

# RECON Online Working Paper 2011/30

## Debating Humanitarian Military Interventions in the European Public Sphere

Cathleen Kantner



Cathleen Kantner

**Debating humanitarian military interventions in the European public sphere**

RECON Online Working Paper 2011/30

December 2011

URL: [www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html](http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html)

© 2011 Cathleen Kantner

RECON Online Working Paper Series | ISSN 1504-6907

*Cathleen Kantner* is Professor and Head of Department of International Relations and European Integration, Institute of Social Science, University of Stuttgart.

E-mail: [cathleen.kantner@sowi.uni-stuttgart.de](mailto:cathleen.kantner@sowi.uni-stuttgart.de).

The RECON Online Working Paper Series publishes pre-print manuscripts on democracy and the democratisation of the political order Europe. The series is interdisciplinary in character, but is especially aimed at political science, political theory, sociology, and law. It publishes work of theoretical, conceptual as well as of empirical character, and it also encourages submissions of policy-relevant analyses, including specific policy recommendations. The series' focus is on the study of democracy within the multilevel configuration that makes up the European Union.

Papers are available in electronic format only and can be downloaded in pdf-format at [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu). Go to Publications | RECON Working Papers.

Issued by ARENA

Centre for European Studies

University of Oslo

P.O.Box 1143 Blindern | 0318 Oslo | Norway

Tel: +47 22 85 87 00 | Fax +47 22 85 87 10

[www.arena.uio.no](http://www.arena.uio.no)

## **Abstract**

What kind of democracy might fit the developing Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) given the political developments and the evolution of public debate on security and defence issues over the last twenty years? Different model-designs for a more democratic European Union (EU) in general and a democratized Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in particular have been proposed. This paper contributes to answering this question by investigating whether and in which ways Europeans were included in a transnational European debate on humanitarian military interventions after the Cold War (1990-2005/2006). The paper analyses a full sample of 108,677 newspaper articles published in the leading conservative and liberal newspapers of six EU member states, and the US as a comparative case. It demonstrates that the 'national' arenas of political communication are thematically intertwined and allow ordinary citizens to make up their minds about common European issues in this highly controversial and normatively particularly sensitive realm. Transnational political communication is currently not satisfyingly fed into representative democratic institutions. However, 'hermetic communicative borders' between national publics are non-existent and are a poor excuse for a lack of political will to democratise the EU – one way or the other.

## **Keywords**

Common Security and Defence Policy – Democratic Deficit – European Public Sphere – Humanitarian Interventions – Military Interventions – Transnational Political Communication



## Introduction

Security and defence have long been considered areas with strong executive powers and comparatively weak democratic checks and balances. In this sense, there have been always tensions between security policies on the one hand and democratic accountability, public debate and protection of individual rights on the other. In the post-national context of the developing Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP<sup>1</sup>), these problems are multiplied by the additional obstacles posed by a transnational citizenry and the multi-level character of the European Union (EU) decision-making system (Kantner and Liberatore 2006). However, with the coming into force of the *Lisbon Treaty* (2009), the democratic question becomes more urgent in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)/CSDP also since CSDP is moving beyond pure intergovernmentalism (Sjursen 2007, 2012). This paper will contribute to answering the question of what kind of democracy might fit the EU especially in the realm of CSDP, by investigating whether and in which ways Europeans were included in a transnational European debate on humanitarian military interventions via the mass media after the Cold War (1990-2005/2006).

Is there a democratic deficit in CFSP? Shortly after the establishment of the *Maastricht Treaty* and the German constitutional court decision on this treaty, the former constitutional judge Dieter Grimm (1995) argued that from a legal point of view there was no *democratic deficit* in the second and third pillars as long as they were purely intergovernmental in their organisational outline. It has always been absolutely legitimate for governments to enter international contracts with far-reaching consequences, to join international organisations and to act within military alliances in the name of their people as long as each government held a veto in all questions and did not submit itself to majority rule in international institutions.<sup>2</sup> However, some citizens and parliamentarians *felt* a democratic deficit in the second pillar, especially since the EU gradually started to engage also in military and civilian missions abroad.<sup>3</sup> Since the *Lisbon Treaty* formally abolished the pillar construction and also substantially assimilated the former second pillar (ESDP) into more 'normal' EU politics (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 62), this '*felt democratic deficit*', as I would like to call it, gradually also becomes a legal one.

---

\* This study presents results of the project 'In search of a new role in world politics. The common European foreign, security and defence policies (CFSP/ESDP) in the light of identity-debates in the member states' mass media', a unique, large-scale, comparative, quantitative and qualitative media-content analysis carried out at the Freie Universität Berlin and directed by Dr. Cathleen Kantner and Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse. For the generous funding of this project, we are grateful to the German Research Foundation (DFG, contract no. RI 798/8) and the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme, within which this study was supported as part of RECON (Reconstituting Democracy in Europe, Integrated FP6-Project, contract no. CIT4-CT-2006-028698. Host institution: ARENA, University of Oslo, Norway). The FAZIT foundation kindly provided the article set of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. My special thanks goes to my colleagues Amelie Kutter and Andreas Hildebrandt, who with astonishing creativity developed and refined the corpus-linguistic methods that generated the data analysed in this paper. I also wish to thank Jana Katharina Grabowsky for providing the Dutch data as well as Joshua Rogers and Barty Begley for the language editing.

<sup>1</sup> Until the *Lisbon Treaty* (2009), CSDP was named *European Security and Defence Policy* (ESDP).

<sup>2</sup> Grimm (1995) acknowledged, however, that there was a democratic deficit in the first pillar, into which majority voting in the Council had been introduced with Maastricht.

<sup>3</sup> See Wagner (2005, 2007) for an extended discussion of the democratic deficit in ESDP.

This paper starts from the presumption that an informed public is a crucial precondition for all mechanisms of democratic control in general (Habermas 1996) as well as with respect to CFSP/CSDP in particular (Born and Hänggi 2004; Kantner and Liberatore 2006; Wagner 2006, 2007). Therefore, it is a crucial question whether ordinary citizens have access on an everyday basis to news on the complex and ethically controversial issues of security and defence, such as military humanitarian interventions. Do the national media<sup>4</sup> arenas enable ordinary citizens in the different member states to make up their minds upon common European security and defence issues? That is, is transnational political communication taking place? Informed citizens who hold more or less well-reasoned views on European external security issues would be the *demos* of a democratic foreign, security and defence policy in the European Union.

The paper proceeds as follows: section two presents three possibilities of how to democratise CFSP/CSDP: an intergovernmental '*audit democracy*'; a '*federal multinational democracy*'; and a '*regional cosmopolitan democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007, 2012; Sjursen 2007, 2012). It summarises the expectations of three different models of European democracy as regards the relevant constituencies and the location of public debate and democratic political participation. Then, the concepts of transnational political communication and a European public sphere will be introduced in order to prepare the reader for the concepts used for the empirical analysis of the intervention debate.

The third section discusses step by step the results of the empirical analysis. I shall describe the sequence charts of 16 years of media coverage on humanitarian military interventions and compare the 'national' issue cycles. Finally, phases of convergence and divergence between countries will be identified over time. The data presented derive from an extensive quantitative content analysis. The empirical investigation comprises a continuous time period of 16 years (January 1990 – March 2006) of news coverage and commentary on humanitarian military interventions in six European countries, which either were or became EU members during the period under investigation. The United States (US) is included as a comparative case. The texts investigated encompass a cleaned full-sample of newspaper articles that reported and commented on military actions in terms of 'humanitarian military interventions' (N = 108 677). In this way, the investigation provides a unique continuous longitudinal examination of the attention given in the different countries to the issue of humanitarian military interventions, allowing for a systematic comparison of seven countries over a time period of sixteen years.

The last section will conclude that:

1. The quality newspapers fulfil their democratic duty. They report on the important common issues such as, in my example, humanitarian military interventions and give ordinary citizens the chance to build informed opinions about it. The national media debates are, moreover, transnationally interlinked and feature European and transatlantic debates on humanitarian military interventions.

---

<sup>4</sup> Ordinary citizens use the national media to be informed about politics regardless of on which level of the 'European multi-level system' the decision is taken. Therefore the search for a European public sphere becomes a search for transnational inter-linkages between national media arenas (Eder and Kantner 2000, 2002; Risse 2010; van de Steeg 2006).

2. This has profound implications for the prospects of democracy with respect to foreign, security and defence policies: In the national newspapers, ordinary people find a lot of material with which to become informed and to critically build up their opinions on issues of humanitarian military interventions. The 'national' arenas of political communication are thematically intertwined and allow also for transnational - European, transatlantic and global - communication flows. The communicative preconditions for all three models of European democracy articulated by Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum (2007, 2012) are therefore given.
3. However, which model we, the Europeans, will choose to strive for and implement in our common political project is and remains an intrinsically political question.

## Public Debate and the democratising of CFSP / CSDP

### Models for a European democracy: Three possibilities

Eriksen and Fossum (2007) propose three models of democracy for the European Union (EU) which imply different roles for public political communication. (1) The EU might be envisioned as '*delegated democracy*' (ibid. 11-13, 28) or '*audit democracy*' (for the CFSP see: Sjursen 2007, 2012) in which the member states decide on European issues in a dominantly intergovernmental manner or delegate powers to specialist agencies and independent regulatory commissions at the European level. Democracy is considered a national feature and therefore also processes of political communication and public opinion formation are not expected to transcend national borders. The constituency as well as the processes of political legitimation reside within the confines of the member states. Some would even go so far as to speak of clearly separate national public spheres, each seeing CFSP issues from a specific national perspective. However, this claim can only be seriously understood as idealistic exaggeration, since obviously modern national public spheres are not at all homogeneous but marked by severe conflicts; public deliberation does not at all lead to consensus but rather 'coordinated dissent' regarding the most important political opinions towards the controversial political issues; elections show the distribution of public positions towards different policy packages; and different democratic political systems have developed different ways to accommodate the views and interests of the political opposition (Eder and Kantner 2000).

(2) Emphasising supranational trends, the EU might alternatively be conceptualised as a '*federal democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 16f., 28) or more precisely a '*federal multinational democracy*' (Sjursen 2007, 2012). In this second model, democracy would be practiced on both the national and the European level. This would call for a European public sphere and - in the eyes of the authors - also for a 'thick', nation-like collective European identity.<sup>5</sup> Because foreign, security and defence policy are core state functions, a federal multinational democracy, i.e. a nation-state-like EU, would locate decision-making power on these issues at the European level, and thereby presuppose (and create) a European constituency (Sjursen 2007, 2012). Moreover, communitarians who believe that in the nation state a 'thick' collective identity finally

---

<sup>5</sup> Only in the latest version of the RECON models has this insistence on a 'thick' collective identity been given up (Eriksen and Fossum 2012: 26).

helps to generate consensus also regarding the most controversial issue of the use of military force would even expect a 'kind of automatic "rallying around the flag"' and at the same time doubt this could ever be the case beyond the nation (Sjursen 2007, 2012: 150). A European public sphere would – some still expect – lead to consensus or at least some kind of convergence in public opinion. Considering the discussion on the post-heroic society that argues that already in the nation state people are no longer willing to die or see soldiers die in battle for patriotic aims, this constitutes an unrealistically high hurdle (Luttwak 1995, 1996; for the EU, see Wagner 2004). After a decade of research on the European public sphere and the politicization of EU politics, it became common knowledge that public discourse in whatever arena – national or European – does not lead to consensual harmony but rather 'coordinated dissent', the differentiation of a spectrum of opinions and political forces (for example: Eder and Kantner 2000, 2002; Kantner 2004: Ch. 3.3, 4.3; Risse 2010: Ch. 6, 7; van de Steeg 2006; Zürn 2006; Zürn et al. 2007, 2008). The homogeneous vision of 'the national public sphere' sketched by those who argue that a European public sphere would not be possible is under-complex and idealised. Any *political* discussion is about conflicting interests, contradictions and incompatible visions of the good life. With the help of democratic procedures, we try to deal with our differences in a peaceful way. Moreover, any real discussion – of course even inside the nation state – involves different perspectives on the problem in question as well as concepts in need of clarification.<sup>6</sup> The 'language games' constituted by different natural languages are not incommensurable. We can start to communicate with each other if we want to. Whether we do so – of course – remains an empirical question (Kantner 2004).

(3) Another vision for the reconstitution of democracy beyond the nation state would be a '*cosmopolitan democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 22-24, 28) or a '*regional cosmopolitan democracy*' (Sjursen 2007, 2012) resting on multi-level governance mechanisms. With respect to the communicative preconditions of transnational democracy (Kantner 2004; Risse 2010), under conditions of a multi-national citizenry this model, like the 'federal democracy' just discussed, would call for intensive transnational European communication, but it would also include the views and interests of affected third parties of other regions or states – the relevant constituency would therefore be a regional and global one (Sjursen 2007, 2012). Some authors would even expect public deliberation – in the third model – to play an even more important role than formal representation (Crum and Fossum 2009).

### **How to conceive of a European public sphere in CSFP/CSDP?**

Lively public debates are the fundamental ingredient for democratic politics on the input-side of the political process. The development of a transnational European public sphere is therefore a precondition for overcoming the often criticised 'democratic deficit' with respect to CFSP/CSDP (Born and Hänggi 2004; Kantner and Liberatore 2006; Wagner 2006, 2007). Independently of which institutional model of democracy will be chosen, without public involvement it would be doomed to fail. An intergovernmental '*audit democracy*', a '*federal multinational democracy*', as well as a '*regional cosmopolitan democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007, 2012; Sjursen 2007, 2012)

---

<sup>6</sup> The process of 'going through the hermeneutic circle' differs even in the situation of 'radical interpretation' only in degree not in quality from what is at the base of all human communication (Kantner 2004: Ch. 4; Tietz 2002). Discourse and also identity discourses are not bound to the borders of language or national culture.



depend in different ways on an informed public and each model proposes the institutionalisation of channels to give public reason a regular and legally binding influence on and control over foreign, security and defence policies.

Until recently, however, the literature on European public spheres tended to hold that transnational European communication encounters almost insurmountable obstacles, arguments that have been repeated again and again since the Maastricht Crisis<sup>7</sup> (see, for example: Gerhards 2001; Graf von Kielmansegg 1996; Grimm 1995). Most scholars held that for the time being the lack of ability of ordinary citizens to communicate across national borders – due to the diversity of languages, media systems and civic traditions – was at the root of the impossibility of seriously democratising the European Union.

Yet, in the process of transnationalisation of economic, legal, political and cultural interactions, formerly unknown degrees of intensity, density and continuity of affectedness by decisions taken in other countries become part of ordinary political life (Kantner 2004: Ch. 5; Risse 2010; Zürn 2006). In this constellation, it becomes even more likely that political communication is no longer limited according to ‘arbitrary’ national borders but rather by the horizons of problem-perceptions that – if actors know what they are doing and experiencing – may follow in their tendencies the interaction radius of the problems at stake.

Why should debates on European or international issues not also be intertwined and interlinked (e.g. via common experiences of problematic situations, via press agencies, journalistic interaction, policy cooperation and civil society networks) so that people in different countries can develop their opinions about the same events and issues? If it is true that the ‘public consists of all those who are affected by the indirect consequences of transactions to such an extent that it is deemed necessary to have those consequences systematically cared for’ (Dewey 1927: 15f.), local, national and transnational political communications develop according to the same problem-focussed logic.

Hence, we can speak of a *transnational political communication* to the degree that (Eder and Kantner 2000: 81; Kantner 2004: 130-162):

- the *same transnational issues* are discussed
- at the *same time* and
- under similar *aspects of relevance*, that is with a similar framing but not necessarily with the same opinions.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Already, the *Maastricht Treaty* (Treaty on European Union, TEU, 1992, in force by 1993) encountered severe difficulties in the ratification process. In Denmark, the treaty was rejected by a referendum in 1992. A French referendum approved the treaty by a narrow margin. In Germany, the Constitutional Court was called on to decide whether the Treaty would undermine the democracy-principle of the German constitution. The decision was in favour of the treaty, but interpreted it in a rather intergovernmentalist way. In the UK, a government crisis broke out over the British opt-out from developing social provisions in the Treaty.

<sup>8</sup> Other authors added further criteria to the list, such as ‘cross-national mutual citation’ or ‘mutual recognition as legitimate speakers’ (Risse 2002a, 2002b, 2010; Tobler 2002; van de Steeg 2002a, 2002b). For a response to these proposals, see Eder and Kantner (2002). We argued that mutual citation and the publication of media content from abroad is hard to study because of hidden processes of transnational inter-media agenda setting (e.g. journalists ‘sharing ideas’ from other sources without citing; reliance on

Knowing that most authors use the concepts interchangeably, I distinguish between transnational European '*political communication*' and a full-fledged '*European public sphere*' (Kantner 2004: 56-59).<sup>9</sup> While '*political communication*' refers to informal and formal debates and discourses about political issues taking place in everyday life or in public arenas like political meetings and conventions and most importantly in the mass media, a full-fledged '*European public sphere*' would focus on the political procedures and institutions that link political communication systematically to political decision-making procedures. Political communication can exert informal influences on political decision-making; only formal democratic procedures, such as the mechanisms of representative democracy, neo-corporatism and participatory democracy, give citizens a real and legally guaranteed voice in policy-making.

'*Same topics at the same time*' can be operationalised by empirically comparing the issue cycles<sup>10</sup> in different public arenas. In transnational political debates, bilateral, transnational and international issues, institutions and politicians are likely to be frequent objects of debates: their *visibility* in the media corresponds to the degree of supra-nationalisation (della Porta and Caiani 2006; Koopmans and Erbe 2004).<sup>11</sup> Especially in regard to this expectation, media debates on war and peace are a 'tough case' for the development of transnational European public communication. On the one hand, 'Europe' here competes directly with member states as traditional security actors who might insist on their national sovereignty and, on the other hand, it rivals the Western-transatlantic security relationship with the US and other NATO members.<sup>12</sup>

'*Same aspects of relevance*' can be operationalised by comparing the interpretation of the issue, the *frames*,<sup>13</sup> across different arenas. The focus of this paper will be on the first

---

the same pre-produced content provided by political institutions, NGOs or news agencies) and for methodological reasons (e.g. copyright rules of archives). Mutual recognition as legitimate speakers is logically implied by arguing with and against each other.

<sup>9</sup> The formula 'the same topics at the same time under similar aspects of relevance' goes back to Habermas (1998: 160). However, Habermas demanded the whole set of 'ingredients' of a 'complete' transnational public sphere with strong civil society organisations and political parties organised on a European scale, a common political culture and so on. That he – in the respective article – does not distinguish between *transnational communication* and a *full-fledged public sphere* leads him to helplessly accept Grimm's (1995) pessimistic evaluation.

<sup>10</sup> In the following, I will refer to *issues* rather than 'the coverage of this and that event'. An *event* is a particular instance of something happening (e.g. an international crisis event or a NATO summit). It is not the same as an *issue*, a controversial social problem, which constitutes a broader topical structure, encompassing several events as belonging together. Issues compete with each other on the public agenda. The attention paid to issues has a kind of life-cycle, the *issue attention cycle* or the *issue cycle* for short (Downs 1972: 38).

<sup>11</sup> This has been confirmed by other studies: Media visibility of EU politics has increased in all member states throughout the last decades, though levels of coverage vary among countries and media segments (Gleissner and De Vreese 2005; Kevin 2003; Machill et al. 2006; Semetko et al. 2000: 130). On TV, European issues are still rare, but when they are featured they get more space than other international news and are prominently placed (Peter et al. 2003: 321).

<sup>12</sup> Some authors have introduced benchmarks for the *visibility* of the contributions to a topic or another content element (a frame, an actor). Gamson (1992: 197), for example, holds that an issue is visible, if it reaches a 10 percent share of coverage.

<sup>13</sup> A *frame* is defined as a 'scheme of interpretation' (Goffman 1974) or an 'interpretative package' (Gamson and Modigliani 1989: 2f.) by which people organise experiences and information in meaningful ways and which guides their actions. Frames serve as a communicative device for selecting, emphasizing and presenting an event, a situation or an issue in a social context (Entman 1993: 52; Reese et al. 2001; Renfordt 2007: 6). In public debates, various frames are offered by different speakers and groups and

dimension, regarding the cross-national comparison of the issue-cycle. On the question of shared (or different) interpretative frames, I will refer to the work of Swantje Renfordt (2011), who conducted a qualitative *frame-analysis* of the same newspaper articles on humanitarian military interventions I use for this study.

## Transnationally intertwined debates on humanitarian military interventions?

Can ordinary citizens inform themselves in the national media about such complex and ethically controversial issues of security and defence as military humanitarian interventions? Are the debates in different national arenas transnationally interconnected? Is transnational communication taking place, allowing ordinary citizens in different member states to make up their minds upon common European security and defence issues?

Our empirical investigation at Freie Universität Berlin comprises a continuous time period of 16 years (January 1990 – March 2006) of news coverage and commentary on humanitarian military interventions<sup>14</sup> in six European countries, which either were or became EU members during the period under investigation. The European countries were chosen in order to cover the range of diverse positions in foreign, security and defence policy preferences prevalent in the EU. Small and large countries, with both post-neutral and Atlanticist foreign policy traditions and pro-European and EU-sceptic policies were included. The choice fell on Austria (AU), France (FR), Germany (GER), Ireland (IR), the Netherlands (NL) and the United Kingdom (UK).<sup>15</sup> The United States (US) was included as a comparative case. For all the countries under study, a centre-left and a centre-right national quality newspaper was included in the study.<sup>16</sup> The data presented in this paper was drawn from a cleaned full-sample (N = 489 508) of all relevant newspaper articles on *wars and interventions*. The articles addressing *humanitarian military interventions*, that is ‘just wars’ where a neutral third party (a state or a multinational alliance) intervenes in an already ongoing armed conflict in order to protect civilians from severe and massive human rights abuses, were determined by applying advanced *corpus-linguistic methods* (Kantner et al. 2011; Kutter and Kantner 2011, forthcoming) resting on extensive qualitative-hermeneutic procedures of the identification of the semantic field ‘humanitarian military interventions’. Starting from a list of intervention-related keywords used in the sampling strategies, we qualitatively scanned their word environment with the WordSmith software<sup>17</sup>, creating country-specific lists of typical phrases and

---

they compete with each other. Therefore, framing effects are difficult to assess. No single speaker or medium has the power to hegemonically project ‘its framing’ on the society members – framing is a collective, constructivist activity (Baumgartner and Mahoney 2008).

<sup>14</sup> The sampling procedure did not include any EU or CSDP keywords in order to avoid sampling on the dependent variable.

<sup>15</sup> A new member state, Poland, was to be included, but data was not available in time. The analysis of the Polish case therefore remains a task for further research.

<sup>16</sup> There is one exception: For Ireland only one paper was available. The selected broadsheets are *Der Standard* and *Die Presse* for Austria; *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* (1997-2006) / *Les Echos* (1993-1996) for France; *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* for Germany; *The Irish Times* for Ireland; *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Volkskrant* for The Netherlands; *Guardian* and *The Times* for The United Kingdom; and *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* for the US.

<sup>17</sup> See: <<http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/version4/>> (last accessed 10 November 2008).

collocations unambiguously belonging to the semantic field of humanitarian military interventions. These were particular specifications of 'troops' (e.g. 'UN troops', 'blue helmet'), 'force' (e.g. 'monitoring force'), 'forces' (e.g. 'contribute forces', KFOR, ISAF), 'missions' (e.g. 'military mission', 'peace-keeping'), 'strikes' (e.g. 'NATO air strikes'), 'operation', 'action', etc. The selected search-words and word-clusters in all possible grammatical forms were applied in a text-mining procedure to retrieve all those articles from the full text-corpus in which at least one of the search-words and word-clusters was mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Altogether the sample on humanitarian military interventions encompasses 108,677 articles.

Figure 1 displays the sequence charts of the issue cycles of newspaper articles referring to humanitarian interventions. Newspaper articles using the specific wording for humanitarian military interventions make up about 20 percent of all articles on wars and interventions in France, the UK and the US, 25 percent in Germany, and almost 30 percent in the Netherlands, Ireland and Austria.

At first sight, however, the intervention issue cycles are hard to interpret. There are no clear-cut long-term trends or seasonal patterns visible. Rather, one can identify four waves of higher quantitative levels and several peaks: 1990/1991 (Iraq / Kuwait), autumn 1992 to autumn 1996 (Balkan crises, African conflicts), 1999/2000 (Kosovo), 9/11 to 2004 (Afghanistan, Iraq War).

US and British newspapers have the highest quantity of such articles, which is due to their specific journalistic styles: these newspapers simply publish much more articles per day than other papers. On average, the two US papers together ran 185 articles on interventions each month. The maximum was reached in October 2001, when the invasion of Afghanistan began (Adamec 2003: 529). In the two British papers, about 117 articles on interventions were printed each month.

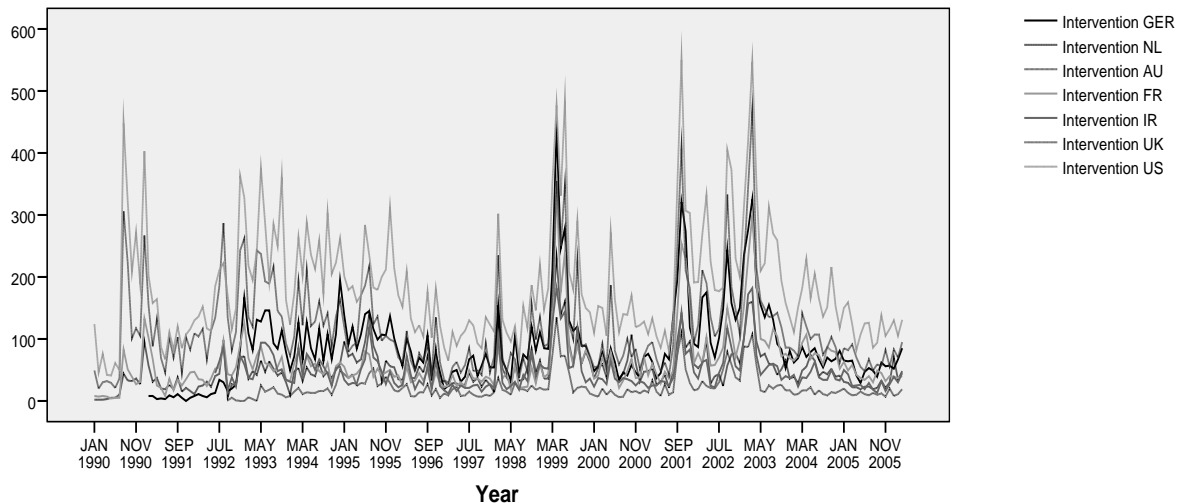
German, French and Irish papers also covered humanitarian military interventions extensively, although with somewhat lower absolute numbers of articles. On average, 88 (GER), 62 (FR), 50 (NL) and 48 (IR<sup>19</sup>) articles on interventions were printed per month. The Austrian press referred to interventions least often. The two Austrian newspapers published only 24 articles per month on interventions. Since the Iraq War was in many countries termed in terms of 'ordinary war' and not in terms of a military intervention for humanitarian reasons, March 2003 is not the month with the maximum coverage, except for Ireland and the UK. Instead, April 1999 takes centre-stage for most countries.<sup>20</sup> In the German and Austrian newspapers, there were no articles on humanitarian military interventions in some months.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For this procedure, we used the software package SPSS Clementine. Available at: <<http://www.spss.com/de/clementine/>> (last accessed 10 November 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Only one paper was available for Ireland.

<sup>20</sup> The maximum months are: April 1999 (GER, NL, AU, FR, IR), October 2001 (US) and March 2003 (IR, UK).

<sup>21</sup> No articles on humanitarian military interventions could be identified in November 1991 (GER) and December 1992, January 1993 and April 1993 (AU). The minimum values for NL (January – March 1990) and FR (May 1990) are also close to zero. In the English-speaking countries, the numbers do not fall so dramatically. The minimum months were February 1990 (UK), May 1990 (US) and February 1997 (IR).



**Figure 1:** Issue cycle ‘humanitarian military interventions’ (abs. numbers).

Notes: N = 108 677, intervention sub-sample, method used: corpus-linguistic frequency analysis, data aggregated on a monthly basis. Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006 (195 months). Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

Simultaneous peaks in several countries were triggered by important international conflicts: Besides crisis events such as April 1999 (diplomatic and military activities regarding Kosovo) and October 2001 (diplomatic and military activities regarding Afghanistan) another group of conflicts – mainly in Africa – also lead to simultaneous peaks (Figure 1): Somalia 1992 /1993 and 1995 (Arnold 2008b: 331-38), the genocide in Rwanda 1994 (Twagilimana 2007: xxxii-xxxv), and the civil war in Sierra Leone in the late 1990s (Arnold 2008a: 320-25; Fyle 2006).

Even if the curves at first sight do not seem harmonious, all curves correlate extremely significantly with each other, ranging from slightly more than .70 (AU/US, AU/UK, NL/UK, NL/US) to values around .80 among the continental European countries and .90 between the Irish and the British papers, as well as between the US and the UK (see Table 2). This is an indicator for synchronous debates about the normative justification (or lack of normative justification) of some military conflicts as interventions for a humanitarian purpose.<sup>22</sup>

Not only the visible common peaks of the issue cycles but the intense as well as extremely correlated intensity of discussion about humanitarian military interventions in the different countries indicate that from the end of the Cold War there was a broad international debate on violent crises events in the European *and* US-American newspapers. People could make up their opinions about the *same international security issues at the same time* and under a very *specific framing* as ‘humanitarian military intervention’. This discussion was certainly not restricted to a European community of communication. It is surely part of Western if not global news coverage, attention cycles, and discourse.

<sup>22</sup> However, the inter-correlation is somewhat lower than among the overall issue cycles on both ‘wars’ and ‘interventions’ (Kantner 2009: sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2), which indicates slightly more cross-national differences, or more precisely, more transatlantic differences as soon as we focus not just on the conflicts as such but on their normative dimension as ‘humanitarian interventions’.

**Table 1:** Bivariate correlations of the issue cycles ‘humanitarian military interventions’ (Pearson’s coefficients).

	Int GER	Int NL	Int AU	Int FR	Int IR	Int UK	Int US
Int GER	1	.813**	.873**	.849**	.840**	.787**	.842**
Int NL	.813**	1	.791**	.807**	.830**	.736**	.736**
Int AU	.873**	.791**	1	.804**	.781**	.728**	.715**
Int FR	.849**	.807**	.804**	1	.813**	.820**	.809**
Int IR	.840**	.830**	.781**	.813**	1	.896**	.859**
Int UK	.787**	.736**	.728**	.820**	.896**	1	.914**
Int US	.842**	.736**	.715**	.809**	.859**	.914**	1

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

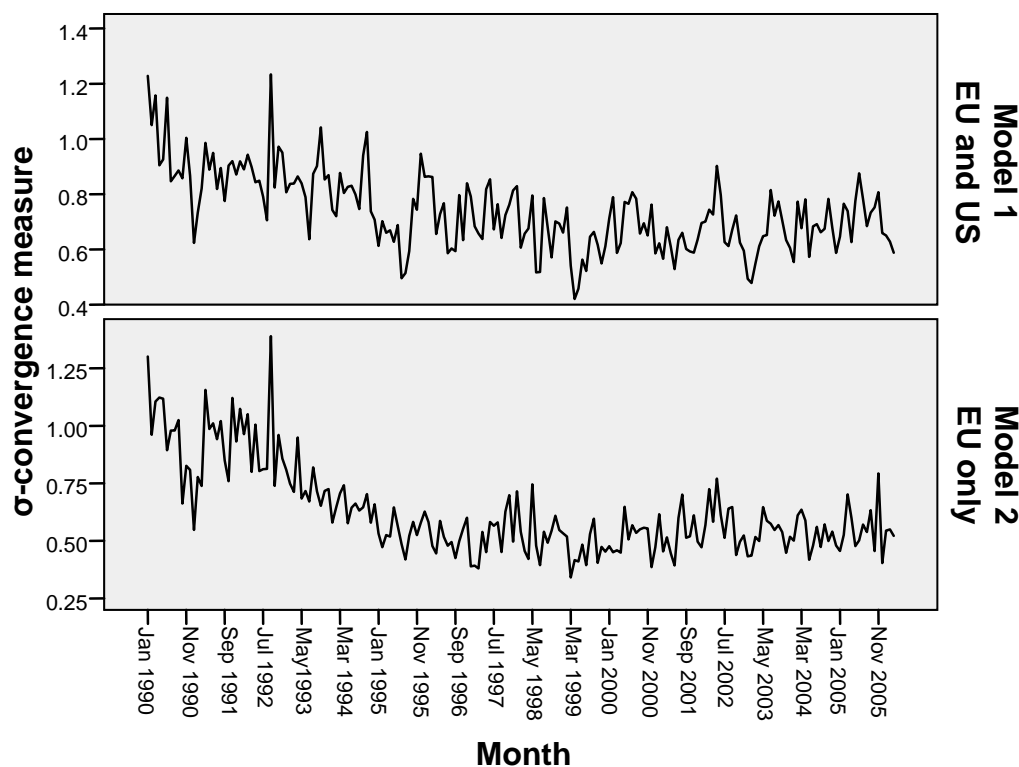
Notes: The table displays Pearson’s correlation coefficients. Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, for three countries fewer months are included (AU 163, IR 166, GER 182).

Since one might expect that transnational communication would lead to convergence – here with regard to levels of attention – it is interesting to ask, whether there are processes of convergence or divergence if we compare the curves. Because no convergence towards a fixed value can be expected and newspapers have different average numbers of articles per day, I chose to calculate *Sigma convergence* measures. This is the variation of all issue cycles from their common mean ( $v = \text{standard deviation}/\text{mean}$ ).<sup>23</sup> If the values of this coefficient move towards zero, dispersion decreases. Values larger than one indicate that the standard deviation in the respective months was greater than the mean. The coefficients multiplied by 100 can be read as deviation from the mean in percent. The two graphs in Figure 2 show the results of the convergence analysis first for all countries under study (Model 1) then for the EU countries only (Model 2). Decreasing values of the  $\sigma$ -convergence measure indicate convergence, while increasing values indicate divergence.

We can clearly observe a process of convergence from autumn 1991 to March 1999 and – at a slower pace – increasing divergence from March 1999 on. Both trends are clearer for Model 2 (EU only) than for the Model 1 (which includes the US). The minimum variation (42 percent deviation from the mean) was reached in April 1999 at the height of the Kosovo War. The maximum variation (123 percent deviation from the mean) was reached in September 1992, when developments in Bosnia coincided with momentous domestic events in France and the UK. Variation displays a marked peak in January 1990, when UN Resolution 771 was passed with the aim of ensuring humanitarian aid delivery in Bosnia.<sup>24</sup> Overall, the average variation was 74 percent deviation from the mean.

<sup>23</sup> For the advantages of the Sigma-convergence measures that do not assume convergence towards a postulated value, but instead calculate whether the variation from the common mean decreases over time, see Higgins et al. (2003). Studies using Sigma-convergence measures are common in econometrics because they allow the assessment of dynamic processes of convergence and divergence without assuming a fixed standard value to which different time series should converge (see, for example: Barro et al. 1991; Dreger and Kholodilin 2007).

<sup>24</sup> The immediate time after the fall of the Berlin Wall also saw the gradual breakdown of the USSR. Early in 1990 Soviet troops occupied Baku (Azerbaijan) under a state of emergency decree issued by Mikhail Gorbachev. Violent confrontations occurred. Hence, the West could not be sure how peacefully the transformation in the East – especially in the multi-ethnic states – would proceed.



**Figure 2:**  $\sigma$ -convergence of the issue cycles ‘humanitarian military interventions’.

Notes: The graph displays sequence charts of the deviation measure. Low values indicate less deviation, high values more deviation from the common mean.  $N = 489\,508$ ,  $n = 108\,677$ . Data aggregated on a monthly basis. Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006 (195 months). Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

Excluding the US from the convergence measure, the average level of variation is more than 10 percent less (62 percent deviation from the mean). Excluding the US, the minimum variation (34 percent deviation from the mean) was reached in March 1999, during NATO’s intervention in Kosovo, and the maximum variation (139 percent deviation from the mean) was also reached (as in the EU) in September 1992. The EU convergence curve also includes three significant outliers: a negative peak in October 1990 (Rwanda)<sup>25</sup> and two positive peaks in April 1991 (Iraq)<sup>26</sup> and in September 1992 (Bosnia). Only the last peak is also significant for the  $\sigma$ -convergence curve that includes the US.

