed at increasing social stability, economic integration and transfer of EU normative model, including democratic conditionality. However, only those states that were considered as candidates to EU membership were motivated enough to implement EU designed policies and projects in a consistent manner and were considered by EU policy makers and evaluators as quite effective in achieving rule transfer into their socio-cultural systems. According to Schimmelfennig et al. (2003: 496) "even though the EU has used both material and social incentives to induce target governments to comply with its human rights and democracy standards, only material bargaining, and above all the incentive of membership, proved to be an effective mechanism of democratic conditionality... the membership incentive has been the more effective the smaller the domestic political costs of adaptation for the target governments".

II. Socio-cultural contexts in non-EU countries, which are based primarily on unilateral and mixed power systems, are expected to be negatively associated with the outside influence focusing on strengthening and transferring elements of the bilateral (multilateral) power system. Such logics could explain longstanding resistance of Russian Federation (RF) to accept legal reciprocity (suggested by the EU) in the process of negotiations on the New Partnership Agreement and, instead of the former, insistence on „barter reciprocity" (Grajauskas, R., Kasčiūnas, L., 2009). The same principle could be traced in RF stance in respect of Energy Charter Treaty and a number of other EU initiatives. Given such context, the response to EU policy proposals and suggested joint cooperative projects with are based on liberal logics approach is expected to be very reserved and would encompass twofold evaluations: (a) evaluation of a proposal in terms of perceived possible threat to existing socio-cultural equilibrium currently dominated by unilateral and the mixed powers, and (b) evaluation of a proposal based on the cost – benefit approach. Limitations and restrictions for application of EU policy proposals in within such contexts (e.g. cases of Russian Federation and Belorussian authorities' reactions) are widely described in political literature. Describing Russian Federation's position Sergunin (2010:1) indicates, there "are deep-seated doubts that the EU is attempting to undermine Russia's geopolitical positions in its traditional sphere of interest." The findings and conceptual frameworks that draw on a range of theoretical and explanatory schemes emphasizing different mechanisms of production of social change in non- EU countries by the EU policies are also presented by: McCormick (2003), Maul (2005), Kasčiūnas (2012), Knill and Lehmkuhl (1999), Manners (2008,

2012), Whitman (2011), Bickerton (2011), Haukkala (2011), Stewart (2011), Juncos (2011), Björkdahl (2008, 2011), Martin (2011), Diez and Pace (2011).

Therefore in cases of dominance of unilateral power systems mainly limited scope of EU intentions to integrate also liberal values into proposals may be applied. Within the limited approach based on the realistic logics of peaceful coexistence, the set of relationships and project instruments is supposed to be directly associated with current regional security and stability level and prevention of existing and/or possible disruptions of damaging character which are mutually recognized by stakeholders of all parties involved. Within the transformational enhanced approach based on the liberal logics, the set of relationships and instruments would encompass additional, supplementing elements necessary for the EU rule transfer to and gradual transformation of socio-economic and socio-cultural systems of EU partners for achieving more enhanced level of regional security and stability.

2.2.2. General and Contingent Management of Cooperative Security

Expanding scale and diversification of security governance indicate diverting scale of interest of EU regional partners to support and engage in those projects. Motivation of a number of EU regional partners originates from attraction of EU promoted values and related expected joint gains as well as from additional motivating elements such as EU financial and technical assistance and EU suggested privileges.

Majority of the EU promoted values, related to underpinning of a stable, democratic, prosperous and undivided Europe, as well as the practice of linking them with particular actions and processes such as political and diplomatic consultations, forums for political negotiations and decision-making in the fields of early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, mitigating environmental and spreading diseases risks, combating human trafficking and nuclear proliferation, etc., are supported and funded by majority of regional political players in Europe. In respect to preserving this set of values, generally accepted strategies and tactics are applied.

Another set of values (and expected common gains) which EU political decisions makers regard in close relationship with regional security and stability enhancement and include human rights, judicial and police reform, public administration, anti-corruption measures, etc. are contested values which are not necessarily supported by EU neighbouring countries political decision makers, economic stakeholders and electorates to such extend as to devote significant time, energy and financial resources for the implementation of adequate normative procedures. In this case the EU policy makers have a choice to construct contingent tactics for promoting contested values and expected common gains by expanding offer with such elements as privileges and financial/technical support. Contingent strategies and tactics are used within EUIJPM in the context of Enlargement and European Neighbourhood policies. As far as bilateral policies and projects with RF and Belarus are concerned, the EU systematically tries to apply elements of contingent strategies; however, those attempts so far resulted in proceeding with cooperation projects on quite limited scale.

2.2.3. Historic perspective of Contingent Management of Cooperative Security in the Framework of European Integration

Two models are singled out for the purpose of illustration of this process. The first model is based on the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty. This model includes the new type of relationships among European states which were determined by ECSC and further developed on the basis of Treaties of Rome and the Elysée Treaty. The second model is so called "Europe model".

2.2.3.1. European Integration on the Basis of the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty

After the Second World War the anti-war sentiments approach encouraged political elites in Western Europe to search for new international security forms. The beginning of the turning point in European process of departure from focusing on military security and shift towards cooperative methods was a creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in early 1950s. This treaty established collective control of the resources – coal and steel - that could prevent any country from generating excessive power surpassing that of other European countries and using it against its neighbours. The primary purpose of ECSC creation was the security issue: French foreign minister Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950 declared that his aim was to "make war not only unthinkable but materially impossible". The first Community established on the basis of legally binding agreement by 6 European countries among themselves, "founded upon a common market, common objectives and common institutions" (Treaty Establishing European Coal and Steel Community (1951: 5.) was designed in a such way, that the access to steel and coal reserves (which played most important role in military industry of this time) as well as their exploitation was under strict supervision and control of the Community. As it was stated in a preamble of the Treaty establishing European Coal and Steel Community, "peace can be safeguarded by creative efforts commensurate with the dangers" (Treaty Establishing European Coal and Steel Community (1951: 3). The new approach for dealing with threats for national and European security materialized in the establishment of the safeguarding system of "checks and balances" that encompassed interaction of four institutions representing the Community and a number of methods and conditions within the treaty that *inter alia* ensured transparent distribution of production on coal and steel markets. This transparency of the highly supervised and controlled process of production and distribution (with the major amount of work carried out by High Authority experts) resulted in a confidence of each Community member state about the impossibility of the use of coal and steel resources by any of the member state in an aggressive and threatening manner against the rest of the members. This "material impossibility" of using comparative advantages in a threatening neighbour's security manner served as a basis for further economic integration (the Treaties of Rome), political French-German reconciliation (the Elysée Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Friendship) and parallel fast development of an idealistic "common denominator" of EU - common democratic values. "Material impossibility" paralysed intentions to resume the pre-war military

practices of security management, economic integration (supported by Marshall Plan, officially called the European Recovery Program) and political reconciliation increased power of membership attraction due to increased international role and economic wealth and, finally, European values produced sense and sentiments that reduced intention to return to ethnical divisions and territorial disputes fuelling conflicts and demands for application military means.

2.2.3.2. European Integration on the Basis of "Europe Model"

As a result of the end of Cold War and disintegration of the Soviet Union the threats and risks of instability that demanded development of new forms and methods of management in Eastern and Central Europe became a major concern of European political circles. Practices and habits immanent to former, based on authoritarian forms of management, could revitalize and cause new conflicts on the basis of pre-war territorial disputes and ethnical divisions. The process of European integration, based on the attraction of a number of privileges offered by the EU in exchange of creating relevant infrastructure for successful operation, influenced choices of majority of countries regarding the preferences of the forms and methods of security in a regional framework. This process was based on the formula of the Europe Agreements with strong attention to European values component which was a new element if compared to the previous integration formula, based on ECSC. 'Europe Agreements' model evolved in response to the applications for full membership by Central and Eastern European states after collapse of communist regimes. Attraction of the privileges of EU membership was strong enough to motivate candidate countries to fulfil all the requirements raised by the EU. As Emerson pointed out, "These treaties were accordingly anticipating subsequent accession. They were effectively a comprehensive and legally binding training programme for the candidates. There was no question about the final objective, and so the use of the EU *acquis* as the legal and normative reference was readily accepted." (Emerson et al, 2006: 68)

It is important to mention that Europe Agreements have been regarded by every negotiating party as necessary instruments for convergence on the EU *acquis* and bridging/filling the gaps between applicants and the EU-15 and, consequently, for gaining through EU membership higher levels of security, political and economic stability, economic development and maturity of democracy based on European values. Applicants were willingly undertaking many efforts in those "training programmes" since by joining the zone of security, prosperity and modern democracy (regarding all three mentioned features of the zone as strongly interrelated and interoperable) they could find an adequate response for their basic needs in terms of national/regional security and economic development. The majority within applicant countries shared the dominant views of the EU on security, peace and stability, based "on the common profound lessons of European history. The first and foremost of these lessons is that post-national integration under common democratic values and rule of law is the main guarantor of the continent's peace and well-being" (Emerson, 2006: 5).

Because of the highly important role of democratic values within EU's perception of the peace and wellbeing "the EU has committed itself to including human rights clauses in all of its international agreements that have wide-ranging and political content" (M. Emerson, 2006: 2). One of the tools used by EU to assess level and maturity of democracy is so called "Copenhagen criteria".

Security issue was especially important for those applicants who had experienced forceful incorporation into the Soviet Union or had been turned into its satellites. Contrary to the NATO membership, the EU membership was regarded primarily as a means of soft security enhancement. As Miniotaitė (2000: 8) pointed out while characterizing Baltic States foreign and security policy (FSP), "Seen from the outside, their contemporary FSP seem to be essentially similar: they share the same pro-Western orientation, they seek membership in NATO for the hard security it would guarantee, they are actively involved in attempts of joining the EU for soft security and, finally, they are cautious and distrustful in their relations with Russia".

The EU-15 was providing generous support for the applicants since EU-15 members regarded enlargement as a means of further expansion of the zone of security, stability, European values based democracy and sustainable economic development. Given the symmetry between EU-15 and new EU applicants' basic interests and perceptions of fundamental interrelation among desired goals, the length of the process of negotiations was defined mainly by physical ability of applicants to develop all necessary institutions and new practices, ensure harmonization of their legal systems with EU's *acquis communautaire* and meet the criteria designed for convergence of initially very different economic and political systems and thus ensure smooth integration of 10 (later – additional 2) less developed nations without serious disruption in functioning of the whole system of European Union governed by *acquis* . The model of European Agreement, based on convergence on the EU *acquis* formula for legal harmonization and bridging/filling the gaps, has been adapted for further expansion of the area of soft security, sustainable economic development, political and economic stability and democracy based European values and used in further versions which include Partnerships and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs), the Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAAs) with the west Balkans states and Action Plans of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) sharing "in common with the Europe Agreements the fact that they all start with the same structure of topics, which in turn find their origin in the EU *acquis*." (Emerson et al. 2006: 68).

2.2.3.3. Soft Security Instruments as Elements of Predisposing and Enabling Factors for European Integration

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how proactive transformational (enhanced) approach has been implemented in the process of European integration when it was influenced by relevant predisposing (affecting the process of making decisions/choices) and enabling (facilitating implementation of decisions) factors.

Both models present formation and development of a particular type of interplay among SSI as facilitating factor, legally binding agreements and development of

economic component within limits of established agreements, leading to strengthening of common European values encompassing both co-operative and liberal approaches.

A number of predisposing factors influenced emergence of first model based on ECSC of European integration: the perceptions by stakeholders who initiated, supported and engaged in transformational process based on Shumman's declaration, of consequences and opportunities related to (1) the scope of damage of WWII and related anti-war sentiments, (2) Germany's position after the WWII, (3) Marshall Plan, and (4) threat of spreading of Soviet Communism. Existing stakeholders' competences and external financial support were sufficient for proceeding with innovative approach to peacefully transform social framework and modes of governance by replacing them with new ones.

Analogically, predisposing factors that influenced emergence of the second model include: perception of the consequences and opportunities related to (1) the end of Cold War and disintegration of the Soviet Union, (2) regional security threats, (3) widening of European integration, (4) EU-15 stakeholder's willingness to provide support, and (5) high motivation level of EU candidate states and preparedness to proceed with reforms and learn new governance methods through large scale training programmes and acquiring new competences enabling them to proceed with integration.

Taking into account the insight provided in the first part of the thesis, that soft security related social practices rely mainly on value and competence (which includes skills, experience, knowledge, attributes and behaviour) sharing, congruence and development for coping with security challenges, it can be concluded that SSI functioned as important element of predisposing and enabling factors facilitating European integration as means for regional security and stability enhancement.

The process of expansion of SSI and widely spread concerns of their low effectiveness could indicate (besides already mentioned reasons such as member states' and institutional self-interests prevailing over regional security demands) current inadequate ability of SSI to facilitate the next wave of European integration through transformational (proactive/enhanced) initiatives and cooperative joint projects for increasing required level of regional security and stability. It is especially important in the contexts of technological breakthrough in energy sector (shale gas production technologies, liquefied natural gas terminals, etc.) which change global and regional energy supply and demand patterns, produce new opportunities and influence opinions and perceptions of stakeholders in EU and EDEN states from different levels and sectors of society. Therefore it is considered to be beneficial to have a closer look at modern management theories for adequate recommendations in respect of the measures suitable for SSI efficacy enhancement as potential European integration facilitator acting as an element of predisposing and enabling factors.

2.3. Soft Security Component and European Union Initiated Joint Project Management as Integrative Concepts

Management theories can be applied and their recommendations can be used mainly in the framework of an operating system which features elements of organisation.

Based on the methodological approaches above as well as on empirical research, it is suggested to regard the EU initiated multiple projects jointly implemented with EDEN states stakeholders as thickening layer of mutual cooperative links gradually forming interactive system with a prospect of turning into quasi-organisation (this assumption will be illustrated in the third part of thesis).

2.3.1. Definition of European Union Initiated Joint Project Management and Soft Security Component

Summing up the main insights presented in the sections above with the features of soft security highlighted in the first part of the paper, the following definition of EUIJPM is suggested:

EUIJPM is a form of security governance in the system of EU and EDEN states through multiple EU initiated and jointly with EDEN states implemented projects focused on management of collective security by stakeholders representing different levels and sectors of EU and EDEN states societies. EUIJPM has twofold objective: to implement objectives of a particular project for mitigating particular set of risks, and to gradually facilitate process of European integration as means of comprehensive security enhancement.

Consequently SSC of the EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy is a set of soft instruments – forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of EU and EDEN states stakeholders in the framework of EUIJPM focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems. SSC as a component of security governance is shared-value and shared-competence driven and operates through interaction, congruence, sharing and development of values and competences of stakeholders. Concept of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy accommodates additional interrelated paradigms such as SSC as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European integration in respect of EDEN states. Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration constitutes its constructive role in enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states.

2.3.2. Role of Soft Security Component of European Union Initiated Joint Project Management in the Context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy

The attachment by majority stakeholders of the EU and their regional partners to shared values, as well as common interest to preserve regional security and stability which motivates commitment to engage in relevant collective projects, complemented with corresponding competencies is an important precondition for their successful implementation.

The research indicates that SSC was an important facilitating and mediating factor in proceeding with EU political and economic integration. A similar enhanced EU approach

to European regional security is used in the frameworks of European Neighbourhood Policy and Energy Community. In the framework of the EU-led initiatives related to transformational change in socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts, SSC power increases when it is underpinned by economic and legal harmonisation, and vice versa, EU proceeds with economic integration and legal harmonisation successfully when it is underpinned by SSC. Effective interplay between SSC and other integration components is required. Gradual transformation of socio-cultural contexts takes place in the areas of successful interplay of those elements thus gradually strengthening European identity based on European values and solidarism, which reduces probability of conflicts and significance of military means in the area of mutual relationships.

Congruence of economic integration, legal harmonisation and SSC (as well as other European values) in respect to EDEN states is very much dependent on the contingent form of EUIJPM which is focused on eliminating of asymmetries in values, perceptions and competences between EU and EDEN states stakeholders, as well as on openness and flexibility of socio-cultural contexts of EDEN states. The latter depends on the dominating type of prototypical power-conflict dynamics.

However, in those areas where congruence of SSC, economic integration and legal harmonisation is not sufficient, the EU relies on limited approach to European security management which incorporates SSC but needs also to be underpinned by military power provided either by its member states or by NATO. This need for SSC to be underpinned by military means within limited approach to regional security leads to sceptical evaluations of "soft security" as "secondary, weak, low or insignificant ".

PART III:
APPLICATION OF MODERN MANAGEMENT THEORIES AND GOVERNANCE MODELS FOR SOFT SECURITY COMPONENT EFFICACY ENHANCEMENT

3.1. European Union and Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood as a Developing System Containing Two Subsystems

After 1991, when Soviet Union disintegrated, leading to political, economic and social uncertainties behind an obvious need for EU support of the transition process of the newly emerging independent states has received a responce in creation of new EU policies. Those policies include: (1) Tacis (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States) programme which started in 1991 and was, in its major part, replaced in 2007 by the (2) "European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument – ENPI" and by (3) EU-Russia Common Spaces and Financial co-operation, while some of its sector programmes like TRACECA (*the Transport Corridor Europe – Caucasus – Asia (or the "New Silk Road"))* and INOGATE (*the Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe*) continue to operate; (4) Eastern EU enlargement, the principles of which have been laid down in 1993, and which has been applied to Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (resulted in joining the EU *in* 2004) as well as to Bulgaria and Romania (resulted in joining the EU in 2007); and (5) European Security and Defence Policy created in 1999, which and further, from 2009, has been renamed (by Treaty of Lisbon) to Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). In addition, Modova and Ukraine are members of Energy Community, while Georgia has an observer status in this organisation.

Describing main features of Tacis programme, Frenz (2006:2) in his study "The European Commission's Tacis Programme 1991–2006 - A Success Story" points out, that "It started in a rush: unexpectedly and with virtually no time to prepare. There was little to no information, no traditional ties which could be activated… Internally, no adequate procedures, no adequate rules and regulations, no common corporate culture were in place. Instead, a small nucleus of pioneer staff with different backgrounds was recruited from various DGs. This new staff – at the beginning still mostly unfamiliar with the region to deal with had to go through a formidable learning process." The original Tacis objectives were "to support the process of transition to market economies and democratic societies in the countries of Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asia (Frenz 2006:6)." During its implementation, according to Frenz (2006), the concept and management of this policy underwent significant changes: they include shift from demand driven (1991–1999) to dialogue-driven (2000–2006) phases and de-concentration of services, as well as constant improvements in the systematic monitoring system applied from its very beginning.

Enlargement which has been applied to Eastern and Central European countries is theoretically an open opportunity for EDEN states on the basis of principles which have been laid down in 1993 when, as it is stated in the Conclusions of the Presidency, the European Council welcomed "the courageous efforts undertaken by the associated countries to modernize their economies, which have been weakened by 40 years of central planning, and to ensure a rapid transition to a market economy. The Community and its Member States pledge their support to this reform process. Peace and security in Europe depend on the success of those efforts" (Copenhagen European Council, 1993:1). However, as it is stated in "Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Wider Europe - Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours" (2003c:1), though "Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union stipulates that any European state may apply to become a member of the European Union [...] any decision on further EU expansion awaits a debate on the ultimate geographic limits of the Union. [...] The aim of the new Neighbourhood Policy is therefore to provide a framework for the development of a new relationship which would not, in the medium-term, include a perspective of membership or a role in the Union's institutions."

