# MEDIATING CONFLICTS IN EUROPE AND BEYOND: THE ROLE OF THE EU

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# MEDIATING CONFLICTS IN EUROPE AND BEYOND: THE ROLE OF THE EU

### ABSTRACT

Even though the European Union (EU) can be described as a "peacemaker in the international arena," there is still work to be done in the field of meditation. Consequently, this study investigates the EU's function as a mediator and explores whether the EU is more proactive in mediating conflicts within its region versus internationally. The explanation of the concept of mediation and the EU's effectiveness indicators comprises the theoretical framework that defines mediation as a field and explains the EU's role and the specification of the indicators throughout the literature and institutional data. To empirically calculate and compare the efficacy of regional and international conflicts, qualitative and quantitative case studies and literature studies are conducted. The qualitative research consists of finding and analysing all the conflicts in which the EU has participated as a mediator between 1990 and 2020, while the quantitative analysis compares the success rates in terms of percentages. The thesis points out that the EU is more proactive in mediating conflicts within the European Region than internationally, thereby defining the EU as a regional organisation as opposed to an international organisation in the field of mediation. It highlights the dearth of literature and emphasises meditation. Due to a lack of internal consensus and the difficulty of gaining the trust of all parties, it is challenging for the EU to increase its global influence in mediation.

**Keywords:** Meditation, European Union, Proactivity, Effectiveness, indicators, conflict, trust, parties, success rate

## NDËRMJETËSIMI I KONFLIKTEVE NË EVROPË DHE MË GJERË: ROLI I BE-së

### ABSTRAKT

Edhe pse Bashkimi Evropian (BE) mund të përshkruhet si një "paqebërës në skenën ndërkombëtare", ka ende punë për të bërë në fushën e meditimit. Rrjedhimisht, ky studim heton funksionin e BE-së si ndërmjetës dhe heton nëse BE-ja është më proaktive në ndërmjetësimin e konflikteve brenda rajonit të saj kundrejt ndërkombëtarëve. Konceptualizimi i konceptit të ndërmjetësimit dhe treguesve të efektivitetit të BE-së përbëhet nga kuadri teorik që përcakton ndërmjetësimin si fushë dhe shpjegon rolin e BE-së dhe specifikimin e treguesve në të gjithë literaturën dhe të dhënat institucionale. Për të llogaritur dhe krahasuar në mënyrë empirike efikasitetin e konflikteve rajonale dhe ndërkombëtare, kryhen studime të rasteve cilësore dhe sasiore dhe studime të literaturës. Hulumtimi cilësor konsiston në katalogimin dhe analizimin e të gjitha konflikteve në të cilat BE-ja ka marrë pjesë si ndërmjetës midis viteve 1990 dhe 2020, ndërsa kërkimi sasior krahason shkallët e suksesit në përgindje. Teza zbuloi se BE-ja është më proaktive në ndërmjetësimin e konflikteve brenda Rajonit Evropian sesa ndërkombëtarisht, duke përcaktuar kështu BE-në si një organizatë rajonale në krahasim me një organizatë ndërkombëtare në fushën e ndërmjetësimit. Teza thekson mungesën e letërsisë dhe thekson meditimin. Për shkak të mungesës së konsensusit të brendshëm dhe vështirësisë për të fituar besimin e të gjitha palëve, është sfiduese për BE-në të rrisë ndikimin e saj global në ndërmjetësim.

**Fjalët Kyçe:** Meditim, Bashkimi Evropian, Proaktiviteti, Effektiviteti, Tregues, Konflikt, Besim, Palë, Shkalla e Suksesit

### **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents for their unconditional love and support. I also want to dedicate and make part of my success to my sister and best friend, who has been advising me throughout this dissertation. I am grateful to my family and friends for their assistance throughout this journey.

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### DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's Thesis titled "Meditating Conflicts in Europe and Beyond: The role of the EU" is based on my original work except for quotations and citations, which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that this thesis has not been previously or concurrently submitted for the award of any degree at Epoka University, or any other university or institution.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
UN	United Nations
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
IoS	International Organisation
ROS	Regional Organisations
AU	African Union
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
OAS	Organization of American States
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
EUPM	European Union Police Mission
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
EUFOR	European Union Force
EUCAP	European Union Capacity Building Mission
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
EEAS	European External Action Service
GAC	General Affairs Council
СОНОМ	Committee on Humanitarian Affairs
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
HRVP	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
EEC	European Economic Community

CFSP	Common Foreign Security Policy
ENP	European Neighbourhood policy

### **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

#### 1.1. Introduction

The European Union (EU) has been increasingly seeking to establish itself as a significant global actor and to play a more active role in preventing and managing conflicts, especially in the field of mediation. Despite its various resources and institutional capabilities, the European Union often needed help mediating interstate and intrastate conflicts (Bergmann & Niemann, 2013). Nevertheless, this topic has received limited scholarly attention, and there is a lack of knowledge about the EU as a regional organisation approach to mediation and the factors that affect its success (Bergmann& Niemann, 2015).

The thesis seeks to contribute to the existing literature by analysing the civil conflicts that the EU has mediated from 1990 to 2020 and by comparing the different outcomes that derive from all the conflicts within its region as well as internationally. In this study, both Qualitative and Quantitative methods have been conducted. The qualitative study will analyse all the conflicts and compare the EU's mediation efforts and outcomes regionally vs internationally. The quantitative research will measure the outcomes of the conflicts and divide them into a percentage to fulfil the comparison and have a clear answer as to whether the EU is more proactive in mediating conflicts within its region, thus deciding whether the EU is considered a regional organisation (Ros) or International organisation (IoS). To achieve this, the study will use data from the existing literature and institutional reports. The EU's effectiveness as a mediator in conflict resolution can be affected by factors such as the level of unity and cohesion among its member states, its relations with key actors in the conflict, and its ability to leverage its resources and capabilities to support its mediation efforts. The EU's function as a mediator can also be affected by the nature of the conflict, the level of violence, and the parties' willingness to engage in peace talks (EIP,2020). Some obstacles prevent the EU from effectively mediating conflicts. They consist of the Principle of Sovereignty and the absence of an enforcement mechanism (Mearsheimer, 2001; Keohane, 1984; Ruggie, 1998).

The case selection process for the research is based on Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). It will take as samples the conflict case studies from 1990 to 2020 found in the literature, official institutes, websites from the EU ( the European External Action Service (EEA), the European Institute of Peace (EIP), the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the international conflict management database (ICM). However, there are some conditions for a case to be considered. Firstly, the mediation efforts have a timeline from 1990 to 2020 and should have the characteristics of mediation. All the cases will be considered, even if they consist of direct or supporting mediation. The cases will be compared according to the outcomes of the mediation efforts. For an outcome to be considered effective, highly effective, or unsuccessful, it needs for an outcome to be a major settlement, minor settlement or a ceasefire (Bergmann & Niemann, 2015). The comparison will be made with Microsoft Excel, concluding in percentages. The result will be in line with the hypothesis.

This thesis will shed light on the EU's capacity to mediate conflicts and the elements that influence its performance. The findings will be of interest to both academics and policymakers, as it will enable them to gain a better appreciation of the EU's strengths and weaknesses in the field of conflict resolution, to contemplate the EU's role in global peace and security, and to devise suggestions to enhance its ability to contribute to conflict resolution effectively.

The main objective of this research is to examine the European Union (EU) approach to conflict resolution through mediation with the aim of comprehending the principles and

practices guiding its mediation efforts, such as neutrality, confidentiality, voluntariness, inclusiveness and flexibility European External service (EEAS, 2020) and comparing its effectiveness in mediating conflicts within its region vs internationally. The research also aims to investigate the European Union's (EU's) role in providing direct mediation, dialogue facilitation and capacity-building support for local actors European Institute of Peace(EIP,2020).

RO1: To analyse the principles and practices of the EU's approach to mediation, with a focus on the role of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in order to explain the role of the European Union (EU) in the field of meditation.

RO2: To determine whether the EU is more effective in meditating conflicts inside or outside its region by analysing the mediation efforts in each conflict from 1990 to 2020 and analysing the outcomes by comparing the successful outcomes for each region in percentages.

RO3: To define whether the EU is considered more a regional organisation(Ros) or an International organisation (Ios) by also analysing the characteristics of the regional and international organisations.

The paper will be based on only one main question guiding the Hypothesis and the final answer. How EU project itself in the world through mediation? While the Research Hypothesis is that The EU is more proactive as a regional organisation when it operates as a mediator in the field of conflict resolution

The first chapter provides the introduction of the thesis. It will explain the hypothesis, research question, structure, and case selection and shift to an introduction of the emergence of regional organisations in the field of conflict resolution, especially in the perspective of mediation.

