

**Paper on WMD**

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## EU-GRASP

Changing Multilateralism: the EU as a Global-regional Actor in Security and Peace, or EU-GRASP in short, is an EU funded FP7 Programme. EU-GRASP aims to contribute to the analysis and articulation of the current and future role of the EU as a global actor in multilateral security governance, in a context of challenged multilateralism, where the EU aims at “effective multilateralism”. This project therefore examines the notion and practice of multilateralism in order to provide the required theoretical background for assessing the linkages between the EU’s current security activities with multi-polarism, international law, regional integration processes and the United Nations system.

## Partners

EU-GRASP is coordinated by the United Nations University – Comparative regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS). The other partners of EU-GRASP are based worldwide and include: University of Warwick (UK), University of Gothenburg (Sweden), Florence Forum on the Problems of Peace and War (Italy), KULeuven (Belgium), Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada), University of Peking (China), Institute for Security Studies (South Africa) and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (Israel).

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# Paper on WMD

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## Introduction

As the programme workplan moves forward from *Work Packages Two* (WP2) and *Three* (WP3), the targets and obligations of *Work Package Four* (WP4) and *Five* (WP5) come into view. As such, we see that the first phase of the EU-GRASP project, dedicated to conceptual analysis, must now be directly married with the second phase of the project, dedicated to specific case-studies on the agreed group of security issues. This Preliminary Research Report will outline details of WP4, entitled *Case-Studies on Security Issues I: Traditional Security Issues*. Moreover, although *Work Package Four* consists of three sub-packages, Internal/Regional Conflict, Terrorism and WMD, this report will only detail the research agenda for WMD, as set out by the leading sub-package institution; The University of Warwick.

The rationale for including WMD as a sub-package to WP4 was set out in EU-GRASP's *Annex I - "Description of Work"* agreed by the European Commission, as part of the Seventh Framework Programme, which stated that:

The relationship between terror and weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical and nuclear weapons) is quite an intimate one these days ... [And] The non-proliferation regime is under more pressure than ever ... from different corners. It has to be adapted if it wants to stay alive, for instance for nuclear weapons. The current nuclear non-proliferation regime contains multilateral arms control agreements like the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), international organisations like the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the

UN Conference on Disarmament, export-control regimes like the Zangger Committee and the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), positive and negative security guarantees, and other political statements and declarations. The cornerstone of the regime is the NPT. The E3/EU-Iran negotiations on nuclear issues have been ongoing since summer 2003 with the aim to find a balance between Iran's desire to establish a peaceful nuclear enrichment programme and satisfying the safeguards of the international community against the possible development of a nuclear weapons programme. The EU is also involved in the six party talks on the Korean peninsula and pays special attention on the threat of the North Korean atomic programme by using diplomatic instruments, sanctions, etc (2008: 19).

This report details how research on this sub-package shall proceed. Following guidance from our hosts in Leuven, this will be done by firstly outlining the case study design; detailing the criteria for the case study selection process, the case study rationale, and how the case study design goes beyond, but is inline with research set out in WP2. This will be followed by an overview of the current case studies selected and institutional partner commitments. The third and final section of this report will provide an update of the current status of this research.

## 1. Case Study Design

### i) Criteria for Case Study Selection

To complete the objectives of WP4 it is necessary to unfold each sub-package/ security issue into manageable case studies for analysis. For the purposes of consistency across all EU-GRASP partners, a case study has been defined as a "focus upon the *intensive study of one single issue*". At this stage of the research process, cases have largely been defined in terms of locations; regional and/or country specific. This is consistent throughout all the WP4 and WP5 sub-packages.

The selection of cases has been based on two key criteria: *Appropriateness* and *Ability*. This first criteria is specifically directed towards a cases relevance to a policy area, and the suitability of the case given EU-GRASP's research objectives. Accordingly, as George and Bennett argue, one should select cases not simply because they are interesting, important, or easily researched using readily available data. Rather, case selection should be an integral part of a good research strategy to achieve well-defined objectives of the study. Hence, the primary criterion for case selection should be relevance to the research objective of study, whether it includes theory development, theory testing, or heuristic purposes (2005: 83).