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was developed in 2004. The objective of the ENP is "to share the benefits of the EU's 2004 enlargement with neighbouring countries in strengthening stability, security and well-being for all concerned. It is designed to prevent the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbours and to offer them the chance to participate in various EU activities, through greater political, security, economic and cultural co-operation. [...]The privileged relationship with neighbours will build on mutual commitment to common values principally within the fields of the rule of law, good governance, the respect for human rights, including minority rights, the promotion of good neighbourly relations, and the principles of market economy and sustainable development" (European Commission 2004a: 3). As far as SSC is concerned, by regarding the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) as security governance instruments the "EU and partner countries should also work together on effective multilateralism, so as to reinforce global governance, strengthen coordination in combating security threats and address related development issues. Improved co-ordination within the established political dialogue formats should be explored, as well as the possible involvement of partner countries in aspects of CFSP and ESDP, conflict prevention, crisis management, the exchange of information, joint training and exercises and possible participation in EU-led crisis management operations. Another important priority will be the further development of a shared responsibility between the EU and partners for security and stability in the neighbourhood region" (European Commission 2004a: 13).

The ENP's initially bilateral format was further enriched with regional and multilateral co-operation initiatives, the Eastern Partnership (EaP, which includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) being one of them.

According to European Commission, the "EU and Russia have decided to develop their strategic partnership through the creation of four common spaces as agreed at the

St Petersburg Summit in May 200. Russia and the enlarged European Union form part of each other's neighbourhood. It is in our common interest to draw on elements of the ENP to enrich work on the common spaces, notably in the areas of cross-border and sub-regional co-operation. The EU and Russia need to work together, as neighbours, on common concerns" (European Commission 2004a: 6). The long term four 'common spaces' were created in the framework of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and on the basis of common values and shared interests. These cover the following issues: (1) Common Economic Space, covering economic issues and the environment; (2) Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice; (3) Common Space of External Security, including crisis management and non-proliferation; (4) Common Space of Research and Education, Including cultural aspects.

Though current European Security and Defence Policy aims to strengthen the EU's external ability to act through the development of civilian and military capabilities, within Eastern Dimension military capabilities have not been applied directly. Two joint projects in the form of civilian missions in Moldova/ Ukraine (The *EU Border Assistance Mission to the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, started in* 2005) and Georgia (*The EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia,* started in 2008) are being carried out in this policy context. (European External Action Service 2011). The first mission focuses on prevention of smuggling, trafficking, and customs fraud by the job training and advice by professionals of border management services in EU Member States to Moldovan and Ukrainian officials providing EU support for capacity building for border management, including customs, on the Moldova-Ukraine border. The second is an unarmed and non-executive civilian ceasefire (after 2008 South Ossetia war) EU monitoring mission (EUMM) for stabilisation, normalisation and confidence building, as well as reporting to the EU in order to inform European policy-making and thus contribute to the future EU engagement in the region.

Another important direction of using SSI in respect of Eastern Dimension is a broadened and deepened scope of EU participation in political forums for regional intergovernmental cooperation such as the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS), Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and others.

As a result of various overviewed above policies and related cooperative projects which are each other complementing and reinforcing the two emerging subsystems can be differentiated within *EU and EDEN states*: integration between the EU and those EDEN states which are involved in higher or lower degree in contingent form of EUIJPM which is based on transformational approach, and those reserved or opposed (RF and Belarus) in respect of contingent strategies and therefore an option which is prevailing with those states is an EUIJPM on a limited scale. The sub system which is developing on the basis of enhanced transformational approach and contingent management is gradually turning into quasi organisation suitable for application of insights and methods developed by governance and organizational theories. This gradual formation of quasi organisation within EDEN states includes most open and expressing interest in deeper integration states: Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia. The position of Armenia and Azerbaijan can be described as being in between those two groups with a possibility

to become more actively involved in European integration process under influence of favourable factors.

3.2. Competences of Stakeholders Favouring Effective Management of Social Changes within European Integration

3.2.1. Overview of Approaches in Academic Discourse

Overview of sociological literature suggests several approaches for identification and evaluation of conditions facilitating effective policy design and implementation of projects oriented to produce social changes in general and in EU Neighbourhood in particular. Expectations of stakeholders - policy makers and project implementers in respect of dealing with a particular security issue and their choices of particular set of instruments out of numerous alternatives would depend on a number of conditions, which would either provide political will, financial resources and competence of policy designers, resources providers and policy/project implementers, or not. In the first case, the expectations of a particular policy as an effective offer among particular community members would prevail, while in the opposite case majority of community members would consider suggested social change as a potentially ineffective proposal and would not support it. Research conducted by Kingdon (2003) leads to the following favourable conditions of public policy process: existence of "policy windows" (an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their solutions/special problems closely related to the issues high on the agenda), support of at least some key decision makers, positive promotion of agenda items in question by majority of players (and, consequently, non-engagement in negative blocking of agenda items in question and/or creating alternatives), media attention, favourable academic and public opinion, feasibility in technical and financial terms as well as being in line with pattern of governmental expenditures and budgetary impacts, adequacy of policy instruments and goals with existing values (ideology) of players, and favourable political environment. Commission used the existing "window of opportunity" after 9/11 and the Madrid bombings (Kaunert 2010; Bossong 2008) as a "policy entrepreneur" (Hegemann 2012:10). Though the Commission was expecting the "traditional policy preparation and execution role" (European Commission 2004: 5) in related policy-fields its hopes were not fulfilled completely and it, according to Hegemann (2012:10, referring to Argomaniz 2009: 162),"toned down its supranational ambitions and is building up experience, expertise, and capacities to strengthen its positions in a bottom-up approach". Thus, the Commission has increasingly embrased informal powers as far as technical and social aspects of counterterrorism are concerned and obtained some additional capacities (Rhinard et al. 2007).

Evaluation of success of EU transformational and normative power Maul (2005) and McCormick (2006) associate with successful EU's management of its own realm, promotion of the normative and institutional infrastructure for civilized international relations, working towards effective multilateralism through force of example, willingness of non-EU countries to accept EU rules and transform themselves in line with EU proposed models.

Gourlay (2004) presents a number of judgements in respect of EU policy implementation effectiveness which are based on inspection of interrelation and interoperability among different EU external policy instruments, on examination of supranational and intergovernmental institutions, as well as on evaluation of quality of EU decision making and dynamics of EU international reputation in crises prevention and management, and indicates need for further improvements. In addition, as Grabbe (2001), Schimmelfennig et al (2003) and Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004) point out, EU initiatives implementation effectiveness also depends on motivation and competence of an EU partner country to reform its own style of state governance by making substantial political, economic and cultural changes.

A number of studies indicate that existing socio-cultural barriers have significant influence on political decision makers' instrument choices for dealing with security issues. To conceptualize this issue it is reasonable to take into account an approach within sociological thinking described interrelation between certain types of power-conflict dynamics and types of socio-cultural contexts which has been presented in the previous parts through description of insights related to threefold taxonomy of socio-cultural contexts. Those barriers result in higher or lower levels of motivation to engage in the cooperative projects suggested by the EU. As Sergunin (2010) points out, "Although Russia has embraced a growing number of cooperative projects with the EU, there have also been some limitations restricting both Russia's engagement and the success of different projects. These include residual mistrust and prejudice, bureaucratic resistance in both Brussels and Moscow, authoritarian trends in Russia's domestic policies, uneasy relations between 'old' and 'new' EU members, conflicting interests in the post-Soviet space and (as mentioned) the lack of an updated and revised Partnership & Cooperation Agreement". Moscow reacted, according to Sergunin (2010) " to the EaP with both caution and scepticism, because the Russian leadership was not sure about its real goals: is the EU serious about making its new neighbourhood a stable and safe place or is it some kind of geopolitical drive to undermine Russia's positions in the area? Moscow is particularly sensitive about the EaP programme because Russia has fundamental interests in the region that range from strategic and political (confederation with Belarus, military-technical cooperation with Belarus and Armenia, military conflict with Georgia, support of the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia) to economic (investments, trade, energy supply, etc.) issues. It seems that the lack of a sound Russian strategy towards the EaP is one of the sources of misunderstanding in EU-Russia bilateral cooperation, a misunderstanding that sometimes contributes to derailing the Brussels-Moscow dialogue. As a result of this, both EU and Russian policies often give the impression of muddling on rather than a sound and forward-looking strategy."

Very important condition for successful pursuing with a particular EU initiative is a sufficient level of motivation and competence of relevant community members to support and implement EU designed policy and cooperative projects over time. A number of researchers focusing on design and implementation of policies generating external influence on recipient country's domestic institutions and public policies through bilaterally (multilaterally) acceptable conditionality in particular (Schimmelfennig and

Sedelmeier, 2004; Schimmelfennig et al. 2003, Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999, Kahler, 1992 , Killick, 1996), or on social movement, social conflicts and related policies aimed at conflicts resolutions and restoring social stability (equilibrium) in general (Oberschall, l978, Olson, 1968, Frohlich et al.,1971, McCarthy and Zald, 1973) carried out analysis on the basis of conceptualization of social and political system as a production and reproduction process outlining in one way or another expected costs and/or benefits by transformational process designers, supporters, opponents and implementers. As it is described in their research papers, the process of comparing potential costs related to making social changes and benefits gained out from those changes by stakeholders of the policy formation and implementation, belonging to different categories, is one of the basic factors affecting motivation of engagement and/or support and generating success.

3.2.2. Dynamic Model of the Transformation Process

A number of variables have been indicated by researhers within the analysis of the process of designing, implementation and modification of EU transformational policies and related joint cooperative projects. Such variables include: political costs, adjustment costs (or adoption costs), extra costs and extra benefits as well as variety of benefits.

According to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004), target state adopts EU rules if the benefits of EU rewards exceed the domestic adoption costs. Research made by Schimmelfennig et al shows that "given a credible membership perspective, it was the size of domestic political costs of incumbent governments that shaped their response to EU demands". Adoption costs, according to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004:666), consist of opportunity costs (those of forgoing alternative rewards offered by adopting rules other than EU rules) and welfare or power costs for private and public actors (p. 666). Kahlerand and Killick referring to adjustment costs point out that EU conditionality can be ineffective in such cases when the target government receives other offers from different sources suggesting comparable benefits with lower adjustment costs (Kahler 1992:104, 111; Killick 1996:221, 224). In addition, veto players can incur net adoption costs. According to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004: 670-672): "the EU provides external incentives for a target government to comply with its conditions. ... EU conditionality mainly follows a strategy of reinforcement by reward. Under this strategy, the EU pays the reward if the target government complies with the conditions and withholds it in case of failure of target government.... The analytical starting point of the bargaining process is a domestic status quo, which differs to some extent from an EU rule. This status quo is conceived as a 'domestic equilibrium' reflecting the current distribution of preferences and bargaining power in domestic society. EU conditionality upsets this domestic equilibrium by introducing (additional) incentives for compliance with EU rules into the game. Conditionality can affect the target government either directly through intergovernmental bargaining or indirectly through the differential empowerment of domestic actors. In the latter case, conditionality changes the domestic opportunity structure in favour of domestic actors with independent incentives to adopt EU rules and strengthens their bargaining power

vis-a`-vis their opponents in society and government". Expectations of extra costs and extra benefits evolve as a result of stakeholders' calculations of different options that are expected to emerge because of engaging in the process of social-economic change.

Not all of expected values and joint gains can be easily evaluated in monetary terms. Modern economics uses terminology of "tangibles" and "intangibles" to divide values which are quite easily measurable from the values that are difficult to measure. Separate category within intangibles is singled out as "competitive intangibles" (factors originating from capabilities within human capital, reputation, etc. which produce competitive advantages in suitable framework) which play an important role in achieving aims in competitive environment. This approach is regarded also as useful for exploration of factors affecting motivation of engagement and support of EU designed projects aimed at regional security enhancement and encouraging social-economic changes, as well as gradual socio-cultural modifications. Even though not all of expected values and joint gains can be easily evaluated in monetary terms, they should be taken into account, since they influence the process of making choices. The general trends of choices made can indicate which particular sets of values and expected joint gains are more important in one or another particular socio-cultural context.

Some theorists focusing on social movement, social conflicts and related policies aimed at conflicts resolutions and restoring social stability (equilibrium). Analysis has been carried by them in a number of cases on the basis of conceptualization of social or political system as a production and reproduction process. In this context benefits are often viewed as collective goods and selective incentives, while costs consist of opportunity costs and the costs of collective action. Oberschall (Oberschall, A. l978) also suggested for the conflict de-escalation policy makers to provide relatively low-cost exit from destructive conflict to the protagonist. Suggestion is based on observation that conflict groups persist in continuing highly destructive conflict even in the face of low success chances since the high penalties abandoning the conflict can be costly. Some cost reducing measures have been suggested by Olson (Olson 1968), Frohlich, Oppenheimer, Young (Frohlich, N. et all, 1971) and Oberschall (Oberschall, A. l978) in respect of free-rider issue in the groups involved in the process of formation, support and implementation of collective actions, as well as in respect of mobilizing effort at low costs by making use of existing networks among group members. The nature of collective good, which can be shared by everybody involved in the process of design and implementation of particular policy/project, regardless of the amount of personal contribution to the cost of obtaining it, is usually taken into account while suggesting cost saving measures. Some of the measures are similar to those used by the EU conditionality policy (applying in small portions the withholding of reward to non-contributors, and/or providing selective incentives to contributing members). Others (formation of solidarity groups, characterised by strength of a shared identity and high density of networks among group members, using opportunities and materialising prospects of becoming a member of a polity, etc.) can be regarded as functions of specific competences which modern economics regards as competitive intangibles (human capital, reputation, credibility, etc.) via analysis and quantification of efficiency enhancers within competitive paradigm. Diversity and multiplicity of competitive

intangibles as well as existence of well-established system shared by both policy offering and accepting parties is an important condition for turning competitive intangibles into efficiency enhancers of the process of policy and cooperative projects formation and implementation.

Direct benefits from the realization of the policy directed towards social change differ since participants of the policy formation and implementation process belong to different categories. In this respect could be useful the findings of McCarthy and Zald (McCarthy, J. and Zald, M. 1973). They distinguish constituents (those who provide resources to a mobilizing group which encompasses leadership cadre or full-time activists, and transitory teams of part-timers), adherents (those who value expected goods), bystander publics, and opponents.

Each participant's belonging to each category and their commitment to a particular collective action will be generated and sustained by a specific mix of selective incentives of gaining the desired values and by their decisions on how to seek maximization of expected net benefits. Each mix of selective incentives would be related to specific combination of expected public goods (e.g. better quality of education, health care, free movement in enlarged area, etc.), collective goods (e.g. better access to status, power, scarce resources, etc.), individual goods (based on expectations of higher household income) and extra benefits (based on expected 'reinforcement by support' provided by policy makers or using emerging options generated by the process). In addition, if participants of policy formation and implementation process are aware of established systems related to the usage of competitive intangibles they could include in their calculation of expectations them as potential efficiency enhancers.

Summarised interpretation of the variables influencing total costs and benefits expected by stakeholders, as well as interrelations among those variables can be presented mathematically:

$$TAC = \frac{OC + MC + NEC}{f(ci)}, where\ f(ci) > 1 \quad [1]$$

TAC – total adjustment (adoption) costs;

OC – opportunity costs;

MC – maintenance costs (costs of the process itself);

NEC – net extra costs (related to the difference between extra benefits and extra costs evolving during the process);

f (ci) – function of competitive intangibles.

$$TB = (PG + CG + CG + IG + NEB) f(ci), where\ f(ci) > 1 \quad [2]$$

TB – total benefits;

PG – public goods;

CG – collective goods,

IG – individual goods;

NEB- net extra benefits (related to difference between extra benefits and extra costs)

$f(ci)$ – function of competitive intangibles.

In multilateral EU external policy context the equations will take the following shape:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} TAC_i = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{OC_i + (MC_i + MC_{i\varnothing}) + NEC_i}{f(ci_i)}, \text{ where } f(ci) > 1 \quad [1]$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} TB_i = \sum_{i=1}^{n} (PG_i + CG_i + IG_i + NEB_i) f(ci_i), \text{ where } f(ci) > 1 \quad [2]$$

i – the individual policy-making/taking member party (country or institution) concerned;

n – the number of member parties concerned;

MCie – the MC covered by EU institutions.

When comparing benefits over time it is important to take into consideration expectations of outcomes and not the actual outcomes as the two may differ.

$$E_t(TB_{t+1}) = E_t((PG_{t+1} + CG + CG_{t+1} + IG_{t+1} + EB_{t+1}) f(ci_{t+1})), \text{ where } f(ci) > 1 [3]$$

Et symbolises expectations made at some time t (which may be the present time) with the outcome TB which is the outcome in the following period (t+1). The more unique a project is or the less acquainted participants are with any given project, the greater the difference may be between $E_t(TB_{t+1})$ and TB_{t+1}. As participants engage in the process of decision making more often, more resources are devoted to decision making and/or the projects themselves become more similar to previous ones, the two should be equal in infinity if we assume no external shocks. These resources can be signified by n. The greater resources devoted to correctly estimating the costs are signified by n in the following equation:

$$\lim_{n \to \infty} f(E_t(TB_{t+1}), n) = TB_{t+1} [4]$$

Some of those resources are expected to come over time into experience and therefore be already covered in previous costs, while the other may be additional costs. In this case, Δn will signify change in costs inquired in extra policy formation and implementation t cost/revenue analyses. Costs are usually more carefully calculated than benefits, yet the expected costs may still differ from actual costs. For a successful policy and relevant projects realization over time, the difference in TB from period 1 to period 2 would be considered versus the expected total costs required for the transition:

$$\Delta TB = f(E_t(TB_{t+1}), n) - TB_t \ [5]$$

if $\Delta TB > E_t(TAC_{t+1} - \Delta n_{t+1})$, *the project will be supported and implemented*

Suggested mathematical equations presenting multiplicity of variables both on the cost side and the benefit side demonstrate complexity of decision making process related to design and implementation of joint projects by the EU and non-EU member states policy decision makers, supporters and opponents. This description suggests better understanding of the process which could be helpful in pursuit of instruments facilitating attractiveness of EU policy offers by developing variables increasing benefits and reducing costs. A possibility to include competitive intangibles in the EU policy offer as efficiency enhancers for reducing costs and increasing benefits could be a promising field of exploration. Wider application of competitive intangibles assumes creation and development of common interstate systems necessary for the usage of competitive intangibles as efficiency enhancers. Such common interstate system should encompass sub-systems of recruitment and training (necessary for human capital formation) as well as reputation confirmation, credibility confirmation, etc., based on common principles and criteria. Such system could serve as the basis for forming joint projects implementation teams from EU member and EU partner states. Presumption could be made that membership of the EU appeared to be a strong motivator since it suggested benefits in the form of combination of tangible and intangibles goods which proved its effectiveness in practice through its correspondence to policy/projects accepting party's majority's expectations in respect of raising living standards, enhancing personal capabilities, becoming member of higher profile polity, and others. It is important to mention, however, that EU membership is perceived as suggesting several options for the non-EU member states population for achievement of expected benefits. One option implies support and active participation in reform process devoted to gradual implementation of EU suggested policies in the candidate country before and after EU accession, and consequently raising living standards. Another option implies using opportunity of migration to EU-15 states with higher welfare levels and getting a "shortcut" access to higher living standards.

While focusing on creation and using competitive intangibles, limitations and restrictions resulting from the nature of dominating power system which is not ready for accepting some of them (e.g. good governance, the rule of law, transparent and well-functioning institutions), even though they are associated with components of pillars of economic competitiveness (Porter and Schwab, 2008: 4), should be taken into account. Given an interest from both sides (EU and a EU partner) in benefits derived from pursuing with proposed policy and projects in the context negatively associated with obligatory EU rule transfer, the choice of joint projects instruments excluding obligatory EU promoted norms acceptance is most frequently regarded as workable option for quick application.

EU policies and related projects excluding obligatory EU promoted norms acceptance in the context negatively associated with obligatory EU rule transfer could play positive role in dissolving socio-cultural barriers for future enhanced cooperation in the longer term. This result could be achieved through social learning and perceptions' transformation of local communities in favour of combinations of bilateral (multilateral) and mixed power systems based on positive experience derived from gained competences to form balancing capacity and achieve higher productivity, and

would produce expectations of possibility to move to higher level of security, stability and gradual increase of living standards through implementation of relevant reforms.

3.3. Prospects for Soft Security Component Effectiveness Enhancement: Focus on Competence Development

3.3.1. Competence Development in the Frameworks of Responsive/Good Governance, Strategic Human Resource Development and Organizational Concepts

Responsive/Good Governance concept emerge from assumptions related to personal inviolability, equality under the law, participation in collective decision making, duties and obligations as citizens of state, and others (EOCD 2005, United Nations 2005) which are related to the process of unlocking of the human potential for effective performance of tasks. Efficiency is seen as closely related to issues of governance, risk management, flexibility, collaborative action and understanding of the needs of society and policy which includes increasing negotiation element and impacts on society

The strategic approach to Human Resource Development (HRD) is based on two main perspectives – learning and performance, and has been developed and promoted by Garavan et al (1999), Wallace (2000), Buyens et al. (2001), Hockey et al (2005), Luoma (2000), Šiugždinienė (2008) and others. Learning is regarded as a normal part of everyday work, and working is seen as a source of learning. A potential of HRD to leverage and facilitate the implementation of reforms has been indicated. The World Bank report (2006) indicates that the absence of a well-functioning human resource management and development system is one of the most serious obstacles for the creation of efficient public management systems in the new EU member states.

Organizational theory focuses on organizational learning processes and change through the establishment of a learning organization. The primary concern is the establishment of strong linkages with the strategic goals of the organization and the development of the work environment which facilitates learning.

Given the importance of competences development of the stakeholders which are involved in the process of EUIJPM, the implementation of the recommendations of theories above is seen as an important factor for SSC effectiveness. Knowledge and experience in the fields of EU security governance, project management and team building is necessary for effective performance of tasks within EUIJPM. The comprehensive system of competencies required for EUIJPM would imply development of basic competencies during European studies, including EU style of security governance, and further development through engagement in EU initiated technical assistance, conflict transformation and similar projects under the framework of EU policies overviewed above, as well as in the frameworks of joint EU and EDEN states security policy formation.

3.3.2. Joint Policy Formation Prospects: Expansion of EU Multilevel Governance towards Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood States

Need to innovatively develop and expand methods of European Union cooperation in order to meet the new transnational security challenges and threats (terrorism, ethnic conflicts, transnational criminality, natural disasters, etc.) has been widely discussed in academic and political discourse. The process of evolvements of the systems of multi-level governance (MLG) found its reflection in the European studies during the last two decades in the framework of analysis of the European "governance turn" which led to the comparisons among the policy dynamics within and between sectors and/or levels of the EU. Hix (1998:54) has indicated that the EU "is transforming politics and government at the European and national levels into a system of multi-level, non-hierarchical, deliberative and apolitical governance, via a complex web of public/private network and quasi-autonomous agencies, which is primarily concerned with the deregulation and re-regulation of the market." An important insight for current research is provided by Rosenau (1992:4) that governance is a more encompassing phenomenon than government. Common characteristics of the meaning of 'governance' developed by different scholars are summarised by van Kersbergen and van Waarden (2004: 151-152) in the following way: "First of all, the approach is pluricentric rather than unicentric. Second, networks, whether inter- or intraorganizational, play an important role. These networks organize relations between relatively autonomous, but interdependent, actors (e.g., business firms 'governance' as a bridge between disciplines in a sector, public and private organizations, EU Member States). In these networks, hierarchy or monocratic leadership is less important, if not absent. The formal government may be involved, but not necessarily so, and if it is, it is merely one – albeit an important – actor among many others. Third, one finds an emphasis on processes of governing or functions as against the structures of government. These processes are relatively similar in the public and private sectors, and concern negotiation, accommodation, concentration, cooperation and alliance formation rather than the traditional processes of coercion, command and control. Fourth, the relations between actors pose specific risks and uncertainties, and different sectors have developed different institutions to reduce these in order to make cooperation possible or easier. Finally, many approaches are normative. They prescribe an ideal as well as an empirical reality. This holds in particular for the 'good governance', 'corporate governance', 'new public management' and 'multilevel governance' approaches. In addition to mentioned scholars, emerging practices of multilevel governance have been documented, explained and evaluated by Marks et al (1996), Quermonne et al (1996), Soetendorp and Hanf (1998), Kassim et al (2000), Sandholtz and Sweet (1998), Borzel (1998), Hooghe and Marks (2001), Wiener and Dietz (2004), Kaiser and Prange(2002), Lundvall and Tomlinson (2002), Hooghe and Marks (2003), Papadopoulos (2003), Conzelmann and Smith (2008), Corfee-Morlot et al (2009) and Marzeda-Mlynarska (2011). The suggestions to use the systems of multi-level governance in the process of forming preventive policies against potentially damaging effects within particular sectors has been expressed by a number of analysts. Corfee-Morlot et al (2009:8) in their OECD Environmental Working Paper "Cities,

Climate Change and Multilevel Governance", suggest to focus on the "the creation of functional control systems around the specific issues, based on the ability of different actors to mobilize its competences and resources to deal effectively with these issues" since those systems can be provided by MGL model in which " the nation-states are important, yet they are only one of the many elements of the decision-making process" for prevention of climate change induced impacts (increased mortality, cultural losses and migration, inequality deepening; loss of human security and inter/intra state conflict, etc.) through integrating understanding about climate change risks into local practices or disaster management.

3.3.2.1. Application of Open Method of Coordination

The European Commission's White Paper on Governance (European Commission 2001) has fostered the process of transforming European governance. The "open method of coordination (OMC)", introduced by the Employment Strategy of the Amsterdam Treaty and reaffirmed by the Lisbon European Council in 2000, was seen as a new mode of governance (Eberlein and Kerwer 2002; Héritier 2001; Hodson and Maher 2001), which facilitates further deepening of European integration through established good practices and benchmarking indicators. "Three instances are identified where the open method of coordination is better suited for the purposes of European integration than the legislative approach. The first is where the subject matter touches closely on national identity or culture; here Community harmonising legislation is clearly inappropriate. The second case is where the national arrangements are so diverse and/or complex that harmonisation would be out of all proportion to the objective. Lastly, coordination may serve as a precursor to Community legislation—where the Member States are not ready to embrace common legislation immediately" (European Commission 2002b:203).

EU member states most frequently apply the OMC preferably to such policy areas as social welfare, immigration, education and research, where decisions are taken both at the national and the EU level. Ekengren (2006: 106) argues that "Together with the OMC, the Solidarity Declaration could help create the organisational and human EU infrastructure needed for innovative strategies and the provision of adequate and sufficient EU crisis management capacities that could serve as a vehicle towards a more secure European community." In addition, regarding the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) as EU security governance instruments Ekengren (2006:94) emphasizes that the "EU security governance transcends the division between external and internal security by projecting and extending its internal governance structures to its neighbourhood through the CFSP and ESDP", and advocates application of OMC towards EU Neighbourhood. The ability of OMC to positively contribute to diversity management and further deepening of integration with in a system of multi-level governance, when this method is applied under specific circumstances, as well as its evaluation in terms of accountability has been explored also by Ahonen (2001), Hodson and Maher (2001), Kaiser and Prange (2002), Vanhercke (2010), Papadopoulos (2011) and a number of other scholars. A number of features (functional abilities) of MLG on general and OMC in particular that have been

mentioned in the papers of above mentioned scholars could be useful for facilitation of interplay between SSC and other European integration components in the process of integration of EDEN (especially EaP) states into common with the EU regional framework for insuring higher levels of European security and stability. Those include: ability to develop the practice of giving "voice" or managing influence in the policy dialogue process to business, research and non-governmental organizations; ability to incorporate some issues in such cases where often overlapping jurisdictions address key security issues separately and in parallel with other decisions on other security/ stability policies' components; ability to create opportunities for learning, information transmission and cooperation at the sub-national level in the form of national and transnational networks and coalitions, as well as between cities or regions and national governments; ability to improve coordination across national line ministries to implement specific programmes, such as those required in many security policies; ability to support an analytic exchange between experts, governmental partners and stakeholders for facilitated understanding of risks of and opportunities in regional and local contexts through networks among science, the media and other socio-political processes, as well as linkages to specific knowledge; ability to facilitate formation of policy networks linking a variety of actors, who share common interests/values with regard to a policy in question acknowledging that cooperation is the best way to achieve common goals; ability to generate cross-national learning on the most suitable policy recipes through mutual interaction and generation of a binding force, and others. In addition, enabling environment should contain elements providing linkages to EU political guidance and accountability, and, in some cases, to transparent competition for resources.

3.3.2.2. Application of Baltic Energy Market Interconnection Plan Type Model

One of recent energy security initiatives embedding MLG is a creation of Baltic Energy Market Interconnection Plan (BEMIP) established in 2009 which combines features of project, policymaking and sub-regional format. It is an initiative of the European Commission (EC) focused on the measures to connect Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia better to wider EU energy networks and is composed of representatives nominated by the Prime Ministers of Kingdom of Denmark, Republic of Estonia, Republic of Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Latvia, Republic of Lithuania, Republic of Poland, Kingdom of Sweden, as well as an observer, the nominated representative of the Kingdom of Norway. According to Commissioner Piebalgs, this initiative is "Ending the effective isolation of the Baltic States, which still form an energy island, is an urgent task to deal with. Looking at the actions and projects the plan contains and which are now endorsed by the countries of the region, I am now confident that this objective can be achieved in a mid-term perspective" (European Commission 2009a :1). A High Level Group was set up with members from the eight mentioned Baltic Sea states as well as from Norway as observer, chaired by Director General of TREN, while Commission's role is to facilitate the process and to monitor

the BEMIP implementation. Several of the proposed BEMIP infrastructure projects are part of the European Economic Recovery Programme (European Commission 2012a).

It is important to mention that BEMIP presents a combination of MLG for identification of the complex of projects for energy insecurity management with co-financing opportunity from European funds. It therefore encompasses interaction of a goup of decision makers/facilitators in terms of operational process, from one side, with the solidarity in terms of project financing which is a result of common decision of EU-27, from the other.

- From dynamic perspective illustration of the process under MLG model embedded in BEMIP encompasses: initial shortcomings: absence of access of Baltic States to EU energy market, regarding such situation as energy island (departure point) ➔ creating an instrument in regional dimension: BEMIP (creation of specific form of social interaction) ➔ achieving as a result a fully integrated and functioning EU energy market (enhanced level of regional security).

Key instruments in the scope of BEMIP include:

(1) Legal framework consisting of EU Third Energy Package provisions and European Council (4th February, 2011) conclusions providing that the internal market should be completed by 2014 (European Council 4 February 2011:2; European Commission 2011a, 2012b).

(2) Creation of infrastructure consisting of electricity and gas interconnections, electricity generation capacities liquefied natural gas terminal and gas storage, and investment framework.

(3) Risk management responsibility which is shared by the European Commission and High Level Group, simultaneously establishing a detailed monitoring system, while Energy Council and European Council are foreseen as decision makers for BEMIP issues.

MLG model of BEMIP type is supposed to streamline competing approaches and perspectives of Baltic States and Finland in respect of liquefied natural gas terminal location, scope of other projects. EU co-financing perspective provides additional incentive to actively involve in the process, establish networking links and work in order to find common solution.

If compared to OMC, BEMIP features several competitive advantages: it encompasses transparent competition for financial resources and indirectly is linked with the EU system of accountability.

3.3.3. Prospects for Additional Elements of Soft Security Component as Predisposing and Enabling Factors for Facilitation of European Integration

Logics of previous analysis suggests that motivating power of SSC in respect of engagement in, persistence with and support of EU proposed joint projects can be increased by adding additional instruments which are perceived as additional values (privileges) and future common gains. As dynamic model of the production of transfor-

mational process has indicated, some instruments can be perceived both as producing additional values, promising future common gains and reducing costs by using competitive intangibles in relevant framework.

Within the expanded EU approach to regional security enhancement and contingent strategy contexts, given confirmation of an interest from a proposal recipient - the EU partner country, the following set of privileges as additional motivating elements could be considered as meeting criteria of double function (as a value added/future common gain generating factor and as a future cost reducing factor):

- Privileged access of particular EU partner's citizens to educational programmes and training schemes focusing on EU studies and regional security issues combined with acquiring project management, team building skills as well as qualities of effective teamwork. Having acquired professional knowledge and related practical skills citizens of particular EU partners (e.g. Eastern Partnership counties) could form NGO's and create or join locally based consultancy companies which could be used for outsourcing purposes for participation in joint cooperative projects together with the EU citizens in increasing rate. It assumes launching of a number of educational competence development projects in the EU member states or EDEN (primarily EaP) country and (partly) subsidizing education of the citizens of particular EU partner(s). Expanding scale of creating of capabilities inherent in regional security projects management which goes in line with EU policy style is a precondition for using other motivation tools for engagement in the joint cooperative projects. Such educational programmes are supposed to create foundation for mutual understanding, enabling all parties to speak a common language and communicate more effectively.
- Privilege of participation in the EUIJPM for graduates from mentioned above educational programmes as assistants and, further, as professionals regarded as being on equal footing with the EU members' citizens. Outsourcing for project management and implementation from EDEN (primarily EaP) states promises future cost reductions because of difference in salary levels in the EU and EaP. Competencies gained in participation in cooperation projects could be further used in other fields of public or private sector as well.
- Privilege of participation in the joint policy making within frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms of policymaking to the fields related to regional security, such as energy security and social stability.
- Among examples of modern forms of policymaking and different approaches balancing interactive forms that could be expanded to EDEN (primarily EaP) countries could be mentioned recent initiative of Baltic Energy Market Interconnection Plan established in 2009 which combines features of project, policymaking and sub-regional format and the specific mode of multi-level governance. Success of this initiative in finding collective solutions in respect of regional energy security issues and generation of joint projects inspired EaP countries' interest to acquire more knowledge about such model of governance.

- Another example of possible expansion to EDEN (primarily EaP) countries is application of the practice of European social dialogue and open method of co-ordination' (OMC) to the national employment policies and social protection. Getting better understanding of how those tools operate and a starting of the process of implementation those in practice could be helpful in solving social stability issues in EDEN (primarily EaP) countries.

Mentioned privileges could be favourably regarded and supported by those EU stakeholders who are planning to expand business to the countries of EDEN (primarily EaP) states. In addition, a side effect of expansion and diffusion within local communities of knowledge and know-how on the EU inherent methods and practices could be spread paving way for further integration. Mentioned privileges which are integrated in the EU membership status, proved to be a motivating vehicle for the EU candidate countries to accomplish EU suggested reforms. Since the EU is not in the position to offer membership perspective in the nearest future to EaP states, as an alternative it can proceed with formation of a common integrative framework for regional security enhancement with majority of EaP states by gradually including a set of privileges which could function as motivating vehicle for further integration on the principles of cooperative and convergence models. Such integrative framework for regional security enhancement is supposed to enable both EU and EaP to use modern management techniques to effectively deal with uncertainties on the regional level and use opportunities for increasing the capacity in terms of value and competence congruence to proceed with joint projects.

However including additional privileges in SSC could function as motivation enhancer only if such integrated framework ensures effective interplay of different integration elements, presumes systemic approach and consistent financing of creation and maintenance of those instruments. Financial resources providers, consequently, should be confident, that financial support is used in economical and consistent manner and will bring desired outcomes. Implementation of modern program management systems and techniques (such as: project management; budgeting; cost proposals/ negotiations/contracts; scheduling; funding; cost/schedule collection; change control; earned value management; forecasting; resource management; reporting; risk management) which follow the internationally accepted guidance (e.g. those contained in the American National Standard Institute (ANSI) documents or similar) could be regarded as a tool for generating such confidence.

As far as possibilities to apply contingent strategy within expanded EU approach to regional security enhancement towards RF and Belarus is concerned, it depends on the tendencies of possible shift from coexistence logics which is prevailing in perceptions of political elites as well as in the socio-cultural contexts of their societies, towards liberal logics, and from adherence to unilateral dominance and *authoritarianism* perceived as "strength" (such perception creates resistance and suspicion in respect to the EU attempts to use economic, social and political factors that affect the prospects for enhanced security through 'stability export' and related transformation which creates limits for unilateralism), towards multilateralism. Until such shift takes place, regional cooperation with those states is supposed to be based mainly on the limited approach

and follow the patterns of current co-operational framework used within Common Spaces or Council of Baltic Sea States, which, since its foundation in March 1992 on the initiative of former Foreign Ministers of Germany and Denmark, has "contributed successfully to pluralism and prosperity in the region. As a pioneer of cooperation symbol regional identity, it is continuously adapting to new challenges, concentrating on specific long-term priorities, re-enforcing its project orientation and interacting closely with other cooperation frameworks in the region"(Council of the Baltic Sea States 2012:2). One could expect that implementation of the CBSS-style long-term priorities (one of them, in the field of education, is focusing efforts on the Euro Faculty project, currently in Pskov) would contribute to socio-cultural changes paving way to implementation of enhanced EU approach to regional security and to application of contingent management through constructing of hybrid constellations for promotion of currently contested liberal values, economic integration and leading to higher level of regional security and stability.

3.4. Expert Interview: Description and Results

The section provides description of getting opinions of 19 experts with expertise in the fields of policy formation and project implementation on the issues of regional security and stability in respect to EDEN and EU MLG. The experts with significant work experience in different public administration institutions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Embassies in EaP states and Russia, Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Social Security and Labour, Ministry of Health, Institute of Labour and Social Research and others) and universities (Vilnius University, Mykolas Romeris University, Vytautas Magnus University) include current or former heads of institutions, as well as senior, medium and junior management staff representatives.