The high bivariate correlations between the levels of attention to humanitarian military interventions in the different countries under study and the differentiated findings regarding phases of convergence and divergence between the issue cycles show clearly that the debates on humanitarian military interventions in different national media arenas are transnationally interconnected. Continental Europeans

<sup>25</sup> In October 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front began its offensive and the Habyarimana regime called for international support (Adelman and Suhrke 1996; Twagilimana 2007: xxxii).

<sup>26</sup> In April 1991, Iraqi forces succeeded in crushing the series of uprisings following military defeat in the Gulf War and international action was taken to address the developing refugee crisis (Ghareeb and Dougherty 2004: xviii). However, in spring 1991 the situation in Yugoslavia began to escalate as well.

discuss *'the same issues at the same time'*. US-American and British media follow to a somewhat lesser degree the same issue attention cycle.

Are these issues also discussed under the same *'aspects of relevance'*? Are they 'framed' similarly? Our project team investigated several different dimensions of framing. In her recent qualitative study, Swantje Renfordt (2011) used a sub-sample of the articles on humanitarian military interventions (n = 5 850). She investigated the 'social validity' of the norms of international law on the use of force in the debates on humanitarian military interventions, providing more qualitative analysis of the debates. She finds that legal framing is the most frequent frame in the debate<sup>27</sup> - on both sides of the Atlantic. Of all crisis episodes between January 1990 and December 2005, the Iraq Wars (peaks in 1998 and 2002/03) and the Yugoslavian Wars (1992/1993, 1995, 1998/99), which proved crucial for the debate in general, were also most intensively discussed under legal frames. They differ, however, in that they are marked by two different variants: Human-rights-focused aspects are dominant during the 1990s, while procedural aspects focusing on multilateral decision-making within the UN are dominant from 2000 and especially with regard to the Iraq War in 2003. The US media focus more on the human motives while the European media put the procedural aspect of multilateral legitimation centre stage: 'never without the UN' (Renfordt 2011: 205). However, national differences prove barely significant if tested in detailed regression analysis.

This means that also with regard to the framing dimension, national differences are much smaller than imagined in much of the scholarly debate that laments the lack of a European public sphere. An issue of global scope can very well provoke transnationally intertwined debates on a scope beyond the EU - good news for the advocates of a *'(regional) cosmopolitan democracy'*?

## **Conclusions: What kind of transnational democracy?**

Lively public debates are a fundamental ingredient for democratic politics on the input-side of the political process. The development of a transnational European public sphere is therefore a precondition for overcoming the often criticised 'democratic deficit' with respect to CFSP/CSDP (Born and Hänggi 2004; Kantner and Liberatore 2006; Wagner 2006, 2007). Independently of which institutional model of democracy you choose, without public involvement it will be doomed to fail. An intergovernmental *'audit democracy'*, a *'federal multinational democracy'*, as well as a *'regional cosmopolitan democracy'* (Eriksen and Fossum 2007, 2012; Sjørnsen 2007, 2012) depend in different ways on an informed public, and each model proposes the institutionalisation of channels to give public reason a regular and legally binding influence on and control over foreign, security and defence policies.

For the prospects of democracy in the EU and in CSDP in particular, this has important implications: the communicative infrastructure for democratic opinion formation - be it national, European or even global - is given as long as the national

---

<sup>27</sup> Legal framing trumped framing in terms of interests, identity or universalist principles (Renfordt 2011: 203).



media report the issues at stake freely and according to a sufficient journalistic standard.<sup>28</sup>

1. *'Audit democracy'*: Political communication on humanitarian military interventions takes place in national media arenas. Moreover, the procedural channels of citizens' influence on foreign, security and defence are established at the national level – yet, to different degrees.<sup>29</sup> However, it is a fiction that there exist hermetically closed 'national discourses' on important issues of common interest (Eder and Kantner 2000, 2002). The problem-pressure of – in the studied case – international crisis events is simply too strong and no EU member state is able to tackle them alone so that these issues have to be handled in cooperation. This is mirrored in the public debate.
  
2. *'Federal multinational democracy'*: Do the national media inform a *transnational* public about complex and ethically controversial issues of security and defence, such as military humanitarian interventions? Can ordinary citizens in different member states make up their minds upon common European security and defence issues? Yes, in the national media, transnational, transatlantic and European debates on humanitarian military interventions do occur. If transnational political communication is conceptualised as thematically intertwined communication about the same issues at the same time under similar frames of relevance, the preconditions for an institutionally guaranteed transnational public sphere with respect to important security issues are met. This could be proved by the comparison of the issue cycles of seven countries on questions of humanitarian military interventions from 1990 to 2006. These issue cycles were over such a long time so highly correlated that this cannot be dismissed as accident.

However, such a transnational European public is not to be mistaken as a harmonious gospel choir. On the contrary! It depends on and is marked by conflict, dissent and verbal battles – as is any pluralistic public sphere:

The Europeanization of domestic politics and the politicization of EU affairs are not only inevitable but also desirable from a democratic point of view. The coming fights over Europe will no longer be whether or not one supports European integration, but which type of EU one prefers, including which policy alternatives. In this sense, the EU is about to become a 'normal' part of domestic politics in the member states.

(Risse 2010: 244f.)

The central question remains how it can be ensured that transnational European political communication systematically pours into decision-making on the European level as citizens' input and how the European public can be strengthened as an instance of democratic control.

---

<sup>28</sup> Our selection of countries (which included only stable democracies) and newspapers (which included only broadsheets with a high reputation) presumes that the demanding standards of the quality of public communication are met in our study. However, this is not the case in every media sector and many countries.

<sup>29</sup> The degrees of parliamentary control over foreign and security policies and the use of military force in particular vary strongly between the EU member states (Wagner 2006, 2007).

3. '*Regional cosmopolitan democracy*': The same holds true for even wider horizons. As the comparative case of the U.S. in this study shows, global problem-pressure stimulates global transnational communication. However, on a transatlantic or even global scale, it is even more difficult to imagine mechanisms of representative democracy, neo-corporatism or participatory democracy that give *ordinary* citizens (not just professional politicians and lobbyists or self-selected activists) influence on foreign, security and defence politics that are undertaken in their name or affect them.

This study shows that intensive reflection on humanitarian military interventions takes place and contributes to public awareness of important international issues. What is lacking, however, are institutional solutions that channel citizens' opinions in transnational procedures of political will formation (Habermas 1996). The communicative preconditions for all three models of European democracy are met. This does not predetermine, however, how 'we Europeans' will organise our common political life. This is and will remain an intrinsically political question.

## References

- Adamec, L. W. (2003) *Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- Adelman, H. and Suhrke, A. (1996) 'Early Warning and Conflict Management', in D. Millwood (ed.), *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience*, Copenhagen: Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda Steering Committee.
- Arnold, G. (2008a) 'Mozambique', in *Historical Dictionary of Civil Wars in Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- (2008b) 'Sierra Leone', in *Historical Dictionary of Civil Wars in Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- Barro, R. J., Sala-I-Martin, X., Blanchard, O. J. and Hall, R. E. (1991) 'Convergence across States and Regions', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 1: 107-82.
- Baumgartner, F.R. and Mahoney, C. (2008) 'Forum Section: The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue Definition in the European Union', *European Union Politics*, 9(3): 435-49.
- Born, H. and Hänggi, H. (eds) (2004) *The 'Double Democratic Deficit': Parliamentary Accountability and the Use of Force under International Auspices*, London Ashgate.
- Crum, B. and Fossum, J. E. (2009) 'The Multilevel Parliamentary Field: A Framework for Theorizing Representative Democracy in the EU', *European Political Science Review*, 1(2): 249-71.
- della Porta, D. and Caiani, M. (2006) 'The Europeanization of Public Discourse in Italy: A Top-Down Process?', *European Union Politics*, 7(1): 77-112.
- Dewey, J. (1927) *The Public and Its Problems*, Athens, OH: Swallow Press.
- Downs, A. (1972) 'Up and Down with the Ecology: The "Issue Attention Cycle"', *The Public Interest*, 28: 38-50.
- Dreger, C. and Kholodilin, K. (2007) 'Preiskonvergenz in der erweiterten Europäischen Union', *Wochenbericht des DIW* 74, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW). Available at: <http://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/63403/07-38-1.pdf>.
- Eder, K. and Kantner, C. (2000) 'Transnationale Resonanzstrukturen in Europa: Eine Kritik der Rede vom Öffentlichkeitsdefizit', in M. Bach (ed.), *Die Europäisierung nationaler Gesellschaften*, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- (2002) 'Interdiskursivität in der europäischen Öffentlichkeit', *Berliner Debatte Initial*, 13(5/6): 79-88.
- Entman, R. (1993) 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, 43(4): 51-58.
- Eriksen, E. O. and Fossum, J. E. (2007) 'Europe in Transformation: How to Reconstitute Democracy?', *RECON Online Working Paper* 2007/01, ARENA, Oslo. Available at: [http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON\\_wp\\_0701.pdf?fileitem=5456091](http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0701.pdf?fileitem=5456091).