The objectives of EU-GRASP were clearly defined in *Annex I - "Description of Work"*, and meeting these objectives has been the overriding criteria for case selection as they pertain to WMD as a security issue. These objectives include:

- a) **Strengthen the understanding of multilateralism**, and its relation with other concepts such as multi-polarity, multiregionalism and interregionalism;
- b) **Understand the changes within the field of security** and its effect on the governance structures namely in the approach to security cooperation and multilateralism;
- c) **Better understand the evolving nature of the EU as a Global actor** within the field of security and EU's current role in global security governance;
- d) **Understand and develop the changing role of the EU towards other regional integration processes** in the peace and security field;
- e) **Better understand the relationship between external and internal dimensions** of the above mentioned policy domains, namely the legal aspects of EU's involvement in security at regional and global levels;
- f) **Suggest future roles to the EU** on the world stage within the field of security.
- g) **Advancing theory** - Advancing the state-of-the art theory on multilateralism, by integrating the contemporary agenda of international security, multilateral security governance and the overall role of the EU within these fields.
- h) **Advancing policy-making** - Increasing awareness and information, and improving the contribution to the formulation and implementation of European cooperation initiatives at the global and interregional level (2008: 6).

The second criterion for case-selection has been *Ability*, which refers to the availability of resources and the expertise that EU-GRASP partners can mobilise to conduct an intense and in-depth analysis. This was a key consideration when designing the EU-GRASP project, and as such each sub-package has been given a package leader and clearly defined sub-package participants. For the WMD sub-package, these include Warwick as package leader, and participation from Florence (see Table One).

**Table One: Detailed Division of Labour in WP4 and WP5**Available in *Annex I - "Description of Work"* (2008: 52).

	WP4 – L3 (PADRIGU) Case-Studies I			WP5 – L5 (KULeuven) Case-Studies II		
	4.1 Regional conflict	4.2 Terrorism	4.3 WMD	5.1 Migration	5.2 Energy & Climate change	5.3 Human Rights
UNU-CRIS	X			x	x	X
Warwick		L	L			
Gothenburg	L	X		x		
Florence			x	L		L
Leuven		X			L	x
CIGI	x	X				
ISS	x			x		
Peking						x
Ben-Gurion		X				

**NOTE:** L (Package leader); X (Key Participation); x (Participation) – this distinction will help mapping person/months by package

## ii) Case Study Rationale

Given the two selection criteria, *Appropriateness* and *Ability*, it is evident that EU-GRASP is not attempting to produce an extensive “sampling” of cases to produce *generalisable* conclusions from explanatory or causal case studies. Indeed, such an approach is anathema to the theoretical framework set out in WP2 and for achieving the EU-GRASP objectives. Rather, a *multiple cases approach* has been adopted, which focuses on *exemplifying cases*. Indeed, Bryman describes such cases as,

[O]ften chosen not because they are extreme or unusual in some way but because they will provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered. As such they allow the researcher to examine key social processes (2004: 51).

The selection of *exemplifying cases* draws on a considerable understanding of both current literature and the contemporary political environment from across the EU-GRASP partners. This expertise was buttressed with ongoing research as part of WP3, in which *Transversal Cooperation Issues* were mapped at the global, interregional, regional and bilateral levels. As