3.4.1. Understanding of Concept "Soft Security Instruments"

Clarification of definition and understanding in respect of SSI and their effectiveness in the EU policy and project implementation context has been attempted by familiarising experts with the problem, that, though a concept of SSI as a component of collective response to transnational security risks is being used in both academic discourse and political debates in relation to general European initiatives and those focused on EDEN (primarily EaP) states with increasing frequency, there is still lack of scholarly and political consensus on this relatively new issue. It is not always understood and evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in a uniform manner. Experts have been asked *how they would define SSI, their role and effectiveness in the context of EU Neighbourhood policy and projects.*

Results related to definition and/or understanding in respect of SSI and their effectiveness in the EU context are summarised in the Table 17.

Table 17. Soft Security Instruments: General Understanding

Definition/ understanding	Summary of experts opinions
In respect of SSI	Notion of SSI is used mainly in academic literature as well as in political discourse without a clear definition and commonly accepted understanding. Therefore different aspects are usually emphasized by different scholars/politicians. Notion of SSI usually produces associations with "mediation", "diplomacy", "technical assistance", "sharing of best practices", "flexibility" and "alternatives for personal choice" which are able to produce some independent influence (effects). On operational level usage of more specific notions is required: it should be clearly indicated whether it is meant a "sharing of best practices" or other kind of "specific social practice" that a notion SSI is referring to. Experts supported view that content of SSI can be defined as social forms of sharing, congruence, and development of values and competences of those involved in security governance/management in the framework of security cooperation.
In respect of the role and effectiveness of SSI used in EU policies/ projects in the EU Neighbourhood	Every specific EU organised social practice which is generally associated with SSI should be regarded and evaluated separately. Overall positive effect of SSI which are used in the framework of technical assistance can be described as a process of producing sympathies and respect towards EU and its technical assistance as well as positive attitude towards EU's general stance. EU technical assistance is more focused on EDEN states elites. However decisions of EDEN states elites are based on more fundamental factors, such as economic and security factors, which are highly dependent on the relations with RF. SSI as a component of a separate joint project cannot be regarded as equally influential as those fundamental factors. However, if the process of implementation of multiple cooperation projects in EDEN states is taken into consideration and if its leads to deepening of European integration, role of SSI as facilitator of this process becomes more important in terms of security enhancement on the European level. The question is how effectively SSI can activate and influence transformational processes and strengthening of European integration on the basis of *acquis communautaire.* If SSI in the framework of multiple technical assistance projects do facilitate European integration they can be considered as a factor of achievement of EU security objectives in a comprehensive manner. It is reasonable to consider effectiveness of SSI as security facilitator in both contexts: in the context of a separate technical assistance project and in the context of multiplicity and continuation of different projects as a part of process of management of mutual security cooperation. Importance of taking into account cultural differences for effectiveness of EU initiatives has been highlighted by majority of experts.

Source: expert interview.

Clarification of SSI linkage with soft power instruments has been attempted by asking experts *how they would indicate/define difference between SSI and soft power instruments in general and those used by the EU in the framework of EU Neighbourhood Policy.*

Results related to definition and/or understanding in respect of difference between SSI and soft power instruments are summarised in the Table 18.

Table 18. Soft Security Instruments Linkage with Soft Power in the Context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy

Definition/understanding	Summary of opinions
In respect of difference between EU SSI and EU soft power instruments	Majority of experts indicated that EU soft power instruments are more associated with policy for achieving general influence, while EU SSI are more associated with policy targeted at solving security issues. However very close linkage between those two notions has been pointed out.
In respect of difference between SSI and soft power instruments in the framework of EU Neighbourhood Policy	According to majority of experts, taking into account that security issues in the EU Neighbourhood are prevailing in EU external agenda focused on EDEN states, the soft instruments within EU Neighbourhood Policy are used with a focus to security enhancement, consequently, they are functioning mainly as SSI.

Source: expert interview.

3.4.2. Soft Security Component Elements as Predisposing and Enabling Factors for European Integration

Clarification of possibility to expand SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy through adding new elements which could function as predisposing factors for increasing of EDEN states stakeholders' motivation to undertake efforts and modify behaviour leading to EU recommended economic reforms, social stability and regional security enhancement has been attempted by asking experts *if they agree that certain factors (existing (E) and potential (P)) could predispose EDEN states stakeholders to undertake efforts and modify behaviour leading to EU recommended economic reforms, social stability and security enhancement*. The list of factors included: (1P+E) Awareness of EDEN states stakeholders about EU success in overcoming economic crisis/generating economic growth and managing other issues (social, environmental), which provides force of example to be followed. (2P+E) Cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets. (3E) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about new developments in the global energy sector

(shale gas, liquefied natural gas terminals) leading to structural changes in energy market and reducing monopolistic tendencies in energy supply. (4P) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about expanding opportunities for their complimentary studies related to EU style of governance, team building and project management, provided that those EDEN states implement EU suggested reforms. (5P) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about their expanding opportunities (given relevant competences and proof of reputation) to participate in cooperative security projects on equal footing with EU experts, provided that those EDEN states proceed with EU suggested reforms. (6P) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about their privileges of participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms of policymaking to the fields related to regional security, such as energy security (e.g. BEMIP-style framework) and social stability (European social dialogue and OMC).

Results related to possibility to expand SSC through adding new elements which could function as predisposing factors for increasing of EDEN stakeholders' motivation to undertake efforts and modify behaviour leading to EU recommended economic reforms, social stability enhancement and regional security are summarised in the Table 19.

Table 19. Soft Security Component Elements as Predisposing Factors for European Integration: Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood States Side

List of factors	Summary of opinions
1. E+P: Awareness about EU success in overcoming economic crisis/generating economic growth and managing other issues (social, environmental) which provides force of example to be followed.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts, emphasis was made on social and environmental issues.
2. E+P: Cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts of this factor in terms of its ability to exert influence, emphasis was made on the importance of combination of different factors.
3. E: Awareness about new developments in the global energy sector (shale gas, liquefied natural gas terminals) leading to structural changes in energy market and reducing monopolistic tendencies in energy supply.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts, emphasis was made on cultural differences which could significantly influence reactions in respect of mentioned developments.

4. P: Awareness about expanding opportunities for complimentary studies related to EU style governance, team building and project management for selected EDEN stakeholders provided that those states proceed with EU suggested reforms.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts, emphasis was made on cultural differences and a need for continuity of competence development and participation, future job prospects.
5. P: Awareness about expanding opportunities for selected EDEN stakeholders with relevant competences and proof of reputation to participate in cooperative security projects on equal footing with EU nationals provided that those states proceed with EU suggested reforms.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts of its ability to exert influence, emphasis was made on the importance of combination of different factors.
6. P: Awareness about privileges for selected EDEN stakeholders of participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms of policymaking to the fields related to regional security, such as energy security (e.g. BEMIP) and social stability (European social dialogue and OMC).	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts of its ability to exert influence, emphasis was made on the importance of combination of different factors.

Source: expert interview.

Clarification of possibility to expand SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy through adding new identified elements (opportunities and privileges for EDEN stakeholders listed in 4P, 5P, 6P) **which could function as predisposing factors for increasing EU stakeholders' motivation** to support organisation and funding of those elements has been attempted by asking experts *if they agree that certain factors (existing (E) and potential (P)) could predispose EU stakeholders to organise and finance those identified elements (opportunities and privileges for EDEN states stakeholders listed in 4P, 5P, 6P).* The list of factors included: (7P) Awareness of EU stakeholders about project management improvement in EDEN through thorough and comprehensive implementation of modern program management systems and techniques which follow the internationally accepted guidance, as a tool for generating confidence of financial resources providers. (8P) Awareness of EU stakeholders about expanding opportunities for EU business to hire competent employees in EDEN, as a result of elements listed in 4P, 5P, 6P. (9P) Awareness of EU stakeholders about cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN states stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.

Results related to possibility to expand SSC through adding new elements which could function as predisposing factors for increasing EU stakeholders 'motivation to support organisation and funding of those elements are summarised in the Table 20.

Table 20. Soft Security Component Elements as Predisposing Factors for European Integration: European Union Side

List of factors	Summary of opinions
7. P: Awareness of EU stakeholders about project management improvement in general (thorough and comprehensive implementation of modern program management systems and techniques in EUIJPM which follow the internationally accepted guidance, as a tool for generating confidence of financial resources providers, in particular).	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts in respect of general management improvement. Majority supported attempts to introduce at least some of modern program management systems and techniques.
8. P: Awareness of EU stakeholders about expanding opportunities for EU business to hire competent employees in EDEN statesas a result of elements listed in 4P, 5P, 6P.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts.
9. E+P. Awareness of EU stakeholders about cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts.
10. E+P. Combination of **7 P., 8 P. , 9 E+P.**	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts.

Source: expert interview.

Clarification of possibility to expand SSC through adding new identified elements (opportunities and privileges for EDEN stakeholders listed in 4P, 5P, 6P) **which could function as enabling factors for increasing EDEN states stakeholders' motivation to change** behaviour and their socio-cultural environment in line with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and security enhancement has been attempted by asking *experts if they agree that certain factors could enable changes in EDEN stakeholders' behaviour and their socio-cultural environment in line with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and security enhancement*. The list of factors included: (11P) Competences acquired by (selected) EDEN stakeholders during tailor-made studies related to EU style of governance, team building and project management organized for them. (12P) Competences further developed by (selected) EDEN states stakeholders through participation in related joint cooperation projects based on EU

technical and financial assistance. (13P) Competences further developed by (selected) EDEN states stakeholders through participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms of policymaking listed in 6P. (14P) Competences acquired and developed through combination of 7P, 8P, 9P ensuring continuation of the process.

Results related to possibility to expand SSC through adding new elements which could function as enabling factors for increasing EDEN stakeholders' motivation to change behaviour and their socio-cultural environment in line with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and security enhancement are summarised in the Table 21.

Table 21. Soft Security Component Elements as Enabling Factors for European Integration: Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood States Side

List of factors	Summary of opinions
11. P. Competences acquired by (selected) EDEN stakeholders during tailor-made studies related to EU style of governance, team building and project management for (selected) EDEN states stakeholders.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts
12. P. Competences further developed by (selected) EDEN states stakeholders through participation in related joint cooperation projects based on EU technical and financial assistance.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts
13. P. Competences further developed by (selected) EDEN states stakeholders through participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms of policymaking listed in 6P.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts.
14. P. Competences acquired and developed through combination of 11P, 12P, 13.P ensuring continuation of the process.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts.

Source: expert interview.

Clarification of possibility to expand SSC through adding new identified elements (opportunities and privileges for EDEN stakeholders listed in 4P, 5P, 6P) **which could function as enabling factors for increasing EU stakeholders motivation** to support EUIJPM as an enabling means for proceeding with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and security enhancement has been attempted *by asking experts if they agree that certain factors could enable proceeding with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and regional security enhancement*. The list of factors included: (15 P) Competences of EU stakeholders acquired and further developed through participation in joint (with EDEN states) project management and joint policy making frameworks, creating combinations of/match between "best practices" with

"best fits" which are useful for innovative EU integration strategy development towards EDEN states. (16 P+E) Cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.

Results related to possibility to expand SSC through adding new elements which could function as enabling factors for increasing EU stakeholders motivation to support EUIJPM as EU enabling means for implementing EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and security enhancement in EDEN are summarised in the Table 22.

Table 22. Soft Security Component Elements as Enabling Factors for European Integration: EU Side

List of factors	Summary of opinions
15. P. Competences of EU stakeholders acquired and further developed through participation in joint project management and joint policy making frameworks, creating combinations of/matches between "best practices" with "best fits" which are useful for innovative EU integration strategy development towards EDEN states.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts
16. P+E. Cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN states stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts
17. P+E. Combination of **15.P** and **16. P+E.**	Overall positive evaluation by majority of experts

Source: expert interview.

3.4.3. Differences in Levels of Openness of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood States for Predisposing and Enabling Factors of European Integration

Issue of differences in levels of openness of EDEN states for listed predisposing/enabling factors capable to produce positive effects in terms of expansion and deepening of European integration have been tested by asking experts *if they agree that some EDEN*

states are more open for listed predisposing/enabling factors which are capable to produce positive effects in terms of expansion and deepening of European integration. They were also asked *which of the EDEN states are more open for mentioned factors*. Majority of experts (14) indicated different levels of openness of EDEN states to mentioned factors. As being more open states were indicated: Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia. Belarus and Russian Federation were indicated as least open states to EU influence. Armenia and Azerbaijan were listed as states in between. 6 experts indicated, that Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia are declaring openness, however, under the influence of fundamental factors (economic and security factors) their position can change radically.

3.4.4. Awareness about Open Method of Coordination and Baltic Energy Market Interconnection Plan as European Union Multilevel Governance Initiatives

Awareness of EU MLG initiatives such as OMC and BEMIP has been tested by asking experts *if they are familiar with the those 2 recent initiatives which in high degree use soft instruments for joint policy creation/ project implementation and which are considered as possible extension options beyond EU*. Neither of experts has been familiar enough with both initiatives. 7 were familiar with BEMIP and 5 with OMC. Those familiar with BEMIP or OMC agreed that under mutual interest of EU and EDEN states, they could be extended towards EDEN states.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The overview of perceptions in academic discourse and EU documents in respect of concept "soft security" and related to it concept "soft power" revealed a number of features of soft security instruments: non-military character and association with technical, organisational, administrative or informational interaction on the working level and a number of social practices such as sharing best practices, negotiations, mediation, mutual learning, confidence-building measures, arms control, reconstruction and long-term peace building, training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, good governance, mitigation of: environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organised crime, the spread of infectious diseases, and other social practices purposefully organised in the framework of management of collective security. Similarities in the meaning of "soft security" and "soft power" in respect of their non-military nature and involvement in the process of mitigating threats have been revealed. Contradicting evaluations of effectiveness of soft security instruments (in some cases regarding them as weak, secondary, low or insignificant) have been detected. Based on the review, the soft security instruments were defined as purposefully organized social practices of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems.
2. Exploration of frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" in selected Lithuanian periodicals showed an increasing frequency of using them in Lithuanian media, frequently they were used with the reference to the EU policies.
3. Four theoretical approaches have been indicated as explaining expansion and increasing role of soft security instruments in the context of security governance: (1) approach based on the importance of dominating power and national interests, (2) functionalism (3) knowledge-based approach and (4) combination of constructivism and historical approach of English school suggested by Buzan (2004) as a methodology for understanding of European integration.
4. The latter approach (Buzan, 2004) was identified as most adequate for understanding role of SSC and defining SSC of the EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy and its effectiveness.
5. SSC of the EUIJPM is defined as set of soft instruments encompassing various social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of EU and EDEN states stakeholders in the framework of EUIJPM which are focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems in EDEN states and its effectiveness is linked to its ability to function as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European integration in respect of EDEN states. Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration has been identified as its constructive role in enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states. Integrated framework for effective EUIJPM in EDEN states includes: developing predisposing and

enabling factors for European integration and congruence of economic, legal and soft components of European integration. SSC can be an element of both predisposing and enabling factors for European political and economic integration and legal harmonisation.

6. Main factors of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM are the competences of stakeholders of EU and EDEN states and include general governance competences (using windows of policy opportunity, managing economic, social and environmental issues for creating force of example, managing interrelations among EU institutions), and specific modern project management and team building skills based congruence, sharing and development of values and competences for implementation of the pivotal task. The need of enabling environment for producing and further development of those competencies is highlighted.
7. Prospects for expansion of SSC in the EUIJPM with focus on the ability of SSC to play instrumental role have been defined on the basis on a dynamic model of transformation process, which indicated that some competences which are functioning as competitive intangibles within relevant framework can play double role - as producing additional values/ future common gains and reducing costs of project implementation. A set of incentives/privileges as additional motivating elements have been suggested for consideration as meeting criteria of double function: (a) privileged access of particular EU partner's citizens to educational programmes and training schemes focusing on EU studies and regional security issues combined with acquiring project management, team building skills as well as qualities of effective teamwork; (b) privilege of participation in the joint projects for graduates from mentioned above educational programmes; (c) privilege of participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms (e.g. BEMIP-type model, European social dialogue and OMC). Implementation of modern program management systems and techniques which follow the internationally accepted guidance could be regarded as a tool for generating confidence of financial resources providers.
8. Testing with experts using semi-structured interviews confirmed basic assumptions and recommendations developed within research. Majority of experts indicated that refined measures within current research are capable under certain circumstances to function as motivators and effectiveness enhancers for increasing of the scale of engagement in the joint projects by stakeholders from EDEN countries, naming Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia as possible pioneers engaging in such initiatives.

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THE LIST OF SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS

1. Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2011). Comparative Analysis of Concepts "Soft Security" and "Soft Power" in EU Legislation. Public Policy and Administration, 10(2): 231-246 Available in: http://www.mruni.eu/en/mokslo_darbai/vpa/archyvas/?l=105400

2. Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2012). European Union Soft Security: a Cost-Benefit Approach. International Scientific Conference Practice and Research in Private and Public Sector – 2012. April 26–27, 2012. Vilnius, Lithuania. Section Public Economy and International Relations: 279–289. Available in: http://www.mruni.eu/mru_lt_dokumentai/fakultetai/ekonomikos_ir_finansu_vadymo_fakultetas/konferencijos/prpp/Antra_Sekcija.pdf

ANNEX 1

LIST OF EXPERTS

Expert No.	Institutions/Positions in Management/Experience in respect of EDEN countries and/or MLG
1.	MFA/ SM/EaP, RF
2.	MOH / SM/ EaP
3.	MOE, MFA/SM/ BEMIP
4.	MRU /SM(I) / EaP
5.	MFA/ SM /BEMIP
6.	MSSL/SM/OMC
7.	MFA/SM/EaP
8	MFA/SM/EaP
9.	MFA/MM /EaP
10.	MFA /JM /EaP
12.	VMU/SM(I) /OMC
13.	MOEC/SM /EaP
14.	MFA/MM/RF, EaP
15.	MFA/MM/EaP
16.	MFA/JM/EaP
17.	ILSR/SM/OMC, EaP
18.	VU/MM(I)/BEMIP, EaP
19.	VU/SM(I) /OMC

MFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs (including Embassies); MOE: Ministry of Energy;

MOEC: Ministry of Economy; MSSL: Ministry of Social Security and Labour;

MOH: Ministry of Health; ILSR: Institute of Labour and Social Research;

VU: Vilnius University; MRU: Mykolas Romeris University; VMU: Vytautas Magnus University

SM: Senior Management (including Head); MM: Middle Management; JM: Junior Management;

(I): in another Lithuanian institution

ANNEX 2

EXPERT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I.SSI/general: Though the concept of soft security (soft security instruments) is being used in both academic discourse and political debates in relation to general European initiatives, there is still lack of scholarly and political consensus on this relatively new issue. It is not always understood and evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in a uniform manner. How would you define soft security instruments in general and their role and effectiveness in the context of EU Neighbourhood policies and projects?

II.SSI/linkage with soft power: How would you indicate/define difference between SSI and soft power instruments in general and those used by the EU in the framework of the EU Neighbourhood Policy?

