of the process behind the use of those measures. Thus, this approach directs our attention to what specific CBMs do rather than to how the underlying confidence building process works. The nature of the confidence building process — whether understood narrowly as the "result" or "product" of negotiating and implementing confidence building agreements or, more broadly, to include more fundamental, associated transformations in security perceptions — cannot be accommodated by the category approach. It is strictly measure-centric, by design and necessity.

This focus on measures is not a serious concern *if* the category approach is consciously associated with other analytic approaches to confidence building that focus on process. The danger lies in the separation of the category approach from process-oriented views. Analysts and (especially) policy makers who draw *only* on the menu-like virtues of the category approach — often in combination with the practical example of the Vienna CSBM Documents and their specific CBMs — for policy advice will tend to develop a limited understanding of confidence building; one that slights process and causal issues. This is almost certainly unhelpful for the successful development of confidence building solutions in new application contexts, where this tendency is most likely to prevail.

The general value of the category approach also was impaired inadvertently by permitting overly-simple, implicit understandings of confidence building to influence the category approach's initial development twelve years ago. *This tended to expose the category approach to the least sophisticated and most conservative dimensions of measure-centric thinking about what confidence building is and how it works.* More important, it also tended to ensure that the category approach would be isolated from the potential later influence of more sophisticated ideas about confidence building. This occurred because the category structure was basically set from the beginning, an artifact of a simple working definition of confidence building, framed in terms of what CBMs do. There is no obvious way to harmonize dated category thinking

with new definitions and explanations of confidence building that focus on process and change, short of starting over from scratch.

As a result of its inadvertent connections with very simple, measure-centric understandings of confidence building, the category approach is almost certainly less universal than it seems[7] and potentially Eurocentric.[8] At least as damaging, the basic conceptual thinking underlying it is relatively primitive and static, a conservative artifact of "old" confidence building thinking.[9]

Despite these problems, the typology is by no means fatally flawed. It is still a very useful device, particularly in its revised form — provided that its inherent limitations are understood. In short, the major practical limitation of the typology approach is that it may have encouraged errors of omission and conservative thinking. As a result, some potential types of new CBMs, ones that emerge from conceptually sophisticated, process-oriented understandings of confidence building, may not be easily accommodated in the existing typology because they were not anticipated in the earlier literature. This is a development against which we will need to be on guard for fear of dismissing useful CBM ideas.

Defining Confidence Building

Definitions that highlight the key aspects of complicated phenomena and outline in general terms how they function are useful reference devices for those who are grappling with new ideas for the first time. They are also useful reference points for analysts who are attempting to better understand those complicated phenomena. Definitions in the latter case can help analysts isolate contentious aspects of competing understandings, allowing them to extract the essential and central from the background noise of descriptive accounts.

The original study's fourth and final perspective involved the detailed examination of two related aspects of the professional confidence building literature: