Discourse at the Juncture

The Explanatory Power of Discourse Theory and Policy Analysis for Understanding Peace Operations and Humanitarian Intervention

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Till Blume
Julian Junk
Elisabeth Schöndorf
Wolfgang Seibel

Abstract

Referring to the growing importance of international intervention and the obvious role of political communication in preparing and implementing related missions, the present paper explores the potential of discourse theory and policy-analysis for the understanding of international peace operations and humanitarian interventions. Focusing on temporality and critical junctures, we address change, turning points, stability and persistent trajectories as dimensions of political and institutional trajectories. We are stating that, while processes of related structuration can be observed on three interconnected layers – discourses, actors, arenas –, they are typically triggered by crises and/or the activity of political entrepreneurs.

1 Introduction

Throughout the 1990s, the 'international community' under the aegis of the United Nations showed an unprecedented will in engaging in peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities as well as in humanitarian intervention. The breakdown of the bipolar world order allowed for new coalitions in the Security Council and gave rise to some idealist thoughts on the international ability to channel the various transformation processes in newly emerging states suffering from conflicts and weak institutions on a way to democratic and liberal statehood. State-building through foreign powers or humanitarian intervention carried out by complex machineries of governmental and non-governmental, military and non-military, foreign and domestic organizations represent a huge political and managerial challenge *per*

se. What is more, state-building and the establishment of transitional administration such as the ones established on the Balkans, in East Timor, Liberia, Sierra Leone etc. is embedded in a complex, multilayered institutional environment characterized by the proliferation of international actors and a multiplicity of tasks. In addition, changing patterns of coalition-building and the increasing role of international media lead to volatile processes of planning and decision. Consequently, the implementation of peace operations and humanitarian intervention often suffers from inconsistent goals and weak political support, let alone sufficient resources.

There is good reason to assume political communication and media coverage as well as political entrepreneurship to be of pivotal importance when coping with the intrinsic contradictions of international peace operations and humanitarian intervention is at stake. Not only are politicians engaged in communicative framing in order to make political decisions compatible with prevailing normative patterns of their constituency when it comes to controversial issues of international politics such as foreign intervention, even if carried out under the umbrella of the UN. Politicians also try to influence public opinion on salient issues of implementation once an international peace operation or a humanitarian intervention has been launched. Amazingly enough, though, there is hardly any research on how public discourse and political entrepreneurship shape the planning and implementation of such missions. In what follows, we try to make evident the potential contribution of discourse theory and policy analysis for related research designs.

Two Snapshots on Kosovo – Racak and the March Riots

At the end of the 1990s, the international measures to confront the humanitarian disaster in the war-torn territory of Kosovo were only reluctantly taken and almost purely reactive in nature.[1] It was not before the medial attention to the so-called "massacre of Racak" increased public pressure in the Western states that the US called for immediate military intervention. A decisive role in the public outcry was a media-wide covered statement by the American head of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission, William Walker, pointing at the Serb cruelty immediately after several Kosovar Albanians were found dead the village of Racak. Walker was afterwards alleged of having stage-managed the massacre to a certain extent without having the clear knowledge at that time.

[1] The following narrative outline is based on Petritsch and Pichler 2004, Weller 1999.

Later evidence proved that he was right in blaming the Serb militias, but at this point he had no secured information about this. Nevertheless, the impact of Racak for the political leadership in Europe and the US was decisive. Immediately, American officials stepped forward and called for an active policy on Kosovo. Global humanitarian norms were invoked and references to Bosnia were prominent in many speeches where an interest-based logic prevailed. Even though Russia strongly opposed these developments, the NATO Council immediately became a decisive forum of negotiation (and action) – a stark change compared to the little amount of attention it received before. Despite a final effort of a peaceful settlement of the conflict at the Rambouillet conference, the deep international cleavages and the clear description of roles that were transported in the rhetoric of the politicians and by an extensive media coverage after Racak were persistent – even in legitimizing the heavily disputed military intervention by NATO in 1999.[2]

After having been established through Security Council Resolution 1244 in June 1999, the United Nations Transitional Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) continued to be confronted with varying degrees of tension between the conflicting parties.[3] A sadly illustrating case in point occurred in March 2004 when - after a period of stagnation of the transfer of political responsibility and powers to Kosovar institutions, coupled with the neglect of Kosovar institution-building and the insufficient transition from international to Kosovar actors - the alleged murder of a Kosovar child resulted in large-scale violence against Serb property and cultural heritage, as well as against the international police and military forces (UNMIK Police and KFOR).

UNMIK and KFOR issued immediate press statements strongly condemning the violence and the role of the Kosovar media in inciting broad public support of the riots. The March 2004 riots triggered and perpetuated discourses on three different but intertwined issues and levels: first, an international discourse about the responsibility for failure and a future strategy for transition. Secondly, within Kosovo, ethnic Albanians and Serbs re-started open discussions about the future final status of Kosovo. Thirdly, an internal discourse between KFOR and UNMIK Police emerged about the responsibility for the failure of international security response during the March attacks.

[2] See, for instance: Baev 1999, Chandler 2000, Hume 2000, Ignatieff 2000, Knightley 2004, Neu 2004, Scharping 2001, Schwab-Trapp 2003, Stepanova 2000, Wagnsson 2001.
[3] See, for instance: HWR 2004, ICG 2004, ICG 2005, Petritsch and Pichler 2004 – as well as the Press Releases issued by UNMIK.

As a consequence, Holkkeri resigned in May 2004 as UNMIK's Special Representative of the Secretary-General. His successor Søren Jessen-Petersen changed the course of the mission towards a quick and substantial transfer of competences and true transition of governmental and security functions in close cooperation with KFOR. UNMIK took a less and less executive role in certain domestic issues, such as policing. Simultaneously, the public rhetoric of the mission increasingly emphasized – and appealed to – Kosovar responsibility relating to the take-over of governmental functions. After the October 2004 elections, Jessen-Petersen issued a statement that hailed "the peaceful conduct of the election and the good turnout and [encouraged] all parties to work together to consolidate Kosovo's democratic progress" (UNMIK/PR/1257 25 October 2004). A further example of the impact of the changed course of implementation and rhetoric is indicated by the absence of heavy riots and protests after the indictment of former Kosovar Prime Minister Haradinaj in March 2005 for trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Communicating the event, UNMIK and its SRSG Jessen-Petersen, issued press declarations describing Haradinaj as a responsible statesman, and his voluntary and peaceful indictment as a sign of political responsibility of Kosovar politicians and population. Similarly, UNMIK framed the demonstrations taking place as a democratic right of Kosovars, and appealed to the Kosovar-Albanian claims for self-determination by references to Kosovo as a "responsible member of the international community" (UNMIK/PR/1325 08 March 2005). Since then, international efforts culminated in 2005 in the issuance of Kai Eide's report to the Secretary General about the question of "maturity" of Kosovo for the start of negotiations on the final status (S/2005/635 07 October 2005).

