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Abstract

In the discussion on the prospects for democratic reform in the European Union, a collective European identity features prominently among the preconditions of greater democracy. The lack of a common European identity in the realm of foreign, security and defence policy has often been lamented. This paper contributes to this discussion by distinguishing conceptually between two dimensions of collective identity: the pragmatic problem-solving dimension of being members of a *commercium* on the one hand, and the ethical dimension of being members of a *communio* on the other. This paper also presents data from a long-term, cross-national empirical investigation of the issue. Do the 'Europeans' refer to themselves as Europeans when speaking from the participant perspective? If they do, what do they mean - the EU as a problem-solving *commercium* or an ethical *communio*? The paper presents analyses of a full sample of 489,508 newspaper articles on wars and humanitarian military interventions published in the leading conservative and liberal newspapers of six EU member states, and the US as a comparative case, published between January 1990 and March 2006. While most of the scientific discourse centres around the *communio*-dimension, I highlight the importance and empirical presence of the *commercium*-dimension of European identity.

Keywords

Common Security and Defence Policy – *Commercium* – *Communio* – European Identity – European Public Sphere – Humanitarian Interventions – Military Interventions – Transnational Political Communication

Introduction¹

It has often been said that collective identity is a necessary societal resource for democratic rule within and beyond the nation state (Böckenförde 1999: 93). In the context of discussions on the constitutionalisation and democratisation of the European Union, the (presumably lacking or underdeveloped) collective identity of the Europeans as Europeans features prominently as a precondition for greater democracy in the EU.

This paper argues that in the discourse on European identity, aspects of collective identity with respect to *shared values* and 'we-feelings' are overemphasised.² The importance of *pragmatic problem-solving* is, however, underemphasised in most of the discourse. It will be maintained that a *pragmatic problem-solving debate* as well as transnational European *identity discourses* emerge in the face of significant international conflict events. John Dewey (Dewey 1927; Kantner 2004) highlighted the importance of collective problem-solving for social and political integration. Problem-solving communities and their piecemeal, incremental and 'experimental' problem-solving attempts – it is today accepted by many authors – can transcend the national level (Albert and Kopp-Malek 2002; Bohman 2002; Cochran 2002). In principle, a global public is possible (see, for example: Bohman 1998; Dryzek 1999: 44; Rabinder 1999; Stichweh 2003; Volkmer 2003).

However, with Dewey (1927) there is a gradient in interaction density that influences the intensity of political communication and determines which problem-solving communities and international institutions are highlighted in the debate. Therefore, the possible extension of problem-solving communities corresponds to the range of political, legal and economic interdependence (Brunkhorst 2002; Kantner 2004: Ch. 5; Zürn, et al. 2007). This view adds a medium position to the existing literature on transnational political communication and builds a bridge between the two extremes: public political communication is neither contained within the nation state nor does it spread evenly. It develops with different intensity according to different degrees of mutual interdependence and interaction.³ The gradient in interaction, it can be expected, should lead to a higher intensity of expressions of EU-identity, in both its *communio* and its *commercium* aspect, in the European countries as compared to non EU-countries such as the US.

¹ This study presents results of 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, we are grateful to the German Research Foundation as well as the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme, within which this study was supported as part of the RECON project. 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.

² Of course support for the EU and its institutions is also often explained by utilitarian motivations. My issue here, however, is not the explanation of attitudes but the *expression of European identity* in *controversial* public debates. Whether the EU or particular European policies are supported or not, based on certain shared understandings of European identity, is a question I leave open in this paper.

³ This argument is designed to apply to countries with a free press. It purposively ignores the political barriers to international communication in political systems with insufficiently free media and thus does not aim to be universally applicable.

Following Dewey (1927) and others, I expect that in face of significant international conflict events, the EU will be referred to as a *pragmatic problem-solving community* (*commercium*) as well as a ethical transnational community of values (*communio*). Moreover, it would be likely that new collective identities emerge first as a pragmatic problem-solving community (*commercium*) and then as an ethical community of values (*communio*). I also expect to find a persistently stronger presence of the EU as a *commercium* than as a *communio* in the debate, since in accordance with Habermas (1998: Ch. 9) I contend that political communities resemble a *commercium* most of the time and that this is sufficient for political integration. Alternatively, one can assume that the concrete context of the conflict at hand matters. With regard to some conflicts, the EU might be referred to as a problem-solving community (*commercium*) and with regard to other conflicts the EU might be referred to rather as a community of values (*communio*).

In order to answer these questions, the paper proceeds as follows: *Section 2* discusses how much of what kind of identity may be needed in order to make democracy work in the European Union. What role does collective identity play in the three RECON models which are explicitly intended to shed a light on the prospects of European democracy and its preconditions? In the next step, I develop my own understanding of collective identity in the tradition of Kant, Weber, Tönnies and recent theoretical contributions by analytical philosophy of language and introduce the distinction between the often neglected *commercium*- and the usually overemphasized *communio*-aspect of collective identity.

Section 3 introduces briefly the advanced corpus-linguistic text-analytical methods employed for the empirical part of the paper. *Section 4* presents the results of the empirical analysis of a full sample of 489,508 newspaper articles on wars and humanitarian military interventions published in the leading conservative and liberal newspapers of six EU member states, and the US as a comparative case. The study comprises a continuous time period of 16 years (January 1990 to March 2006). In what ways was European identity expressed in the newspaper debates on these important international issues and events? What kind of EU-identity was expressed across countries over time and with respect to which crisis events?

Section 5 summarizes the findings and argues for more attention to the usually neglected *commercium*-aspect of collective identities. Being convinced that ‘we are all in the same boat’ is a very important basis for collective problem-solving, cooperation and the willingness to come to terms with each other – even in the absence of a shared ethical self-understanding. In the face of severe conflicts this is usually a sufficient base for democratic politics.