III.a.SSC/Predisposing factors– EDEN states side: Do you agree that certain factors (existing (E) and potential (P)) could predispose EDEN states stakeholders to undertake efforts and modify behaviour leading to EU recommended economic reforms, social stability and security enhancement?

(**1P+E**) Awareness of EDEN states stakeholders about EU success in overcoming economic crisis/generating economic growth and managing other issues (social, environmental), which provides force of example to be followed.

(**2P+E**) Cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.

(**3E**) Awareness of EDEN states stakeholders about new developments in the global energy sector (shale gas, liquefied natural gas terminals) leading to structural changes in energy market and reducing monopolistic tendencies in energy supply.

(**4P**) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about expanding opportunities for their complimentary studies related to EU style of governance, team building and project management, provided that those EDEN states implement EU suggested reforms.

(**5P**) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about their expanding opportunities (given relevant competences and proof of reputation) to participate in cooperative security projects on equal footing with EU experts, provided that those EDEN states proceed with EU suggested reforms.

(**6P**) Awareness of EDEN stakeholders about their privileges of participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU

inherent modern forms of policymaking to the fields related to regional security, such as energy security (e.g. BEMIP-style framework) and social stability (European social dialogue and OMC).

III.b. SSC/Predisposing factors – EU side. Do you agree that certain factors (existing (E) and potential (P)) could predispose EU stakeholders to organise and finance opportunities and privileges for EDEN states stakeholders mentioned above (4P, 5P, 6P)?

(7P) Awareness of EU stakeholders about project management improvement in EDEN through thorough and comprehensive implementation of modern program management systems and techniques which follow the internationally accepted guidance, as a tool for generating confidence of financial resources providers.

(8P) Awareness of EU stakeholders about expanding opportunities for EU business to hire competent employees in EDEN, as a result of elements mentioned above (4P, 5P, 6P).

(9P) Awareness of EU stakeholders about cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN states stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.

IV.a. SSC/Enabling factors – EDEN states side: Do you agree that listed factors could enable changes in EDEN stakeholders' behaviour and their socio-cultural environment in line with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and security enhancement?

(11P) Competences acquired by (selected) EDEN stakeholders during tailor-made studies related to EU style of governance, team building and project management organized for them.

(**12P)** Competences further developed by (selected) EDEN states stakeholders through participation in related joint cooperation projects based on EU technical and financial assistance.

(13P) Competences further developed by (selected) EDEN states stakeholders through participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms of policymaking (listed in 6P).

(14P) Competences acquired and developed through combination of mentioned factors (7P, 8P, 9P) ensuring continuation of the process.

IV. b. SSC/ Enabling factors - EU side: Do you agree that listed factors could enable proceeding with EU proposed reforms leading to social stability and regional security enhancement?

(15 P) Competences of EU stakeholders acquired and further developed through participation in joint (with EDEN states) project management and joint policy making frameworks, creating combinations of/match between "best practices" with "best fits" which are useful for innovative EU integration strategy development towards EDEN states.

(16 P+E) Cultural coherence formation: congruence and convergence of EDEN stakeholders' perceptions, values and competences related to management of security cooperation, with those of EU stakeholders, leading to bridging the gaps and enhancement in local cultures of principles and practices of decision–making and discipline based on bilateralism/multilateralism, including the downgrading of the role of unilateral authoritarian tendencies within the management practices embedding direct commanding and weakening of management targets.

VI. Do you agree that some EDEN states are more open for listed predisposing/ enabling factors which are capable to produce positive effects in terms of expansion and deepening of European integration?(If agree): which of the EDEN states are more open for mentioned factors? Why?

VII. Which of the two recent EU initiatives which in high degree rely on soft instruments of joint policy creation and project implementation are more likely to receive interest and support for their possible extension to EDEN states:

a) energy security governance in the framework of BEMIP model?
b) social stability enhancement in the form of European social dialogue and OMC?

MYKOLAS ROMERIS UNIVERSITY

Sigita Kavaliūnaitė

SOFT SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY: A MANAGEMENT APPROACH

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation
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The public defense of the Doctoral Dissertation will take place at the Management Council at Mykolas Romeris University on the 8th of February, 2013 at 1:00 PM in the Conference Hall of Mykolas Romeris University (Room I-414).

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The summary of the Doctoral Dissertation was sent out on the 8th of January, 2013.

The Doctoral Dissertation is available at Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (Gedimino ave. 51, Vilnius) and Mykolas Romeris University libraries (Ateities str. 20 and Valakupių str. 5, Vilnius; V. Putvinskio str. 70, Kaunas).

Sigita Kavaliūnaitė

SOFT SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY: A MANAGEMENT APPROACH

SUMMARY

The problem examined in the doctoral dissertation and the relevance of the research

States and international organizations have developed different approaches in order to mitigate insecurity problems. A long-standing debate related to those approaches usually raises the issues of effectiveness of particular approach, complementarities of those approaches or, on the contrary, risks of circumscribing one another. The process of formulating and implementing European Union (EU) policies related to managing international risks and enhancing influence schemes in the EU Neighbourhood requires constant identification and re-examination of routes and instruments for meeting challenges to peace and security. A permanently expanding spectrum of security risks, threats and factual disruptions resulted by globalisation which creates environment of increasing complexity and interoperability outside EU borders, as well as a number of unresolved conflicts (affected countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova with affected regions: Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, and Nagorno-Karabakh), which emerged during the dissolution of the Soviet Union, demand innovative solutions and increased attention to regional security issues. Inadequately policed/governed states which are turned into hostages in the absence of consensus between great powers do contribute to crime and instability in Europe. In addition, absence of political consensus, latent interstate confrontations are leading to disruptions of energy supply to Europe, prevent mobilisation of efforts in a sufficient scale to cope with security risks of environmental character, to tackle issues of spreading infectious diseases, increasing social inequalities and tensions or manage efficiently migration flows. Prevailing EU approach to regional security challenges on European level focuses on so-called "soft security".

Although the soft security issues in the framework of political discourse and public/scholar debate have been discussed already for several decades, this concept is still developing and has not reached its maturity stage. „Soft security" term is being used in the contexts of political initiatives and related projects, and often is associated with the European Union (EU) Neighbourhood policy, especially with focus on its Eastern Dimension. Focus on Eastern Dimension of EU Neighbourhood states, which in the framework of this research includes Eastern Partnership countries (EaP): Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Russian Federation (which is not part of EaP but is included in the research as a significant factor of influence and important potential), is important for Lithuania which is affected by the developments in this region. Nevertheless, common understanding has been reached neither in defining specific processes of political and social reality reflected by concept

of "soft security" nor in assessing value added of this social phenomenon in comparison to "hard security". Academic literature and political discourse provide vast examples of social practices that are related to soft security instruments (SSI) and soft security issues, indicate the tendency of expansion of those practices and in parallel often reflect expressed concerns related to low effectiveness of those practices as far as European Union's (EU) Neighbourhood is concerned. In addition, the notions of accidental and event-driven character of organizing those practices either in particular security-oriented projects or in competence enhancing EU frameworks have been reflected in academic literature and EU working papers. Methodological explanation of the process of expanding soft instruments in the areas of EU security governance is provided by a number of theories. Experts' concerns that soft security related practices are not effective enough are complemented by raising issues of the lack of political guidance and accountability. In this relation it is important to explore whether this expansion is a temporary phenomenon or it is a long-term tendency, and if expressed concerns related to low effectiveness of SSI could be addressed through concepts and methods developed by modern theories and practices of governance and management. Therefore, the key scientific problem addressed by this dissertation is **the lack of a consistent theoretical perspective and a systematic approach to soft security and assessing its effectiveness in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy.** In this context the key question is the following: *what are the features and content of soft security and the framework which enables its development as facilitator of effective security and stability enhancement in the EU Neighbourhood Policy's Eastern Dimension?*

The subject matter of the research, its objective and tasks

The **subject matter** of this research is the content, role and prospects of soft security in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy analysing soft security as a component of the European Union initiated joint projects management in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Russian Federation. Exploration of the circumstances under which the soft social instruments could be better suited for strengthening security at the European level is made through the definition and analysis of soft security component (SSC) of the EU initiated joint projects management (EUIJPM) in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood (EDEN) policy which is regarded as an important research avenue. SSC is regarded as a specific set of SSI within each of EUIJPM aspects. EUIJPM is chosen as one of central concepts which are used for the analysis of evolving mega system encompassing EU and EDEN states and embracing all EU security-related initiated activities in respect of EDEN states. EUIJPM is supported by the EU partners and attributed to both strategic management and project management, as well as to security governance, and includes policy proposals, long-term programme formulation and related activities of planning and organizing various projects, financial securing, managing and controlling resources to bring about beneficial socio-economic and socio-cultural changes leading to European security and stability enhancement.

The **objective** of this research is through thorough examination of the features, role and prospects of development of the soft security component (SSC) of the European Union initiated joint projects management (EUIJPM) in Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood (EDEN) Policy context to define its ability to facilitate the process of security governance (including reducing violence and conflict escalation) leading to increasing level of regional security and stability in the EDEN states. Research is supposed to test the hypothesis that under relevant circumstances SSC of the EUIJPM within EDEN states could be better used for strengthening the security on European level through integrating modern management techniques as well as developing relevant competences of EUIJPM designers and implementers to underpin further European integration and expansion of European identity formation on the basis of European values.

The following **tasks** have been identified seeking to achieve the objective of the research:

1. To overview political literature providing insights in respect of concept "soft security" and related soft social instruments and to analyse the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power" in EU documents reflecting underlying understanding by EU policy makers of soft security issues in order to identify features of and to define soft security instruments.
2. To identify frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" and cases of their association with EU policies in selected Lithuanian publications.
3. To identify methodological approaches for explanation of expansion of SSI in the context of EU security governance;
4. To identify methodological approach for the analysis of soft security in the context of European integration in respect of EDEN states.
5. To define SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states and integrated framework for effective EUIJPM in EDEN states.
6. To identify factors of effectiveness of EUIJPM within EDEN states and circumstances that enable SSC to facilitate effective security governance on European level.
7. To define prospects for expansion of SSC of the EUIJPM focusing on the ability of SSC of the EUIJPM to play instrumental and constructive role in the context of EDEN Policy, taking into account current strategies, tactics and practices of EUIJPM as well as possible incentives and modern methods of EU governance and project management techniques based on recent development of management theories.
8. To test the research assumptions and recommendations by in-depth interview of experts

Theses of the dissertation to be defended

- The underlying feature of soft security instruments is that they all are social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders involved in solving security-related issues.

- Reliance on methodological approach as a mixture of constructivism and historicism of English school worked out by Buzan (2004) leads to understanding the genesis of soft security instruments within European integration and assessment of their effectiveness in security management in European Neighbourhood states.
- Other theoretical approaches explaining expansion and increasing role of SSI in the context of EU security governance: (1) approach based on the dominating power and national interests, (2) functionalism and (3) knowledge-based approach do not contradict to an approach worked out by Buzan (2004).
- Concept of effectiveness of soft security management in the context of EDEN Policy is linked to ability of SSC to function as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European Integration in respect of EDEN states.
- A mega system of EU and EDEN states is gradually evolving which is encompassing all EU security-related initiated activities in the forms of EU initiated joint projects management in respect of EDEN states, which are supported by the EU partners and which are attributed to both strategic management and project management, as well as to security governance.
- A subsystem within system of EU and EDEN states is gradually taking shape of a quasi organisation which encompasses EU and Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine as comparatively most open states to EU efforts to transfer elements of *acquis communautaire* to their socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts.The competence development recommendations on the basis of Responsive/Good Governance, Strategic Human Resource Development and Organizational Concepts can be applied within this quasi-organization in the form of additional privileges.
- Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration constitutes its constructive role in the enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states. Expansion of SSC in the EUIJPM can lead to higher level of effectiveness of EUIJPM adding such SSC elements:
    - o extension of open method of coordination and other multilevel governance models towards EDEN states;
    - o using the EU-led educational system on wider scale for producing basic competences of EDEN states stakeholders for security governance;
    - o gradual expansion of participation of EDEN states stakeholders in EUIJPM.

The structure of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of: introduction, three parts, conclusions (including recommendations), list of sources of the dissertation and list of academic publications of the author.

1. *The first part* provides the conceptual framework for the research and constitutes the theoretical background for the understanding of the contexts of SSI development and their interplay with other instruments. It focuses on the ap-

plication of different approaches and perspectives for the analysis of SSI and discusses key features of their role in the context of EU policies. It concludes with defining SSI based on the survey of their features which are broken down into two categories: those that are within consensus of researchers and policy makers and those that are questioned or contested by researchers and policy makers.

2. *The second part* focuses on the approaches and methodological considerations for the further research in order to achieve identified objectives. An integrated multidisciplinary approach based on the combination of constructivism and historicism (developed by English School) is regarded as a methodology suggesting a useful perspective for exploring EU approach to regional security and defining SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states in line with EU regional security agenda, as well as for the analysis of prospects for using those components as a factor for motivation and efficacy. It suggests definition of the concept of SSC which encompasses systematically manifested features in the process of European integration since the interception of the EU. It suggests solution for the contradicting evaluations of the potential of SSC in solving security issues in EU Neighbourhood proposing as a baseline to use factual interplay of the EU integration elements. It suggests regarding and analysing SSC of EUIJPM in the context of limited and enhanced EU approaches to regional security and in the framework of general and contingent EUIJPM in the EDEN states. It provides definition of SSC and reveals capacity of SSC to function as element of predisposing and enabling factors of EU integration.
3. *In the final part* the conditions of effectiveness of EUIJPM and of SSC of EUIJPM to function as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of EU integration are identified and analysed. A gradually evolving mega system of EU and EDEN states is described which is encompassing all EU security-related initiated activities in the forms of EUIJPM in respect of EDEN states. A subsystem within system of EU and EDEN states which is taking shape of a quasi organisation and encompasses EU and most open to EU efforts to transfer elements of *acquis communautaire* to their socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts EDEN states is described. EDEN states stakeholders' competence development recommendations on the basis of Responsive/Good Governance, Strategic Human Resource Development and Organizational Concepts are suggested. Possible expansion of SSC in the EUIJPM which can lead to higher level of effectiveness of EUIJPM is explored focussing on such SSC elements as: extension of open method of coordination (OMC) and other multilevel governance (MLG) models towards EDEN states; using the EU-led educational system on wider scale for producing basic competences of EDEN states stakeholders for security governance; gradual expansion of participation of EDEN states stakeholders in EUIJPM. Formulated proposals and various outstanding issues related to definition and possible expansion of SSC of EUIJPM by adding new elements developed by EU governance practice and theory are tested through interview with selected experts.

The sources of the research

- Theoretical analysis of the SSC in the framework of security governance and its content, features, role and prospects in the context of EDEN Policy was built on the original works of foreign and Lithuanian scholars.
- Analysis of different EU documents was applied in the dissertation both for discourse analysis and identification of status and problematic issues of EU policies related to their implementation of cooperative projects in EDEN states.
- Selected Lithuanian publications were used for content analysis for identification of trends of using "soft security" and "soft power" notions as well as their association with the EU policies in public/scholar debate in Lithuania.
- Expert knowledge obtained through semi-structured interview.

The overview of the academic sources and the novelty of the dissertation

Demand in constant identification and re-examination of routes and instruments for meeting external challenges to peace and security in the EU Neighbourhood calls for better use of resources to increase regional security and stability. The suggested management approach in current research in respect to soft security is based on the assumption that "security perspective rejects the notion that the problem of insecurity can be solved. It tries instead to develop a management approach which is equally sensitive to both the national and the international dynamics of the insecurity problem." (Buzan, 1984:112).

However, different opinions of researchers in both political science and governance theoretical studies are expressed on the issues of relevance of soft management instruments and their effectiveness in managing transnational security: some of the researchers question the ability of soft instruments to ensure transnational security while others advocate expansion of current soft security governance towards EU Neighbourhood.

Despite increasing attention over the past several decades to the issues of soft security on EU political agenda and references to soft social instruments in political literature, academic discourse and public debate, they are often regarded controversially and still lack common understanding, systemic approach and integrated framework as the basis for development of appropriate instruments and raising effectiveness of their application. Researchers' (Becher, 2001; Lomagin, 2001; Pop, 2000; Very, 2005; Lindley – French, 2003) insights regarding diversification of security instruments and prospects to rely more on soft security means, since the usage of hard (especially military) instruments are becoming more and more limited or risky, are met by scepticism (Kagan, 2002) in respect of the ability of soft instruments to produce desired outcomes on regional and international levels. This calls for deeper research of the capability of soft instruments to facilitate an effective implementation of EU Neighbourhood policy. Useful insights on a system of the EU security governance and increasing scope of its reliance on soft instruments, which emerged in order to reconcile the need for more integration with national interests and sensitivities, are provided by Hegemann (2012)

and Kahl (2010). Conceptual widening of security is provided by Buzan et al (1998). Involvement of a wide range of public and private actors in governance and reliance on formal and informal arrangements, in which hierarchy is becoming less important, as well as orientation of security governance towards coordinative processes and mechanisms (rather than towards structures of coercion and control) is described by Webber et al. (2004), van Kersbergen and van Waarden (2004), Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006), Trubek and Trubek (2007). New modes of governance encompassing a hybrid mix of public and private actors, relying on horizontal networks, multiplicity of actors, and on soft instruments are explored by Hix (1998); Kohler-Koch and Eising (1999), Caparini (2006), Chayes and Chayes (1995), Rhinard et al. (2007), Bossong (2011). Issues of security governance are examined in the EU documents as well.

In order to understand underlying conditions of EU behaviour focused on the problem of insecurity in the Neighbourhood and development of EU management methods and instruments, including soft instruments, as well as assessment of their effectiveness, a relevant methodological approach is required. Buzan (2004) and Wendt (1999) provide useful insights within mixture of constructivism and historicism as methodological background for understanding the genesis of soft security instruments within European integration and EU preferences in using security instruments in the broader context of societal development. Insights in respect of interplay of elements of European integration and security governance through conflict transformations, management and culture, which are useful for analysis of soft security instruments (SSI), have been developed by Emerson (2006), Lederach (2003) and Ross (1993).

Soft security is viewed as a social phenomenon requiring multiple different approaches worked out in different fields of science, such as political science, sociology, international relations studies, international political economy and theories of governance, management, including conflict management, and cultural studies. Such an environment requires a systemic approach for both identifying imminent relationships among specific features of a phenomenon named „soft security" and creating an integrated framework on regional level for effective development and application of SSI. Application of the number of methods of theoretical and empirical nature is regarded as one of the solution for accomplishment above mentioned tasks

Important aspect in addressing and revealing potential of SSC in security governance through more substantive analysis is to take into account studies using broader approach to soft instruments which are associated with concepts of soft power and soft legislation and which have been extensively researched by a number of scholars (Bonoma, 1976; Boulding, 1989; Mansbridge, 1990; Johnston, 2011; Vedrine and Moisi, 2001; Nye, 2004; Abbott and Snidal, 2000; Trubek and Trubek, 2005). In addition, in order to reveal how politicians identify the concepts with common EU policy focusing on EU Neighbourhood and its implementation instruments, the EU documentation containing notions of soft security and soft power are inspected. The trend of using soft security and soft power notion in public/scholar debate in Lithuanian media is considered as indicator of the interest in the issues related to using soft means and therefore is to be explored as well.