The two snapshots, of Racak and the March Riots, show not only the importance of discursive patterns and framing phenomena but highlight how human agency plays a decisive role in seizing potential for change, both in the intervention and the implementation phase. "Political entrepreneurs", such as Walker and Jessen-Petersen proved to be, have the skills and resources to recognize and use so-called "windows of opportunity" in mitigating the effects of crisis or an open situation by changing discursive and institutional patterns and bringing in new arenas and actors. Thus, the interplay between exogenous factors and human agency can shape decisively a mission's course and helps – as we argue – to explain both dynamics and stasis.

Main Arguments and Structure of the Paper

In this paper, we make an attempt to develop a theoretical framework that might contribute to the understanding of success and failure of peace operations by looking at the dimension of temporality – or, to be more specific, at the interplay between change and turning points on the one hand, and stability and persistent trajectories on the other, as interlinked temporal sequences. As we argue here, the interplay between change and stability in "open situations" can be observed at three interconnected layers: firstly patterns of discourses can contribute to change and can themselves be changed considerably so that new definitions, norms, and resonances dominate the scene afterwards. Secondly, (new) actors can step into the limelight influencing discourses considerably or actors fall back on previous patterns of action so that no change occurs at all. Thirdly, shifts in the composition and interaction of arenas of discourse, as well as the potential creation of new institutional arrangements can be observed. Common to all layers is the idea of structuration: actors and structures are mutually dependent and reinforce each other in iterative processes.

We aim at contributing a theoretically-informed framework for the so far widely under-theorized research on peace operations[4], and at adding a combination of discourse- and actor-oriented perspective. So far, the field does not use the full potential of theory-driven research, be it by falling back on a debate on the temporality of discourses and communication patterns from a longitudinal point of view or on well-established literature of policy-analysis.

More specifically, we hypothesize that the specific interplay between these dimensions (discourse, actors, and arenas) brings about what we call „critical junctures", i.e. dynamic turning points in the peace operation's strategic or implementation-related development. Critical junctures are labelled "critical" because they lead decisively to processes of new positive feedback. Adhering to Pierson, we reject, however, an overly deterministic view that can be observed in some strands of literature on path dependency. Rather than implying that a chosen path is permanently locked in, we highlight the value to understanding why some discursive, organizational and institutional patterns and practices are persistent and others are not – "change continues, but it is bounded change" (c.f. Mahoney 1999, 1999, Pierson 2004: 51-52, Thelen 1999, 2003). Furthermore, we claim that decisions are not independent from relatively stable systems of meaning or 'discourses', which shape the way actors understand their roles in society and thus influence their activities.

[4] The following chapter will provide a short review of existing literature on peace operations.

Critical junctures are triggered by external factors like one or more crises or by stake-holding actors (or political entrepreneurs) seizing an "open situation" which is characterized by interplay between high complexity, uncertainty, ambiguity, and time pressure for the actors. Due to the complexity and the variety of these junctures, many scholars tend either to point to the principle of mere chance that can only be analysed in a post-hoc manner or to reducing a critical juncture as being based on a single exogenous shock or crisis. While including the very possibility of these shocks and crises as one important trigger, we assume that there is probably interplay between several potential exogenous and endogenous triggers. We assume furthermore that the likelihood of a critical juncture coming into existence is higher if there are skilled political entrepreneurs that act by linking together streams of problems and potential solutions, and windows of opportunity that can take the form of exogenous shocks and crises or be a culmination of several events. Peace operations, in turn, can be considered as very prone to phenomena like these as they can be regarded as constantly complex and "ill-structured" situation by its own due to the following characteristics: large number of constituencies and discursive arenas involved (international level; troop-deploying states; mission area); norm conflicts and diffusion between different international actors and between international and local actors in different arenas; complete absence of norms; and a resulting high risk of failure.

In the following chapter, we will dig a bit deeper into the discussion of each of the identified layers and their interplays. This will be followed by approaching the question how change comes about, focussing on the concept of political entrepreneurship. By taking this actor-centred perspective on explaining macro-phenomena, we seek to provide a micro-foundation of the identified processes. In our concluding remarks we will elaborate on why these theoretical lenses might contribute to the understanding of peace operations in particular by identifying shortcomings in the scholarly literature in this field and by sketching some methodological pathways for further research.

2 Main Strands of Research on Multidimensional Peace Operations, so far

In this section, we are shortly reviewing the existing scholarly literature on peace operations in order to show the need and relevance for the theoretical lenses we have identified above. We will highlight that there are two interlinked weaknesses (or gaps) that

might be filled with the framework developed above: firstly, there is a consistent deficit in tracing whole and long-lasting processes in a fine-grained manner necessary to put "critical junctures" into context – the dimension of temporality is widely neglected. Secondly, there is a clear gap in trying to achieve general propositions based on theory-driven empirical analyses. The existing literature in this field of study centers around three core themes:

Firstly, the legitimacy of intervention and principle of sovereignty: This field of research has attracted a tremendous amount of research. Paris (2000: 44) points at two new scholarly journals, a number of special issues, and the Social Sciences Index citing over 330 articles under the subject heading "United Nations—Armed Forces" between April 1990 and March 1999. Authors like Bain focus, for instance, on an alleged shift to political inequality in the international system (Bain 2003: 163, c.f. Chandler 2006). Similarly, Paris states that "peace-builders promote [an internationally sanctioned] model in the domestic affairs of war shattered states as the prevailing 'standard of civilization' that states must accept in order to gain full rights and recognition in the international community" (Paris 2002: 650) – the Westphalian model of sovereignty seems to be replaced by "gradations of sovereignty" (Krasner 1999) or "post-Westphalian perspectives" (Bellamy et al. 2004) when setting up multidimensional peace operations.

A typical scholarly debate in this area can be observed in the case of Kosovo, which caused a great repercussion in political science focusing on a legitimacy of the military intervention without a mandate of the UN Security Council (Byers and Chesterman 2003, Clark 2005: 199/200, 211-216, Handrick 2005: 11).[5] Unfortunately, these debates are rarely taken a step further by asking: what are the consequences of these decisions for the later operative performance in the field? How do these decisions to intervene come about and how do these decisive moments translate into new persistent patterns. There are only vague exceptions (Caplan 2004, Fukuyama 2004, Zaum 2003).

A second issue, preventive diplomacy and peace agreements, is as well dealt with in many studies (Bercovitch 1996, Cahill 2000, Wilkenfeld et al. 2003, Zartman 2001). All too often authors conclude with the hardly surprising outcome that prevention is better than a later massive intervention and that preventive action is more than simply imposing sanctions and threatening with the deployment of troops (cf. Sriram and Wermester 2003). In addition there is a range of studies that try to identify local factors on how to overcome a conflict and to create a sustainable peace (Lederach 1997, Miall et al. 1999).

