

## Research Project

### **Markets in the Making of Multilateral Military Interventions (4MI): International Organizations and Private Military and Security Companies**

The proliferation of Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) and its consequences have been controversially discussed in the media, political institutions and academic research (Mandel 2002, Singer 2003, Avant 2005, Kinsey 2006, Leander 2006, Krahnemann 2010). Nevertheless, there remain major gaps in our knowledge about the industry and how it impacts on international security. One of the most critical gaps regards the use of PMSCs by international organizations such as the **United Nations** (UN), the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and the **European Union** (EU). This use has expanded significantly in recent multilateral military interventions and evidence of potential problems for these missions are increasingly reaching the public, such as reports of PMSCs working for the International Stability Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan diverting funds to the Taliban (Schwarz 2010, Charles & Cloete 2009, Spearin 2010).

What are the potential implications of the collaboration between international organizations and PMSCs in international military interventions? So far there exists no systematic academic study of this development and its consequences. Past research and debates have remained largely abstract and theoretical or have drawn on the same limited set of examples (Bures 2005, Patterson 2008, White & MacLeod 2008, Wither 2005). This project seeks to address this gap by providing a detailed analysis of the interaction between international organizations and PMSCs in multilateral military interventions, generally, and in three contemporary case studies, specifically:

- **MONUC/MONUSCO** in the Democratic Republic of Congo (UN & PMSCs)
- **ISAF** in Afghanistan (NATO & PMSCs)
- **ALTHEA** in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EU & PMSCs)

#### **Aims and Objectives**

The aims and objectives of this research project are threefold:

**1. Gap in empirical research:** By analysing how international organizations and PMSCs interact and what impact their collaboration has on the achievement of mission security objectives, in particular the protection of civilian populations, the project provides new empirical data and insights that will help to assess both the potential and possible problems of involving PMSCs in multilateral military interventions.

**2. Theory development:** The project proposes that the interaction between international organizations and PMSCs can be fruitfully examined by using the Theory of Practices to analyse the respective and joint regulatory, operational and representational practices of these actors (Latour 2005, Lerner and Walters 2004, Neumann 2002). The project combines this theoretical framework with insights from research on PMSCs (Singer 2003, Carmola 2006,

Chestermann 2011; Avant 2005, Krahmman 2010), international organizations (Keohane and Nye 2000; Ruggie 2008, Barnett and Finnemore 2004) and Critical Security Studies (Lenoir 2000, Der Derian 2009) to derive a set of hypotheses as to how these practices impact on the realization of mission security objectives (ISAF 2011; UN-MONUC 2011; Euforbih 2011).

**3. Policy advice:** By comparing the regulatory, operational and representational practices of the UN, NATO, the EU and their PMSCs in three multilateral military operations, the project aims to identify examples of 'best practice' which may be used as policy guidance for these and other organizations, companies and missions. Such guidance is particularly important as the use of PMSCs in multilateral interventions may further increase due to reductions in the national armed forces and military budgets of many UN, NATO and EU member states.

### **Research Questions**

The primary research question of the project is: **When (and why) does the collaboration between international organizations and PMSCs in multilateral military operations impact negatively or positively on the achievement of security objectives?** It proposes that one answer to this question can be found in the practices of international organizations and PMSCs and how these practices shape their joint provision of security in and through these missions. Specifically, the project differentiates between three types of practices: (1) **regulatory practices** such as the regulations and standards implemented by international organizations and the codes of conduct and self-regulations of PMSCs; (2) **operational practices** of the UN, NATO, the EU and PMSCs such as standard operating procedures and security management policies; and (3) **representational practices**, including actors' self-representations in the field, on websites and in brochures as well as their representation of particular security threats.

Four questions, thus, guide our analysis:

- 1. What are the regulatory, operational and representational practices of the UN, NATO, the EU and PMSCs, generally, and in the three case studies, specifically?**
- 2. How do these practices shape the collaboration between these international organizations and PMSCs?**
- 3. Where have both sets of actors developed common practices and where not?**
- 4. What divergent and/or common practices impact negatively or positively on the achievement of mission security objectives?**

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