In the second chapter, the literature review will be analysed in three different spectrums. First, a review of the literature on the evolving role of Regional organisations (Ros) and the shift to the EU with a broader focus on meditation will serve as a general review in order to make the comparison with the International organisations much more effective. Second, the literature review will pass through analysing and reviewing the literature data about the EU's effectiveness in mediation and determining the indicators of effectiveness that will serve for the qualitative analysis.

The third chapter will pass through an analysis of the methodology used for this research as it will explain the ways that QCA analysis will be provided in the Analysis section. In this chapter it is also explained the case study thematic method and the way that effectivity and success are measured and correlated. The measurement is based on the Bergmann,(2015) work, which evaluates the effectiveness by analysing the outcomes of each conflict, whether it is a Major settlement when there is a resolution for the conflict, a minor settlement when it is a simple solution like a ceasefire and no settlement where the mediation is not successful. The conversion with effectivity is subjective as it has been divided in Highly effective, Partial effective and No settlement.

The fourth chapter will make an analysis of the conflict case studies and will provide an illustrative table that will help for the comparison between the role of the EU in mediating conflicts within its region and internationally. After the illustrative table, another table of statistics provided by Microsoft Excel will calculate the effectiveness of every case study and will divide them into percentages in order to protect the argument that the EU is more proactive as a regional organisation in the field of mediation.

Lastly, in the final chapter, the conclusion will provide a summary of the thesis and will explain the argument in favour of the hypothesis. In the end, this chapter will provide the final answer of the research question.

#### 1.2. The role of Regional Organisations

Regional organisations (RoS) have played an essential role in mediating conflicts, setting them apart from international organisations (IoS) which in some cases have faced difficulties in understanding the root cause of the conflicts due to not understanding the local people's perceptions (Börzel & Risse, 2003).

Initially, these organisations have emerged as platforms for economic cooperation among neighbouring countries such as the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Börzel & Risse, 2003), but as the conflicts between member countries emerged the Regional organisations expanded their mandates to include mediation policies in their agenda (Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009). They possess a shared regional identity and an in-depth understanding of the complexities within their regions (Börzel & Risse, 2003; Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009). This familiarity allows them to tailor their mediation approaches to their conflicts' specific needs and intricacies.

Moreover, regional organisations often have established relationships and networks with the conflicting parties derived from their economic, political, and cultural interactions (Börzel & Risse, 2003). These pre-existing connections can foster trust and confidence among the parties involved, facilitating dialogue and negotiation processes (Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009). Compared to international organisations, regional organisations enjoy certain advantages in conflict mediation. They possess a higher degree of legitimacy and acceptance from their member states, owing to the shared interests and common regional identity they represent (Börzel & Risse, 2003). This acceptance enhances their credibility and makes their mediation efforts more effective.

This localised knowledge enables them to address conflicts in a contextually relevant manner. However, regional organisations can also face challenges in their mediation endeavours. They often confront limitations regarding resources, capacity, and political constraints, which can impact their effectiveness (Börzel & Risse, 2003).

Their mediation processes can also be influenced by power dynamics and geopolitical considerations within the region, potentially affecting the impartiality and neutrality of their interventions (Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009).

### **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### 2.1. Theoretical Framework

The examination of the European Union's global role in mediation has been the focus of numerous academic inquiries within the conflict resolution discipline. These investigations have generated various arguments that aim to establish the factors that influence the effectiveness of interventions and the prerequisites for achieving successful resolutions. To ascertain the function of the European Union (EU) in the global context via mediation, it is important to undertake an analysis of the mediation concept itself, as well as the EU's responses within the international sphere.

According to Manners (2002), the former European Communities, which served as the precursor to the European Union, asserted its Normative strength centrality in conjunction with its economic strength as a means of upholding global peace. The speaker also asserted that using economic power served as a metric to effectively influence the conflicting parties towards attaining a resolution. The Role has been shaped by the Implementation of the European Union in the Treaty of Maastricht in 2002.

According to Manners (2002), the transition from the Single structure to the three-pillar structure has been characterised by a change from a civilian perspective to a military one. This resulted in the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy as a defence policy. This transition has prompted the European Union (EU) to expand its position as a

normative power, aligning itself with a set of norms outlined in the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) (Manners, 2002).

In contrast, Skalimowska (2015) posited that the foundation of the Normative Power notion did not lie in Economic Power but rather in the European Union's (EU) capacity to align with its legal and political norms, concepts, speech, and integration standards. The speaker additionally stated that this Normative power is associated with its capacity to expand its influence in global disputes, not through economic capabilities, but rather by appealing to third parties. The concept of attractiveness is employed as a strategic tool to promote the norms and values of the European Union to the conflicting parties. By perceiving the European values as appealing and persuasive, the parties gradually establish institutionalised relations and engage in political dialogues to discuss the terms and conditions of their cooperation (Skalimowska, 2015).

The Normative power of Europe, as highlighted by Diez and Pace (2007), places emphasis on the role of the European Union in mediating conflicts through integration. The authors posited that the concept of Normative Power Europe entails a language wherein the European Union portrays itself as an exemplar of virtuous behaviour and societal norms. The argument presented in this context is rooted in the notion that the European Union (EU) has the capacity to portray itself as a positive influence. This is achieved through a process known as international socialisation, which is governed by the principles of correctness and argumentation. By employing this approach, the EU aims to encourage conflicting parties to embrace the internationalisation of norms and adhere to the constitutional regulations set forth by the EU (Dies & Pace, 2007). The authors additionally contended that the European Union (EU) endeavours to provide a discursive framework equivalent to integration through association yet falls short in terms of sharing EU institutions and participating in decisionmaking processes. The aforementioned failure has the potential to alter the perception of the European Union (EU) as a positive force, thereby becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy that enables conflicting parties to assert their entitlement to what was first pledged. Alternatively, individuals may seize the opportunity presented by the association to engage in negotiations aimed at securing more favourable conditions for their affiliation with the European Union.

These mechanisms have the potential to enable EU players to advance the norm of the EU as a force for good (Dies, T. & Pace; M. , 2007). Moreover, it was asserted that this "Force of good" has the potential to enable political leaders involved in cases of conflict to legitimise domestic policies that are designed to facilitate the attainment of a resolution between the parties in conflict. Furthermore, the authors contend that this approach creates opportunities for activists, civil society organisations, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to employ strategies such as shame in order to induce compliance from their political leaders with the principles, norms, and goals espoused by the European Union (Dies & Pace, 2007). The individuals responsible for establishing and maintaining a positive influence within the EU Institutions are comprised of : Special Representatives (SR). These representatives serve as intermediaries and points of reference between the European Union and the parties involved in conflicts. The Special Representatives are consistently present in the dispute, as noted by Dies and Pace (2007).

The presidency is responsible for formulating the political agenda for the conflict, which is determined by the specific priorities of the member state holding the presidency. According to Dies and Pace (2007), the study conducted provides relevant insights on the topic. The Council of the European Union and the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy hold a crucial position in shaping the European Union's role as a positive influence in addressing crises within the Mediterranean region (Dies & Pace, 2007).

According to Niemman et al. (2017), the European Union and other regional institutions will sometimes hand over the responsibility of mediating to the United Nations. However, in the conflict between Kosovo and Serbia, the EU, in particular, had the advantage over the UN because, first and foremost, through economic cooperation with the countries and secondly, by using the power of attractiveness through the EU integration programme, which resulted in the interest of the parties to increase their interest in the EU leading mediation (Bergmann & Niemann,2015). This was the case because of economic cooperation with the countries and the use of the power of attractiveness through the EU integration programme. The speakers also said that in the case of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the EU has been ineffectual due to their role in the country's internal politics in the past; as a result, there is a lack of confidence among all of the parties involved. Because of this, there was a lack of objectivity

and bias in the results. Elgstrom(2018) stated that even in the instance of Russia and Ukraine, the EU's programme of penalising Russia harmed the agreement and resulted in a difficult mediation because it affected the impartiality of the mediator. This was the case because the EU's programme of sanctioning Russia affected the agreement.

As stated by the European External Service in the year 2020 (EEAS,2020), the European Union (EU) is able to mediate conflicts and disputes both directly and indirectly in various parts of the world, including Africa, the Middle East, and nations in the Eastern Neighbourhood (ENP). For instance, the EU has participated directly as a mediator in conflicts such as those that occurred in the Former Yugoslavia between the years 1991 and 1999 and the Georgian South Ossetian conflict in 2008 (Bergmann& Niemann,2015). Additionally, the EU has supported attempts to mediate conflicts such as those that occurred in Yemen in 2015 (Girke,2015) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1990 (Davis, 2018).