New modes of governance such as open method of coordination (OMC) and other multilevel governance (MLG) models which facilitate further deepening of European integration and create possibility for expanding application of SSI and new emerging practices towards EDEN states have been documented, explained and evaluated by Eberlein and Kerwer (2002), Héritier (2001), Hodson and Maher (2001), Ekengren (2006), Ahonen (2001), Kaiser and Prange (2002), Vanhercke (2010), Papadopoulos(2011), Hix (1998), Marks et al, (1996), Quermonne et al (1996), Soetendorp and Hanf (1998), Kassim et al (2000), Sandholtz and Sweet (1998), Borzel (1998), Wiener and Dietz, (2004), Kaiser and Prange (2002), Lundvall and Tomlinson (2002), Hooghe and Marks (2003), Papadopoulos (2003), Conzelmann and Smith (ed.) (2008), Corfee-Morlot et al (2009) and Marzeda-Mlynarska (2011).

Some important aspects for revealing the potential of SSC and its dependence on the interplay with other factors of policy making and project implementation are found in sociological literature which suggests several approaches for the identification and evaluation of conditions which could facilitate effective design and implementation of EUIJPM in EDEN states. Those have been investigated from different perspectives by Maul (2005), McCormick (2006), Gourlay (2004), Grabbe (2001), Schimmelfennig et al (2003),Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004), Sergunin (2010), Kohler-Koch and Eising (1999), Kahler (1992), Killick (1996), Oberschall (l978), Olson (1968), Frohlich et al (1971) and McCarthy and Zald (1973).

However, the majority of those studies do not address soft security issues in the EU Neighbourhood context directly, though they provide basic insights for defining a starting point for deeper investigation leading to the clearer understanding and consensus in respect of the features, definition, potential and enabling integrated framework for ensuring effective use of facilitating power of SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states. The goal of current study is not to resolve these debates once and for all, but to help to clarify the issues raised and identify questions and recommendations for further work.

The main aspects of theoretical significance and novelty of the dissertation include:

1. Dividing features of soft security into 2 categories: those corresponding to an overall common understanding and those that are questioned in academic literature and political discourse. Dividing analysis of soft instruments in the frameworks of twofold and threefold taxonomies in order to highlight aspects of the processes of social transformation and instrumental combination.
2. Clarified definitions of the soft security instruments (SSI) in the contexts of EU security governance as well as of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy have been offered. SSI are defined as purposefully organized social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems. The novelty of the definition of SSC of EUIJM in the context of EDEN Policy manifests itself through revealing the complexity of the concept of SSC which accommodates interrelated paradigms namely *set of soft instruments – social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences* of EU and EDEN states stakeholders *in the framework of EUIJPM* focused on *facilitation of solving*

security-related problems. SSC as a component of security governance is shared-value and shared-competence driven and *operates through sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders.* Concept of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states accommodates additional interrelated paradigms such as *SSC as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European Integration in respect of EDEN states.* Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration constitutes its constructive role in enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states.

3. Application of systemic approach facilitating both analysis of the SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN states and identification of guidelines for SSC's expansion through adding new elements. Analysis and identification of guidelines is based on (1) dividing the EU approach to regional security into *preventive (reactive/limited)* and *transformational (proactive/enhanced)* depending on the characteristics of socio-cultural contexts of EU policy recipients which are either negatively or positively/neutrally associated with the EU normative power and rule transfer; (2) dividing EUIJPM in the EDEN states into *general* and *contingent;* (3) construction and exploration of dynamic model of the production of transformational effects focussing on relationships between program/project objectives and set of shared values and shared competences in the form of tangibles and intangibles; (4) exploration of involvement of quasi-organization within the system of EU and EDEN states.
4. Identification of factors of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy in particular and of EUIJPM in general. The main factors influencing effectiveness focus on competences of stakeholders of EU and EDEN states and include competences of using windows of opportunity, generating EU economic growth and managing economic crises, social and environmental risks for creating force of example, managing interrelations among EU institutions, modern project management and team building on the basis of shared values and shared competences for implementation of the pivotal task. The need of enabling environment for producing and further development of those competencies is highlighted which could be met by recommendations suggested by theories of Strategic Human Development, Responsive/Good Governance and Organization Theory. In addition, enabling environment should contain elements providing linkages to EU political guidance and accountability, and, in some cases, to transparent competition for resources.
5. Application of theories of modern management and models of EU governance for identification of possible additional elements of SSC of EUIJPM in the context of EDEN states in order to strengthen predisposing and enabling factors for European integration and thus increase motivation of EU and EDEN states stakeholders engagement into EUIJPM and their effective implementation. Identified additional SSC elements encompass such means as (a) extension of open method of coordination (OMC) and other multilevel governance (MLG) models towards EDEN states; (b) using the EU-led educational system

on wider scale for producing basic competences of EDEN states stakeholders for security governance; (c) gradual expansion of participation of EDEN states stakeholders in EUIJPM.

Practical significance of the dissertation

The research is expected to suggest an instrumental approach to SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states which could open an avenue to use modern governance and management techniques as well as to develop relevant competences of stakeholders to underpin further European integration and expansion of a territory for European identity formation on the basis of European values. Current research by focusing attention on SSC of EUIJPM in the EDEN states is supposed to contribute to the analytical background used by policy makers in designing and implementing EU regional policies oriented to solve insecurity problems through combining various methods and elements. Current study of the social and political processes related to soft security is supposed to work out a perspective for increasing the effectiveness of EU SSI as well as to define prospects for their further development

Methodology of the research

- *Analysis of scientific literature:* scientific literature research was applied for the conceptual analysis of the problem with specific attention paid to theoretical and empirical research carried out in the fields of EU governance, management, conflict transformation and resolution, international relations and sociology, including its branch offering multidisciplinary approach. The applied research methods include: systemic and comparative analysis of scientific literature, synthesis, abstract and logical formulation of conclusions leading to identification of further steps for exploration.
- *Application of theoretical modelling* for description and study of complex and dynamic process of transformation of socio-economic and socio-cultural structures for solving security related problems. The model encompasses factors that affect choices of stakeholders related to offers in respect of joining project management. Applications of the economic modelling are based on the assumption expressed by Estrada (2011:1) that "economic modelling can be considered as a multi-discipline research approach that can facilitate the study of different socio-economic-political problem [...] can become more powerful analytical tool if different authors adapt new techniques, methodologies, methods and research approaches from sociology, political sciences, technology, environment, sciences to explain more deeply dynamic and complex socio-political-economic phenomenon". Factors that affect choices of stakeholders related to offers in respect of joining project management have been singled out from sociological literature.
- *Empirical research:* Qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied in the study.

1. *Discourse analysis method*: Analysis of the description and content of the concepts „soft security" and „soft power" in the EU documentation containing those notions has been applied using discourse analysis method.
2. *Content analysis method* has been used to discover trends of using "soft security" and "soft power" notions in public/scholar debate in Lithuanian publications as well as their association with the EU policies, reflecting tendency and interest in using soft means, especially as EU policy and projects are concerned. EU document analysis has been carried out to clarify EU position on security governance issues and describe status and problems of the EU policies in respect of EDEN states. Studies have been taken into account for summary of modern project management techniques suitable for expansion of SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states.
3. *Semi-structured in depth interviews* with selected experts have been carried out to clarify and follow up various outstanding issues in formulating proposals for testing assumptions and recommendations related to expansion of SSC of EUIJPM in EDEN states by adding new elements developed by EU governance practice and theory and project management techniques.

Main conclusions:

1. The overview of perceptions in academic discourse and EU documents in respect of concept "soft security" and related to it concept "soft power" revealed a number of features of soft security instruments: non-military character and association with technical, organisational, administrative or informational interaction on the working level and a number of social practices such as sharing best practices, negotiations, mediation, mutual learning, confidence-building measures, arms control, reconstruction and long-term peace building, training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, good governance, mitigation of: environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organised crime, the spread of infectious diseases, and other social practices purposefully organised in the framework of management of collective security. Similarities in the meaning of "soft security" and "soft power" in respect of their non-military nature and involvement in the process of mitigating threats have been revealed. Contradicting evaluations of effectiveness of soft security instruments (in some cases regarding them as weak, secondary, low or insignificant) have been detected. Based on the review, the soft security instruments were defined as purposefully organized social practices of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of stakeholders focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems.

2. Exploration of frequency and dynamics of the usage of terms "soft security" and "soft power/force" in selected Lithuanian periodicals showed an increasing frequency of using them in Lithuanian media, frequently they were used with the reference to the EU policies.

3. Four theoretical approaches have been indicated as explaining expansion and increasing role of soft security instruments in the context of security governance: (1) approach based on the importance of dominating power and national interests, (2) functionalism (3) knowledge-based approach and (4) combination of constructivism and historical approach of English school suggested by Buzan (2004) as a methodology for understanding of European integration.
4. The latter approach (Buzan, 2004) was identified as most adequate for understanding role of SSC and defining SSC of the EUIJPM in the context of EDEN Policy and its effectiveness.
5. SSC of the EUIJPM is defined as set of soft instruments encompassing various social forms of sharing, congruence and development of values and competences of EU and EDEN states stakeholders in the framework of EUIJPM which are focused on facilitation of solving security-related problems in EDEN states and its effectiveness is linked to its ability to function as an element of predisposing and enabling factors of the European integration in respect of EDEN states. Capacity of SSC of EUIJPM the context of EDEN Policy to facilitate European integration has been identified as its constructive role in enhancement of the level of security and stability in EDEN states. Integrated framework for effective EUIJPM in EDEN states includes: developing predisposing and enabling factors for European integration and congruence of economic, legal and soft components of European integration. SSC can be an element of both predisposing and enabling factors for European political and economic integration and legal harmonisation.
6. Main factors of effectiveness of SSC of EUIJPM are the competences of stakeholders of EU and EDEN states and include general governance competences (using windows of policy opportunity, managing economic, social and environmental issues for creating force of example, managing interrelations among EU institutions), and specific modern project management and team building skills based congruence, sharing and development of values and competences for implementation of the pivotal task. The need of enabling environment for producing and further development of those competencies is highlighted.
7. Prospects for expansion of SSC in the EUIJPM with focus on the ability of SSC to play instrumental role have been defined on the basis on a dynamic model of transformation process, which indicated that some competences which are functioning as competitive intangibles within relevant framework can play double role - as producing additional values/ future common gains and reducing costs of project implementation. A set of incentives/privileges as additional motivating elements have been suggested for consideration as meeting criteria of double function: (a) privileged access of particular EU partner's citizens to educational programmes and training schemes focusing on EU studies and regional security issues combined with acquiring project management, team building skills as well as qualities of effective teamwork; (b) privilege of participation in the joint projects for graduates from mentioned

above educational programmes; (c) privilege of participation in the joint policy making frameworks featuring possible extension of some of EU inherent modern forms (e.g. BEMIP-type model, European social dialogue and OMC). Implementation of modern program management systems and techniques which follow the internationally accepted guidance could be regarded as a tool for generating confidence of financial resources providers.

8. Testing with experts using semi-structured interviews confirmed basic assumptions and recommendations developed within research. Majority of experts indicated that refined measures within current research are capable under certain circumstances to function as motivators and effectiveness enhancers for increasing of the scale of engagement in the joint projects by stakeholders from EDEN countries, naming Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia as possible pioneers engaging in such initiatives.

Approbation of the research results

The doctoral dissertation was discussed and approbated at the meeting of Department of Political Sciences of Mykolas Romeris University, which took place on the 5th of November 2012.

LIST OF SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS

Certain parts and results of the research were published in the scientific publications of Mykolas Romeris University:

1. Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2011). Comparative Analysis of Concepts "Soft Security" and "Soft Power" in EU Legislation. Public Policy and Administration, 10(2): 231-246.
2. Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2012). European Union Soft Security: a Cost-Benefit Approach. International Scientific Conference Practice and Research in Private and Public Sector – 2012. April 26 – 27, 2012. Vilnius, Lithuania. Section Public Economy and International Relations: 279- 289.

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MYKOLO ROMERIO UNIVERSITETAS

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MINKŠTASIS SAUGUMAS EUROPOS KAIMYNYSTĖS POLITIKOS RYTŲ DIMENSIJOS KONTEKSTE: VALDYMO PRIEIGA

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SANTRAUKA

Temos aktualumas ir problematika

Valstybės ir tarptautinės organizacijos remiasi skirtingais požiūriais, siekdamos saugaus ir stabilaus vystymosi. Vyksta diskusijos, kurie metodai, užtikrinantys saugų ir stabilų vystymąsi, yra efektyvesni, kaip jie vienas kitą papildo, arba, priešingai, riboja vienas kitą. Formuojant ir įgyvendinant Europos Sąjungos (ES) politiką, susijusia su tarptautinių rizikų ir grėsmių mažinimu ES kaimynystės šalyse, tenka nuolat tobulinti bei peržiūrėti rizikų saugumui valdymo priemones, kurios turi būti savalaikės, norint adekvačiai reaguoti į iššūkius taikai ir saugumui. Globalizacijos sąlygojama vis sudėtingesnė aplinka bei neišspręsti konfliktai ES kaimynystės erdvėje (paminėtinos paveiktos šalys: Armėnija, Azerbaidžanas, Gruzija, Moldova ir paveikti regionai: Abchazija, Pietų Osetija, Padnestrė ir Kalnų Karabachas) po Sovietų Sąjungos iširimo reikalauja naujų sprendimų ir didesnio veiksmų ir dėmesio sutelkimo spendžiant regioninio saugumo klausimus. Nepakankamai kontroliuojamos ES kaimynystėje esančios valstybės, virtusios politinių procesų įkaitėmis, tampa nusikaltimo ir nestabilumo plėtros Europoje židiniais. Be to, vykstančios latentinės tarp valstybių konfrontacijos kontekste atsiranda energijos tiekimo Europai sutrikimai, nepakankamai mobilizuojamos pastangos kitų grėsmių prevencijai – tokių kaip aplinkos apsaugos, infekcinių ligų plitimas, socialinės nelygybės didėjimas, nepakankamai valdomi migracijos srautai ir kitos grėsmės. Vyraujantis ES požiūris į regioninio saugumo problemas iššūkius Europos regiono lygmenyje siejamas su taip vadinamuoju "minkštuoju, arba švelniuoju, saugumu".

Nors politiniame diskurse ir mokslinėje erdvėje minkštojo/švelnaus saugumo klausimais diskutuojama jau keletą dešimtmečių, ši koncepcija vis dar vystosi ir dar nepasiekė savo brandos etapo. „Minkštojo/švelnaus saugumo" terminas yra naudojamas politinių iniciatyvų ir projektų kontekstuose, dažnai sprendžiant Europos Sąjungos (ES) kaimynystės politikos klausimus, ypač jos Rytų dimensijos rėmuose, kuri šio tyrimo rėmuose apima Rytų partnerystės šalis: Armėniją, Azerbaidžaną, Baltarusiją, Gruziją, Moldovą ir Ukrainą, taip pat Rusijos Federaciją (kuri nėra Rytų partnerystės šalis, tačiau yra tiriama kaip svarbus veiksnys, bei kaip potencialas artimesnei sąveikai, jei įvyktų kokie nors reikšmingi pokyčiai). Nepaisant to, nėra nei bendro apibrėžimo, nurodančio, kokius konkrečios politinės ir socialinės tikrovės procesus atspindi sąvoka „minkštasis/švelnus saugumas", nei vertinant šio socialinio reiškinio pridėtinę vertę, lyginant su „kietuoju saugumu". Akademinėje literatūroje ir politiniame diskurse apstu socialinių praktikų pavyzdžių, kurios yra siejamos su minkštaisiais saugumo instrumentais ir minkštojo saugumo klausimais, atreipiant dėmesį į šių socialinių vei-

klos formų plėtros tendenciją ir drauge reiškiant susirūpinimą dėl jų mažo efektyvumo, ypač Europos Sąjungos (ES) kaimynystės šalių atžvilgiu. Atkreipiamas dėmesys į atsitiktinį ir spontanišką tokių veiklų atsiradimo pobūdį, reaguojant į pavienius įvykius, akcentuojama politinės priežiūros ir atskaitomybės stoka. Svarbu išsiaškinti, ar ši plėtra yra laikinas reiškinys, ar tai ilgalaikė tendencija, ir ar išreikštas susirūpinimas dėl nepakankamo minkštųjų/švelniųjų instrumentų veiksmingumo gali būti sprendžiamas remiantis vadybos mokslu ir sukaupta valdymo patirtimi. Todėl šioje disertacijoje pagrindinė **mokslinė problema yra nuoseklios teorinės perspektyvos ir sisteminio požiūrio į minkštąjį saugumą bei jo veiksmingumo Europos kaimynystės politikos Rytų dimensijos (EKRD) kontekste, trūkumas.** Keliamas esminis klausimas: *kokios yra* minkštojo saugumo *savybės ir turinys, ir kokios yra bendrosios jo veikimo sąlygos, kurie sąlygotų tokį jo vystymąsi, kad jis įgalintų bei palengvintų saugumo ir stabilumo stiprinimą ES kaimynystės Rytų dimensijos kontekste?*

Disertacinio tyrimo objektas, tikslas ir uždaviniai

Tyrimo objektas: minkštasis saugumas Europos kaimynystės politikos Rytų dimensijos kontekste, identifikuojant ir analizuojant minkštąjį saugumą kaip Europos Sąjungos inicijuojamų bendrų projektų ES kaimynystės Rytų dimensijos erdvėje, apimančioje Armėniją, Azerbaidžaną, Baltarusiją, Gruziją, Moldovą ir Ukrainą, taip pat Rusijos Federaciją, valdymo komponentą. Pasirinkta tyrimo, kuriuo siekiam išsiaiškinti aplinkybes, kurioms esant minkštosios socialinės priemonės galėtų būti tinkamiau panaudojamos sprendžiant saugumo didinimo ES kaimynystėje klausimus, kryptis – minkštojo saugumo komponento (MSK) analizė ES inicijuojamų bendrų projektų valdymo (ESIBPV) procese Europos kaimynystės politikos Rytų dimensijos (EKRD) kontekste. ESIBPV yra pasirinkta koncepcija, kuri yra naudojama eilės ES iniciatyvų pasekmėje besivystančios“ mega“ sistemos, apimančios ES ir EKRD valstybes, rėmuose vykstančių procesų analizei. Ši koncepcija apima visas ES inicijuotas veiklas, susijusias su saugumo klausimais EKRD valstybėse, kurias remia ES partneriai bei kurias galima priskirti tiek strateginio valdymo sričiai, tiek ir atskirų projektų valdymo sričiai, nes ji apima ES politikos pasiūlymus, ilgalaikes programas, įvairių projektų planavimą, organizavimą, finansavimą, kontrolę ir kitus veiklos aspektus.