1. How much of what kind of identity is needed?

1.1 Collective identity in the RECON models

How much collective identity is needed for democratic rule beyond the nation state? What type of collective identity is needed for democratic rule? Eriksen and Fossum (2007; 2012) propose three models of democracy for the European Union (EU) which imply different roles for collective identities:

(1) The EU might be envisioned as '*delegated democracy*' (ibid. 11-13, 28) or '*audit democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2012: 22-25; Sjursen 2007b; for the CFSP see: Sjursen 2012) in which the Member States decide on European issues in a predominantly intergovernmental manner or delegate powers to specialist agencies and independent regulatory commissions at the European level. Democracy is considered a national feature and therefore collective identities are not expected to transcend national borders. For an '*audit democracy*', a 'weak' collective European identity would be sufficient, in the sense of a general orientation towards peaceful conflict settling among each other and a pragmatic interest in cooperation for the sake of particularistic-national and / or perceived common interests. However, it would be important that the national collective identities be 'strong' and, to a certain minimal degree, Europeanized. This model could therefore be considered as a communitarian version of national *demos* whose political representatives coordinate EU-level interdependencies.

(2) Emphasising supranational trends, the EU might alternatively be conceptualised as a '*federal democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 16 f., 28; 2012: 25-29) or more precisely a '*federal multinational democracy*' (Sjursen 2007b; 2012), resembling something like a federal nation-state 'writ large'.⁴ In this second model, democracy would be practiced on both the national and the European level. For a '*federal democracy*', a 'strong' / 'thick', value-based collective identity of the type of a 'constitutional patriotism' rather than an essentialist (ethnic or cultural-traditional) conception of identity (Fossum and Menéndez 2009: 61) would have to be prevalent among the EU citizens in order to 'render collective decision-making at European level possible' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 16).⁵ This model could therefore be considered a communitarian model – at the supranational level – with some Habermasian imprints. These imprints, however regard only the *type of identity* (*Staatsnation* instead of *Kulturnation* in Meinecke's (1970) classical terms) to be presumed as a precondition for democratic rule. This model does *not* rest on a *procedural* understanding of the democratic process (in the nation state as well as in the EU). Consequently, communitarians who believe that in the nation state a 'thick' collective identity finally helps to generate consensus would expect a "kind of automatic 'rallying around the flag'" regarding the most controversial issues, such as the use of military force (Sjursen 2007b; 2012: 150) – they would at the same time doubt this could ever be the case beyond the nation state.

The homogeneous vision of the *demos* is certainly under-complex and idealised (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). Any *political* discussion is about conflicting interests, contradictions and incompatible visions of the good life (Kantner 2004; Risse 2010). 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.

⁴ The phrase 'nation state writ large' was initially coined in the title of an edited volume on the developing European foreign policy, by Kohnstamm and Hager (1973). The term expressed a rather sceptical attitude toward the idea that the EC would turn into a superpower (an independent Third Power) or a neutral state.

⁵ 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).

(3) Another vision for the reconstitution of democracy beyond the nation state would be a '*cosmopolitan democracy*', '*regional-European democracy*' (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 22-24, 28; 2012: 29-35), or '*regional cosmopolitan democracy*' (Sjursen 2007b; 2012), resting on multi-level governance mechanisms. With respect to collective identity, a cosmopolitan, multi-national citizenry would avoid any essentialist identity but offer rather something resembling a 'constitutional patriotism' which, however, should encompass the whole world and gives an 'even more prominent position' to universal norms, fundamental rights and democratic procedures (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 22f., 28). It would be committed to human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Eriksen and Fossum 2012: 32).

The three proposed models share the conception that 'strong' collective identities are needed in order to make democracy work (Putnam 1993). They share, moreover, a normative preference for collective identities resting on constitutional patriotism rather than essentialist ethnic or cultural codes. The difference between the models consists only in the level at which collective identity is placed. Liberal and proceduralist arguments⁶ that refuse the communitarian baseline conviction that democratic decisions are only accepted by the people if they are bound together by 'strong' / 'thick' / 'hot' values and we-feelings have been largely ignored.

1.2 Collective identities: commonly shared convictions

How to conceive of a European collective identity? The literature on the concept of 'collective identity' fills libraries. However, in the tradition of Ferdinand Tönnies (1963), the literature focuses on groups integrated by strong bounds of shared 'values' or 'we-feelings'. Yet, ethics is only part of the story. In their empirical studies, many authors are struggling to also tackle – something which in the Tönnies-tradition has been conceptually excluded – members of groups who interact and co-operate for the purpose of different aims. Following Kant and others (Kantner 2006; Tietz 2002), I will call them a '*commercium*'. Finally, there are also particularistic communities, who together pursue 'social goods' (Walzer 1983: 6-10) and have developed a collective identity in the sense of a shared ethical self-understanding. They will be called a *communio*.

1.2.1 Sitting in the same boat: the *commercium*

Particularistic groups in the sense of a *commercium* draw on a collective identity in the sense of a shared interpretation of their situation or the awareness of being involved in a co-operative enterprise. They consider themselves 'in the same boat' – whether they like it or not (Kantner 2006: 511 f.). However, having to deal with a perhaps miserable situation, having to fix a mess, does not include common ethical convictions in a *commercium*: everybody follows only his or her own idiosyncratic desires and purposes. Various motives may be involved – however, it is not a common, ethically motivated project that the members of the *commercium* participate in. The members see the group as a club or neighbourhood, not as a family (Walzer 1983: 35-42).

⁶ This question is one of the central questions in the debate between communitarians and liberals since the 1970s (Forst 1993), as well as in the debate between these two and Habermas (1996b) in his attempt to develop a proceduralist theory of democracy (Habermas 1996a).

Since Ferdinand Tönnies (1963) radically opposed the modern, cold and mechanic *society* (Kant's *commercium*) with the traditional, warm and organic *community* (*communio*), the Kantian *commercium* has been expelled from social science discourse on collective identity – a decision to which we owe many of our difficulties in talking in a non-romantic way about collective identities today.