[5] See on a more abstract level: Brock and Müller 2004, Hoffman 1995, Mandelbaum 1996, Maull and Stahl 2002, Murphy 2000, Walzer 2004, Wheeler 2000.

There are some attempts to trace longer historical processes and to link the potential critical juncture of a peace agreement to the peacebuilding efforts later on (Hampson 1996, Hartzell and Hoddie 2003), but they remain quite unspecific theoretically as well as empirically as regards the general mechanisms behind these links. The quantitatively conducted and seminal study by Doyle and Sambanis indicates, for instance, a causal relationship between the broad type of an UN mission, the degree of international commitment and duration of peace after conflict, and the local reconstruction efforts (Doyle and Sambanis 2000, c.f. Doyle and Sambanis 2006, Page Fortna 2004). However, the broadness of the categories and sheer amount of cases omit important details on how the decision for a mission type and the establishment of an authority structure come specifically into being and how this relates to patterns in the implementation phase. Wesley (1997) provided one of the rare theoretically driven and comparative studies by analyzing the misfit of some mission designs with the characteristics of the local and regional conflict environments. He identifies two factors behind that finding: the weaknesses of the sponsoring coalition and the permissiveness of the conflict environment. Even though he includes media discourses and the pressure exerted by this on politicians and diplomats into his framework, he does not provide any details on the basis and the effects of these discourses and neglects the importance of institutional settings and arenas of discourse. And by analyzing only fragments of several cases (Bosnia, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola and Cambodia), he does neither provide many insights for long-term developments in one mission nor for the analytical challenges related to the complexity of multidimensional peace operations.

Thirdly and concerning the performance of externally imposed authorities, some authors fall back on historical parallels to the mandate systems by the League of Nations, to the reconstruction of Germany after the Second World War, and to the trusteeship system of the UN, which was set up to accompany the decolonization processes (cf. Berdal and Caplan 2004). These studies are insightful but oftentimes lack "lessons learned" for today's undertakings – see Chesterman (2004) for an exception. Most studies, however, focus on the way of transition, once a peace operation is in place. Paris (2004) as well as Pugh (2002), for instance, both observe that state-building activities have recently become more and more conflated with liberalization of both the economy and the political system. They argue that a strict and rapid liberalization can reinforce social cleavages and hamper the entire reconstruction process – the approach should rather be "institutionalization before

liberalization" (Paris 2004: 7)[6]. Chesterman adds the need to consider local politics as early as possible in planning processes and the importance of leadership and personality to achieve this goal (Chesterman 2004: 6/12). Quite similar is the argumentation of Covey et al. (2005). In general, this points to the tension between the "logic of peacekeeping and emergency relief" (self-sustained, short time-frame, quick results) and the "logic of development" (bottom-up, long time frames), which is often highlighted in this respect (Beauvais 2001, Caplan 2005, Forman et al. 2000).[7] Stedman (1997) by contrast concentrates on internal and external spoilers being "leaders and parties [and neighboring states] who believe that peace emerging from negotiations threatens their power, worldview, and interests, and use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it" (Stedman 2001: 366) as well as on the domestic availability of valuable, easily marketable commodities such as gems or timber (no peace agreement as been fully, successfully implemented where these are present) (cf. Downs and Stedman 2002: 44). The field of study is, however, dominated by single studies dealing with implementation and coordination failures in single missions (c.f. Cousens and Cater 2001, Smith and Dee 2003, Traub 2000, Yannis 2004) or by sectoral approaches, like studies focusing on security sector reform as part of a peace-building activity (Bryden and Hänggi 2005, Brzoska and Law 2006, Call and Stanley 2002). These studies are often well elaborated and give valuable insights in particular chains of events and first-hand experiences, but they tend to be rather descriptive and under-theorized (there are only some exceptions like a study by Björkdahl examining the factor of norm diffusion through peace operations on the basis of a case study on the mission in Macedonia (2006)). The same is valid for the studies mentioned above. The very nature of this kind of single case studies lacking a theoretical framework is that they cannot tell us much about how common particular patterns are. They tend to focus on the immediate sources of an observation. Many broad structural features as well as long, slow-moving processes, which may be crucial preconditions for institutional developments, are not necessarily included in this perspective (Pierson 2004: 141), even though it might be helpful as an empirical quarry for further research.

There are only few exceptions[8] to the general 'under-theorization' of the field. Daase (1999), for instance, explains the emergence of the new complexity of peace operations as a consequence of many separate functional decisions by actors that cannot foresee the cumulative effects of their actions. In the end, peacekeeping arises more or less

[6] C.f. Dobbins et al. 2005, Dobbins et al. 2003.
[7] Other authors focus on the need to establish first a secure environment (c.f. Salomons 2005: 20).
[8] Some master theses written at the University of Constance attempt to contribute to theoretical approaches to multidimensional peace operations (Blume 2004, Breul 2005, Junk 2006).

'spontaneously' created by an 'invisible hand'. Similarly, Fosdick (1999) analyzes the agenda-setting processes in this regard by using partially some ideas of organizational theory. More coherently, Lipson treats the post-Cold War transformation of peacekeeping as an agenda-setting problem, and employs a garbage can model of organizational choice. The new generation of peacekeeping he explains as a result of political entrepreneurs linking a solution stream (new instruments of peacekeeping) to a problem stream (post-Cold War instability and conflicts) in the context of a "window of opportunity" (end of the Cold War) (Lipson 2004). Lipson provides further insightful ideas in not yet published articles on how transfers of organizational theories could be undertaken in the research on peace operations (Lipson 2003, 2005). The concept of organized hypocrisy (Brunsson 1989), for instance, is used to explain the partially positive effects of dysfunctionalities in organizational networks of peace operations. Conflicting pressures resulting from the requirements for effective action and norms established in the environment can be mitigated by the creation of two sets of structures: processes and ideologies.

Still, these authors remain exceptions and especially the approaches we fall back on in the theoretical synthesis of this discussion paper – discourse theory, policy analysis, and arena concepts with a focus on the temporal dimension – has not yet been applied consistently. In the following, we will sketch out some potentially fruitful ways for further academic endeavors.

3 Developing an Analytical Toolbox

The following paragraphs give an outline of theoretical concepts, which we deem suitable or even crucial for the analysis of process and change - of 'critical junctures' – in political science in general and for scholars of peace operations in particular. These concepts drawn from different strands within political science are discourses, actors and their logic of action, and arenas.

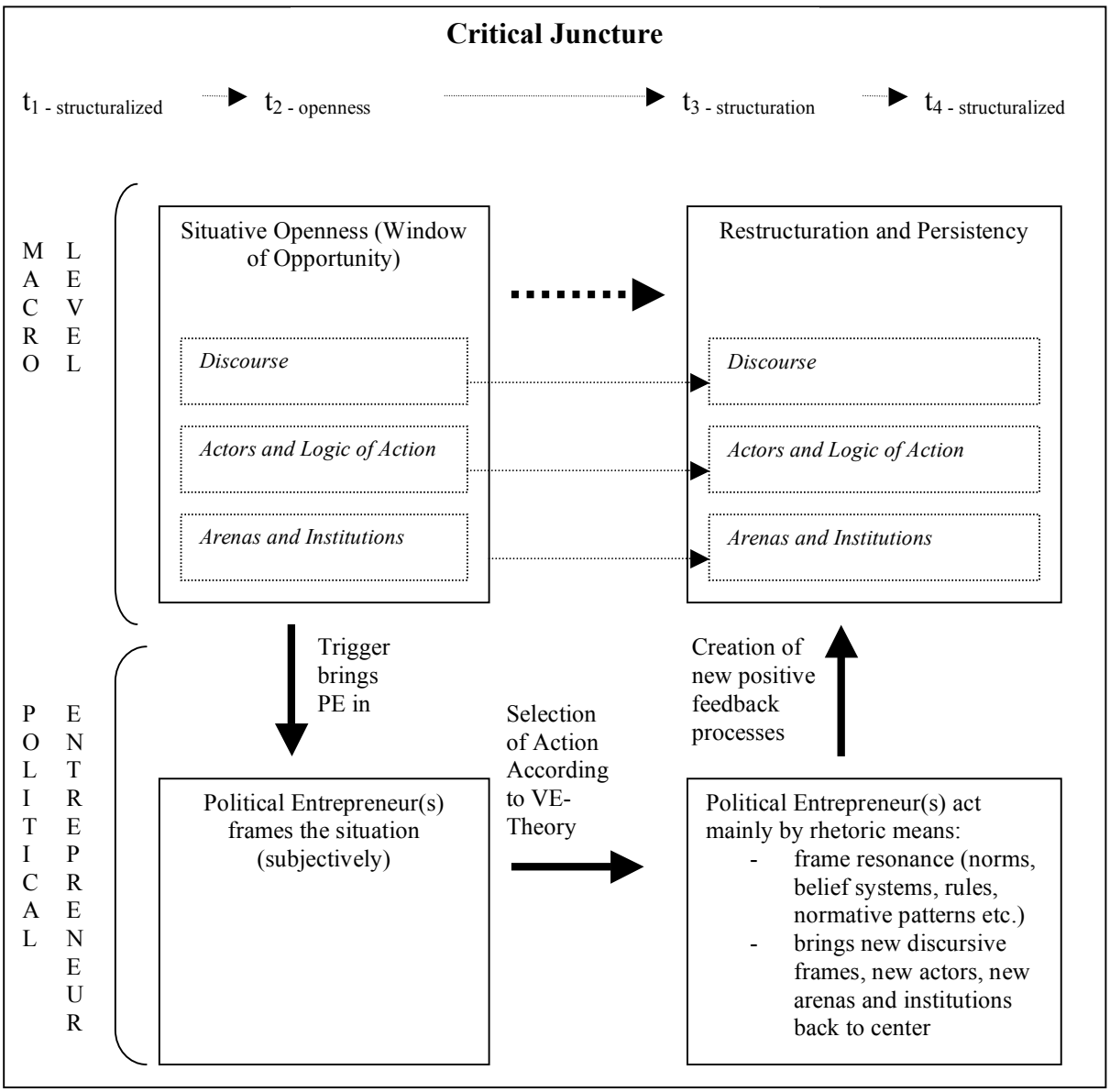
When analyzing social or political processes– as we are attempting to do here for multidimensional peace operations – one observes persistent interactions between actors and structures. This phenomenon is theorized in the idea of structuration, as developed by Anthony Giddens (1984). Integrating two previously separate streams of thought, Giddens combines theories focussing on macro-social structures and those examining human

interactions at a micro-level. “In structuration theory, ‘structure’ is regarded as rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction; institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time and space. ‘Structure’ can be conceptualized abstractly as two aspects of rules – normative elements and codes of signification. Resources are also of two kinds: authoritative resources, which derive from the co-ordination of the activity of human agents, and allocative resources, which stem from control of material products of aspects of the material world” (Giddens 1984: xxxi). This ‘structuralized’ conception is applied in this discussion paper to the analysis of discourses, of actors and their logics of action, as well as of arenas and institutions.[9]

Furthermore, we base the concept of the critical juncture on Giddens’ concept of ’transformation points’. Transformation points refer to “the routinized intersections of practices”, and denote “the modes in which institutionalized practices connect social with system integration” (Giddens 1984: xxxi). Following this line of argumentation, we perceive discourses, actors, and arenas as being characterised by a fundamental openness for alternative developments.[10] In this situative openness characterized by an interplay between high complexity, uncertainty, ambiguity, and time pressure, formerly structuralized processes become open for change triggered by external factors like one or more crises or by stake-holding actors (political entrepreneurs) and restructuralized again. Static structures and self-reinforced processes become dynamic and undergo transformations. These alternative developments might decisively change a policy programme being implemented and, hence, might become a critical juncture.

The following illustration provides an overview of the main mechanisms behind our theoretical framework. Due to the breadth of the framework and the scope of this discussion paper, we do not aim to elaborate on each of the concepts and their interdependence at length. Rather, the following lines should be read as a rapprochement to the field and as a thought-provoking impulse for further discussion during the workshop. In the following paragraphs, firstly, the objects of the structuration processes should be elaborated on and, secondly, some of the assumed mechanisms will be sketched out theoretically.

[9] Cf. Seibel 2005b: 30-31.
[10] On structural changes see also Sewell 1992.



3.1 The Object of Change and Stability: Discourses, Actors, and Arenas

3.1.1 Discourse

As our initial snapshot of the Kosovo case showed, communicative and discursive actions do certainly have an impact on success and failure of these efforts. One could even claim, that the performance of the international community cannot be analyzed without a thorough understanding of these processes. There is quite some research that emphasises the importance of discourses – applied, for instance, on foreign policy and international relations (Larsen 1997), on the media discourse on international intervention (Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon 2005, Eilders and Lüter 2002, Hammond and Herman 2000, Schwab-Trapp 2002,

2003), on research on European integration (Diez 1999, 2001), but also on the construction of national identities (Campbell 1992, 1998, Weldes et al. 1999, Wilmer 2002). However, research on discursive patterns on multidimensional peace operations, as shown, remains scarce. Furthermore, there is a need for further general discussion on the applicability on International Relations research and the potential for theory transfer from other stands like policy analysis.

Discourse is basically communicative action through language. Discourse encompasses "all types of social and political practice, as well as institutions and organisations, within its frame of reference" (Howarth 1995: 115), which means nothing else than that every phenomenon has to be conceived of as inherently relational, and for things to become meaningful they have to be part of, or participate in, discourses. Discourses can also be defined as systems of signification on the respective level (international, national, local), which construct social realities.

Theories dealing with discourse analyse "the way systems of meaning or 'discourses' shape the way people understand their roles in society and influence their political activities" (Howarth 1995: 115). Discourse theory is still a very heterogeneous field of research and can be mapped through two antipodes.[11] At the one end, Michel Foucault has theorized on the (re-)production of power through and by discourses. In Foucault's perspective, the first to establish discourses as research objects, discourses are closely linked to the notion of power. The fundamental assumption here is that discourse production in every society is a process that is controlled, selected, and steered[12] by external and internal principles and mechanisms of structuration and control (so-called "Verknappungsprinzipien"). Whoever is in control of these principles and mechanisms is part of 'discourse coalitions', which denote the power holders. In addition, the dimension of temporality is assumed to be of great importance: discourses have a triggering moment or genesis, and an end (c.f. Foucault 2003, Foucault and Konersmann 1992). On the other end, Jürgen Habermas has emphasized the interaction-related and consensus-oriented ("verständigungsorientierte") functions of discourses. In his *Theory of Communicative Action*, he emphasizes the potential of discourses to enable cooperative action, resulting ideally in a democratic environment, a common lifeworld

[11] The common grounds of discourse theoretical approaches lie in their ontological and epistemological stances: From an ontological perspective, discourse theory relates to fundamental constructionist assumptions. This means that "social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction" (Bryman 2004: 266). For the epistemological foundations, discourse theory belongs to the interpretive tradition in contrast to strictly positivist natural scientific models in quantitative research: "the stress is on the understanding of the social words through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants."

[12] C.f. Blatter et al. 2006: 56-60.

("gemeinsame Lebenswelt" - Habermas 1983a: 127). Interacting agents aim to exchange and to discuss their interpretation of a given situation in order to coordinate their actions.[13]

Between these poles of power and consensus, a highly heterogeneous field of discourse studies has developed. In general, four concepts guide the analytical dimension of discourse analysis: articulation, contingency, antagonism, and hegemony.

Through articulation, the elements within a discourse establish "relations […] such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 105, quoted in: Torfing 1999: 101). Contingency refers to the assumption that discourses are based on respective identities, and are historically contingent and politically structured. Laclau and Mouffe maintain the primacy of political practices in constituting identities and thus discourses. Identities of discourses come into being through the construction of antagonisms: "It is through the drawing of political frontiers and constructing antagonisms between 'friends' and 'enemies' that discourses acquire their identity" (Howarth 1995: 121). By constructing the 'other', social antagonisms help to establish political frontiers, which are "central for the partial fixing of the identity of discursive formations and social agents" (Howarth 1995: 122.)

The concept of hegemony, although strongly linked to Gramsci's work, indicates a macro-mechanism for the development of discourses over time: the dominance of one discourse over one or several others. Derrida has worked on the relation of power as important if taking the view of one element being superior in a discourse than another, which leads to binary oppositions (Derrida 1981). "Very simply, hegemony is achieved if and when one political project or force determines the rules and meanings in a particular social formation" (Howarth 1995: 124). Thus, hegemony can be defined as "the expansion of a discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action by means of articulating unfixed elements into partially mixed moments in a context crisscrossed by antagonistic forces" (Torfing 1999: 101). By invoking norms, political ideologies or topoi, political entrepreneurs attempt to construct the hegemony through the interpretation of the above-mentioned "rules and meanings" of a discourse (see above).

For this project, we aim to analyse how discourses manifest themselves, in what types of documents, and in what kinds of speeches. Due to the contingent character of discourses,

[13] Thus, the coordination of action, preferred objectives and means, as well as coordination in the appropriate definition of the situation becomes the pivotal object of analysis. These can be constructed as either as an extensive diachronic analysis of developments in modern society, or in terms of an ideal type which will be compared to ´real´ communicative actions. It is the latter that is relevant for our research focus.

they can be altered by various (political) factors with impact on the mission's design, decision-making rules, or performance. Relating to the notion of hegemony of discourses, it is – as we argue – of relevance to identify the structural, argumentative and normative patterns (*topos konoi*) in a discourse containing the mission's and a competing perspective. Theoretically, this implies that the analysis of certain (hegemonic) discourses within, and for, critical junctures does help to identify where, when, and how changes occur. This can help to shed light on the question of how discourses or "world conceptions" within the different layers of multidimensional peace operations are coordinated, and the „inherent representations of the world […] negotiated" (Beard 2000, Chilton 2004: 201).

3.1.2 Actors and their Logics of Action

Discourses focus – inevitably – more on discursive patterns than on actors. Taking into account the scheme presented above as well as Gidden's basic assumption, actors do certainly play a role as well. Critical junctures are, hence, not only characterized by changes in discourse patters but may influence the constellation of the single, and groups of, actors involved in developing and implementing a policy programme. Parallelly and additionally, the logics of action of one or more actors may change over time and the analysis of this change provides certainly insights into how different (groups of) actors contribute to the direction and possibility of change within critical junctures. Pursuing different logics of action, the results of interactions will be different and might lead on an aggregated level to a newly structured or institutionalized environment. Again, actors and structure are mutually dependent - as they are in discourses (Diez 1999: 603).

With his 'Theory of Communicative Action', Habermas introduced two basic logics of action. If acting according to a "orientation to reaching understanding" (Habermas 1983b: 285-286) – „verständigungsorientiertes Handeln" in the German original (Habermas 1981: 385-386) – actors do not pursue their preferences but aim to reach a consensus on the basis of a common definition of the situation by communication and arguing. Communicative action prevails, if actors' actions are not determined by egocentric preferences but by mutual understanding (Habermas 1981: 385). On the contrary, actors pursue a preference-oriented logic of action „orientation to success" (Habermas 1983b: 285-286) – „erfolgsorientiertes Handeln" (Habermas 1981: 385-386) – if they follow rules of rational choice and assessing their impact on decisions of a second actor (Habermas 1981: 385).

March and Olsen put forward a similar trope: they distinguish a logic of appropriateness from a logic of consequentialism (March and Olsen 1989, March and Olsen 1998). In reworking Habermas for the application to international relations, Risse relied on March and Olsen's fundamental distinction, and developed a third logic of action, the *logic of arguing* or *true reasoning*, in which the preferences of actors are not fixed, and the definition of the situation as well as the result is subject to arguing between participating actors (Risse 2000). For an orientation to reaching understanding, however, an institution or arena (see 3.1.3.) providing an ideal speech situation is necessary, for which Habermas requests three different validity claims: truth of content, moral rightness and truthfulness of the speaker (Habermas 1981: 397-452). Furthermore, there are three further conditions for communicative action: empathy between the actors, existence of a "common lifeworld"[14], and equal access to the discourse. In international relations – and thus also in the environment of multidimensional peace operations - the conditions for a "common lifeworld" hardly exist. International administrations are often established after long, bloody conflicts. Post-conflict orders are unstable – otherwise international intervention would not be necessary.