#### 2.2. Definition of Mediation

According to Berchovitch et al. (1991), mediation is a tool that is used as part of the process of conflict management. In this process, parties to a conflict ask for aid or accept an offer from a third party, which may be a state, an individual, or an organisation, in order to resolve their conflict without engaging in a physical confrontation. According to Bergmann and Niemman (2015), mediation in the context of the European Union (EU) refers to an attempt made by each representation of the EU individually or as a group to assist in negotiations between the parties in order to seek a settlement prior to or while the conflict is ongoing. The authors also stated that the Union might provide mediation as a direct single mediator, that it could finance mediation from other parties, or that it could use multilateral mediation as a means of cooperation with other Actors such as the United Nations. The EU can provide mediation support through direct mediation, facilitation of dialogue and capacity building for local actors (EEAS, 2020). In Direct Mediation: The EU can mediate a conflict unilaterally if all the parties accept that (EEAS,2020). The Facilitation of dialogue is when the EU do not intervene directly but creates a path for dialogue where all the parties can engage constructively (EEAS,2020)

Capacity building for local actors: The EU support the mediation efforts of other actors by giving expertise, training and giving logistical support to the local actors.

The EU's approach to mediation is guided by 5 principles : Coherence: EU acts in accordance with its overall strategies, values and principles to ensure long-lasting peace (EEAS,2020)

Comprehensiveness: Mediation is part of the EU's conflict prevention and crisis management and can be used in all stages of the conflicts, from the preliminary talks to the implementation phase of peace agreements (Council of the European Union, 2020).

Assessment of Risks: The EU considers the political risk in order to find a perfect timing for the member states to be united in the mediation efforts(Coe,2009)

Transitional Justice and human rights: In cases of violations of human rights of one party or both parties in the conflicts, the EU acts according to the international human rights and takes into account all the cases step by step in order to show impartiality (Coe,2009).

Promoting the participation of women: The EU has a focus on promoting women's participation to mediation efforts.

Besides direct mediation, Facilitation of dialogue and Supporting mediation of others, the EU also has other forms of mediation:

Leveraging mediation: EU uses its financial resources in order to persuade parties to reach an agreement. Additionally, it uses also sanctions to achieve its mediator goal.

Financing mediation: The EU financially supports all parties that are part of the mediating group.

These forms of mediation efforts will be used throughout the case studies analysis.

#### 2.3. Evolution of Regional Organisations as Mediators and the Shift towards EU

While there has only been a modest amount of scholarly attention paid to the body of literature on this topic, this does not rule out the potential of additional research being conducted in the future. For instance, Elgstrom, O., Bercovitch, J., and Skau, C. (2003) suggested that the consequence of the Regional organisation's full awareness of regional dynamics, which takes into consideration the historical, cultural, and political variables, has made them key actors in the conflict mediation and settlement process. This was suggested as a consequence of the Regional organisation's full awareness of regional dynamics, which takes into consideration the historical variables.

These organisations, as opposed to external parties, have shown a better level of efficacy in settling conflicts, as stated by Mehler, Melber, and van Walvren (2017). According to the reports, this is the result of the fact that these organisations customise the methods they use to resolve conflicts to the particular requirements of each of their respective locations. For instance, they asserted that the African Union (AU) had demonstrated that it was capable of mediating and resolving crises and conflicts on the African continent, including the circumstances that were occurring in Somalia and South Sudan. In addition, this vast knowledge helped to create trust and prepared the path for meaningful dialogue, both of which addressed the fundamental reasons of conflicts and contributed to the effectiveness of

mediation (Elgstrom, O., Bercovitch, & Skau, 2003). These two factors helped to make mediation more successful.

On the other hand, Acharya (2004) asserts that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) focuses more on multilateral mediation efforts and regionalism than it does on actively intervening in the internal problems of its member nations. This view is supported by the fact that ASEAN does not directly intervene in any conflicts amongst its member states. The fact that English is the predominant language used in ASEAN lends credence to this point of view. He then claims that the organization's understanding of the political and historical backdrop of the region is mirrored in this strategy, which reflects that understanding and also claims that it is a reflection of that understanding. It illustrates that ASEAN takes use of its grasp of the dynamics of the region to establish an environment that is conducive to conversation and collaboration among parties who are in conflict. This was demonstrated by the fact that. This can be accomplished by demonstrating respect for the autonomous sovereignty of each nation located in the region, while simultaneously fostering cooperation and working to find solutions to the issues that are present in that location.

According to Dietze, Engel, Mattheis, Plotze, and Zinecker (2017), regional organisations not only modify their conflict resolution strategies by capitalising on their awareness of the dynamics of the region, but they also make use of the networks and relationships that already exist within the region. Dietze, Engel, Mattheis, Plotze, and Zinecker (2017) state that this is how regional organisations change their conflict resolution strategies. In addition to this, they have noted that the conversation and reconciliation are supported by foundations which include cultural and historical linkages, common identities, and regional institutions. These connections encourage cooperation among warring parties, making it possible for regional organisations to establish forums for conversation and the steady expansion of peace. The increasing role of the European Union (EU) as a mediator is evidence that the EU recognises the significance of regional dynamics to the effectiveness of efforts to settle disputes.

According to Bergmann and Niemann (2017), when the European Union has a good understanding of the distinct historical, cultural, and political qualities of a region, then it

will be able to modify its policies and methods to meet those traits. This is because such an understanding is necessary in order to appreciate a regional organisation fully. Bergmann and Niemann (2015) argue that the European Union (EU) establishes credibility and rapport with its members by taking part in activities that are historically significant and cultural in nature. This, in turn, clears the way for effective mediation and makes it simpler to develop peace agreements that will hold up over time. However, in order for the EU to successfully carry out its function as a mediator, it will need to triumph over a number of obstacles. According to Whitman (2011), external entities with opposing interests and agendas, such as the United States and Russia, have the ability to create rivalry and obstruct the efforts of the European Union to mediate crises. One example of this is the Ukraine crisis, which was precipitated by Russia and the United States. In spite of this, the European Union has demonstrated that it is adaptable to fresh circumstances and capable of overcoming problems, all while keeping its commitment to mediating disputes and striving for peaceful solutions.

The European Union (EU) is committed to playing a key role in the efforts being made to mediate conflicts in the region, and this commitment will continue as long as the EU exists.

According to Bergmann and Niemann (2013), in spite of the difficulties it experiences, it continues to change and improve the processes it employs to settle disagreements, which is evidence of its volition. For instance, the European Union's (EU) success in mediation as a regional body is an illustration of the EU's dedication to promoting peace and stability in a range of regions. This commitment has allowed the EU to make significant strides in recent years.

#### 2.4. Factors Influencing EU's Effectiveness in mediation

The field of conflict resolution is one in which mediation is extremely important, and the European Union (EU) has emerged as a prominent player in this field in recent decades. The existing body of research has performed an analysis of a variety of characteristics that influence its efficiency in mediating conflicts.

In their book, Schimmelfenning and Sedelmeier (2005) highlighted the experience and expertise of the EU in conflict resolution as a major factor of the EU's influence in mediating. This was done to underscore the importance of the EU's role as a mediator. They have stated that the EU's accumulated experience and expertise in negotiation have enabled it to navigate the complex mediation processes and facilitate productive communication between competing parties. This is something that the EU has been able to do thanks to the fact that it has been around for so long.

It has been suggested by Lequesne(2015) that the engagement and negotiation abilities possessed by the EU have been essential for the success of the mediation efforts. He has further argued that the active participation and negotiation techniques of the EU have enhanced credibility and have fostered an environment conducive to conflict resolution, while the skilled diplomats and mediators of the EU have adapted to the process of building relationships, managing communication, and finding common ground among parties that are in conflict with one another.

Manners (2002), on the other hand, has suggested that the European Union's control of a wide variety of assets, capacities, and military forces has substantially influenced the success

of its mediation efforts. He went on to say that the EU could alter the dynamics of the mediation procedures and boost the likelihood of establishing sustainable agreements if it mobilised resources such as giving security guarantees, economic incentives, or deploying peacekeeping forces. In addition, he stated that this could be accomplished by the EU.

According to Smith (2014), the cohesiveness of the European Union (EU) and its capacity to appear as a single entity are essential to the organization's effectiveness as a mediator of conflicts between parties. Barrinha (2008) stated that when the European Union talks with one voice and presents a unified perspective, it is seen as a trustworthy advocate, which increases the likelihood of a successful mediation.

On the other hand, Zielonka (2010) suggested that if there is a lack of unity or fragmentation inside the EU, then the EU's credibility as a negotiator will decrease, which will result in a reduction in the effectiveness of its efforts to mediate.

According to De Coning et al. (2022), inclusiveness and impartiality are essential qualities of a successful mediator. In addition, he stressed the fact that through the use of these indicators, the European Union has been commended for involving stakeholders, including organisations from civil society. Elgstrom, Chaban, Knodt, Muller, and Pardo (2018), for example, claimed that in the context of mediation attempts in Ukraine, the EU exhibited its commitment to inclusivity by incorporating not only significant political actors but also members of minority groups and stakeholders from the commercial sector. In other words, the EU showed that it was willing to include everyone in the process.