Pagrindinis disertacijos tikslas yra nustatyti minkštojo saugumo savybes, vaidmenį ir perspektyvas analizuojant minkštąjį saugumą kaip komponentą Europos Sąjungos inicijuojamų bendrų projektų valdyme (ESIBPV) ES kaimynystės politikos Rytų dimensijos (EKRD) valstybėse sutelkiant dėmesį į jo konstruktyvų vaidmenį - skatinti ir lengvinti saugumo valdymo procesą, didinant regiono saugumą ir stabilumą. Mokslinis tyrimas turėtų patikrinti hipotezę, jog esant atitinkamoms aplinkybėms minkštojo saugumo komponentas (MSK) Europos Sąjungos inicijuojamų bendrų projektų valdyme (ESIBPV) ES Kaimynystės Rytų dimensijoje (EKRD) gali būti tinkamiau panaudojamas stiprinant saugumą Europos lygiu dėka modernių valdymo metodų taikymo, taip pat plėtojant atitinkamas ESIBPV iniciatorių ir vykdytojų kompetencijas, siekiant paremti

tolesnę Europos integraciją ir plėsti Europos tapatybės formavimąsi Europos vertybių pagrindu.

Siekiant disertacijos bendrojo tikslo keliami šie **uždaviniai**:

1. Apžvelgti mokslinėje literatūroje naudojamas sąvokas „minkštasis/švelnus saugumas“ ir susijusius minkštuosius socialinius instrumentus („minkštoji/ švelnioji galia“ bei „minkštoji/ švelnioji teisė“), bei atlikti terminų „minkštasis/ švelnus saugumas“ ir „minkštoji/ švelnioji galia“, naudojamų ES dokumentuose ir atspindinčių pagrindines ES politikos formuotojų nuostatas bei vertinimus minkštų saugumo klausimų atžvilgiu, analizę ir, remiantis apžvalga: (a) identifikuoti minkštųjų saugumo instrumentų savybes (reikšmingas valdymo požiūriu), (b) remiantis minkštųjų saugumo instrumentų savybių apžvalga, pateikti minkštųjų saugumo instrumentų apibrėžimą.
2. Nustatyti sąvokų „minkštojo/švelnaus saugumo“ ir „minkštosios/švelniosios galios“ naudojimo pasirinktuose lietuviškuose periodiniuose leidiniuose dažnumą ir dinamiką bei jų asociacijas su ES politika.
3. Identifikuoti teorijas, pateikiančias metodologinį minkštųjų instrumentų plėtros ir didėjančio vaidmens saugumo valdyme paaiškinimą.
4. Identifikuoti metodologinio pobūdžio teorijas, įgalinančias analizuoti MSK Europos integracijos EKRD šalių atžvilgiu bei jo veiksmingumo sąlygas.
5. Apibrėžti MSK ESIBPV procese EKRD kontekste ir ESIBPV efektyvumą apsprendžiančias rėmines sąlygas.
6. Identifikuoti veiksmingo ESIBPV veiksnius EKRD kontekste ir sąlygas, reikalingas, kad MSK užtikrintų efektyvų saugumo valdymą Europos lygmenyje.
7. Atsižvelgiant į esamas strategijas, taktiką ir praktiką, naudojamas ESIBPV procese EKRD valstybėse, numatyti perspektyvas plėsti MSK, siekiant užtikrinti jo konstruktyvų vaidmenį, pritaikant šiuolaikinius ES būdingus viešojo administravimo/valdysenos ir projektų vadybos metodus, remiantis vadybos ir administravimo teorijų rekomendacijomis.
8. Patikrinti mokslinio tyrimo prielaidas ir rekomendacijas panaudojant giluminį ekspertų interviu.

Ginamieji disertacijos teiginiai:

Disertacijoje įrodinėjamas šių disertacinių teiginių pagrįstumas:

1. Pagrindinė bendra MSI savybė yra tai, kad jie yra tam tikros socialinės sąveikos, kurios remiasi suinteresuotų dalyvių vertybių ir kompetencijų bendrumu, suderinamumu, tinkamumu bei vystymusi, sprendžiant saugumo klausimus.
2. Metodologinė prieiga, jungianti konstruktyvizmą su Anglų mokyklos istorizmu, kurią siūlo Buzan (2004), remdamasis Wendt (1999), atskleidžia minkštųjų saugumo instrumentų genezę Europos integracijos procese ir padeda įvertinti jų veiksmingumą Europos kaimynystės saugumo valdyme.
3. Kiti teoriniai požiūriai, paaiškinantys MSI plėtrą ir didėjantį vaidmenį ES saugumo valdymo kontekste: (1) prieiga, akcentuojanti galios dominavimą ir nacionalinių interesų svarbą, (2) funkcionalizmas (3) prieiga, akcentuojanti orien-

taciją į žinių gavimą/vystymą, neprieštarauja metodologinei prieigai, pasiūlytai Buzan (2004).

4. Minkštojo saugumo valdymo efektyvumo samprata yra susijusi su MSK sugebėjimu funkcionuoti kaip predisponuojančių ir įgalinančių veiksnių Europos integracijos elementas Europos Sąjungos kaimynystės valstybėse.
5. Palaipsniui vystosi tam tikra mega sistema, apimanti ES ir EKRD šalis, kuri vienija visas su saugumo/stabilumo klausimais susijusias ES inicijuotas veiklas, pasireiškiančias kaip ESIBPV procesas EKRD valstybėse, kuris yra ES partnerių remiamas, ir kuris yra priskirtinas tiek strateginio valdymo, tiek atskirų projektų vadybos, o taip pat ir ES saugumo valdysenos sritims.
6. Sistemoje, apimančioje ES ir EKRD valstybes, formuojasi posistemė, turinti kvazi organizacijos požymius, kuri apima ES drauge su Moldova, Gruzija ir Ukraina, kaip šiuo metu atviriausias valstybes ES pastangoms diegti *acquis communautaire* elementus jų socialiniuose ir ekonominiuose bei kultūriniuose kontekstuose. Gebėjimų ugdymo rekomendacijos, kurias siūlo Gero valdymo (Geros valdysenos), Strateginio žmogiškųjų išteklių plėtros ir Organizacijos koncepcijos, gali būti taikomos šios kvazi-organizacijos rėmuose papildomų ES teikiamų privilegijų forma (susiejant jas su ES naudojamu sąlygiškumu).
7. MSK skatinamo veikimo dėka ESIBPV procese EKRD rėmuose vykstanti Europos integracija yra rodiklis, ar MSK atlieka konstruktyvų vaidmenį keliant saugumo ir stabilumo lygį EKRD valstybėse. MSK išplėtimas naujais elementais ESIBPV gali sąlygoti didesnį šio proceso efektyvumą EKRD valstybėse, naudojant tokius MSK elementus:
   a. atvirojo koordinavimo metodo (AKM) ir kitų daugiapakopės valdysenos modelių taikymo išplėtimas į EKRD šalis;
   b. platesnis galimybių EKRD valstybių atstovams gilintis tokiose disciplinose, kaip ES studijos, saugumo valdysena bei projektų vadyba, formuojant jų bazinius gebėjimus, reikalingus regioninio saugumo projektų efektyviam valdymui, sudarymas;
   c. nuosekli EKRD šalių suinteresuotųjų šiuo procesu veikėjų dalyvavimo ESIBPV procese plėtra.

Disertacijos struktūra

Disertaciją sudaro: įvadas, trys dalys, išvados su siūlymais, šaltinių sąrašas, disertantės mokslinių publikacijų sąrašas.

1. **Pirmoji dalis** atskleidžia konceptualius mokslinio tyrimo rėmus ir sukuria teorinį pagrindą kontekstų, kuriuose vyksta MSI plėtra ir jų sąveikos su kitomis priemonėmis, apžvalgai ir analizei. Pagrindinis dėmesys joje yra skiriamas skirtingų požiūrių ir perspektyvų, susijusių su MSI analize, apžvalgai, šių instrumentų pagrindinių funkcijų bei jų vaidmens aptarimui ES politikos kontekste. Ji baigiama apibrėžiant MSI, remiantis tyrimo metu identifikuotomis MSI savybėmis, kurios yra suskirstyti į dvi kategorijas: tos, dėl kurių yra bendras sutarimas tarp mokslininkų ir politikos formuotojų, ir tos, dėl kurių mokslininkai ir politikos formuotojai abejoja bei reiškia skirtingas nuomones.

2. **Antrojoje dalyje** dėmesys skiriamas tolimesnei tyrimo prieigai nustatyti ir metodologinių koncepcijų apžvalgai, norint pasiekti nustatytus tikslus. Identifikuojama prieiga, kuri remiasi konstruktyvizmo ir istorizmo sinteze, ir kuri yra adekvati tirti ES regioninio saugumo prieigą ir apibrėžti ESIBPV proceso MSK vykdomos EKRD politikos kontekste, remiantis ES regioninio saugumo darbotvarke, o taip pat analizuoti galimybes naudoti šiuos komponentus kaip motyvacijos ir veiksmingumo didinimo veiksnius. Pateikiamas MSK koncepcijos apibrėžimas, kuris apima seriją paradigmų, kaip sistemingai pasireiškiančių funkcijų Europos integracijos procese nuo ES įkūrimo. Pateikiamas sprendimas dėl prieštaringų MSK potencialo veiksmingumo saugumą didinimo srityje vertinimų – siūloma kaip atspirties tašką naudoti faktinę ES integracijos elementų sąveiką, jos darną. Siūloma konceptualizuoti ir analizuoti MSK ESIBPV prevencinės ir transformacinės ES regioninio saugumo prieigų rėmuose, o taip pat bendrosios ir sąlyginės ESIBPV formų kontekstuose. Pateikiamas MSK apibrėžimas ir atskleidžiamas MSK gebėjimas funkcionuoti kaip ES integraciją predisponuojančių ir įgalinančių veiksnių elementas.
3. **Trečiojoje dalyje** yra identifikuojamos ir analizuojamos ESIBPV veiksmingumo ir MSK funkcionavimo EUIJPM rėmuose kaip Europos integraciją predisponuojančių ir įgalinančių veiksnių elemento, sąlygos. Atskleidžiama palaipsniui besivystanti tam tikra mega sistema, apimanti ES ir EKRD valstybes, kuri vienija visas ES su saugumo/stabilumo klausimais susijusias veiklas, pasireiškiančias kaip ESIBPV EKRD valstybėse. Sistemoje, apimančioje ES ir EKRD valstybes, formuojasi posistemė, turinti kvazi organizacijos požymius, kuri apima ES drauge su Moldova, Gruzija ir Ukraina, kaip atviriausias valstybes ES pastangoms diegti *acquis communautaire* elementus jų socialiniuose ir ekonominiuose bei kultūriniuose kontekstuose. Gebėjimų ugdymo rekomendacijos, kurias siūlo Gero valdymo, Strateginio žmogiškųjų išteklių plėtros ir Organizacijos koncepcijos, gali būti taikomos šios kvazi-organizacijos rėmuose papildomų ES teikiamų privilegijų forma (susieta su ES sąlygiškumu). Apžvelgiama galima ESIBPV MSK plėtra, kuri gali padidinti ESIBPV efektyvumą papildomai naudojant tokius elementus kaip: (1) atviro koordinavimo metodą (AKM) ir kitus daugiapakopės valdysenos modelius, pratęsiant jų naudojimą EKRD šalyse, (2) galimybę suinteresuotiems EKRD valstybių veikėjams formuoti bazinius gebėjimus saugumo valdysenos srityje vis platesniu mastu dalyvaujant ES remiamame mokymosi procese, apimančiame ES studijas, ypač regioninio saugumo klausimais, įgyjant projektų valdymo, komandos formavimo įgūdžius, taip pat vystant efektyvaus komandinio darbo gebėjimus, bei (3) laipsnišką EKRD valstybių suinteresuotųjų veikėjų dalyvavimo bendruose projektuose plėtrą. Remiantis ES naudojamomis valdymo praktikomis ir valdymo teorijomis suformuluoti pasiūlymai ir įvairūs kiti klausimai, susiję su MSK apibrėžimu bei galima ESIBPV MSK plėtra papildant jį naujais elementais, patikrinti interviu metu su atrinktais ekspertais.

Disertacija baigiama išvadomis bei pasiūlymais.

Disertacinio tyrimo šaltiniai

Tiriant disertacijos objektą ir siekiant darbo tikslo naudoti šie informacijos šaltiniai:

- Teorinė MSK turinio, funkcijų, vaidmens ir perspektyvų analizė EKRD politikos kontekste buvo vykdoma remiantis originaliais Lietuvos ir užsienio mokslininkų darbais.
- Įvairių ES dokumentų analizė buvo taikoma disertacijoje tiek politikų diskurso analizės atlikimui, tiek ir probleminių ES politikos bei susijusių su jos įgyvendinimu bendradarbiavimo projektų EKRD valstybėse klausimų identifikavimui.
- Atrinkti Lietuvos periodiniai leidiniai buvo naudojami atliekant turinio analizę, siekiant nustatyti sąvokų "minkštasis/švelnus saugumas" ir „minkštoji/ švelnioji galia" tendencijas ir dinamiką, taip pat jų asociacijas su ES politikos klausimais.
- Ekspertų žinios, gautos pusiau struktūruoto interviu metu.

Disertacijos tema atliktų tyrimų apžvalga ir mokslinis naujumas

Nepaisant augančio dėmesio pastarųjų dešimtmečių bėgyje ES politinės darbotvarkės minkštojo saugumo klausimams ir nuorodų į minkštųjų socialinių instrumentų naudojimą politiniuose debatuose, akademiniame diskurse ir viešosiose diskusijose, jie dažnai vertinami prieštaringai ir vis dar trūksta bendro supratimo, sisteminio požiūrio jų taikymui, tame tarpe integruotos sistemos, kurios rėmuose būtų galima spręsti jų efektyvesnio naudojimo klausimus, apžvalgų.

Minkštasis/švelnusis saugumas suprantamas kaip socialinis reiškinys, kurio tyrimui reikalinga derinti skirtingus metodus, taikomus įvairiose mokslo srityse - politikos mokslų, sociologijos, tarptautinių santykių, tarptautinės politinės ekonomijos, valdymo teorijų ir kultūros studijų srityse, bei naudoti sisteminį požiūrį, taip pat teorinio ir empirinio pobūdžio metodus.

Šiame tyrime siūloma valdymo (vadybos) prieiga minkštojo saugumo analizės atžvilgiu, kuri yra pagrįsta prielaida, kad „saugumo perspektyva atmeta galimybę, kad nesaugumo problema gali būti išspręsta. Ji vietoj to bando sukurti valdymo prieigą, kuri yra vienodai jautri nesaugumo problemos atžvilgiu tiek nacionalinės, tiek tarptautinės dinamikos aspektais" (Buzan, 1984: 112).

Tačiau ir politikos/ tarptautinių santykių, ir valdymo teorinėse įžvalgose bei diskurse bei ekspertinėse studijose ES naudojamų minkštųjų valdymo priemonių ir jų efektyvumo tarptautinių grėsmių valdymo klausimais laikomasi skirtingų nuomonių: kai kurie mokslininkai pozityviai vertina platesnio minkštųjų valdymo instrumentų naudojimo galimybes siekiant užtikrinti tarptautinį saugumą ES kaimynystėje, tuo tarpu kitų nuomone, šie instrumentai nėra pakankamai veiksmingi šioje srityje.

Mokslininkų (Becher, 2006; Lomagin, 2001; Pop, 2000, Vrey, 2005; Lindley - French, 2003) įžvalgose apie saugumo instrumentus ir perspektyvas pabrėžiamas MSI stiprėjantis vaidmuo, nes kitų (ypač karinių) priemonių naudojimas tampa vis labiau ir labiau ribotas arba rizikingas, tačiau sutinkami ir skeptiški (Kagan, 2002) minkštųjų instrumentų veiksmingumo vertinimai. Naudingas įžvalgas apie ES saugumo valdysenos sistemą ir neprievartines priemones, siekiant suderinti vykstančios integracijos po-

reikius ir nacionalines prerogatyvas pateikia Hegemann (2012), Kahl (2010) ir Zangl ir Zürn (2003). Konceptualius pastebėjimus dėl grėsmių plėtros ir įvairovės didėjimo yra pateikę Buzan et al. (1998). Formalių ir neformalių susitarimų įvairovė saugumo valdymo srityje yra analizuojama besiformuojančioje aplinkoje, kurioje hierarchija tampa mažiau svarbia, o saugumo valdymas orientuojasi į koordinavimo procesus ir mechanizmus (o ne į prievartos ir kontrolės struktūras), studijose, kurias yra atlikę ekspertai: Webber el al (2004), van Kersbergen ir van Waarden (2004), Dingwerth ir Pattberg (2006), Trubek ir Trubek (2007). Eilė mokslinikų: Hix (1998), Kohler-Koch/Eising (1999) Caparini (2006), Chayes ir Chayes (1995), Rhinard et al. (2007), Bossong (2011) tiria naujus valdymo būdus, apimančius viešųjų ir privačiųjų veikėjų sąveikas, remiantis horizontaliaisiais tinklais, dalyvių gausa ir hibridiniais deriniais bei minkštaisiais instrumentais. Saugumo valdysenos klausimai bei minkštieji saugumo instrumentai yra nagrinėjami remiantis taip pat ir ES dokumentais.

Tyrimo eigoje atsižvelgta į studijas, kuriose nagrinėjami minkštieji instrumentai platesniame kontekste, siejant juos su minkštąja galia ir minkštąja teise, kurias analizuoja Bonoma (1976), Boulding (1989), Mansbridge (1990), Keane (2001), Johnston (2011), Vedrine ir Moisi (2001), Nye (2004), Abbott ir Snidal (2000) bei Trubek ir Trubek (2005).

Norint suprasti ES elgseną formuojančias fundamentalias sąlygas, skatinančias ES rinktis ES valdymo metodus ir priemones, įskaitant minkštųjų instrumentų naudojimą bei jų veiksmingumo vertinimą bei sprendžiant klausimus, susijusius su jos kaimynystėje esančiomis grėsmėmis, yra svarbi atitinkama metodologinė prieiga. Tyrime naudotos Buzan (2004) ir Wendt (1999) įžvalgos, kaip metodologinis pagrindas, analizuojant minkštųjų saugumo instrumentų vaidmenį Europos integracijos kontekste. Europos integracijos proceso ir saugumo valdymo elementų sąveikos analizė per konflikto transformacijos prizmę studijose, kurias atliko Emerson (2006), Lederach (2003) ir Ross (1993) buvo taip pat panaudota tyrimo metu.

Naujieji valdymo būdai, kuriuos apima sąvoka "valdysena" (angl. governance) ir kurie sąlygoja gilesnius Europos integracijos procesus bei sukuria galimybę plėsti minkštųjų instrumentų taikymą naudojant atvirąjį koordinavimo metodą (AKM) ir kitus daugiapakopės valdysenos modelius, aprašomi ir vertinami Eberlein ir Kerwer (2002), Heritier (2001), Hodson ir Maher (2001), Ekengren (2006), Ahonen (2001), Kaiser ir Prange (2002), Vanhercke (2010), Papadopoulos (2003, 2011), Hix (1998), Marks et al (1996), Quermonne et al (1996), Soetendorp ir Hanf (1998), Kassim et al (2000), Sandholtz ir Sweet (1998), Borzel (1998), Wiener ir Dietz (2004), Lundvallis ir Tomlinson (2002), Hooghe ir Marks (2003), Conzelmann ir Smith (red.) (2008), Corfee-Morlot et al (2009) ir Marzeda-Młynarska (2011) darbuose.

Gebėjimų, reikalingų palankioms sąlygoms sukurti, kad būtų efektyviai valdomi socialiniai pokyčiai, analizė remiasi darbais, kuriuos publikavo Maul (2005), McCormick (2006), Gourlay (2004), Grabbe (2001), Schimmelfennig et al (2003), Schimmelfennig ir Sedelmeier (2004), Kohler-Koch ir Eising (1999), Kahler (1992), Killick (1996), Oberschall (l978), Olson (1968), Frohlich et al (1971) bei McCarthy ir Zald (1973).

Tačiau dauguma šių tyrimų neanalizuoja tiesiogiai minkštojo (švelniojo) saugumo klausimų ES kaimynystės politikos kontekste, nors suponuoja gaires jų tyrimui bei jų veiksmingesnio panaudojimo sąlygų sukūrimui. Šiuo tyrimu siekiama padėti išsiaiškinti minėtas problemas ir iškelti klausimus bei rekomendacijas tolimesniam darbui.

Disertacijos teorinis reikšmingumas ir naujumas apima šiuos aspektus:

1. *Suformuluoti apibrėžimai:* MSI yra apibrėžiami kaip tikslingai organizuotos socialinės veiklos, kurios remiasi suinteresuotų veikėjų vertybių ir gebėjimų bendrumu, suderinamumu, tinkamumu ir vystymusi sprendžiant saugumo problemas. MSK ESIBPV procese EKRD valstybėse apibrėžiamas kaip minkštųjų instrumentų visuma, kurią sudaro suinteresuotų veikėjų socialinės sąveikos, besiremiančios šių veikėjų vertybių ir gebėjimų bendrumu, suderinamumu, tinkamumu ir vystymusi sprendžiant saugumo problemas. MSK efektyvumas ir jo konstruktyvus vaidmuo yra siejamas su gebėjimu būti Europos integracijos proceso predisponuojančių ir įgalinančiųjų veiksnių sudedamąja dalimi.
2. Pritaikytas sisteminis požiūris analizuojant MSK ESIBPV procese EKRD valstybėse. Analizė ir gairių nustatymas remiasi (1) ES regioninio saugumo valdymo tipų diferenciacija į prevencinį ir pertvarkantį priklausomai nuo socialinių ir kultūrinių kontekstų struktūrų, kuriose vyksta valdymas, ir kurios gali neigiamai arba teigiamai/neutraliai reaguoti į ES normatyvinės galios plėtrą, diegiant ES normas, (2) Europos Sąjungos inicijuojamų bendrų projektų valdymo diferenciacija į bendrojo bei sąlyginio pobūdžio valdymą, (3) transformacijos procesą iliustruojančio dinaminio modelio pateikimu, atskleidžiančio sisteminius santykius tarp programos/projekto tikslų, pokyčiais suinteresuotųjų veikėjų vertybių ir gebėjimų bei procese naudojamų/kuriamų materialinių nematerialinių gėrybių, (4) besiformuojančios (kvazi) organizacijos bendroje ES ir EKRD sistemoje atskleidimas.
3. MSK ESIBPV EKRD valstybės efektyvumo veiksnių identifikavimas. Pagrindiniai veiksniai, įtakojantys efektyvumą, yra suinteresuotųjų šių projektų inicijavimu ir vykdymu veikėjų kompetencijos, kurios apima gebėjimus pasinaudoti atsiveriančiais politikos galimybių langais, sprendžiant bendrąsias problemas (ES ekonomikos augimo, ekonominės krizės ir kitų rizikų – socialinių, aplinkos apsaugos ir pan, valdymo problemas, ryšių tarp ES institucijų valdymo tobulinimo, kuriant pavyzdžio jėgą ir kitus klausimus) bei specialiųjų gebėjimų modernaus projektų valdymo, komandos formavimo ir kt. susijusiose srityse. Akcentuojamas palankios aplinkos gebėjimų vystymui kūrimo poreikis.

Praktinė disertacijos reikšmė

Tikimasi, kad šis mokslinis tyrimas padės suformuoti konstruktyvų požiūrį į minkštųjų valdymo priemonių naudojimo veiksmingumo didinimą pasiremiant šiuolaikiniais valdymo metodais, taip pat plėtojant atitinkamus gebėjimus, kurie būtų naudingi skatinant tolesnę Europos integraciją. Tyrimo rezultatai gali būti naudingi ES kaimynystės politikos formavimo ir įgyvendinimo tobulinimui, ES saugumo problemų sprendimui, derinant įvairius valdymo bei gebėjimų vystymo metodus ir elementus. Pateikiamos rekomendacijos suinteresuotųjų šių projektų vykdymu veikėjų kompeten-

cijų vystymui formuojant keletą paskatų/privilegijų (susiejant su ES naudojamu sąlygiškumu) kaip papildomus motyvacijos elementus.

Tyrimų metodologija

Disertacijoje naudojami šie tyrimo metodai:

1. Mokslinės literatūros analizė: atliktas mokslinės literatūros tyrimas problemos konceptualizacijai, ypatingą dėmesį skiriant teoriniam ir empiriniam tyrimams, atliktiems valdymo teorijų, ES valdymo, konfliktų ir problemų sprendimo, tarptautinių santykių ir sociologijos, įskaitant jos tarpdisciplininę kryptį, srityse. Pritaikyti taikomieji tyrimų metodai: sisteminė ir lyginamoji mokslinės literatūros analizė, sintezė, abstraktus ir loginis tarpinių išvadų formulavimas, nustatantis tolesnius tyrimo žingsnius.
2. Teorinio modeliavimo taikymas sudėtingoje ir dinamiškoje aplinkoje socialinių ir ekonominių bei socialinių ir kultūrinių struktūrų transformacijos proceso atskleidimui. Modelis apima veiksnius, turinčius įtakos atliekant EKRD valstybių veikėjų pasirinkimus, susijusius su ES pasiūlymais vykdyti reformas. Ekonominio modeliavimo taikymas remiasi Esrada (2011), prielaida, kad modelis galėtų tapti galingu analitiniu įrankiu taikant naujas metodikas sociologijos, politikos mokslų, technologijų irk t. srityse. Kintamieji, kurie veikia modelyje apibrėžtus pasirinkimus, kuriuos daro suinteresuotieji projekto valdymu veikėjai, buvo išskirti iš sociologinės literatūros.
3. Empirinis tyrimas: kokybiniai ir kiekybiniai tyrimo metodai tyrime:
   - Diskurso analizės metodas taikytas siekiant identifikuoti aprašymus ir sąvokas analizuojant veiklas, susijusias su „minkštuoju/švelniuoju saugumu“ ir „minkštąja/švelniąja galia“ ES dokumentuose, kuriuose šios sąvokos buvo vartojamos.
   - Turinio analizė buvo naudojama nustatyti sąvokų „minkštasis/švelnusis saugumas“ ir minkštoji/švelnioji galia/jėga“ naudojimo tendencijas žiniasklaidoje ir mokslinėje literatūroje nagrinėjant Lietuvos leidinius, o taip pat šių terminių naudojimo asociacijas su ES politikos klausimais, kurio pasėkoje pastebėta auganti šių sąvokų naudojimo tendencija. ES dokumentų analizė buvo atlikta nagrinėjant ES pozicijas saugumo valdymo klausimais bei problematikos EKRD politikos kontekste aspektu.
   - Naudoti tyrimai, pristatantys šiuolaikinių projektų vadybos metodus, kitas šiuolaikines valdymo formas, kurie tinkami minkštųjų saugumo instrumentų plėtrai ir efektyvumo didinimui.
   - Buvo atliktas pusiau struktūrizuotas giluminis interviu su atrinktais ekspertais siekiant patikrinti tyrimo prielaidas ir rezultatus.

Išvados

1. Sąvokų „minkštojo/ švelnaus saugumo“ ir su juo susijusios sąvokos „minkštoji/ švelnioji galia“ apžvalga mokslinėje literatūroje ir ES dokumentuose atskleidė jų savybes: nekarinį minkštojo saugumo pobūdį, jo sąsajas su techninėmis, organizacinėmis, darbinio lygmens administracinėmis ar informacinio pobūdžio

sąveikomis ir su eile socialinių praktikų, tokių kaip geryjų praktikų sklaida, derybos, tarpininkavimas, abipusis mokymasis, pasitikėjimo stiprinimas ir ginkluotės kontrolė, ilgalaikės taikos stiprinimas, mokymai, siejami su konfliktų prevencija ir taikos palaikymu, susitaikymo procesai, geroji valdysena; taip pat su aplinkosauginių, branduolinių, prekybos narkotikais, ginklais ir žmonėmis, tarpvalstybinio organizuoto nusikalstamumo, infekcinių ligų plitimo pavojų prevencija, rekonstrukcijos procesais ir kitomis socialinėmis praktikomis, tikslingai organizuojamomis kolektyviai reaguojant į grėsmes saugumui. Atskleisti prasminiai panašumai su „minkštosios/švelniosios galios“ sąvoka, remiantis abiejų sąvokų nekarinio pobūdžio ir grėsmių valdymo procesą lengvinančių funkcijų bendrais aspektais. Identifikuotos prieštaringos nuomonės dėl MSI veiksmingumo (kai kuriais atvejais, jie vertinami kaip silpni, antriniai, maži arba nereikšmingi). Remiantis MSI savybėmis, jie buvo apibrėžiami kaip tikslingai organizuotos socialinės praktikos, kurios remiasi suinteresuotųjų veikėjų vertybių ir kompetencijų bendrumu, suderinamumu, tinkamumu ir vystymusi, sprendžiant saugumo problemas.

2. Terminų „minkštasis/švelnaus saugumas“ ir „minkštoji/švelnioji galia/jėga“ naudojimo dažnumo ir dinamikos pasirinktuose Lietuvos periodiniuose leidiniuose tyrimas parodė, kad vis labiau plinta jų vartojimas, neretai jie buvo naudojami susiejant juos su ES politika.
3. Keturi teoriniai požiūriai buvo išskirti kaip paaiškinantys plėtrą ir didėjantį MSI vaidmenį saugumo valdyme: (1) teorinė prieiga, kuri remiasi valdžios dominavimo ir nacionalinių interesų svarba, (2) funkcionalizmas, (3) žinių vaidmenį akcentuojanti teorinė prieiga ir (4) konstruktyvizmo ir istorinio požiūrio (Anglų mokyklos) derinys, pasiūlytas Buzan (2004), remiantis Wendt (1999), siūlantis metodologinę Europos integracijos analizės prieigą.
4. Pastarasis metodas, pasiūlytas Buzan (2004), remiantis Wendt (1999), identifikuotas kaip adekvatus MSK vaidmens paaiškinimui ir MSK veiksmingumo ESIBPV EKRD valstybėse apibrėžimui.
5. MSK ESBPV EKRD valstybių kontekste yra apibrėžiamas kaip minkštųjų instrumentų visuma – suinteresuotųjų veikėjų (ES ir EKRD šalių atstovų) vertybių ir gebėjimų bendrumas, suderinamumas, tinkamumas ir vystymasis ESIBPV procese – kuri yra orientuota įgalinti ir palengvinti saugumo problemų sprendimą, o jos veiksmingumas yra susijęs su jos gebėjimu veikti kaip Europos integraciją EKRD šalyse predisponuojančių ir įgalinančius veiksnių elementas. MSK sugebėjimas ESIBPV EKRD kontekste palengvinti Europos integraciją yra įvardintas kaip gebėjimas atlikti konstruktyvų vaidmenį saugumo ir stabilumo stiprinime EKRD valstybėse. Integruotą rėminę struktūrą, reikalingą veiksmingam ESIBPV EKRD valstybėse užtikrinti, sudaro: besivystantys predisponuojantys ir įgalinantys Europos integraciją veiksniai ir Europos integracijos ekonominių, teisinių ir minkštųjų komponentų deranti sąveika. SSC gali būti tiek predisponuojančių, tiek ir įgalinančių Europos politinę ir ekonominę integraciją bei teisinį harmonizavimą veiksnių elementas.
6. Pagrindiniai MSK ESIBPV efektyvumo veiksniai yra su suinteresuotųjų ES ir EKRD veikėjų gebėjimai, kurie apima bendrąsias valdymo kompetencijas (mo-

kėjimą pasinaudoti politikos langų galimybe, ekonominių, socialinių ir aplinkos apsaugos klausimų tinkamas sprendimas, kuriantis ES pavyzdžio jėgą, efektyvus tarpusavio ryšių tarp ES institucijų valdymas), ir konkrečius šiuolaikinių projektų valdymo ir komandos formavimo įgūdžius, kurie remiasi vertybių ir gebėjimų bendrumu, suderinamumu, tinkamumu ir vystymusi. Akcentuojamas palankios aplinkos tolimesnei šių gebėjimų plėtrai poreikis.

7. MSK ESIBPV plėtros perspektyvos, akcentuojant MSK gebėjimą atlikti konstruktyvų vaidmenį, buvo apibrėžtos remiantis transformacijos proceso dinaminiu modeliu, kuris parodė, kad kai kurie gebėjimai, kurie funkcionuoja kaip konkurencinės nematerialaus pobūdžio savybės (*angl. intangibles*) atitinkamos struktūros rėmuose gali atlikti dvigubą vaidmenį – kaip kuriančios papildomas vertybes/bendros naudos perspektyvą ir mažinančios projektų įgyvendinimo kaštus. Siūloma keletas paskatų/privilegijų (susiejant su ES naudojamu sąlygiškumu) kurie vertinami kaip papildomi motyvacijos elementai, atitinkantys dvigubos funkcijos kriterijus: (a) privilegija suinteresuotiems veikėjams iš EKRD šalių dalyvauti mokymosi procese, apimančiame ES studijas, ypač regioninio saugumo klausimais, kartu įgyjant projektų valdymo, komandos formavimo įgūdžius, taip pat vystant efektyvaus komandinio darbo gebėjimus; (b) privilegija EKRD šalių suinteresuotems šiuo procesu veikėjams vis didesniu mastu dalyvauti bendruose projektuose, kuriuos inicijuoja ES; (c) privilegija dalyvauti drauge su ES bendros politikos formavime ir įgyvendinime, naudojant tokias priemones, kaip atvirojo koordinavimo metodo (AKM) ir kitų daugiapakopio valdymo modelių taikymo išplėtimą į EKRD šalis.
8. Naudojant pusiau struktūrizuotą interviu su ekspertais, buvo patvirtintos pagrindinės prielaidos ir rekomendacijos, kurios suformuluotos mokslinio tyrimo pagrindu. Dauguma ekspertų nurodė, kad šio mokslinio tyrimo siūlomos privilegijos galėtų motyvuoti suinteresuotus veikėjus iš EKRD šalių ir didinti jų efektyvumą dalyvaujant bendruose projektuose, inicijuojamuose ES, išskirdami Moldovą, Ukrainą ir Gruziją kaip galimai aktyviausias tokių iniciatyvų rėmėjas.

Tyrimo rezultatų aprobavimas

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AUTORĖS MOKSLINIŲ PUBLIKACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

Pagrindinės šio tyrimo dalys paskelbtos Mykolo Romerio universiteto mokslo darbų leidiniuose:

1. Kavaliūnaitė, S. (2011). Sąvokų „minkštasis(švelnusis) saugumas“ ir „minkštoji (švelnioji) galia“ ES tesės aktuose lyginamoji analizė. *Viešoji politika ir administravimas. 2011, T. 10, Nr. 2, p. 231–246.*
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MINKŠTASIS SAUGUMAS EUROPOS KAIMYNYSTĖS POLITIKOS RYTŲ DIMENSIJOS KONTEKSTE: VALDYMO PRIEIGA. Daktaro disertacija. – Vilnius: Mykolo Romerio universitetas, 2012. 142 p.

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Šios disertacijos tyrimo objektas – minkštasis saugumas Europos kaimynystės politikos Rytų dimensijos kontekste, identifikuojant ir analizuojant minkštąjį saugumą kaip Europos Sąjungos inicijuojamų bendrų projektų ES Kaimynystės politikos Rytų dimensijos erdvėje, apimančioje Armėniją, Azerbaidžaną, Baltarusiją, Gruziją, Moldovą ir Ukrainą, o taip pat ir Rusijos Federaciją, valdymo komponentą. Siekiama, analizuojant minkštąjį saugumo komponentą, atskeisti jo gebėjimą skatinti, įgalinti ir lengvinti regiono saugumo ir stabilumo efektyvaus valdymo procesą.

Pirmojoje dalyje apibrėžiami konceptualūs mokslinio tyrimo rėmai minkštojo saugumo instrumentų apžvalgos ir analizės atlikimui bei atskleidžiamas šių instrumentų turinys remiantis tyrimo metu identifikuotomis jų savybėmis. Antrojoje dalyje dėmesys skiriamas tolimesnei tyrimo prieigai nustatyti ir metodologinių koncepcijų apžvalgai, akcentuojant konstruktyvizmo ir istorizmo sintezę, kaip perpektyvią metodologiją, ir siūloma konceptualizuoti ir analizuoti minkštąjį saugumo komponentą prevencinės ir transformacinės ES regioninio saugumo politikos prieigų rėmuose, atkleidžiant minkštojo saugumo komponento gebėjimus funkcionuoti kaip ES integraciją predisponuojančių ir įgalinančių veiksnių elementas. Trečiojoje dalyje yra identifikuojamos ir analizuojamos minkštojo saugumo komponento efektyvaus funkcionavimo sąlygos. Siūloma Europos Sąjungos inicijuojamų bendrų projektų minkštojo saugumo komponento plėtra, kuri gali padidinti šių projektų efektyvumą ir skatinti ES integraciją, jį papilant naujais elementais, skirtais bendrų projektų iniciatorių ir vykdytojų gebėjimų vystymui.

The subject matter of this research is content, features, role and prospects of soft security in the context of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy by identifying and analysing soft security as a component of the European Union initiated joint project management in the area of Eastern Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy covering Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Russian Federation. The objective of this research is to define ability soft security component to effectively facilitate the process of security governance leading to increasing level of regional security and stability.

The first part provides the conceptual framework for the research of soft security instruments. Having explored different theoretical approaches it defines soft security instruments based on the survey of their features. The second part focuses on the approaches and methodological considerations for further research and highlights an integrated multidisciplinary approach based on the combination of constructivism and historicism as a methodology. It suggests analysis of the soft security component in the context of preventive and transformational EU approaches to regional security and reveals capacity of soft security component to function as element of predisposing and enabling factors of EU integration. In the third part the conditions of effectiveness of soft security component of European Union initiated joint project management are identified and analysed. Expansion of soft security component by adding new elements related to stakeholders' competence development which can lead to higher level of effectiveness of European Union initiated joint project management and EU integration is suggested.

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SOFT SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY: A MANAGEMENT APPROACH

Doctoral Dissertation

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