In order to operationalize Habermas further for real-life research, the strict distinction between strategic and communicative, deliberative logics of action has to be abandoned (Deitelhoff and Müller 2005: 176, Diez and Steans 2005: 133, Müller 2004: 396-397). Furthermore, Deitelhoff argues for a categorization of situations, in which certain logics of action become dominant (Deitelhoff and Müller 2005: 2). This could be useful as well to determine a logic of action's impact on or within a critical juncture. There are different factors influencing whether logic of arguing can dominate a discourse, so that „effective deliberation" can occur: institutionalization of environment, external authorities, and the credibility of speakers.[15] Furthermore, actors can connect different logics of action to 'framing' strategies in order to explore further how to make an argument resonate (Ulbert and Risse 2005: 361). This idea helps to link the logic of action concept with with the role political entrepreneurs are influencing a critical juncture (see 3.2.1).

According to this theoretical reasoning, bringing actors and their logic of action in is valuable in two ways for analyzing critical junctures in peace operations: firstly, logics of action can be subject to structuration themselves. There might be either specific environmental conditions that make one logic dominate over others, or simply patterns of

[14] Risse uses a direct translation from the German „gemeinsame Lebenswelt" (Risse 2000: 10). The English translation of Habermas' theory refers to "lifeworld" (e.g. Habermas 1983a: 127).
[15] For an application of this idea see Bjola 2005.

static behaviour based on routine or habit to follow the course of one logic of action. Changes in environmental conditions, or in logics of action of single actors or groups of actors might constitute new positive feedback and may set the development of a policy programme on a new track. Secondly, a critical juncture itself might be – at least partly – explained by a political entrepreneur's choice of a certain logic of action (see 3.2). Depending on the degree of institutionalization, of openness, of the existence of external pressure, or of personal abilities, actors like political entrepreneurs might influence the further course of action or of institutionalization.

3.1.3 Arenas and Institutions

The mutual dependency of structure and agency is not a phenomenon located only on the international, the national, or the local level, but may involve two or more of them. This is especially of relevance for the analysis of international administrations and multidimensional peace operations, where different actors are located in different organizational contexts: either horizontally, as in the four pillar structure of the international administration in Kosovo, or vertically where local events may have repercussions on the international level, and where different ethnic groups may have political influence not only on a national level but also in a regional perspective. The coupling and linkages between different levels of politics is not only a practical problem but also a theoretical one: it relates to the mutual dependence and reciprocity of different levels of action and decision-making and its inherent dynamics (Benz 1992: 149-150), and – as we argue here – to the phenomenon of critical junctures. To conceptualize these interconnected levels of action and decision-making, and their impact and relation to critical junctures, policy research and administrative science can give guidance – in addition to discourses and logics of action – where discourse theory itself has remained quite fuzzy and concepts of logics of action does not relate to the institutional context.[16] Lending from policy analysis, different levels can be described as arenas[17]. Benz defines arenas as

[16] As a citation from Dijk shows: "Most of the studies of discourse take place in one or more of the main areas […]: form, meaning, interaction, and cognition […] But also context plays a role through setting (time, location, and circumstances), participants and their various communicative and social roles" (Dijk 1997: 19). However also the concept of hegemony refers to mostly one level of discourses in which one discourse becomes dominant over others.

[17] The arena concept was first developed by Arthur Benz. Arenas could be the fora or institutions, which correspond to the idea of speech situations developed by Habermas (see 3.1.2).

specific and distinct institutional contexts of an interaction, often in relation to a specific policy domain.[18]

The arena concept developed by Benz – in our view – helps best to conceptualize the mutual interdependence of intra- and inter-organizational perspectives. In political arenas, different coalitions of actors are planning, making and implementing decisions, and applying a wide range of forms of interaction. In Benz's approach, interaction is conceptualized as a system of bargaining or negotiations linking different levels (Benz unpubl.). Thus, arenas are conceptualized as being interlinked, e.g. in hierarchic, mutually dependent, or overlapping modes (Benz 2005). They influence actors' ability to manoeuvre (Lehmbruch 2000: 14-19), and belief systems and norms within arenas influence the discourse and logic of action that applies within (linking back to the first two concepts presented in this article). Actors are influenced by the institutional context, which is not as seen as static but rather considered as a system of rules (compare to the constructivist notion "belief system"). The extent, to which actors are influenced by several arenas, is determined by the "structural coupling of arenas" or "linkage structure" (Benz unpubl.: 5/7). If arenas are tightly coupled, actors have to comply with preferences formed in several arenas. On the contrary, in loosely coupled systems – which we assume to be predominant in the institutional complexity of peace operations – "actors strategies are influenced but not predetermined by the institutional rule systems" (Benz unpubl.: 5). In a similar way, other authors like Scharpf and Ostrom, have elaborated further on conditions and variables affecting the interaction between different actors (Ostrom 2005, Scharpf 1997). Putnam's seminal work on the logic of two-level games and Tsebelis research on nested games point to a similar conception of interdependence of different levels of politics and policy-making (Putnam 1988, Tsebelis 2000).

The intersections between arenas are labelled „linking pins". Problems evolve if a decision made in one arena produces conflict or hinders resolution of problems in another one – incompatibilities on different levels may cause gridlock (Benz 1995: 85). Seen from this perspective, the existence of different arenas and varying degrees of coupling can cause open situations of negotiation and exchange. It is here where the concept of critical junctures comes in, which then may change the course of a policy programme's implementation decisively. In these situations – especially in settings with a low degree of institutionalization (like in peace operations, we assume) – the inherent difficulties of coupling, of multi-level decision-making, have to be overcome. In highly institutionalized contexts, this can be, as mentioned above,

[18] In the German original: „institutionell abgrenzbare[n] Interaktionszusammenhang [...], der sich auf eine spezifische Aufgabenstellung bezieht" (Benz 1992: 153).

achieved by agenda-setting or by negotiations (Benz unpubl.: 5). According to Benz, arenas can be "de-coupled" if high degrees of institutionalization, i.e. formal decision-making procedures, do not apply (Benz 1995: 95). This can be observed in the EU context, where the arenas itself are highly institutionalized and intertwined. It is not the case for international administrations, where arenas tend to be highly unstable and "open".

If looking at planning and implementation of international administrations, there are obviously a variety of arenas involved: there is an *international* arena, a *local* arena (referring to the mission territory), and several other *national* arenas (referring to the countries deciding on the deployment, and deploying troops and staff). Within each level, we proposed in an earlier document, two main conceptions of arenas have to be brought in line to bring about decisions of some kinds or change in general: an "internal" and the "external" one (Seibel 2005a). The internal arena refers to intimate negotiations and conversations among involved politicians, bureaucrats, and diplomats. The external arena points to the public: here, decisions and underlying norms are equally discussed, but no direct decisions are taken. Still, the public opinion cannot be ignored especially in the case where parliamentary approval of interventions is needed.

As we could see in the Kosovo example, discourses and policies in different arenas are by no means independent from each other but have a mutual influence. The fact that different but interconnected arenas with differing needs for legitimization and decision-making and different perceptions of problems exist, leads to the need for instrumentalization and manipulation, or put more positively, communicative strategies and the creation of a positive normative resonance within each arena. As Benz himself admits: multi-level systems provide for a considerable role of political leaders, which can make use of the inherent structural instability of the systems and push for decisions in the most apt arena – either through knowledge about potential blockades (Benz 2005: 116), the use of informal networks (Benz 1995: 94-96) or trough a mediation position (Benz 2005: 105). For international administrations, the role of political entrepreneurs is even stronger due to the tight coupling of arenas despite their low degree of institutionalization: they shape the public opinion through statements, normative appellations, and communicative strategies invoking historical arguments to bring the external and the internal discourses on various levels of arenas 'in line'. Political entrepreneurs use open situations to couple diverse arenas and to bring change and new patterns about. We will elaborate on this a bit in the following part.

3.2 How does change come about

We have described discourses, actors, and arenas as both being subject to change within critical junctures as well as containing itself potential patterns of structuration and explanatory factors for change. The interesting part now is how, when, and why critical junctures arise or end. Within the literature on policy analysis and organizational theory, we identified policy entrepreneurs and exogenous as well as endogenous shocks as major triggers.

3.2.1 The concept of political entrepreneurs

During the 1980s, the concept of political (or policy) entrepreneurship gained scholarly attention. Kingdon (1984), in particular, introduced the concepts of policy entrepreneurs in his model of understanding agenda setting in US policy making. He defines them as "advocates who are willing to invest their resources - time, energy, reputation, money - to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits" (Kingdon 1984: 179).[19] In general, political entrepreneurs are expected to act rationally. Boyett (1997), for instance, refers to individuals driven by a desire for social self-satisfaction and able to recognize opportunities and to act by means of manipulation. Similarly, Schneider and Teske (1992) identify policy success and status as driving motivations (c.f. value expectation (VE) theory in the illustration at the beginning of chapter three). Knoke highlights the fact, that political entrepreneurs, in contrast to classical policy brokers, typically express strong ideological commitment to the innovative ideas they champion (Knoke 2004: 89).

In the context of this paper, we relate to political entrepreneurs as being self-interested individuals who have the ability to use open situations (or 'windows of opportunity')[20] and to change the direction and flow of politics. They make use of differing or similar belief systems, of loose or tight coupling of arenas, of connecting different discourses, in order to

[19] Among the few scholars that dealt with political entrepreneurship not in business but in public administration, many variants of this definition are put forward. Stevenson, for instance, defines entrepreneurship as the pursuit of opportunity without current control of the required resources (Stevenson et al. 1989). This conception was modified for the application to public organizations by Morris and Jones (1999).

[20] We view windows of opportunity as a similar kind of event as open situations which are characterized by an interplay between high complexity, uncertainty, ambiguity, and time pressure for the actors involved. They open thus potentially the possibility to alter the course of events decisively. Both can be part of critical junctures.

push through (either consequentially or appropriately) their favoured solution. The actions of political entrepreneurs are determined by, firstly, an institutional setting, secondly, their own normative frames and belief systems based on their subjective definition of the situation (step one in the illustration at the beginning of the third chapter), and, thirdly, their relative power to influence a policy and to set the agenda. Policy entrepreneurs couple different streams (politics/institutional setting, policies/solutions, and problems) by advocacy of issues and solutions in influential government circles (Kingdon 1984: 188). The mentioned streams operate largely independently of each other – they float freely –, so that, for instance, proposals for change are developed whether or not they respond to a recognized problem, or an existing problem is not solved despite established patterns of solution (c.f. Cohen et al. 1972/1988, Gerston 2004: 8, Kingdon 1984: 209).

Policy entrepreneurs contribute to agenda setting, which is – according to Kingdon – of utmost importance, as "control over the process is lost" once the agenda is set (Kingdon 1984: 186). Policy entrepreneurs, thus, can increase the likelihood of adoption of solutions to problems by attaching them to political events, committing their resources to them, and promoting their adoption (Kingdon 1984: 185). Personal leadership influences the impact of policy entrepreneurs as well.[21]

3.2.2 Mechanisms

How does a political entrepreneur then, for instance, influence the patterns of discourse, of actor constellations, and of the institutional setting and how does he come in? As regards the latter, the framework presented in this discussion paper highlights the role that crises[22] play in triggering, firstly, open situations[23] and in allowing, secondly, for political entrepreneurs stepping into the limelight. Furthermore, the role of 'framing' strategies and norms is presented.

[21] Janis sees leadership as one major cause of successful policy outcomes and an important mechanism to overcome gridlock and uncontrollable events (Janis 1989: 3-4)

[22] Breul distinguishes between 'external shock' and 'crisis refers as, firstly, an unexpected and unpredictable event and, secondly, the subsequent threats to individuals, institutions, and organizations (c.f. Breul 2005: 17). Other authors fall back on the term 'focusing event' (c.f. Birkland 1997, 1998). We conceptualize crisis as sudden and potentially harmful events which oftentimes goes hand in hand with a high media visibility and which draws, in any case, the intense attention of individuals or the public to a sociopolitical problem and might induce subsequent policy changes (c.f. Kingdon 1984).

[23] However, there is still ample room for discussion in how far it is an open situation that allows for a crisis to appear or in how far it is a crisis that triggers an open situation.

There are many studies on how a crisis situation affects political systems and policy agendas. O'Donnell, for instance, looks at the causal relationship between an economic crisis and regime change in a given political entity (O'Donnell 1973). Other scholars deal with the impact of geopolitical events on bringing in new actors and new policy alternatives (c.f. Allison 1971, Gaddis 1982). In any case, an open situation caused by a crisis is likely to draw a political entrepreneur's attention. As Kingdon highlights, they recognize this crisis as a window of opportunity to push innovative policies through (Kingdon 1984: 165). As a crisis may disrupt (varying degrees of) conventional beliefs and routine practices, it may trigger major structural transformations of discourse patterns, constellations of actors, and the institutional setting. Political entrepreneurs may offer novel interpretations and policy alternatives required for in such a situation (Knoke 2004: 89).[24]

However, as Kingdon argues, crises cannot produce policy change alone: "They need to be accompanied by something else. […T]hey reinforce some pre-existing perception of a problem, focus attention on a problem that was already 'in the back of people's minds'" (Kingdon 1984: 98, c.f. Knoke 2004). As mentioned already, a political entrepreneur is able to link political events, to legitimize the use of resources, and to promote the adoption of a certain policy solution by creating new hegemonic discourses and a framework of acceptance and resonance in the respective arena and audience, conceptually as 'framing' (c.f. Tversky and Kahnemann 1981). The underlying framing processes can be defined as collective action that is emerging from interaction among cognitive frames[25] of individuals.