The shared conviction of being 'in the same boat' typically emerges in public *pragmatic problem-solving debates*. In everyday life, political communities resemble most of the time the *commercium*: 'Egoistic' interests are negotiated against each other, mutual obligations are established, and contracts are agreed and upheld, but the participants primarily follow their own reasons without orientation towards any common good. The affiliation within a community in this minimalistic sense consists of the awareness of the individual participants that they are – willingly or not – part of the 'game' and are perhaps already equipped with certain rights within an institutionalized setting. In a classical liberal as well as in a procedural democratic view, the pragmatic identity of a *commercium* is sufficient for the functioning of democracy.⁷

1.2.2 Sharing ethical convictions: the *communio*

While in everyday political life our communities rather resemble the *commercium*, sometimes there are situations in which other kinds of goods is at stake: collectively shared ethical convictions instead of individual interests (Kantner 2006: 512-515). It might be a major historical event (either catastrophic or fortunate)⁸, a proposal for the initiation of a grand collective project, or a major revision of it – in those situations, suddenly a certain nerve might be touched, and people begin to argue quite passionately for their normative convictions and values. In such comparatively rare historical moments, the political community appears or has to prove itself as a value-integrated *communio*.

Beyond some practical interests, the members of a *communio* share *values*⁹ regarding a distinct common enterprise. However, they do not necessarily possess shared 'objective' characteristics which the external observer could access without asking the individuals concerned for their 'hot', ethical convictions.

Collective identities of the *communio*-type can be 'coded' quite differently. The literature distinguishes three different 'identity codes', the *primordial*, the *cultural* and the *civic* (Eisenstadt and Giesen 1995). Bruter (2004) applied this distinction to

⁷ Lacroix (2003: 161 f.; 2006: 38-39) reaches a similar conclusion with regard to the democratisation of the European Union.

⁸ The identity of the political community often becomes an object of reflection in the face of dramatic events, in situations of perceived crisis, intense social change, or when people try to cope with traumatising collective experiences or major blows to fundamental, ethical, or moral convictions of the community members (Giesen 2004). Yet, it could also be major positive changes like the defeat of a dictatorship that stimulate identity discourses.

⁹ By 'values' I understand predicates that are reified into 'goods'. Every attribute ('democratic', 'great', 'fit') can therefore become a value that is important for the ethical self-understanding of the members of a community who are proud of making these values essential for their shared life-form (e.g. 'democracy' – for Germans today in contrast to their ancestors, 'greatness' – for the ancient Greeks, 'fitness' – for the community of body-builders). Only the group members as participating speakers can answer the question 'what is good or better for us to do?' (Tietz 2001: 113-124).

European identity. It has been contested whether *constitutional patriotism* or civilian collective identities are comparable to the presumably ‘stronger’, ‘deeper’, more affective identities of the primordial and cultural type. In the perspective proposed in this study and in line with authors like Dewey, Apel and Habermas, the civilian code is a civil form of mutual recognition as fellow citizens and a form of solidarity (Apel 1988; Dewey 1927; Eriksen and Weigård 2003; Habermas 1996a; Tietz 2002). This argument has also been put forward for the EU (Kantner 2004: Ch. 4.2; Sjursen 2007a: 7).

Yet, civilian collective identity is not to be mistaken as mere respect of the laws for whatever instrumental reasons (including e.g. fear of sanctions). It is no ‘identity lite’. Civilian identity – or *constitutional patriotism* – is a ‘hot’, particularistic *communio*-identity. It consists in universalistic principles which have been translated into cardinal values central to the self-understanding of the members of the political community.

What characterises the members of a *communio* is that they share certain conceptions of what counts for them as a ‘good life’. In light of this conception of a ‘good life’, they (re-) interpret their past and continue (some of) their traditions. Only collective identities in this normative sense consist of the widely shared ethical self-understanding of the individual members of a *communio*. This shared ethical self-understanding may be ‘inherited’ to a certain degree. Yet, there is also another way to establish a *communio*: people might come together and create new *communio* groups in order to pursue common ethical projects.

Especially in the latter case, the participants put emphasis on *present* problems and the question of how they want to live together in the *future*.¹⁰ This implies that our collective identities do not emerge out of thin air, but in our collective attempts at solving our common problems – which often challenges our normative self-understanding. Collective identities are not arbitrary narrative constructions where ‘anything goes’, but both rooted in and limited by the real world activities of people concerned about certain problematic issues, the interplay of different actors’ conflicting motives; and their prior understanding of the issues concerned. Collective political identities develop through political debate and political conflict.

Are such *communio*-identities a prerequisite for legitimate political decisions? With Habermas (1998: Ch. 9), I would say ‘no’ for ordinary politics and ‘maybe’ for coping with extraordinary challenges. For the establishment of far-reaching collective projects, a collective identity in the sense of a *commercium* might *not* be sufficient. It may well be that a certain ‘critical mass’ of public support needs to be mobilised in order to institutionalise costly policies (e.g. establishing the welfare state; sending military troops into battle). Unlike communitarian positions would suggest, however, most public debates are not identity-discourses that contribute to the redefinition of the ethical self-understanding of the community members (Habermas 1998: Ch. 9).¹¹

¹⁰ For an empirical study of European identity-discourse on humanitarian military interventions, see Biegoń (2010). This study highlights the importance of debating grand European *future* projects instead of looking for identity only in the past.

¹¹ The disagreement between procedural and communitarian views of ‘identity’ is that communitarians tend to maintain *all* ‘real’ political issues would be ethical and involve a major wave of political mobilisation.

Only in the face of extraordinary problems and conflicts is the shared ethical self-understanding of the community members challenged. In those cases, we are talking about 'hot' ethical convictions.¹²

Yet, these ethical core convictions can – much to the irritation of some identity entrepreneurs – never be fixed and defined too narrowly. Sharing ethical convictions does not mean that conflicts disappear or even diminish. Identities in both particularistic senses are 'children' of conflicts. The ethical self-understanding of a group should be imagined as a '*corridor of normative convictions*' still large enough for intense dissent. This corridor of basic ethical convictions in fact demarcates the limits of what is ethically 'appropriate', within which further contention takes place (this adds to a better understanding of the 'logic of appropriateness': March and Olsen 2004; Risse 2000).

In the empirical study of a European identity which may be emerging in the context of issues of humanitarian military interventions, this means that we should be particularly aware of what exactly we are talking about when we investigate collective political identities. Do 'Europeans' refer to themselves as Europeans when speaking from the participant perspective? If they do, what do they mean – the EU as a problem-solving *commercium* or an ethical *communio* with regard to international security policies?

2. Methods used

This study presents original and unique data. It draws on a *large cross-national data set* of continuous newspaper coverage. 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 interventions¹³ 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).¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

¹² Classical political liberalism tried to exclude ethical issues as much as possible from the public sphere and to leave them to the realm of private idiosyncrasies. This was one lesson learned from the religious wars that shook Europe in the 17th century. Yet, in a dynamically changing society, this legalistic method transforms controversial ethical issues into judicial ones too early and hence perpetuates existing injustice against discriminated groups and ignores the legitimate demands of new social movements (Benhabib 1992).

¹³ The sampling procedure did not include any EU or CSDP keywords in order to avoid sampling on the dependent variable.

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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*

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, in press) 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 software¹⁶, creating country-specific lists of typical phrases and 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.¹⁷ Altogether, the sample on humanitarian military interventions encompasses 108,677 articles.

For 'EU identity', the 'EU as *commercium*' and as '*communio*', the same corpus-linguistic methods were employed. The final semantic lists for 'European identity' included a broad variety of word-clusters and collocations¹⁸:

- expressions signifying visions, myths and concepts of European integration, terms used for the discussion and intellectual debate about European values and identity (e.g. 'European debate', 'European project', 'European founding fathers' etc.);
- subject clauses expressing modality and probability as well as fragments of clauses in which the EU appeared as a grammatical subject ('l'Europe devrait', 'Europe must', 'Europe should', 'Europe will', 'Europe could', 'Europe would have', 'que l'Europe puisse' etc.) and their negations; and
- explicit talk about 'us Europeans' or self-references as 'we Europeans'.¹⁹

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.

¹⁶ See: <http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/version4/> (10.11.2008).

¹⁷ For this procedure, we used the software package SPSS Clementine (<http://www.spss.com/de/clementine/> (10.11.2008)).

¹⁸ *Collocations* or *collocates* are typical combinations of two or more words which co-occur on a regular basis. They carry new, specific meanings not entailed in the component terms. 'Peace mission' has a different meaning than 'mission', 'we Europeans' is a more specific and stronger expression than a simple keyword such as 'Europe'.

¹⁹ In order to account for the occasionally remarkable national differences in wording, the expressions were scanned for each country separately. The resulting national lists were then compared with each other to make sure that every semantic sub-category of words was included in the subsequent text-mining procedure for every single country.

It was always qualitatively checked that these expressions indeed referred to the EU (and *not* to a broader continental or civilizational Europe). So, the measure is quite conservative and does not even include the collocation 'European identity' itself, since it often was used in a broader sense. The identified expressions may have been used in a neutral way as well as positively or negatively connoted. I did not – for the quantitative parts of the study – look at the evaluations, since I wanted first to investigate whether and how intensely the controversial subject matter occurs in the debate. The 'EU identity' lists were further refined and differentiated to distinguish between word-clusters referring to the EU as a *commercium* from those referring to it as a *communio*. The list for the EU as a *commercium* now included:

- expressions of role-expectations addressed to the EU as an actor, among them fragments of subject-clauses (e.g. 'europe must', 'the european union should / needs / might / has to / wants', 'from a european perspective', 'europe's role', 'the eu's role', 'european voice', 'presence / absence de l europe', 'handlungsfaehigkeit europas', 'rol / falen / uur / zwakte van de europese unie'),
- expressions delineating an EU-specific action space (e.g. 'european problem', 'a real european solution', 'european responsibility', 'europaeische herausforderung', 'europaeisches thema'), and
- phrases that relate to European interests (e.g. 'ambitions of the eu', 'europe's influence', 'europe's weakness', 'europe's failure', 'capacite europeenne', 'puissance de l europe', 'impuissance de l europe', 'credibilite de l europe', 'interets de la communaute europeenne', 'ohnmacht europas', 'europaeische emanzipation').

The articles referring to the EU as a *communio* were identified by using those search terms of the 'EU identity' lists that referred to:

- visions, models and rhetoric related to the project of European integration as well as self-identifications of the Europeans as Europeans (e.g. 'we the europeans', 'european dream / project / identity / unity', 'as europeans we', 'themselves as europeans', 'united states of europe', 'europe of nation states', 'closer union', 'federal / integrated europe', 'opt for europe', 'european consciousness', 'enthusiasm for europe', 'europeanism', 'vision of europe', 'the european ideal', 'for the future of europe', 'malaise europeenne', 'paysage europeen', 'victoire de l europe', 'l idee europeenne', 'normes europeennes', 'l europe des hommes', 'l europe de la defense', 'europaeische prinzipien', 'europaeische sache / rhetorik / diskurs / selbstverstaendnis', 'europese weg', 'identiteit van europa', 'europese bewustzijn', 'gemeenschappelijk europa').

Using these methods, this investigation – as the first in the field – provides real longitudinal data on the issue. Most currently available studies that claim longitudinal trends rest on the analysis of samples limited to a few weeks before and after selected intervention decisions in selected countries. In the following section, I shall present and cross-nationally compare data on the frequency of expressions of European identity in its *commercium* and the *communio* aspects.

3. *Commercium* and *communio* aspects of European identity

Does European identity matter at all in debates on dramatic international crisis events such as wars, civil wars and related international humanitarian military interventions? If European identity occurs, as what type of collective identity – the *commercium* or *communio* type – is European identity being expressed?

References to the EU as a particularistic community consistently occurred in the European press in the debate on wars and humanitarian military interventions, albeit on a very low level. Most newspaper articles reported on conflict events. All together, almost 12,000 articles referred to European identity as operationalised in the corpus-linguistic retrieval procedure. The share of those articles from the whole sample was by far lowest in the US-American papers (not even 1%). Among the EU countries under study, the share varied from 6% (FR) to about 2% (UK, IR). Within the sub-sample of articles that refer to the normative concept of ‘humanitarian military intervention’, the share of articles that also refer to European identity is higher than in the overall sample in all countries except the Netherlands. The coupling between the normative concept of ‘humanitarian military intervention’ and the concept of ‘EU identity’ (EU ID) was strongest in the French newspapers, where 9% of all articles that refer to humanitarian military interventions also mention European identity. Table 1 presents the share of articles in each country that mention the EU as a *communio* or as a *commercium* respectively. In some articles, the EU is mentioned as both a *communio* and a *commercium*.²⁰

Table 1: Share of articles that mention EU-identity as a *communio* and/or *commercium* (in %)

	overall sample		intervention sub-sample	
	<i>communio</i>	<i>commercium</i>	<i>communio</i>	<i>commercium</i>
Germany	2.1	1.5	2.0	2.2
Austria	2.1	2.7	2.0	3.0
Netherlands	2.7	0.6	2.5	0.7
France	5.0	2.0	7.1	3.7
Ireland	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.7
UK	1.1	0.7	1.2	1.4
US	0.5	0.3	0.9	0.7

Notes: The table displays the shares of references to the EU as *communio* and *commercium* within the two samples. The figures resulted from the word-cluster based analysis and are given in percent of the total newspaper articles (overall sample, N = 489,508; intervention sub-sample, N = 108,677). Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

Except in Austria, the expressions referring to the EU as a *communio* occurred in more articles than those phrases referring to the EU as a pragmatic *commercium*. This feature is most pronounced in the French and in the Dutch press, but also present in the US. However, in the US-American newspapers, references to the EU as a particularistic community in general are virtually absent. The prevalence of the EU as a *communio* in the data is surprising, since one would expect the pragmatic recourse to the EU to be

²⁰ Because of such overlaps, the figures for *communio* and *commercium* added together can be slightly higher than the ‘EU identity’ figures.

more frequent than the normatively more demanding ethical one. Within the EU member states, European identity in both aspects is mentioned least in the UK and Ireland.

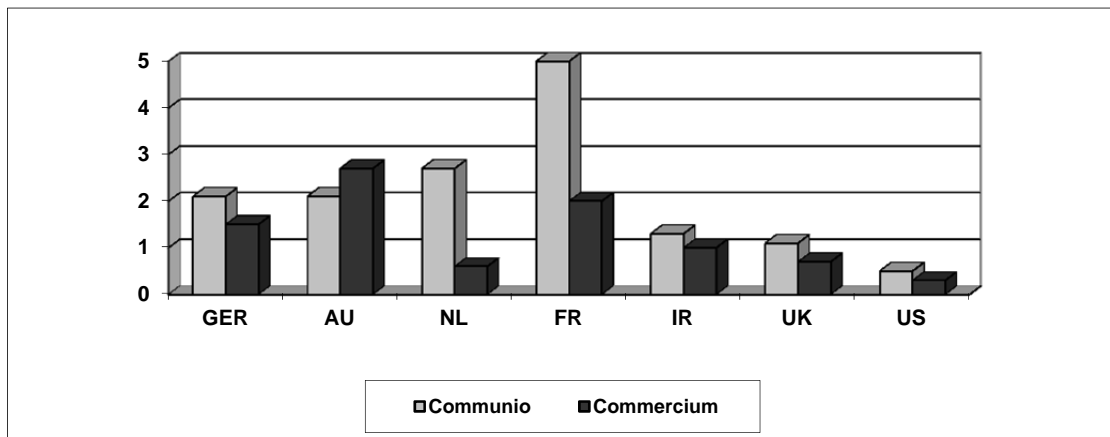


Figure 1: Share of articles mentioning EU-identity as *communio* and/or *commercium* in the overall sample (in %)

Notes: The graph displays the shares of references to the EU as *communio* and *commercium* within the overall sample. The figures resulted from the word-cluster based analysis and are given in percent of the total newspaper articles (N = 489,508). Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

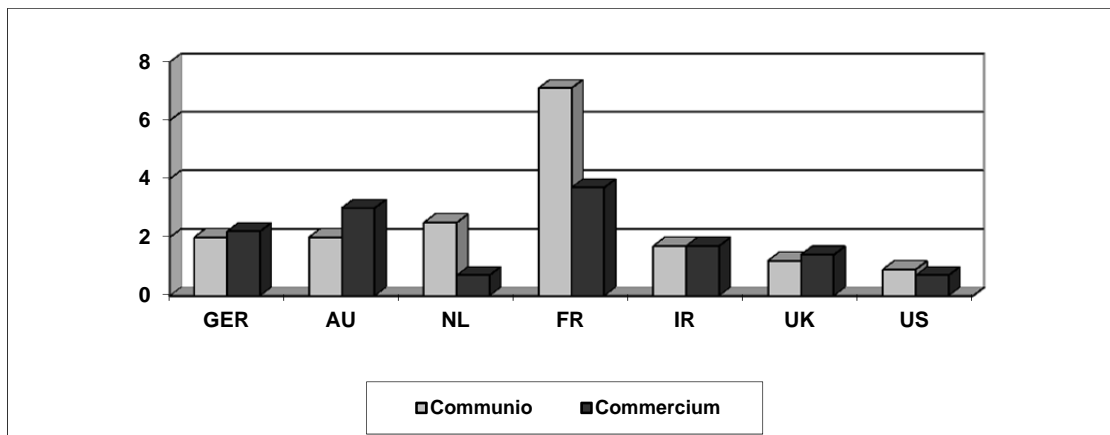


Figure 2: Share of articles mentioning EU-identity as *communio* and/or *commercium* in the intervention sub-sample (in %)

Notes: The graph displays the shares of references to the EU as *communio* and *commercium* within the intervention sub-sample. The figures resulted from the word-cluster based analysis and are given in percent of the total newspaper articles (N = 108,677). Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

Within the intervention sub-sample, the shares remain virtually constant for the EU as a *communio* (GER, AU, NL, UK) (see Table 1). They are higher than in the overall sample only for the US, Ireland and – especially – France. The shares of articles in which the EU is referred to as a *commercium*, however, show a clear increase (GER, FR, IR, UK, US). Only in the Austrian and Dutch media they remain the same in the intervention sub-sample. In the English-speaking countries (IR, UK, US) and Germany, the EU is mentioned almost exactly as often in terms of a *communio* as in terms of a *commercium* (Figure 1). Overall, the difference between Germany, Austria

and the Netherlands on the one hand and Ireland and the UK on the other decreased. France remains the country with by far the highest percentage of references to the EU as a community in both the *communio* and the *commercium* aspect.

In order to explore these interrelationships further, it is worth taking a look at the *communio* and *commercium* portion within those articles containing 'EU identity' references differentiated according to time periods. Table 2 displays these relations for the overall sample. Regarding cross-country differences, Austria is the only country where *commercium*-expressions occur more frequently than *communio*-expressions in all three time periods. Austria is also the country with the least references to the EU as a *communio* and the most references to the EU as a *commercium* (as a percentage of all references to EU identity over all three time periods). In all other countries, *communio*-expressions score as high as or higher than *commercium* expressions. In the Dutch media, we find the highest percentage of references to the EU as a *communio* and the lowest percentage of references to the EU as a *commercium*. The US-media do not exhibit any special features. The range of different percentage values is highest in the second and lowest in the third period distinguished. The 9/11 and Iraq War context is generally characterised by a proportional increase of EU-*communio* expressions in all countries.

The following figures graphically illustrate the changing percentage distributions of references to the EU as a *communio* and as a *commercium*. The countries are characterised by very different patterns. In German and Austrian reporting, the *communio* aspect of EU identity decreases while references to the EU as a *commercium* increase during the second period, which was dominated by the Kosovo conflict and the beginning institutionalisation of the CSDP. By contrast, in the Dutch and French media the percentage of *commercium* expressions for the EU increases over time. This distinguishes them from the English-speaking countries, which see a trend towards slightly more *communio* expressions at the expense of *commercium* expressions.

Do the proportions change within the more specific discourse on humanitarian military interventions? Table 3 lists the proportions of the two identity aspects for the intervention sub-sample. Interestingly, and against my expectations, the predominance of *communio* expressions within articles that refer to the EU as a particularistic community is absent in most countries under study in the first and the second period. This may be a reflection of the fact that when the debate was more directly focussed on interventions, it implied the possibility that countries would have to send troops. In this context, the pragmatic aspects of a *commercium*, a problem-solving community that cooperates on the basis of some common interests (which co-exist with other idiosyncratic motives of the members), move to the fore. In the first and second period, visions of the EU as a community with a shared ethical self-understanding dominate among references to 'EU identity' in only three countries (NL, FR, US).

Table 2: Share of articles that mention the EU as a *communitio* and/or as a *communitium* among all 'EU identity' articles in the overall sample (in %)

	<i>communitio</i> 1990-1995	<i>communitium</i> 1990-1995
GER	63.3	46.9
AU	48.8	55.8
NL	86.8	13.5
FR	84.5	29.7
IR	58.7	50.4
UK	61.3	47.3
US	68.4	37.5
	1996-2000	1996-2000
GER	58.9	54.8
AU	45.6	62.6
NL	85.1	17.6
FR	81.4	33.5
IR	52.9	52.9
UK	63.9	43.7
US	63.3	42.8
	2001-2006	2001-2006
GER	67.5	43.3
AU	49.6	58.6
NL	83.4	22.3
FR	81.8	34.0
IR	65.5	43.7
UK	71.7	37.8
US	73.7	31.0

Notes: Overall sample: N = 489,508, EU identity = 11,844, EU *communitio* = 8,556, EU *communitium* = 4,524. The table displays the changing proportions of articles referring to the EU as a *communitio* or a *communitium* as a share of those articles referring to 'EU identity' for three distinct time periods within the period of investigation. Since articles can refer to both the EU as a *communitio* and a *communitium*, the values do not add up to 100%. Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

Regarding cross-country differences, especially the Dutch media (closely followed by the French) tend most strongly towards EU-*communitio*-expressions. The Irish media (closely followed by the British, Austrian and German) prefer EU-*communitium*-expressions in the first period after the end of the Cold War. In the second period, the French overtake the Dutch media in terms of the share of EU-*communitio*-expressions. Only in the third period does the appeal to the EU as a *communitio* become overwhelming. For countries like Ireland and the UK it is only in the context of the Iraq War that the EU as a community is referred to in terms of a *communitio* more frequently than as a *communitium*. Only two countries are left in which *communitium*-terms score higher than EU-*communitio*-expressions (GER, AU). The range of percentage differences in each category between the countries is broad, but it decreases continuously from period to period.

Table 3: Share of articles that mention the EU as a *communio* and/or as a *commercium* among all 'EU identity' articles in the intervention sub-sample (in %)

	<i>communio</i> 1990-1995	<i>commercium</i> 1990-1995
GER	51.7	59.9
AU	44.4	55.6
NL	82.5	18.8
FR	80.7	37.2
IR	38.3	66.0
UK	41.7	63.8
US	55.2	51.6
	1996-2000	1996-2000
GER	51.0	60.2
AU	35.7	65.7
NL	78.8	25.3
FR	80.7	38.0
IR	44.9	60.3
UK	43.1	65.1
US	54.5	51.7
	2001-2006	2001-2006
GER	54.9	57.0
AU	44.3	59.8
NL	78.8	21.9
FR	75.7	45.2
IR	65.7	43.8
UK	60.5	49.8
US	71.5	33.2

Notes: Intervention sub-sample: N = 108,677, EU identity = 3,633, EU *communio* = 2,293, EU *commercium* = 1,736. The table displays the changing proportions of articles referring to the EU as a *communio* or a *commercium* as a share of those articles referring to 'EU identity' for three distinct time periods within the period of investigation. Since articles can refer to both the EU as a *communio* and a *commercium*, the values do not add up to 100%. Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

The figures allow the distinction of three patterns of change regarding the distribution of the two identity aspects over time. German and Austrian papers prefer *commercium* over *communio*-terms without a trend over time. Dutch and French papers constantly prefer *communio*-terms, but their use of *commercium*-terms increases over time. The English-speaking countries instead are characterised by an increase in the use of *communio*- at the expense of *commercium*-expressions, a trend that is particularly marked in the post 9/11 and Iraq War context.

These shifts and changes are related to the public interpretation of the international crisis situations prevalent during the respective time periods. Another way to substantiate this interpretation is to establish which conflict areas were mentioned in the newspaper articles together with the EU as a particularistic community in the *commercium*- and / or the *communio*-aspect. Which kind of EU-identity is being expressed in the context of selected conflicts for the individual countries under study?

In order to measure these relations, we calculated the strengths of the co-occurrences of all possible pairs of selected important conflict-country names and European identity in the *commercium*- and the *communio*-dimension in the newspaper articles (e.g. 'Bosnia and Rwanda', 'EU-*communio* and Bosnia'). For each pair the overlap was calculated as a percentage of the set union.²¹ If the overlap was at least 10%, the relationship was counted a relevant one. For most countries, the strongest connections emerged between countries involved in a conflict scenario with each other or were a result of multiple conflicts occurring at the same time (e.g. Croatia / Slovenia or Palestine / Israel). Yet, in some cases the co-occurrence of Iraq and the EU as a *communio* was the strongest of all. This was the case in the overall sample for France (35%), Germany (38%), the Netherlands (42%) and the US (40%). Similarly, the connection between Bosnia and the EU as a *commercium* was strongest in one case, the US, in the intervention sub-sample (40%).

The conflict locations that co-occurred with EU-*commercium* phrases in at least 10% of the articles of the set union were Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo and other conflicts in the former Yugoslavia (see Table 4 for a summary of the relations found). Also, Israel was mentioned in many cases in connection with calls for the EU to act or appeals to its interests in the region (*commercium*-aspect) (GER, FR, IR, UK, US).

Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo and Yugoslavia, including its (former) provinces, were the conflict locations which were frequently discussed in the same articles that contain references to explicit EU-related visions, models, rhetoric and self-identifications (EU identity in its *communio* aspect). Articles that mentioned Afghanistan co-occurred with the 'EU as *communio*' in at least 10% of the articles of the respective set union in all countries under study for the intervention sub-sample, but in no country did that co-occurrence reach 10% in the overall sample. Hence, this conflict was clearly and unanimously seen as an intervention challenging European identity in the ethical sense. Israel was mentioned much less frequently in connection with the EU as a *communio* than in connection with the EU as a *commercium*.²²

Interestingly, the overlap between references to the EU as a *commercium* and the EU as a *communio* was smaller than 10% for most countries in both samples. The two dimensions of European identity prove to be quite distinct. The only two exceptions are Germany (12% in both samples) and France (16% for the overall- and 20% for the intervention sub-sample). In these two countries, both aspects of European identity, the pragmatic action-oriented *commercium* and the value-oriented *communio* were discussed in close connection with each other.

²¹ In mathematical set theory a "set union" is the collection of two or more sets. In our calculation we combined two sets A and B. A and B were different sets of all articles referring to the EU as a *communio*, a *commercium*, or to one of several important crisis countries. If the intersection (overlap between A and B: i.e. articles that referred as well to the EU as a *communio* as to the crisis country) between the two sets was at least 10% the size of the set union, it is counted. This process makes the strength of co-occurrences visible in terms of the size of the overlap (10% or higher).

²² Israel appeared related to the EU as a *communio* only in the Netherlands and the US in both samples and in Germany and the Netherlands in the intervention sub-sample.

Table 4: The EU as *commercium* and / or *communio* in different crises (overall sample)

	<i>commercium</i> / <i>communio</i> overlap	<i>commercium</i> conflicts	<i>communio</i> conflicts
GER	12%	Bosnia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Yugoslavia	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Yugoslavia
NL	7%	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo	Bosnia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Yugoslavia
AU	9%	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Yugoslavia	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia
FR	16%	Bosnia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia
IR	8%	Bosnia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Palestine, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Yugoslavia
UK	9%	Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Bosnia, Iraq, Yugoslavia
US	6%	Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Bosnia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Yugoslavia

Table 5: The EU as *commercium* and / or *communio* in different crises (intervention sub-sample)

	<i>commercium</i> / <i>communio</i> overlap	<i>commercium</i> conflicts	<i>communio</i> conflicts
GER	12%	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia
NL	6%	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Macedonia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia
AU	4%	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Macedonia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Yugoslavia
FR	20%	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia
IR	7%	Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Yugoslavia
UK	8%	Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia
US	7%	Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia	Afghanistan, Bosnia, Croatia, Iraq, Kosovo, Serbia, Yugoslavia

Notes: The two tables display a listing of those conflicts that strongly co-occurred with references to the EU as a *communio* or a *commercium*. They only include conflicts that displayed at least a 10% overlap of the set union of the articles referring to the conflict and those referring to the respective identity dimension. The overlap percentages given for the two identity dimensions can be read as the size of the cross-cutting set in percent of the set union of this pair of concepts. Period of investigation: Jan. 1990 – Mar. 2006, 195 months. Because of missing months, three countries include fewer months: AU 163, IR 166, GER 182.

4. Conclusions: the EU as *commercium* and *communio*

This study presented empirical support for the theoretical assumption that in addition to a *pragmatic problem-solving debate*, transnational European *identity discourses* emerged in the face of significant conflict events. Problem-solving communities and their piecemeal, incremental and 'experimental' problem-solving attempts transcend the national level. In tendency a global public is possible. However, varying interaction density may lead to varying intensity of political communication and determines which problem-solving communities and international institutions and identities are highlighted in the debate. The gradient in interaction, it was expected, might lead to a higher intensity of expressions of EU-identity, in both its *communio* and its *commercium* aspect, in European countries as compared to the US.