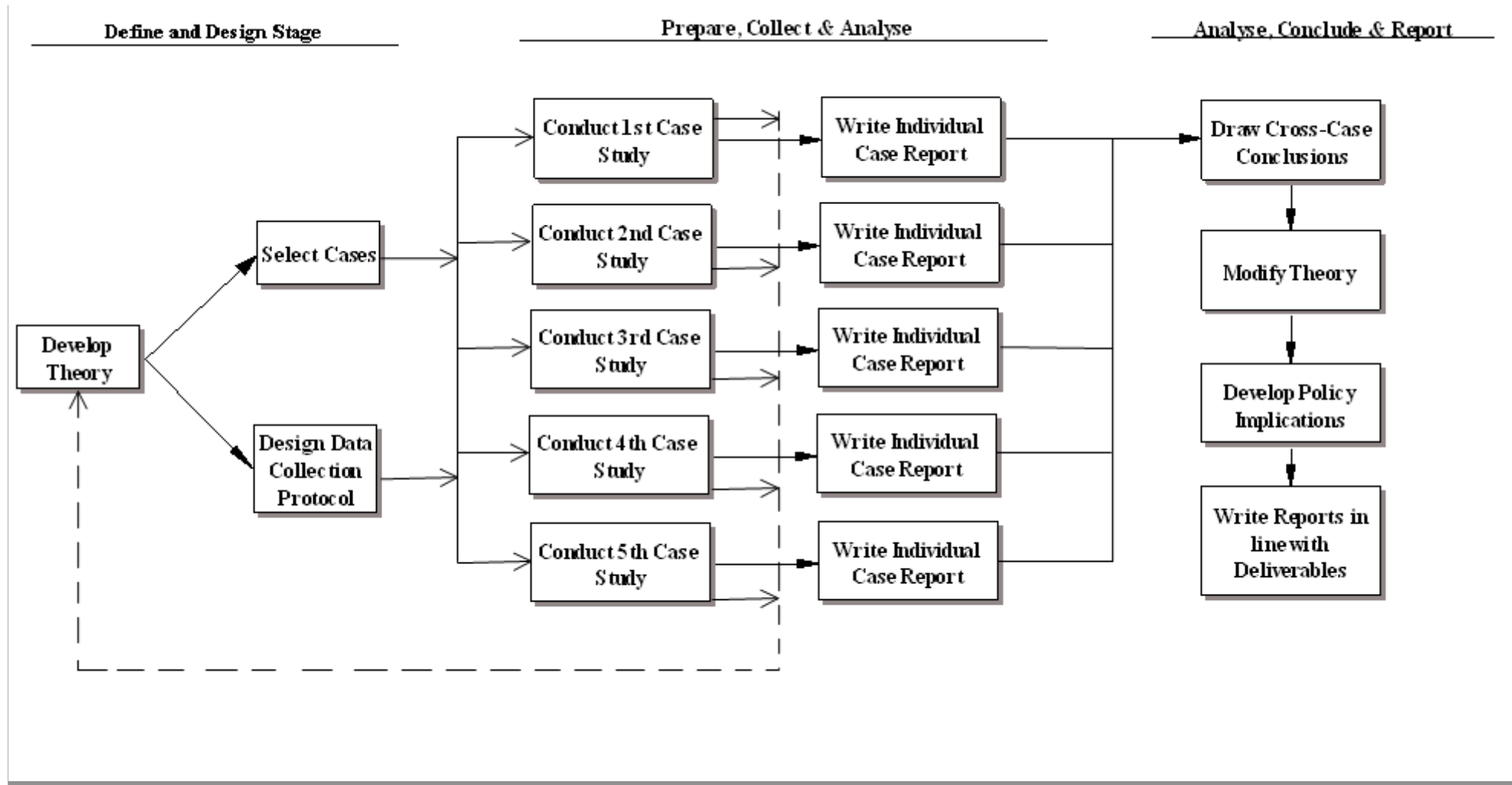
such the multiple case studies approach provides an apt context for working through EU-GRASP's research questions and the attainment of its objectives.

The most important criticism of this approach from our point of view is that because its findings cannot be generalised, the evidence garnered by working through such cases is of little relevance and importance. That is to say that because of the highly heterogeneous nature of such cases they are often not seen to be representative and do not fit either positivist research methods or objectives. Contrary to this position however, the EU-GRASP research design has been devised in such a manner as to negate this criticism. The central issue of concern is the quality of theoretical reasoning in which each case study researcher engages, and the generation of intensive examination. Thus, what EU-GRASP aims for is to “perform as much as possible case studies that are rich in information”. Moreover, the more “heterogeneous the different cases, the more they can contribute to expand our theoretical insights”. This is what Miles and Huberman (1994) have called the *intensity of the cases*. This is not to say that this research will not produce *contingent generalisations*, or to suggest that its findings will not have *transferability* (see Denscombe, 2002: 150). The coordinated selection of case studies across WP4 and WP5 are intended to cover transversal issues, whilst also allowing a significant degree of synchronisation between case-studies. Thus, whilst *generalisable* conclusions do not resonate with the theoretical work carried out in WP2, *contingency* and *transferability* are certainly at the crux of the comparative constructivist methodology. As such, the leaders of each sub-package will certainly draw cross-case conclusions at the final report and policy brief stage of the research project in months 24-32 (see figure one).



Figure 1: Case Study Method

(Modified from Yin, 2009: 57)



## 2. Case Study Overview

### i) Selection of Cases

Having determined the criteria and rationale for case study selection, it was established through a series of meetings in November 2008, February 2009, and July 2009 that WP4 sub-package WMD will conduct intensive investigations of the following case studies:

- 1) Iran
- 2) Israel
- 3) North Korea
- 4) Libya
- 5) Pakistan<sup>1</sup>

These cases will not only allow the EU-GRASP objectives to be met, but also draw on the expertise available amongst the institutional partners: Warwick and Florence (see Table One). Moreover, these represent *exemplifying cases*, determined through the mapping exercises conducted as part of WP3, which has generated informed research judgements led by expertise.