According to Bercovitch and Houston (2000), two crucial indicators of the success of a mediation endeavour are its ability to endure and its success in putting its conclusions into practise. The European Union (EU) has proved that it is capable of developing long-term solutions and providing support for the execution of peace agreements. For example, Dehousse, R., and Menon, A. (2009) suggested that the European Union, when France was in charge of its presidency, made it easier to send in peacekeeping missions and offered financial support to ensure that the ceasefire was carried out effectively.

Even though the existing body of research offers a rock-solid foundation on the factors that determine the EU's effect in mediation, there are still some holes that need to be filled in. (Smith, 2014; Manners, 2002; Zielonka, 2010) Some of these deficiencies include the function of the EU's accountability mechanism, its ties with tertiary bodies, and its internal and external legitimacy.

On the other hand, Bergmann and Niemman (2015) presented a different point of view about the definition of successful EU mediation and the conditions under which it can occur. They categorised their understanding of the effectiveness of the mediator according to two primary criteria. The first viewpoint is an internal assessment of whether or not the EU has accomplished the primary goal it set out to achieve in a conflict. Second, an analysis of the situation from an outsider's point of view determines whether or not the mediation efforts of the EU contributed to the successful conclusion of the war. This independent procedure evaluates the outcomes of the mediation, including whether it resulted in a truce, a minor agreement, a big agreement, or did not result in a settlement. In their article from 2015, Bergmann and Niemman believe that in order for mediation to be successful, there must be four conditions met. The EU can use leverage in the form of economic benefit due to the large number of funds, the policy of attractiveness in integrating countries in the Union, like in the case of Cyprus, and using also punishments like economic sanctions (Tocci,2004). The Mediator leverage is when the mediator, in this case, the EU, attempts to give incentives to the conflict parties in order to reach an agreement.

According to Berchovic and Huston (1996), one of the most important indicators of successful mediation is the ability to cultivate cooperation and create trust among the dispute parties. For instance, Bergmann and Niemann (2013) stated that the EU has been successful in facilitating cooperative decision-making and bringing together diverse perspectives. As an illustration, they suggested that the EU had an important part to play in fostering interethnic communication and collaboration by instituting ethnic power-sharing in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to Bergmann and Niemann (2015), one of the conditions that must be met is called facilitation. This is a much easier criterion to fulfil, since it only requires the mediator to facilitate the channel for discourse and act as a supportive mediator.

While formulation is another condition approach, it is one that makes the mediator more engaged in the process of developing possibilities and programmes in order to reach an agreement that is beneficial to all parties involved in the conflict (mediator (Bergmann& Niemann,2015)).

According to Bergmann and Niemann (2015), coherence is one of the conditions that must be met for all of the EU's institutions and member states to be in agreement with one another and with the standards and human rights that form the basis of the EU's framework.

### **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

#### 3.1. Research Design

This study will use a qualitative research design, specifically a case study research design, in order to analyze the multifaceted phenomenon of the European Union's function as a mediator in conflict resolution. A qualitative research design is defined as one that "provides an in-depth investigation of complex phenomena and gives the researcher the ability to comprehend the meanings, experiences, and points of view of interest groups in the context of a specific situation" (Creswell, 2014). A case study research design is a specific type of qualitative research design

As was mentioned in the case selection, the (QCA) has also included the quantitative research design in the process of determining the percentage of effectiveness in each region where the EU has functioned as a mediator. This was done in order to validate the findings of the qualitative research design. This was accomplished by contrasting the findings of the qualitative research design with those of the quantitative research design. The goal was to obtain a definitive answer to the question of whether or not the European Union takes a more proactive role in mediating conflicts within its own region or on a global scale, which would explain whether or not the EU is regarded as a regional organization or an international organization in the field of mediation.

#### 3.2. Data Collection

The paper has used qualitative and quantitative methods to obtain the necessary analysis for defining the role of the EU in the field of meditation and to compare its proactivity in meditating conflicts within its region vs internationally.

In the first step of this process, a comprehensive review of all of the institutional reports and legislative documents that are connected to the role of the EU as a mediator in conflicts from 1990 to 2020 was carried out.

In the second step, three other actions were carried out after examining the conflicts. First, the conflicts were categorised as interstate or intrastate, and then the type of intervention in each conflict EU used, whether Direct Mediation, Financing Mediation, Leveraging mediation or Supporting mediation, was used (EEAS,2020). The stage of the conflict is analysed with a focus on Conflict stages (2016), whether the mediation was operationalised in the Latent conflict, Conflict emergence, Conflict escalation, Stalemate, De-escalation and dispute settlement (Conflict Stages, 2016). The third step consists of defining the region of the conflict when the EU has intervened as a mediator to categorise the conflict as either regional or international.

This study's examination of institutional reports and legislative documents includes the official statements and policies of the EU and reports from relevant international organisations and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). All the documents and reports have been analysed in detail and used in the qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The statistical information for this research is taken from the official source of the United Nations, Reports of the EU and other regional Organisations such as the African UNION and ASEAN.

Comparing the resolution rates of conflicts in various regions served as the basis for the statistics table developed to evaluate the efficacy of the European Union's efforts to mediate conflicts. The procedure for collecting the data needed for this study was devised in such a way as to guarantee that all pertinent information was amassed and adequately analysed.

#### 3.3. Data Analysis

The analysis of the data is carried out using both qualitative and quantitative methods. To begin, the qualitative data came from institutional reports and legal documents that outlined the involvement of the EU in resolving conflicts from 1990 to 2020. These reports and documents were sourced from various EU institutions. The qualitative data was examined using a technique known as theme analysis, which involved conducting an in-depth examination of the information that was gathered (Caulfield, 2019). The results of this examination were then used to draw conclusions. The themes that emerged from the reading were broken down and categorized into primary categories as well as subcategories to facilitate better understanding. The purpose of this research was to investigate whether or not the European Union is effective in its role as a mediator in both domestic and international conflicts. As part of the presentation of the qualitative data analysis, an illustration table was included to help improve the quality of the presentation as a whole. The table is broken up into five distinct sections. The European Union's role as a mediator in internal conflicts between the years 1990 and 2020 was the primary focus of the first section of the table. This included a list of each conflict along with particulars regarding that conflict. The second part of the report focused on the numerous wars in which the EU had participated, with the goals of categorising and explaining the various conflicts that had

taken place. The third part of the article focused on the stage of the conflict when the EU became involved. It shed light on the timing of the EU's efforts to mediate the conflict as well as the context in which those efforts took place. In the fourth section of the table, an indepth discussion was held regarding the outcomes of the mediation efforts that were carried out by the EU. These outcomes served as essential data points for the qualitative analysis, which heavily relied on them. The degree to which the conflicts were resolved or brought under control was one of the criteria that was used to evaluate them. The fifth part of the table was devoted to classifying the conflicts according to whether or not they were of a local, national, or international scope.

This categorisation, which made it possible, allowed for the evaluation of the EU's effectiveness in mediating regional and international problems. The evaluation was made possible thanks to the categorisation. By combining thematic analysis of qualitative data with an illustrative table, the purpose of this study was to provide a comprehensive knowledge of the function of the European Union as a conflict mediator from 1990 to 2020. This knowledge was intended to be useful in resolving conflicts. This action was taken in order to achieve this objective. In the second step of this investigation, the quantitative data analysis consisted of classifying disputes according to whether or not they were on a local, national, or international scale. This step was performed using the information that was gathered. When analyzing the data that was collected, Microsoft Excel was used. For the purpose of making it easier to evaluate the efficacy of the mediation efforts that have been put forth, a statistics table was developed that presents the proportion of resolutions that were effective in each region.

### **CHAPTER 4: CONFLICT CASE ANALYSIS**

#### 4.1. The case studies

The European Union (EU) has been involved in a number of conflict interventions between 1990 and 2020, although only a handful can be considered direct mediation. According to Bergmann (2015) and data from the European External Action Service (EEAS), the Yugoslav wars from 1991 to 1999, including the Bosnian Conflict of 1993, the Croatian War, the Kosovo War in 1999, tend the Macedonian civil war in 2001 are among the cases that qualify as direct mediation. The research also includes mediation efforts beyond this region, even if they were not considered direct mediation.

#### 4.1.1. Balkan Wars 1991-1992/ Slovenia

The fall of the communist regime resurrected old conflicts that were hidden and left untreated due to the communist regime systems that increased the role of the states higher than the root causes of the conflicts. One case is the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. In this case study, the role of the European community and, later, after the Maastricht treaty in 1991 European Union, in mediation efforts in the conflict of the Slovenian ten days war (Jourek,1998) are analysed in accordance with the structure of analysis that will be based on the type of the conflict, Type of mediation, the stage of the conflict and the region.