Hypotheses: Drawing on Dewey (1927), I expected that new collective identities emerge first as a pragmatic problem-solving community (*commercium*) and then as an ethical community of values (*communio*). Moreover, I expected to find a persistently stronger presence of the EU as a *commercium* than as a *communio* in the debate, since I argued, with Habermas (1998: Ch. 9), that political communities resemble a *commercium* most of the time and that this is sufficient for political integration. Alternatively, one can assume that the concrete context of the conflict at hand matters most. With regard to some conflicts, the EU might be referred to as a problem-solving community (*commercium*) and with regard to other conflicts the EU might be referred to rather as a community of values (*communio*).

The expectation that the EU would be more frequently referred to as a pragmatic problem-solving community (*commercium*) than as a community of values (*communio*) could not be confirmed. All in all, the EU was presented more in terms of a *communio* than in terms of a *commercium* in the overall debate, while within the normatively framed part of the debate, this predominance was less pronounced. The EU as *communio* clearly prevailed over the EU as a *commercium* only in France and the Netherlands.²³ On the other hand, this finding may be due to the issue area investigated. By looking at wars and interventions, I studied exceptional crises that tend to provoke ethical identity discourses and expressions of *communio*-type identities more than might day-to-day political issues.

In addition, the EU was not first referred to as a pragmatic problem-solving community (*commercium*) and then later as an ethical community (*communio*). Instead, from the beginning of the period of investigation onwards, the EU was always referred to as a *communio*. Over time, no clear trends with regard to the relative shares of *communio* and *commercium* aspects of EU identity could be discovered. France was the country in which the EU was discussed earliest and most intensively as an ethical community. The US media referred to European identity on a very low level. However, if they do mention it, they do so largely in *communio* terms – especially in the context of the Iraq War 2003 – and, surprisingly, to a larger extent than do EU countries like Ireland, the UK, Austria and even Germany. Seen from outside, the Europeans seem to be viewed as a *communio*.

²³ The exception for the overall debate was Austria, where *commercium* expressions prevailed. In the normatively framed part of the debate, *commercium* and *communio* expressions were equally frequent in Germany, Ireland, the UK and the US.

The analysis showed that the conceptual tools developed, the distinction between collective identity in its *commercium* and its *communio* aspect, could be fruitfully employed for the empirical study, although they led to somewhat surprising findings. International crisis events and issues of wars and humanitarian military intervention trigger – especially in the most controversial cases – an increased use of *communio*-expressions. Speakers (and journalists) in those situations try to mobilize the audience’s support for, or its protest against, the use of military force. *Commercium*-expressions are – it seems – not considered to fulfil this task in the same way.

A meaningful pattern, however, emerges if one relates the references to European identity to the important conflicts: the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia as well as the Iraq War 2003 challenged the EU as both a problem-solving community (*commercium*) and an ethical community (*communio*). Only in the context of the Afghanistan intervention did the press of the various countries refer to the EU overwhelmingly as a community of values (*communio*), while the EU most clearly is referred to as a pragmatic problem-solving community (*commercium*) in the Israel-Palestine conflict. The concrete conflict context shaped the way European identity was expressed. Again, the theoretical framework developed allows for a plausible interpretation of this finding: most conflicts are characterised by pragmatic problem-solving debate in which the *commercium*-aspect of collective identity is invoked while at the same time ethical questions concerning the use of force are addressed. These debates touch upon our ethical self-understanding and therefore bring out the *communio*-aspect of European identity.

The Afghanistan intervention constituted an interesting exception. European identity was not intensively debated in this conflict. Rather, it seems that ‘European identity’ in the *communio*-aspect was taken for granted and appealed to – in the time period under investigation. This may be a reflection of the fact that this intervention did not directly involve (perceived) European interests, constitute a direct threat or threaten immediate negative externalities. Without these factors, which would likely have been discussed in pragmatic debate, *commercium* concerns for the problematic situation took a back-seat in favour of universalistic and ethical considerations. By contrast, in discussions of the Israel-Palestine conflict, references to European identity in the *commercium* sense predominate. Often discussed in the context of other conflicts in the Middle East as part of a problem-diagnosis,²⁴ the long history of attempts to find a negotiated solution and the highly politicised international profile of the conflict may result in a strong focus on ‘technical’ problem-solving. In line with the theoretical arguments developed in this study, *commercium*-expressions of collective identity are to be expected.

What does this imply for RECON’s Three Models that relate specific constructions of European identity with specific institutional models (Eriksen and Fossum 2007: 28)? The EU as *delegated or audit democracy* would be based on national *communio*-identities which are Europeanised to a certain degree and, at most, a *commercium*-identity on the European level; the EU as *federal multinational democracy* combines *communio*-identities

²⁴ Despite repeated efforts to contribute to problem solutions in the framework of the Middle East Quartet, Europe has very little direct influence on this conflict – it participates in and sometimes issues initiatives for diplomatic crisis solution attempts. Due to factors like Europe’s and the US’s historical support for Israel and the democratic legitimacy of Israel’s elected representatives, it is quite inconceivable for the mainstream media in both Europe and the US to discuss this conflict within a humanitarian military intervention frame.

on both the national and the European level whereby national identity would tend to be culturally coded and European identity rather of a constitutional patriotism type; and the EU as *regional cosmopolitan democracy* would be based on a *communio*-identity that translates universal principles into core values.

At first sight, the findings presented would suggest a subscription to the second RECON model that sees the future of the EU in a federal democracy. However, our theoretical approach as well as the empirical research shows that the different collective identity aspects are not mutually exclusive and that they do not directly point to specific forms of political organisation of the EU political system. In severe international crisis situations which constitute critical junctures for collective action and put into question peoples' self-understanding, collective identities are addressed simultaneously in two distinct aspects: (1) in a pragmatic sense of being 'in one boat' and trying to find solutions for urgent problems without reference to a common vision or collective project and (2) in the ethical dimension of what is 'good or better for us to do' (Kantner 2009; Renfordt 2011). This holds, moreover, true for peoples' multiple collective identities, e.g. their national, their European and their transatlantic identity (Risse 2010).

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