- (2012) 'Europe's Challenge: Reconstituting Europe or Reconfiguring Democracy?', in E. O. Eriksen and J. E. Fossum (eds), *Rethinking Democracy and the European Union*, London: Routledge.
- Fyle, C. M. (2006) *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992) *Talking Politics*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamson, W. A. and Modigliani, A. (1989) 'Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach', *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1): 1-38.
- Gerhards, J. (2001) 'Missing a European Public Sphere', in M. Kohli and M. Novak (eds), *Will Europe Work? Integration, Employment and the Social Order*, London: Routledge.
- Ghareeb, E. and Dougherty, B. K. (2004) *Historical Dictionary of Iraq*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- Gleissner, M. and De Vreese, C. H. (2005) 'News about the EU Constitution: Journalistic Challenges and Media Portrayal of the European Union Constitution', *Journalism*, 6(2): 221-42.
- Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Graf von Kielmansegg, P. (1996) 'Integration und Demokratie', in M. Jachtenfuchs and B. Kohler-Koch (eds), *Europäische Integration*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Grimm, D. (1995) 'Does Europe Need a Constitution?', *European Law Journal*, 1(3): 282-302.
- Habermas, J. (1996) *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- (1998) *The Inclusion of the Other*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Higgins, M., Levy, D. and Young, A. (2003) 'Sigma Convergence Versus Beta Convergence: Evidence from US County-Level Data', Emory Economics, Department of Economics, Emory University, Atlanta. Available at: <<http://ideas.repec.org/p/emo/wp2003/0316.html>>.
- Kantner, C. (2004) *Kein modernes Babel: Kommunikative Voraussetzungen europäischer Öffentlichkeit*, Wiesbaden: VS Sozialwissenschaften.
- (2009) 'Transnational Identity-Discourse in the Mass Media: Humanitarian Military Interventions and the Emergence of a European Identity (1990-2006)', Habilitation Thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin.
- Kantner, C., Kutter, A., Hildebrandt, A. and Püttcher, M. (2011) 'How to Get Rid of the Noise in the Corpus: Cleaning Large Samples of Digital Newspaper Texts', *International Relations Working Paper*, Stuttgart University. Available at: <[http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/soz/ib/forschung/IRWorkingPapers/IROWP\\_Series\\_2011\\_2\\_Kantner\\_Kutter\\_Analysis\\_Newspaper\\_Texts.pdf](http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/soz/ib/forschung/IRWorkingPapers/IROWP_Series_2011_2_Kantner_Kutter_Analysis_Newspaper_Texts.pdf)>.
- Kantner, C. and Liberatore, A. (2006) 'Security and Democracy in the European Union: An Introductory Framework', *European Security*, 15(4): 363-83.

- Keukeleire, S. and MacNaughtan, J. (2008) *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kevin, D. (2003) *Europe in the Media: A Comparison of Reporting, Representation and Rhetoric in National Media Systems in Europe*, London: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Koopmans, R. and Erbe, J. (2004) 'Towards a European Public Sphere? Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Europeanized Political Communication', *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 17(2): 97-118.
- Kutter, A. and Kantner, C. (2011, forthcoming) 'How to Identify Semantic Fields of Abstract Social Science Concepts in Large-n, Multi-Language Text Corpora?', *International Relations Working Paper*, Stuttgart University, Stuttgart.
- Luttwak, E. N. (1995) 'Toward Post-Heroic Warfare', *Foreign Affairs*, 74(3): 109-22.
- (1996) 'Post-Heroic Military Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 75(4): 33-44.
- Machill, M., Beiler, M. and Fischer, C. (2006) 'Europe-Topics in Europe's Media: The Debate about the European Public Sphere: A Meta-Analysis of Media Content Analyses', *European Journal of Communication*, 21(1): 57-88.
- Peter, J., Semetko, H. A. and de Vreese, C. H. (2003) 'EU Politics on Television News: A Cross-National Comparative Study', *European Union Politics*, 4(3): 305-27.
- Reese, S. D., Gandy Jr., O. H. and Grant, A. E. (eds) (2001) *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Renfordt, S. (2007) 'Do Europeans Speak with One Another in Time of War? Results of a Media Analysis on the 2003 Iraq War', *RECON Online Working Paper 2007/17*, Oslo: ARENA. Available at: [http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON\\_wp\\_0717.pdf?fileitem=16662535](http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0717.pdf?fileitem=16662535).
- (2011) *Framing the Use of Force: An International Rule of Law in Media Reporting. A Comparative Analysis of Western Debates about Military Interventions, 1990-2005*, Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Risse, T. (2002a) 'How Do We Know a European Public Sphere When We See One? Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Indicators', Prepared for the IDNET Workshop 'Europeanization and the Public Sphere', European University Institute, Florence, 20-21 February.
- (2002b) 'Zur Debatte um die (Nicht-) Existenz einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit. Was wir wissen, und wie es zu interpretieren ist', *Berliner Debatte Initial*, 13(5/6): 15-23.
- (2010) *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Semetko, H. A., de Vreese, C. H. and Peter, J. (2000) 'Europeanised Politics - Europeanised Media? European Integration and Political Communication', *West European Politics*, 23(4): 121-41.
- Sjursen, H. (2007) 'Integration without Democracy? Three Conceptions of European Security Policy in Transformation', *RECON Online Working Paper 2007/19*, Oslo: ARENA. Available at:

- [http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON\\_wp\\_0719.pdf?fileitem=5456242](http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0719.pdf?fileitem=5456242)>.
- (2012) 'Democratic Challenges to the EU's Foreign and Security Policy', in E. O. Eriksen and J. E. Fossum (eds), *Rethinking Democracy and the European Union*, London: Routledge.
- Tietz, U. (2002) *Die Grenzen des 'Wir': Eine Theorie der Gemeinschaft*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Tobler, S. (2002) 'Transnationale Kommunikationsverdichtungen im Streit um die internationale Steuerpolitik', *Berliner Debatte Initial*, 13(5/6): 67-78.
- Twagilimana, A. (2007) *Historical Dictionary of Rwanda*, new ed., Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- van de Steeg, M. (2002a) 'Eine europäische Öffentlichkeit? Die Diskussion um die Osterweiterung der EU', *Berliner Debatte Initial*, 13(5/6): 57-66.
- (2002b) 'Rethinking the Conditions for a Public Sphere in the European Union', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(4): 499-519.
  - (2006) 'Does a Public Sphere Exist in the European Union? An Analysis of the Content of the Debate on the Haider Case', *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(4): 609-34.
- Wagner, W. (2004) 'Für Europa sterben? Die demokratische Legitimität der Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik', Frankfurt: Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung.
- (2005) 'The Democratic Legitimacy of European Security and Defense Policy', *EU-ISS Occasional Paper 57*, Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies. Available at: [http://www.ppl.nl/ebooks/files/ISS\\_EU\\_occ57.pdf](http://www.ppl.nl/ebooks/files/ISS_EU_occ57.pdf).
  - (2006) 'The Democratic Control of Military Power Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2): 200-16.
  - (2007) 'The Democratic Deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy: Why Bother?', *RECON Online Working Paper 2007/10*, Oslo: ARENA. Available at: [http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON\\_wp\\_0710.pdf?fileitem=4866332](http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0710.pdf?fileitem=4866332)>.
- Zürn, M. (2006) 'Zur Politisierung der Europäischen Union', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 47(2): 242-51.
- Zürn, M., Binder, M., Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. and Radtke, K. (2007) 'Politische Ordnungsbildung wider Willen', *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, 14(1): 129-64.
- Zürn, M., Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. and Binder, M. (2008) 'Ordnung wider Willen: Eine Antwort auf unsere Kritiker', *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, 15(1): 101-12.

## Technical appendix

**Table 2:** Sample characteristics.

	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Digital Availability</b>	<b>Missing Time Periods</b>	<b>Number of Articles on Humanitarian Military Interventions</b>
<b>US</b>	Washington Post	1990-01-01 to 2006-03-31	No missing years / months	17 703
	New York Times	1990-01-01 to 2006-03-31	No missing years / months	18 448
<b>United Kingdom</b>	The Times and Sunday Times	1990-01-01 to 2006-03-31	No missing years / months	12 023
	The Guardian	1990-01-01 to 2006-03-31	No missing years / months	10 876
<b>Germany</b>	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	1993-01-02 to 2006-03-31	1990 – 1992	6 520
	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1991-02-11 to 2006-03-31	1990; 1991: Jan	9 426
<b>The Netherlands</b>	De Volkskrant	1995-01-03 to 2006-03-31	1990 – 1994 1995: Oct	3 342
	NRC Handelsblad	1990-01-08 to 2006-03-31	2002: Aug	6 529
<b>Ireland</b>	Irish Times	1992-06-01 to 2006-03-31	1990 – 1991 1992: Jan – May	8 018
<b>France</b>	Le Monde	1990-01-01 to 2006-03-31	No missing years / months	8 158
	Les Echos	1993-01-05 to 1996-12-30	1990 – 1992; 1994: Jul – Dec 1995: Jan – May; Jul – Dec 1996: Jan	215
	Le Figaro	1997-01-09 to 2006-03-31	1990 – 1996	3 724
<b>Austria</b>	Die Presse	1993-05-03 to 2006-03-31	1990 – 1992 1993: Jan – Apr	2 259
	Der Standard	1992-09-17 to 2006-03-31	1990 – 1991 1992: Jan – Aug 1993: May – Dec 1994: Jan – Jun 2000: Jan – Feb 2003: May	1 436
	<b>Σ</b>			<b>108 677</b>

## RECON Online Working Papers

2011/30

Cathleen Kantner

### **Debating Humanitarian Military Interventions in the European Public Sphere**

2011/29

Waltraud Schelkle

### **Choice in European Reforms of Social Policies**

The Case of Public Employment Services

2011/28

Elisabeth Wisniewski

### **Coming to Terms with the 'Legitimacy Crisis' of European Foreign Politics**

The European Parliament Pushing the Frontiers of Consultation

2011/27

Mark Thomson

### **Democracy, Inclusion and the Governance of Active Social Policies in the EU**

Recent Lessons from Denmark, the UK and France

2011/26

Katherine Lyons and Christine Cheyne

### **Social Insurance Mechanisms in the European Union**

2011/25

Mattias Iser

### **Dimensions of a European Constitutional Patriotism**

2011/24

Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner and

Cosima Glahn

### **Parliamentary Control of Military Missions**

The Case of the EU NAVFOR Atalanta

2011/23

Meltem Müftüler-Baç and

Rahime Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm

### **The European Union's Foreign Policy**

The Perceptions of the Turkish Parliamentarians

2011/22

Guri Rosén

### **Can You Keep a Secret?**

How the European Parliament Got Access to Sensitive Documents in the Area of Security and Defence

2011/21

Merzuka Selin Türkeş

### **Human Rights in the European Union's Foreign Policy**

Universal in Discourse, Flexible in Practice

2011/20

Meltem Müftüler-Baç

### **The European Union and Turkey**

Democracy, Multiculturalism and European Identity

2011/19

Dirk Peters

### **A Divided Union?**

Public Opinion and the EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy

2011/18

Tess Altman and David Mayes

### **Democratic Boundaries in the US and Europe**

Inequality, Localisation and Voluntarism in Social Welfare Provision

2011/17

Emmanuel Sigalas

### **When Quantity Matters**

Activity Levels and Re-Election Prospects of Members of the European Parliament

2011/16

Daniel Gaus

### **The State's Existence between Facts and Norms**

A Reflection on Some Problems to the Analysis of the State

2011/15

Daniel Gaus

### **The Dynamics of Legitimation**

Why the Study of Political Legitimacy Needs More Realism



2011/14  
Erik Oddvar Eriksen and  
John Erik Fossum  
**Representation through Deliberation**  
The European Case

2011/13  
Nora Fisher Onar  
**'Europe', 'Womanhood' and 'Islam'**  
Re-aligning Contested Concepts via the  
Headscarf Debate

2011/12  
Rainer Forst  
**Transnational Justice and Democracy**

2011/11  
Petra Guasti  
**The Europeanisation of Parliaments in  
Central and Eastern Europe**

2011/10  
Espen D. H. Olsen  
**European Citizenship**  
With a Nation-State, Federal, or  
Cosmopolitan Twist?

2011/09  
Hauke Brunkhorst  
**Cosmopolitanism and Democratic  
Freedom**

2011/08  
Eric Miklin and Ben Crum  
**Inter-Parliamentary Contacts of Members  
of the European Parliament**  
Report of a Survey

2011/07  
John Erik Fossum  
**Nationalism, Patriotism and Diversity**  
Conceptualising the National Dimension  
in Neil MacCormick's Post-Sovereign  
Constellation

2011/06  
Agustín José Menéndez  
**United they Diverge?**  
From Conflict of Laws to Constitutional  
Theory? On Christian Joerges' Theory

2011/05  
Olga Brzezińska, Beata Czajkowska  
and David Skully  
**Re-constructing Polish Identity**  
Searching for a New Language

2011/04  
Mihály Csákó  
**Education for Democracy in Hungarian  
Schools**

2011/03  
Christopher Lord and Dionysia Tamvaki  
**The Politics of Justification?**  
Applying the 'Discourse Quality Index' to  
the Study of the European Union

2011/02  
Agustín José Menéndez  
**From Constitutional Pluralism to a  
Pluralistic Constitution?**  
Constitutional Synthesis as a  
MacCormickian Constitutional Theory of  
European Integration

2011/01  
Radostina Primova  
**Enhancing the Democratic Legitimacy of  
EU Governance?**  
The Impact of Online Public Consultations  
in Energy Policy-making

2010/29  
Maria Weimer  
**Policy Choice versus Science  
in Regulating Animal Cloning  
Under the WTO Law**

2010/28  
Stefan Collignon  
**Fiscal Policy Rules and the Sustainability  
of Public Debt in Europe**

2010/27  
Cathrine Holst  
**Martha Nussbaum's Outcome-oriented  
Theory of Justice**  
Philosophical Comments

2010/26  
Waltraud Schelkle, Joan Costa-i-Font  
and Christa van Wijnbergen  
**Consumer Choice, Welfare Reform  
and Participation in Europe**  
A Framework for Analysis

2010/25  
John Erik Fossum and Agustín José  
Menéndez  
**The Theory of Constitutional Synthesis**  
A Constitutional Theory for a  
Democratic European Union

2010/24

Raúl Letelier

**Non-Contractual Liability for Breaches of EU Law**

The Tension between Corrective and Distributive Justice?

2010/23

Sara Clavero and Yvonne Galligan

**Gender Equality in the European Union**

Lessons for Democracy?

2010/22

Pieter de Wilde, Hans-Jörg Trenz and Asimina Michailidou

**Contesting EU Legitimacy**

The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism During 2009 EP Election Campaigns

2010/21

Rainer Nickel

**Data Mining and 'Renegade' Aircrafts**

The States as Agents of a Global Militant Security Governance Network – The German Example

2010/20

David G. Mayes and Zaidah Mustaffa

**Social Models in the Enlarged EU**

2010/19

Tess Altman and Chris Shore

**Social Welfare and Democracy in Europe**

What Role for the Private and Voluntary Sectors?

2010/18

Aleksandra Maatsch

**Between an Intergovernmental and a Polycentric European Union**

National Parliamentary Discourses on Democracy in the EU Ratification Process

2010/17

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum

**Bringing European Democracy back in**

Or how to Read the German Constitutional Court's Lisbon Treaty Ruling?

2010/16

Jean L. Cohen

**Constitutionalism Beyond the State**

Myth or Necessity?

2010/15

Rainer Forst

**Two Stories about Toleration**

2010/14

Zdenka Mansfeldová and

Petra Rakušanová Guasti

**The Quality of Democracy in the Czech Republic**

2010/13

Emmanuel Sigalas, Monika Mokre,

Johannes Pollak, Peter Slominski

and Jozef Bátora

**Democracy Models and Parties at the EU Level**

Empirical Evidence from the Adoption of the 2009 European Election Manifestoes

2010/12

Antje Wiener and Uwe Puetter

**Informal Elite Dialogue and Democratic Control in EU Foreign and Security Policy**

2010/11

Erik Oddvar Eriksen

**European Transformation**

A Pragmatist Approach

2010/10

Justus Schönlaue

**The Committee of the Regions**

The RECON Models from a Subnational Perspective

2010/09

Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz

**2009 European Parliamentary Elections on the Web**

A Mediatization Perspective

2010/08

Kolja Möller

**European Governmentality or**

**Decentralised Network Governance?**

The Case of the European Employment Strategy

2010/07

Kjartan Koch Mikalsen

**In Defence of Kant's League of States**

2010/06  
Nora Schleicher  
**Gender Identity in a Democratic Europe**

2010/05  
Christian Joerges  
**The Idea of a Three-Dimensional  
Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form**

2010/04  
Meltem Müftüler-Baç and  
Nora Fisher Onar  
**Women's Rights in Turkey as Gauge  
of its European Vocation**  
The Impact of 'EU-niversal Values'

2010/03  
Neil Walker  
**Constitutionalism and Pluralism in  
Global Context**

2010/02  
Dominika Biegoń  
**European Identity Constructions in  
Public Debates on Wars and Military  
Interventions**

2010/01  
Federica Bicchì and Caterina Carta  
**The COREU/CORTESY Network and  
the Circulation of Information within  
EU Foreign Policy**

2009/19  
Rachel Herp Tausendfreund  
**The Commission and its Principals**  
Delegation Theory on a Common  
European External Trade Policy  
in the WTO

2009/18  
Marianne Riddervold  
**Making a Common Foreign Policy**  
EU Coordination in the ILO

2009/17  
Uwe Puetter and Antje Wiener  
**EU Foreign Policy Elites and  
Fundamental Norms**  
Implications for Governance

2009/16  
Emmanuel Sigalas, Monika Mokre,  
Johannes Pollak, Jozef Bátora and  
Peter Slominski  
**Reconstituting Political Representation  
in the EU**  
The Analytical Framework and  
the Operationalisation of the  
RECON Models

2009/15  
Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy  
**Is There an Europeanisation of  
Turkish Foreign Policy?**  
An Addendum to the Literature  
on EU Candidates