The European community at that time sent a mission to Yugoslavia in order to prevent any conflict to emerge. However, it was a late response as the Conflict had already escalated as the JA (Yugoslav Army) had entered Slovenia in order to keep the Slovenian territory under its control (Väyrynen,1997).

The European Community (EC) served as a direct mediator with the purpose of arriving at a ceasefire agreement. However, there was a lack of unity between the member states as Germany and the Netherlands supported the Slovenian Declaration of Independence, and France took another position ((Väyrynen,1997). On the other hand, the proposition from the Netherlands presidency to react through a humanitarian intervention was rejected by the United Kingdom and Portugal (The Vain Mediation Attempts of the European Community and the United Nations - Subject Files - CVCE Website, n.d).

Despite this disunity, the Brioni Agreement in 1992 arrived at a ceasefire agreement in order to take time for dialogue, and the recognition of the New Republic was on hold (Väyrynen,1997).

The EC and after the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the EU also tried to leverage the conflict through Economic incentives toward Yugoslavia in order to maintain peace, but it failed as the US was not prone to these incentives. The mediation, in general, was direct, but it was under the cooperation of the USA and Russia, thus recognising it as a multilateral mediation effort.

The Brioni Agreement in 1992 could be considered successful in the case of Slovenia, but it had a devastating effect on the other cases of Croatia and Bosnia, as the JA army was more centralised after returning from Slovenia (Väyrynen, 1997).

In general, the European Community's efforts in mediating conflict in Slovenia can be considered partly successful as they arrived at a ceasefire arrangement.

### 4.1.2 Balkan wars 1991-1992/ Croatian case

This conflict is another conflict that occurred during the series of Former Yugoslav Wars that took place between 1991 and 1992. In the same way that it was mentioned in the Slovenian case, this case escalated as a mistake from the Brion agreement that left time for the Yugoslav Army (JA) to increase its capacity and attack the new Croatian independent state (Vayrynen, 1997). This was mentioned in the Slovenian case. After the Serbian side attacked the areas of Croatia that were predominantly inhabited by Serbian ethnic groups, the conflict between the Croatian Police and the former JA army escalated. (The Vain Mediation Attempts of the European Community and the United Nations - Subject Files - CVCE Website, n.d.) This was a Serbian Montenegrin plan to take the lands with the majority from Serbian ethnic groups while they were under the influence of the Yugoslav army. The European Communities (EC) and later the European Union (EU) tried to mediate the newly escalated conflict in the Former Yugoslavia; however, they were unable to reach a ceasefire agreement and instead asked the United Nations for assistance (The Vain Mediation Attempts of the European Community and the United Nations - Subject Files - CVCE Website, n.d.). As a result, the European Communities (EC) and later the European Union (EU) were slightly effective as it appeared to leave the leading role to the United Nations.

### 4.1.3 Bosnia and Herzegovina case

The Bosnia and Herzegovina case is another case in the series of cases pertaining to the Yugoslav War. However, this conflict is unique because there have been so many casualties on the human front. The Muslim community, which had won the elections with their representative Aliya, Izetbegovic, in a shared desire with the Croatian community, declared independence; this influenced the Serbian community to declare also their independence (The Vain Mediation Attempts of the European Community and the United Nations - Subject Files - CVCE Website, n.d.). This led to the conflict, which emerged as a result of the Croatian and Serbian communities declaring their independence from one another. = Before the conflict reached a stalemate, the European Community (EC), which would later become the European Union (EU), attempted to mediate it four times (Brahm, 2003). First, representatives of the European community have pledged financial assistance to the dialogue and proposed a solution that includes the potential partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina into three distinct ethnic regions. They worked closely with the United Nations in an effort to cajole the warring parties into participating in peace talks (Levi, 2014). The United Nations strongly supported the initiatives taken by the European Community (EC), which included the imposition of sanctions in the form of a severe economic embargo on Serbia and Montenegro (Levi,2014). Due to the resistance of the United States, which strongly condemned the division lines, the European Union was unable to maintain its credibility among the parties involved in the conflict. Even the former President of the newly emerging state, Aliya Izetbegovic, declined to sign this agreement (The Vain Mediation Attempts of the European Community and the United Nations - Subject Files - CVCE Website, n.d.). Second, the European Community (EC), in strong cooperation with the United Nations, proposed another deal that would divide the territory of Bosnia into ten autonomous areas. This proposal was once again strongly condemned by the United States of America and the Bosnian Muslims, and it left the primary negotiator role to the United States of America, which resulted in the Daytona Agreement (Levi,2014).

Third, the European Union, along with the United Nations, the United States, and Russia, presented a different model for mediation by imposing political pressure in order to create a map that would fulfill all of the requests made by both sides. This was done in order to create a solution that could bring peace to the region. On the other hand, neither side was willing to accept this solution as the intensity of the conflict grew (Levi, 2014).

The massacre that took place in Srebrenica in 1995, which resulted in the deaths of over 8000 people, was seen as the beginning of the end of trust toward the UN mediation group because they issued an ultimatum to the Muslim community in Bosnia demanding that they disarm. According to "What Happened in Srebrenica | Remembering Srebrenica," 2021, this genocide is regarded as both the worst and the last to take place in Europe.

Overall, the European Community (EC) role and later the European Union (EU) tried to mediate the conflict in three phases through direct mediation, multilateral mediation in cooperation with the United Nations using sanctions as a way of pressuring, and later through financial support to the mediation groups. Direct mediation was the first phase. Multilateral mediation in cooperation with the United Nations used sanctions as a way of pressuring. Because of the United States' refusal, the European Union was unable to provide Yugoslavia with the institutional and financial support it was entitled to (Levi, 2014).

### 4.1.4 Former FYROM case

After the end of the Kosovo War in 1999, which was not part of the mediation efforts provided by the EU, a new crisis emerged in the Balkans, particularly in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). As a result of the Kosovo war, the Ethnic Albanians started a raging movement for independence that resulted in two newly Albanian Mayors in Tetovo and Gostivar removing the Fyrom Flag from their building and flagging the Albanian Nation Flag. This returned in a rage of protests and attacks against the Albanian Population that led to a full-scale civil war (Clément, 1997). The European Union (EU), different from its ancestor European Community (EC) in the former Yugoslav ward, had a positive impact in mediating the newborn conflict in this case. The EU and USA, and UN formed a military group that could persuade the parties to enter an agreement. Through financial support and other instrumental incentives, the EU could facilitate the dialogue for the Ohrid agreement). Leveraging the EU had a positive outcome as the parties agreed to enter in an agreement that led to the Ohrid Framework. (Ilevski&Talvksi,2009)

The EU found some advantages in mediating as both parties agreed to a mediator and had the trust of all the parties. With its new Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) EU led the parties to the talkings that arrived with a positive outcome (Ilevski&Talevski,2009)

Another incentive used by the EU was the promise for further integration of the country in NATO and EU, which was highly supported by the Civilians in the country (Ilevski&Talevski,2009)

The Ohrid Agreement reached by the co-mediating between the EU, UN and OSCE had a positive impact on society as it increased the rights of minorities in many fields including politics, education, language and business rights. (EIP,2015)

To conclude, The EU used leveraging in order to reach an agreement in three ways, First through leveraging with the presence of military means, using the carrot and steak technic through the plan for EU integration and Nato Integration and by giving financial support to the local societies in order to increase the standard of living (Ilevski& Talevski,2009) The EU effort is considered highly positive as it was in line with the co-mediators.

#### 4.1.5 Montenegrin case 2001

Another case that differs from the scale of conflict is the case of the Montenegrin movement for independence in 2001 after the Death of the former president of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic. The country was divided into two parts. One side wanted to stay under the Former Yugoslavia with high control from Belgrade, and the other supported independence (Vuković, 2014). The EU intervened directly to avoid spreading the conflict in other parts of the Balkans. The mediation efforts were represented by Javier Solana, who faced difficulties in finding a proper consensus. However, the EU managed to mediate this conflict successfully due to the extensive population consensus in favour of the EU and second, because the Country supported further integration in the European Union (Vuković, 2014). Bergmann (2020) argued that the EU didn't have complete cohesion among the member states and faced a lot of pressure to be one voice in the mediation efforts. On the other hand, he has added that the EU used a lot of financial resources to support the economic development of the country. This was considered as a form of leveraging in line with the 2009 directives for support and peacebuilding Council of the European Union (2009). This conflict differs from the other conflicts because it didn't precipitate a full-scale conflict, and the EU prevented it since its emergence (Brahm, 2003).

Through persuading financial support to the local actors and integration processes, the Country declared its independence and decided to have its own constitution and a single market (Vuković,2014).