### ii) Data Collection Protocol

The procedures for data collection, analysis and format issues have been provided by the EU-GRASP coordinating institution UNU-CRIS (Langenhove, 2009). It is agreed that following the establishment of the theoretical framework in WP2, and the selection of case studies, EU-GRASP partners will enter into the *prepare, collect and analyse* phase set out in *figure two* (above). These three stages are set out in table two (below), but are intended to followed iteratively to produce cumulative results.

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<sup>1</sup>These five case studies were determined by undertaking the process set out in section one of this report. The option of undertaking alternative case studies is available if institutional expertise and time permits. However, undertaking the five stated case studies meets the requirements set for each security theme.

**Table Two: Post-Case Study Selection Procedure Outline**

Stage	Procedure	Procedure Outline
<b>One</b>	Collecting Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Identify primary, secondary and tertiary sources:</b> These can include everything from elite interviewing, retrieval of internal or restricted circulation documents, material circulated to the public, to reconstructed accounts (see Burnham et al., 2004: 165). E.g speeches, interviews, hearings, legislation, web postings, government documents, internal government reports and documents, press releases, letters, emails, written articles etc.</li> <li>▪ <b>Collect information from these sources,</b> maintaining records for the case study report.</li> <li>▪ <b>Record information on sources</b> that were unattainable or in which access was denied.</li> </ul>
<b>Two</b>	Analysis of Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Conduct process tracing discourse analysis.</b> This can be done by hand or through Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDA) software. The point is for the researcher to familiarise themselves with the material over time and draw out relevant material and arguments by adopting different “lenses”.</li> <li>▪ <b>The evolution of the dossier:</b> The case study report should not only present a sound description of the case but also its evolution.</li> <li>▪ <b>The role of the EU as an actor in the case:</b> This is a key dimension, of which M. Schulz has drafted an analytical framework.</li> <li>▪ <b>The degree of coordination and level of governance in place:</b> EU-GRASP wants to look at the different levels of interaction of the EU in the world: bilateral, regional, inter-regional and global.</li> <li>▪ <b>The discourses used by the different actors:</b> A special feature of the EU-GRASP project is that it aims to bring together three perspectives in studying how the EU performs as a ‘peace and security’ actor 1) Peace and security perspective, 2) Multilateralism perspective, 3) (multilevel) governance perspective. Researchers should identify all three ‘discourses’ and identify how they exist simultaneously as distinctly but in an interwoven fashion.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Every case <i>must</i> analyse 1) 'Security talk':</b> what is said about peace and security both in official document and in 'on the ground' discourses? Is there a specific discourse for the case that can be identified? <b>2) 'Multilateralism talk':</b> What kind of references are made to multilateralism? (effective multilateralism, etc.) <b>3) 'Governance talk':</b> what kind of references are made to governance? (global governance, etc.)</li> </ul>
<b>Three</b>	Write the Individual Case Study Report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Length:</b> Each Case Study is expected to be between 20-25 pages in length, which is between 7500 and 10,000 words.</li> <li>▪ <b>Structure:</b> The structure of each case study report has been set by UNU-CRIS and consists of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Title</b></li> <li>2. <b>Security Issue</b> (indicate WMD as old security issue)</li> <li>3. <b>Governance</b> (indicate which transversal groups apply)</li> <li>4. <b>Evolution of the case</b></li> <li>5. <b>Description and analysis</b></li> <li>6. <b>Sources used</b></li> <li>7. <b>Conclusions</b></li> <li>8. <b>References</b></li> </ol> </li> </ul>

### 3. Update and Next Steps for WMD Case Studies

As table one details above, the WMD sub-package of WP4 requires contributions from EU-GRASP participants Warwick and Florence. The current status and allocation of commitments are detailed in table three. Evidently, a contributor is need for the North Korea case study, which remains outstanding.

**Table 3: WMD Case study Commitments**

<u>Analysis</u>	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Institution</u>
<b>Iran</b>	Ruth Hanau Santini	FPPW
<b>Pakistan/India</b>	Oz Hassan	Warwick

<b>North Korea</b>		
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**Conclusion**

To recap: we now need names of those who will complete the above analysis; Warwick will collect these together both for forward transmission to partners via UNU-CRIS, and in the completion of the 'edited volume' element of the case study (Deliverable 2.10). On the basis of this analysis, Warwick will then write the cross cutting analysis (Deliverable 4.15).

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