2009/14  
Maria Weimer  
**Applying Precaution in Community  
Authorisation of Genetically  
Modified Products**  
Challenges and Suggestions for Reform

2009/13  
Dionysia Tamvaki  
**Using Eurobarometer Data on Voter  
Participation in the 2004 European  
Elections to Test the RECON Models**

2009/12  
Arndt Wonka and Berthold Rittberger  
**How Independent are EU Agencies?**

2009/11  
Tanja Hitzel-Cassagnes and Rainer  
Schmalz-Bruns  
**Recognition and Political Theory:**  
Paradoxes and Conceptual Challenges of  
the Politics of Recognition

2009/10  
Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde  
**Denouncing European Integration**  
Euroscpticism as Reactive Identity  
Formation

2009/09  
Pieter de Wilde  
**Designing Politicization**  
How Control Mechanisms in National  
Parliaments Affect Parliamentary Debates  
in EU Policy-Formulation

- 2009/08  
Erik Oddvar Eriksen  
**Explicating Social Action**  
Arguing or Bargaining?
- 2009/07  
Hans-Jörg Trenz, Nadine Bernhard  
and Erik Jentges  
**Civil Society and EU  
Constitution-Making**  
Towards a European Social Constituency?
- 2009/06  
Kjartan Koch Mikalsen  
**Regional Federalisation with a  
Cosmopolitan Intent**
- 2009/05  
Agustín José Menéndez  
**European Citizenship after  
Martínez Sala and Bambaust**  
Has European Law Become  
More Human but Less Social?
- 2009/04  
Giandomenico Majone  
**The 'Referendum Threat', the  
Rationally Ignorant Voter, and the  
Political Culture of the EU**
- 2009/03  
Johannes Pollak, Jozef Bátora, Monika  
Mokre, Emmanuel Sigalas and  
Peter Slominski  
**On Political Representation**  
Myths and Challenges
- 2009/02  
Hans-Jörg Trenz  
**In Search of Popular Subjectness**  
Identity Formation, Constitution-Making  
and the Democratic Consolidation of the  
EU
- 2009/01  
Pieter de Wilde  
**Reasserting the Nation State**  
The Trajectory of Euroscepticism in the  
Netherlands 1992-2005
- 2008/20  
Anne Elizabeth Stie  
**Decision-Making Void of Democratic  
Qualities?**  
An Evaluation of the EU's Foreign and  
Security Policy
- 2008/19  
Cathleen Kantner, Amelie Kutter and  
Swantje Renfordt  
**The Perception of the EU as an Emerging  
Security Actor in Media Debates on  
Humanitarian and Military Interventions  
(1990-2006)**
- 2008/18  
Cathrine Holst  
**Gender Justice in the European Union**  
The Normative Subtext of Methodological  
choices
- 2008/17  
Yaprak Gürsoy and Meltem Müftüler-Baç  
**The European Union's Enlargement  
Process and the Collective Identity  
Formation in Turkey**  
The Interplay of Multiple Identities
- 2008/16  
Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero  
**Assessing Gender Democracy in the  
European Union**  
A Methodological Framework
- 2008/15  
Agustín José Menéndez  
**Reconstituting Democratic  
Taxation in Europe**  
The Conceptual Framework
- 2008/14  
Zdzisław Mach and Grzegorz Pożarlik  
**Collective Identity Formation in the  
Process of EU Enlargement**  
Defeating the Inclusive Paradigm of a  
European Democracy?
- 2008/13  
Pieter de Wilde  
**Media Coverage and National  
Parliaments in EU Policy-Formulation**  
Debates on the EU Budget in the  
Netherlands 1992-2005
- 2008/12  
Daniel Gaus  
**Legitimate Political Rule Without a State?**  
An Analysis of Joseph H. H. Weiler's  
Justification of the Legitimacy of the  
European Union Qua Non-Statehood

2008/11

Christopher Lord

**Some Indicators of the Democratic Performance of the European Union and How They Might Relate to the RECON Models**

2008/10

Nicole Deitelhof

**Deliberating ESDP**  
European Foreign Policy and the International Criminal Court

2008/09

Marianne Riddervold

**Interests or Principles?**  
EU Foreign Policy in the ILO

2008/08

Ben Crum

**The EU Constitutional Process**  
A Failure of Political Representation?

2008/07

Hans-Jörg Trencz

**In Search of the European Public Sphere**  
Between Normative Overstretch and Empirical Disenchantment

2008/06

Christian Joerges and Florian Rödl

**On the "Social Deficit" of the European Integration Project and its Perpetuation Through the ECJ Judgements in *Viking* and *Laval***

2008/05

Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero

**Reserching Gender Democracy in the European Union**  
Challenges and Prospects

2008/04

Thomas Risse and Jana

Katharina Grabowsky

**European Identity Formation in the Public Sphere and in Foreign Policy**

2008/03

Jens Steffek

**Public Accountability and the Public Sphere of International Governance**

2008/02

Christoph Haug

**Public Spheres within Movements**  
Challenging the (Re)search for a European Public Sphere

2008/01

James Caporaso and Sidney Tarrow

**Polanyi in Brussels**  
European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society

2007/19

Helene Sjursen

**Integration Without Democracy?**  
Three Conceptions of European Security Policy in Transformation

2007/18

Anne Elizabeth Stie

**Assessing Democratic Legitimacy From a Deliberative Perspective**  
An Analytical Framework for Evaluating the EU's Second Pillar Decision-Making System

2007/17

Swantje Renfordt

**Do Europeans Speak With One Another in Time of War?**  
Results of a Media Analysis on the 2003 Iraq War

2007/16

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and

John Erik Fossum

**A Done Deal? The EU's Legitimacy Conundrum Revisited**

2007/15

Helene Sjursen

**Enlargement in Perspective**  
The EU's Quest for Identity

2007/14

Stefan Collignon

**Theoretical Models of Fiscal Policies in the Euroland**  
The Lisbon Strategy, Macroeconomic Stability and the Dilemma of Governance with Governments

2007/13

Agustín José Menéndez

**The European Democratic Challenge**

2007/12

Hans-Jörg Trenz

**Measuring Europeanisation of Public Communication**

The Question of Standards

2007/11

Hans-Jörg Trenz, Maximilian

Conrad and Guri Rosén

**The Interpretative Moment of European Journalism**

The Impact of Newspaper Opinion Making in the Ratification Process

2007/10

Wolfgang Wagner

**The Democratic Deficit in the EU's Security and Defense Policy - Why Bother?**

2007/09

Helene Sjursen

**'Doing Good' in the World?**

Reconsidering the Basis of the Research Agenda on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy

2007/08

Dawid Friedrich

**Old Wine in New Bottles?**

The Actual and Potential Contribution of Civil Society Organisations to Democratic Governance in Europe

2007/07

Thorsten Hüller

**Adversary or 'Depoliticized' Institution?**

Democratizing the Constitutional Convention

2007/06

Christoph Meyer

**The Constitutional Treaty Debates as Revelatory Mechanisms**

Insights for Public Sphere Research and Re-Launch Attempts

2007/05

Neil Walker

**Taking Constitutionalism Beyond the State**

2007/04

John Erik Fossum

**Constitutional Patriotism**

Canada and the European Union

2007/03

Christian Joerges

**Conflict of Laws as Constitutional Form**

Reflections on International Trade Law and the *Biotech* Panel Report

2007/02

James Bohman

**Democratizing the Transnational Polity**

The European Union and the Presuppositions of Democracy

2007/01

Erik O. Eriksen and John Erik Fossum

**Europe in Transformation**

How to Reconstitute Democracy

## **Reconstituting Democracy in Europe (RECON)**

RECON seeks to clarify whether democracy is possible under conditions of complexity, pluralism and multilevel governance. Three models for reconstituting democracy in Europe are delineated and assessed: (i) reframing the EU as a functional regime and reconstituting democracy at the national level; (ii) establishing the EU as a multi-national federal state; or (iii) developing a post-national Union with an explicit cosmopolitan imprint.

RECON is an Integrated Project financed by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research, Priority 7 – Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-based Society. Project No.: CIT4-CT-2006-028698.

Coordinator: ARENA – Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo.

Project website: [www.reconproject.eu](http://www.reconproject.eu)

### **RECON Online Working Paper Series**

The Working Paper Series publishes work from all the researchers involved in the RECON project, but it is also open to submissions from other researchers working within the fields covered by RECON. The topics of the series correspond to the research focus of RECON's work packages. RECON Online Working Papers are widely circulated and included in online social science databases. Contact: [admin@reconproject.eu](mailto:admin@reconproject.eu).

### **Editors**

Erik O. Eriksen, ARENA – University of Oslo

John Erik Fossum, ARENA – University of Oslo

### **Editorial Board**

Ben Crum, *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

Zdzislaw Mach, *Jagiellonian University Krakow*

Yvonne Galligan, *Queen's University Belfast*

Agustín José Menéndez, *University of León*

Christian Joerges, *University of Bremen*

Helene Sjursen, ARENA – University of Oslo

Ulrike Liebert, *University of Bremen*

Hans-Jörg Trenz, ARENA – University of Oslo

Christopher Lord, ARENA – University of Oslo

Wolfgang Wagner, *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*