# 4.1.6 Ukraine case 2014

The war may be traced back to the Maidan Revolution, which occurred when previous President Lukashenko, who was sympathetic to Russia, was forced from power as a result of the widespread corruption that existed in the country (Elgstrom, 2018). On the other side, the European Union carried out its Eastern Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and exerted pressure on the Ukrainian government to join both the EU and NATO (Elgstrom, 2018). The disagreement began when Russia refused to acknowledge Ukraine's membership in the European Union (EU) and NATO. This led to the escalation of tensions between the two countries. After the conflict became apparent, the EU responded by expressing support for the mediation process. On the other hand, the Minsk 1 agreement did not include this step in the procedure. In spite of this absence, it was still possible to achieve an accord as the hostilities intensified in the annexation of Crimea and the military attacks on the territory of Donbas (Bergmann, 2020). France and Germany were the ones that kicked off the following dialogue, which was named Minsk 2 EU. A ceasefire agreement was reached as a result of the mediation involving multiple parties. (Elgstrom, 2018) [Elgstrom] According to Matzaberizde (2015), the European Union (EU) provided the parties concerned with financial help in order to aid the achievement of the agreement. The cease-fire was seen as a success since it helped reduce the number of people who were killed or injured, but unfortunately, it didn't last for very long. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that this mediation attempt was partially effective, and the European Union was able to leverage the conflict by using the financial instrument.

### 4.1.7 Georgia/ South Ossetia

In the instance of Georgia and South Ossetia, Russia and Georgia engaged in a full-scale war against one another when the people of Abkhazia and South Ossetia declared their independence. This was not permitted by the Georgian side, which was the one who intervened in the zones; however, Russia interfered directly through the use of armed means (Whitman, 2011). In August of 2008, the European Union took on the role of mediator in the war between Russia and Georgia, particularly in South Ossetia. A fight sprang out between pro-Russian rebels in the Ossetia area and the Georgian Republic, and this conflict eventually turned into an interstate conflict between the Republic of Georgia and the Russian Federation. The European Union served as the only direct mediator in the process of negotiating a ceasefire, and the President of France served as the EU's representative in this mediation effort. However, according to Dehousse and Menon (2009), the ongoing conflict is one reason why the Six-point strategy has been partially effective.

### 4.1.8. Nagorno- Karabakh

According to the Council on Foreign Relations, the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, which dates back to the time of the Soviet Union, has not been resolved despite the occurrence of isolated acts of violence during the 1990s. As part of the EU's efforts to mediate, representatives from Armenia and Azerbaijan were brought together for conversations, and the EU's financial and technical support contributed to facilitate the peacebuilding process.

In spite of the fact that a ceasefire has been established, the fundamental problems that led to the conflict continue to exist, which results in sporadic outbreaks of violence (Europa. European, 2017). (Gurruchaga & Kostanyan, 2020) Some people believe that the European Union should have adopted a more forceful stance and applied more pressure on the parties involved in order to negotiate a peace accord that will stand the test of time.

Overall, the action by the EU produced a mixed bag of results. Although it was essential in bringing about a truce and assisting with post-war recovery efforts, the underlying issues that led to the conflict have not been resolved (Phogosyan, 2022). According to Gurruchaga and Kostanyan's 2020 research, one school of thought contends that the European Union ought to exhibit more political will and a more active engagement. According to Phogosyan's research from 2022, additional efforts need to be made to realise a lasting harmony in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

## 4.1.9 Yemen case

The European Union has been instrumental in mediating efforts during both the Arab Spring and the period after the Arab Spring. This involvement has been particularly important during the Arab Spring. To begin, the European Union (EU) has acted as a mediator in the case of Yemen, which is one of the worst examples due to the severity of its humanitarian catastrophe. It has done so by giving vital tools. First, the EU has encouraged the parties to engage in peace discussions by providing diplomatic mediation and financial support; second, the EU has encouraged the parties to engage in peace negotiations by providing support for the implementation of the agreements that have been reached (Girke, 2016). The EU's operation in Yemen is still going on, despite the fact that the conflict is still posing substantial difficulties and roadblocks to the establishment of an enduring peace (Al Jazeera, 2021). Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the EU is unwavering in its dedication to its role as a mediator in Yemen and continues to collaborate with the various parties involved in an effort to find a settlement (European External Action Service, 2021).

The conflict in Yemen has regional and international implications, including the destabilisation of the region and the spread of terrorism worldwide (European External Action Service, 2021). These are the two primary reasons why the efforts of the EU to mediate the conflict in Yemen have been so important. The first reason is because of the suffering of the people who were caught in a devastating civil war.

# 4.1.10 Syrian conflict

The European Union (EU) is able to solid gifts to the mediation of the Syrian War, which took up in 2011 and has developed in overwhelming human distress and dislocation. The EU has resorted to differing diplomatic drives and exertions proposed to influence an end to the conflict, fixing the domain, and advancing unity. This record of what happened is to search out and resolve the EU's intervention works in the Syrian War and the consequence of allure mediations, utilising an assortment of beginnings containing academic journals, relevant websites, and individual scientists.

The EU's primary tactful exertions to mediate the Syrian conflict were acted through the United Nations (UN). In 2012, the EU backed the job of Kofi Annan as the distinctive deputy to Syria to find a friendly determination to the conflict (European External Action Service, 2017). However, Annan's efforts were abandoned to resolve the dispute, and it resumed increasing. Over the age, the EU continued allure political works, supported UN-surpassed harmony talks, and gave humanitarian aid to those overwhelmed apiece conflict. Furthermore, the EU set business-related sanctions on the Syrian administration and things being the reason for civil rights rapes (European Union, 2013).

The sanctions contained limits on exports of specific amounts, sciences, and monetary undertakings (Human Rights Watch, 2015). In 2015, the EU started a new push aimed at the judgment of a governmental resolution to the conflict in Syria, containing a system that controls the organisation of a Task Force for Syria that collects the EU and allure appendage states to coordinate their works toward upholding harmony process (European External Action Service, 2017). The leadership more complicated a new round of UN-experienced harmony talks.

Despite the EU's exertions, the conflict in Syria remained, and the EU's function as a referee encountered significant challenges, to a degree, a need for more wholeness with EU appendage states and variable territorial foreign affairs aims (Gause, 2014).

The EU further wrestled with upholding posture on essential issues, containing the duty of President Bashar al-Assad in some future governmental conclusion (Human Rights Watch, 2015). However, the EU's skill to impose its resolutions and contracts has happened restricted, happening in a declining volume to intercede in the Syrian conflict. The EU has depended on the support of the worldwide society, containing the UN and individual nations, to implement actions and apply sanctions (European External Action Service, 2017).

In conclusion, the EU has performed an essential function in reconciling the Syrian War. Still, its exertions have happened precluded by various challenges, containing a lack of wholeness between EU appendage states, limited ability to apply allure conclusions and concurrences, and the steadfastness of the conflict in Syria. Despite these challenges, the EU remnants, loyal to judgment, make a serene decision regarding the conflict in Syria and advancing stability in the domain.

### 4.1.11 Tunisian case

In the Tunisian case, the EU has used different mediation strategies, Firstly EU launched a task force in 2004 in order to promote economic linkage and stability between the parties. With this linkage, EU used to leverage this financial support and used the fact that the Tunisian case differs from the other cases as the country was united. (Bisard,2015). This increased the opportunity to facilitate the dialogue and include all the parties in the talking. Overall, this can be considered a direct mediation as the EU used forms of leveraging and facilitated the dialogue. The result is considered successful because Tunisia created a fair government. (Bisard,2015).

# 4.1.11 Libya case

In the situation involving Libya, the European Union (EU) fulfilled a real obligation by intervening in the crisis that was unfolding there over the course of the Arab Spring. In 2011, when the Libyan populace was sickened by the administration of Muammar Gaddafi, which was superior to a 19th-century US war that continued for a variety of eras, the trouble for the EU in the battle began. The European Union (EU) has the goal of assisting Libya in its transition from autocracy to democracy by employing a variety of strategies, such as diplomatic mediation, financial assistance, and the coordination of law enforcement and military tasks. At the beginning of the crisis, the European Union's primary concern was achieving political reconciliation, along with the overarching goal of arriving at a verdict and settling the matter amicably. This was finished action through the entirety of the European Union's Special Representative for the Mediterranean, Bernardino León, who was

engaged with a sequence of negotiations accompanied by Libyan heads and commissioners of accommodating people organisations. According to the European External Action Service (2017), the European Union provided humanitarian assistance to those affected by a war, which may include foreigners and people who are internally disturbed (IDPs), only once. Concerning the contentious situation in Tunisia, In the case of Egypt, the European Union was confronted with the disunity of the people, failed to have a coherent foreign policy, and failed to have clear lines of authority inside the EU (Gause, 2014). The European Union (EU) made an effort to mediate the domestic conflict by providing financial support and fostering conversation between all of the parties involved (Bisard,2015).

In addition to mediating political disputes, the EU also provided financial assistance to Libya's government on a singular occasion throughout the entire conflict. It was suggested that this help be provided in order to maintain the economy of the country and cultivate ethical standards within the Libyan population. In addition, the EU allocated funding for business-related rectification programmes in the same way that the Support for Economic Reforms programme offered to support the transition to a business-familiarize thriftiness.

In addition, the EU was responsible for determining the amount of funds allocated for foundation projects, which is, to some extent, the rationale behind the construction of roads, bridges, and additional public conveniences (European Union, 2013). During the time of the Arab Spring, the European Union maintained a connection in Libya, which included the organisation of military and law enforcement tasks. In 2013, the European Union redistributed a military commitment known as EUFOR Libya in order to assist in maintaining security in the nation and protecting civilians. In addition to listening to the exercise of the cessation of hostilities that was achieved between the Libyan management and opposition organisations, the fault was borne together with providing preparation and support to Libyan protection forces (European External Action Service, 2017). The fault was also accompanied by the provision of preparation and assistance to Libyan protection forces. The European Union's interference in Libya during the course of the Arab Spring had a variety of unintended consequences. The diplomatic efforts of the EU, in conjunction with the assistance of individual parties, were crucial in bringing an end to the war and establishing a precedent for the peaceful transition from slavery to freedom. On the other

hand, the country's rubble is disturbed by governmental imbalance, financial disaster, and ongoing intensity, which is accompanying many Libyan residents who are still hurting from the effects of the battle (Human Rights Watch, 2015). In conclusion, the EU gambled a primary duty to intervene in the catastrophe in Libya during the Arab Spring. The EU's works contained political conciliation, business-related aid, and the arrangement of military and lawman responsibilities. Although the consequence of the EU's mediation was assorted, the EU's works aided in causing an end to the conflict and paved the way for a social change to justice.

# 4.1.12 Egypt Case

The political instability in Egypt after the Arab spring and the challenges to legitimate the authority of the government have been signals of the political and social instability in the country that could lead to a new conflict. For instance, in 2013, the military overthrew Mohamed Morsi as president of Egypt, despite the fact that he had been legally elected (European External Action Service, 2017). This led to increased instability and protests. In addition, the administration was criticised for its suppression of political opposition, limits on the freedom of speech and assembly, and various other violations of human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2015). A further key obstacle that the nation had to overcome at this time was the country's poor economic situation. (European Union, 2013) Despite the efforts of the EU to strengthen the economy, including financial assistance and technical support, high levels of poverty, unemployment, and inflation continued. According to the International Crisis Group (2016), the country's potential to expand and develop was limited as a result of the economic hardships, which were aggravated by political instability and a lack of investment. Both the relevance of regional actors in supporting peace and stability in areas of conflict and the difficulties of mediating in situations that are both complicated and constantly moving are brought to light by the involvement of the EU in the conflict in Egypt. Because of a lack of leverage and the limited resources available for conflict mediation, the European Union's efforts in Egypt were severely constrained. In addition, the European Union was confronted with a number of structural issues, the most notable of which were the absence

of a coherent foreign policy and the absence of defined lines of power within the EU (Gause, 2014). In spite of these obstacles, the European Union's experience in Egypt offers valuable insights that might be applied to the mediation of future conflicts. According to the European External Action Service (2017), this will demand a commitment over a prolonged period of time as well as a readiness to engage in ongoing communication and negotiations. Second, in order to accomplish long-term peace and stability, the European Union (EU) needs to be ready to address the underlying elements that contribute to conflicts, which can include political, economic, and social factors (International Crisis Group, 2016). Last but not least, the European Union (EU) needs to keep in mind the intricacies of conflict mediation and the requirement to be adaptable and responsive to the ever-shifting conditions on the ground (Gause, 2014). While the European External Action Service (2017), the actions taken by the EU in Egypt highlight the necessity of a continued involvement, a concentration on the fundamental factors at play, and a determination to be adaptable and responsive in the face of shifting conditions. The European Union is able to maintain its crucial role in the maintenance of peace and security in the region if it draws from these experiences and builds upon them.

### 4.1.13 DRC Case

The European Union (EU) has energetically meditated and agreed on the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The EU's peacebuilding efforts in the DRC are unspecified, the more extensive EU procedure for conflict prevention and confrontation administration. This case study will determine the type, stage, and consequence of the EU's mediation in the DRC conflict, drawing on appropriate academic literature and official EU reports.

The EU's intervention in the DRC conflict may be characterised as a versatile peacebuilding work that involves governmental, business-related, and protection-connected measures. According to the EU (2017), the EU's support for the harmony process and protection area

correct in the DRC aims to "cause an unending harmony, security, and safety in the country." In this framework, the EU's peacebuilding exertions in the DRC have fixated on various key extents, containing support for the peace process, support for the safety subdivision correct, and support for the country's growth.

The stage of the EU's mediation in the DRC conflict may be visualised as continuous as the EU resumes to support the country's peaceprocess and safety are correct. According to Leger and Bresser (2015), the EU's function in conflicts in Africa is compelled by various determinants, containing the EU's desire to assert peace and support in the domain and persuade interest in keeping its own interest clever and financial interests in Africa. In the case of the DRC, the EU's continuous attack indicates the ongoing conflict in the country and the need for continued support for the harmony process and protection subdivision correct.

The consequence of the EU's intervention in the DRC conflict is troublesome to determine as the conflict in the country persists in developing. However, various studies have tried to judge the influence of the EU's peacebuilding exertions in the DRC. For example, Stigson and Kapitulčinová (2015) precariously evaluated the EU's duty in peacebuilding in the DRC. They establish that while the EU's peacebuilding exertions have had few beneficial belongings, they have confronted various challenges. These challenges involve restricted EU influence in the country, a lack of arrangement between EU stars, and restricted EU possessions for peacebuilding.

Meerts and Verpoest (2013) attended to more detailed reasoning of the EU's function in the DRC conflict and established that the EU's peacebuilding exertions had restricted the ground. They contend that a lack of arrangement between EU performers and money for peacebuilding has impeded the EU's peacebuilding works. Despite these challenges, the EU's continuous attack in the DRC indicates the allure of resumed assurance of peacebuilding and conflict stop in the domain.

Finally, De Clerck-Sachsse (2010) supports a survey of the EU's governmental and expanding connections accompanying the DRC and climaxes the EU's act in advocating harmony and cohesion in the country. The author contends that the EU's peacebuilding works in the DRC have been affected by various determinants, including the EU's calculated interests in Africa, allure desire to claim harmony and strength in the domain, and allure obligation to advocate freedom and civil rights in the DRC.

In conclusion, the EU's mediation in the DRC conflict may be characterised as a versatile peacebuilding exertion that involves governmental, financial, and safety-connected measures. The EU's continuous attack on the DRC indicates the ongoing conflict in the country and the need for continued support for the harmony process and freedom subdivision correct. Despite facing significant challenges, containing restricted money and changeable safety surroundings, the EU has persisted in dealing with the conflict and upholding the DRC in a direct way towards unity and cohesion. The EU's peacebuilding works have shown the significance of maintaining the date and an inclusive approach to giving conflict. Furthermore, they have proved that the EU can considerably support harmony and protection in dainty states.

To evaluate the EU's role as a mediator, this study analysed the conflicts in which the EU has intervened as a mediator from 1990 to 2020. The findings are presented in Table 1, which summarises the type of conflict, the stage of EU intervention, the outcome of the mediation efforts and the geographical region of the Conflict The first column of the table indicates the conflict in which the EU has operated as a mediator. The conflicts included in the table are those in which the EU has been actively involved as a mediator, either as a single mediator or as part of a larger mediation effort. The second column in the table represents the types of mediation interventions employed by the European Union (EU) to resolve conflicts. These mediation interventions encompass a range of approaches, including facilitative, transformative, and evaluative mediation (Alexander, 2008). By employing various types of mediation interventions, the EU aims to address conflicts effectively and promote sustainable peace through dialogue, negotiation, and consensus-building (Sjoberg, 2019). The third column indicates the stage at which the EU intervened in the conflict. The EU's intervention can occur at different stages of the conflict, such as early prevention or post-

conflict reconstruction (Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009). The fourth column provides an overview of the outcome of the EU's mediation efforts. The outcomes are categorised as successful, unsuccessful, or ongoing. A successful outcome is one in which the mediation results in a resolution to the conflict. In contrast, an unsuccessful outcome is one in which the mediation is ongoing and has not yet resulted in a resolution to the conflict. The outcome indicators in this study are derived from the analysis of conflict mediation efforts, which assess whether these efforts resulted in successful or unsuccessful outcomes. Partially successful outcomes are considered successful in the context of this study. Conflicts that are ongoing and have not been resolved by the time limit of 2020 are categorised as ongoing conflicts escalated. It will serve as an indicator to analyse and compare the success rate of the EU in mediating conflicts inside and outside the European Continent. All the sources and materials used in the illustrative table will be listed as the paper goes further beyond analysing all the case studies in detail.

Table 1.1. Illustrative table about the conflicts in that EU has served as a mediator.

	Type of	Stage of Conflict at		
Conflict	Intervention	Intervention	Outcome	Region
Slovenian war		1. Advanced stage		
1001/		Ceasefire		
1991/		2. Dispute settlement	TT' 11	
Interstate		-	Highly	
conflict	Meditation	Post Conflict	effective	Europe
Croatian war		1. Advanced stage		
Interstate	Facilitation of	Cease Fire	Partial	
conflict 1992	Negotiations	2. Dispute settlement	effective	Europe

	Type of	Stage of Conflict at		
Conflict	Intervention	Intervention	Outcome	Region
		Post Conflict		
Bosnian War		<ol> <li>Early stage</li> <li>Conflict emergence</li> <li>Dispute settlement</li> <li>Conflict Resolution</li> <li>Post Conflict</li> </ol>		
Interstate conflict1994	Meditation	Peacebuilding Stage	No settlement	Europe
Ethnic conflict in North Macedonia Intraste conflict 2001	<ol> <li>Facilitation of Negotiations</li> <li>Meditating support team</li> <li>Financial Assistance</li> </ol>	<ol> <li>Advanced Stage</li> <li>Ceasefire.</li> <li>Dispute settlement</li> <li>Conflict Resolution</li> <li>Post Conflict</li> <li>Peacebuilding stage</li> </ol>	Highly effective	Europe
Montenegrin Conflict 2004	11	1. Early Stage Conflict Emergence	Highly effective	Europe
Arab Spring: Tunisia case	<ol> <li>Financial assistance</li> <li>Humanitarian assistance</li> </ol>	1. Post Conflict Peacebuilding	Highly effective	Outside EU

	Type of	Stage of Conflict at		
Conflict	Intervention	Intervention	Outcome	Region
				rtegion -
	3. Promoting			
	Political reforms,			
	1. Financial			
	Support			
A 1 ·			NT	
Arab spring:	2. Promoting	1. Post Conflict	No	
Egypt Case	Peace	Peacebuilding	settlement	Outside EU
	1. Facilitation of			
	negotiations			
	2. Financial	1. Early Stage		
	Support	Conflict emergence		
		2. post-conflict		
Arab Spring:	3. Military		Partial	
Libya case	assistance	Peacebuilding	effective	Outside EU
	1. Promoting			
	diplomacy			
	through the UN	1. Early stage		
	2. Financial	Conflict emergence		
	Sanctions	2. Advances Stage		
	<ol> <li>Humanitarian</li> <li>assistance</li> <li>Promoting</li> </ol>	Conflict Crisis		
		3. Post Conflict	No	
Syrian war	Political solution	Peacebuilding	settlement	Outside EU
	1. Diplomatic			
	pressure	1. Early-stage Conflict		
Conflict in	2. Financial	Emergence	No	
Yemen	Assistance	2. Ongoing	settlement	Outside EU

	Type of	Stage of Conflict at		
Conflict	Intervention	Intervention	Outcome	Region
	1. financial and			
	technical			
	assistance			
	2. Providing			
Israel –	technical support			
Palestine	3. Facilitating	1. Post Conflict	No	
Conflict	Negotiations	Peacebuilding	settlement	Outside EU
	1. Multilateral			
	Peacekeeping			
	mission			
	2. Financial and			
Nagorno-	technical	1. post-conflict stage	No	
Karabakh	assistance	Peacebuilding	settlement	Outside EU
		1. Early-stage Conflict		
	1. Facilitation of	emergence		
Ukraine War:	negotiation	2. post-conflict	Partial	
( 2014)	2. Sanctions	Peacebuilding	effective	Outside EU
	1. Facilitation of			
	Negotiations	1. Advanced Stage		
Democratic	2. Technical	Conflict crisis		
republic of Congo (DRC)	assistance	2. Post Conflict	No	
Conflict		Peacebuilding	settlement	Outside EU

Because of its near proximity to the regions in question as well as the political and financial support it provides, the European Union (EU) has shown to be an effective mediator in regional conflicts (European Union, 2022a). Nevertheless, because to a lack of power and resources, its effectiveness in international mediation has been restricted (European Union, 2022b). Specifically, the European Union (EU) has come under fire for its inability to properly respond to humanitarian crises and conflicts in regions such as Syria and Yemen (European Union, 2022b). In spite of this, the European Union (EU) continues to show its commitment to peace and stability by participating in peacekeeping missions and providing support for peace negotiations (European Union, 2022b).

# 4.2. Comparative analysis and results

Region	•	Number of meditations	•	Partial effectiv	Highly effectiv	Success Rate
EU			5	1	3	19%
International			9	2	1	14%
Total			21			38%

- 1. All the results are calculated by EXCEL Formula (Successful Cases/Partial effective and effective / Total cases)\*100
- 2. The results are: a. The success rate of regional cases = 19%
  - b. The success rate of international cases = 14%
  - c. The success rate of the Total cases = 38%

This analysis is based on Bergmann's (2015) paper, which evaluates the results of conflicts according to the following categories: Major Settlement, which occurs when there is a solution to the conflict; Minor Settlement, which occurs when there is a truce; and No Resolution, which occurs when the conflict worsens. This assessment is connected to the subjective analysis in which it is categorised as Highly effective, Partially effective, or No settlement. According to the findings of the study, having outcomes that are both Highly effective and Partially effective are deemed to be positive. This finding is consistent with the Hypothesis because it demonstrates that the EU possesses more characteristics of regional organisations and is more effective in the conflict within its region than it is in the international arena, where it only achieves an effectiveness level of 14%. The result consists of a 19% increase in effectiveness within the EU's region as opposed to internationally.

# **Chapter 5: CONCLUSION**

This research aimed to compare the outcomes of the case studies in order to examine the role of the EU in mediation and to define whether the EU is more proactive in mediating conflict within its region vs internationally, thus explaining a further question Whether the EU is considered regional or international organisation in the field of mediation. It also measured the effectiveness in correlation with Bergmann's (2015) work, which gave a substantial model for measuring the effectiveness of the EU in every region that it has been part of as a mediator in internal conflicts from 1990 to 2020. The analysis started with the conflicts in 1990 because it was the first time that the European Union intervened as a mediator in the former Yugoslavia conflicts. It was firstly its predecessor, the European Community, which based its norms for mediating conflicts on Economic power. However, the emergence of the European Union in 1992 institutionalised mediation as part of managing and preventing conflict. The emergence of CFSP also had an impact through mediation as it linked the Foreign policies of the Member states in a single policy while representing the European Union EU. The lessons from the former Yugoslavia conflicts made the EU more centralised in preventing and managing conflicts while integrating the norms and means of mediation in line with Human rights and in cohesion with all the institutions of the EU in line with the UN general guidelines for mediation.

According to the comparative analysis, my first argument is that the European Union has instruments and capabilities to mediate a conflict. Its financial capabilities have made many mediations to be successful through the use of leverage. The EU also operates as a mediator in many forms, like direct and supporting mediation. The EU could cooperate with other international and regional institutions like the UN, OSCE and other regional organisations.

My second argument is that the EU has some difficulties managing conflicts outside its region due to the lack of knowledge about the root cause and people's perceptions of the conflicts. In its region, the EU has a broader knowledge of the nationalities and root causes due to its geographical position and the long history of cooperation.

The third argument is that through the years, the EU's role has expanded throughout its region, but still, there are some gaps to fill. For example, through multilateral mediation, there have been difficulties for the EU to find the same language with other parties.

The fact that the material used to support the thesis dates back to 1990 and cannot be updated to reflect more recent research is one of the weaknesses of the thesis. As a result, there is a greater requirement for additional research into the recently published literature and the reports produced by the institutions. Second, putting more of a focus on the European Union's representation in the rest of the world through mediation and determining whether or not the EU Is more proactive as a regional or international organisation in mediating conflicts has left the analysis of the mediation as a tool more scarce in analysing and finding data. Third, the focus has primarily been on literature and not in political interviews, which has prevented it from attaining the full spectrum of the mediation in practise.

Students can make use of the study to broaden their understanding of this analysis in order to prepare themselves for their future research in the topic of mediation, particularly concerning the role that the EU plays in the field.

The final answer to the research question is that the EU represent itself in the world through mediation, primarily maintaining a position as a force of good and through a set of norms guided by the principles of human rights and in accordance with the UN guidelines of mediation.

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