Research on 'framing' is far from being a homogeneous field. However, most framing approaches assume an outcome- and/or preference-based orientation of actors.[26] The main questions of research link back to the three categories of framing presented above: How are solutions and problems linked to events and windows of opportunity? How are events 'framed' so that they fit into the normative repository of a given audience and produce a

[24] See for further discussion on the potential impact of crisis on decision-making processes (Carley 1986, Thelen 2003). In particular learning literature deals quite extensively with the role of shocks and crises as triggers for learning processes – positively and negatively (c.f. Fiol and Lyles 1985, Nonaka 1994). However, there are some scholars, focus merely on a more fine-grained process tracing for understanding how different factors influence learning/non-learning (as is, for example, put forward by our cooperation partners at the GPPi). We share this assumption, even though we do not regard these two facets as mutually exclusive.

[25] Frames can be viewed as complex cognitive schemas that "enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences" (c.f. Knoke 2004, Snow et al. 1986: 464).

[26] The concept originally stems from the strand of decision-theory, developed in critique of strict rational choice approaches' difficulties in dealing with complex and uncertain decision-making conditions and non-egoistic motivations. However, 'framing' is still focussing on the decision-making actor – in our case, the policy entrepreneur.

legitimate frame of political decisions? How are decisions and norms communicated in a given situation?

As Goffmann and Entman argue (Entman 1993, Goffman 1974), 'framing' has a great influence on the perception of decisions and their acceptance. If decisions of international administrations on implementation processes, for instance, are framed in such a way so that a positive resonance in the relevant audiences can be reached (Payne 2001: 39, Wiener 2004: 196), it is likely that the framing process will be successful – and that a critical juncture can be diverted into the direction intended by the policy entrepreneur.[27] Similarly, the basic structure of a discourse can be seen as a frame for the use of norms in the relevant context (Milliken 1999: 132). Successful framing, thus, is highly dependent on the salience of norms in the respective arena or audience. Therefore, research on norm diffusion and the use of norms is relevant for framing processes as they can only be successful and "resonate", if actual events can be linked to underlying norms and/or historical events within the normative repository of an audience.

The framing of decisions through political communication might take place in several arenas at one time. Framing is a strategy that can be used in both public and negotiation surroundings. By successful framing, policy entrepreneurs can contribute, on the one hand, to create a 'reality' in which intervention and implementation strategies can be justified, and, on the other hand, enabling international actors to mitigate or to cope with, for instance, typical dilemmas of an international administration.

However, the framing will not be independent of the normative context: "The communicative environment, in fact, almost certainly matters more than the content or framing of specific messages" (Payne 2001: 39). At this point, the normative repertoire of a society comes back in. There is abundant literature on norms and their influence on international politics and/or negotiations.[28] For peacekeeping, Björkdahl has shown the influence of norm diffusion on successful conflict resolution (Björkdahl 2006: 215).

Again, norms themselves can persist or be changed within or by a critical juncture. Whereas behaviourist approaches assume that norm diffusion influences the behaviour of actors (reaction to norms), others argue that norms can develop through social processes (this paper, for instance, highlights the role of political entrepreneurs). This links again back to

[27] Positive frame resonance can be defined as an "ideational affinity to other already accepted normative frameworks" (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 204). Agents intentionally try to connect new norms to established ones when attempting to persuade their audiences (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998: 906-907).

[28] See literature on transnational networks, international organizations, NGOs, norm entrepreneurs, and social movements (Finnemore 1996, 2003, 1998).

Giddens, emphasizing norms as constructed and constructive (Wiener 2005). In line with his arguments, Wiener sees social practices as the result of a strategic interaction based on discursive interventions by norm setters and norm followers. The normative is built through these interventions, which ensure the (re-)construction of values and norms, and of embedded rules (Wiener 2004: 192). Wiener argues in favour of a perspective focussing on more than on norm diffusion. This approach seems to be able to better capture the real meaning of norms (Wiener 2004: 199) and their change over time.

4 By Way of Conclusion

The present article attempts to draw attention on the analytical potential of integrating various strands of literature, notably discourse analysis and policy analysis, when it comes to peace operations and humanitarian intervention, highlighting issues of temporality, temporal sequences, and, in particular, the interplay between change and stability in "open situations". This interplay, we have stated, takes place on three mutually connected layers: patterns of discourses, constellation of actors and their logic of action, and involved arenas and institutions. We are advocating the hypothesis that these structuration mechanisms are triggered mainly by political circumstances perceived as crises and that political entrepreneurs play a crucial role in mobilizing those mechanisms, which, in public perception, are mitigating the crisis at hand. We also maintain that, beyond the immediate context of the given peace operations and subsequent transitional administration, patterns of path dependency in terms of institutional environment and political culture need to be included in related research designs.

Necessarily, this paper addresses more questions than potential answers. In what follows, we present some methodological thoughts for designing further research.

4.1 Methodological Considerations

The following paragraphs sketches some ingredients of research designs suitable for analysing research questions related to communication aspects within planning and implementation of international administrations. Furthermore, we outline potentially fruitful

methodologies and data collection techniques, and make some suggestions on the operationalization of the theoretical framework presented in this article.

4.1.1 Research Designs

The most adequate research design seems to be comparative, qualitative case studies on one or several cases. This reasoning is due to the character and strength of case studies for in-depth description and consistent analysis of causal mechanisms:[29] the development of critical junctures, the participation of actors in these junctures, the location and impact of decisions and actions were taken.[30] Besides this specific advantage of case studies and considering the familiarity between the so-called case-oriented research tradition and the epistemological convictions within the field of discourse analysis, there are profane necessities that bring about the advocating qualitative case study designs. First, there are not enough cases of international administrations that would allow for a quantitative analysis producing robust results. Secondly, the above listed phenomena involve the description and analysis of various auxiliary variables that would not operationalizable in the way required by a quantitative research design.

4.1.2 Methodologies: Discourse Analysis and (Qualitative) Content Analysis

In correspondence to our focus on discourses, logics of actions, and discursive patterns in arenas, and their determinants and impact on critical junctures, the method of discourse analysis appears to be useful tool for empirical research. Hinging on the ontological and epistemological basis of research of communicative action outlined above, discourse analysis is qualitative, interpretive, and constructionist as well. "Discourse analysis differs from other qualitative methodologies that try to understand the meaning of social reality for actors in that

[29] Bennett 2003, Blatter et al. 2006, Gerring 2007, McKeown 2004.
[30] C.f. Steinberg 2004: 1-2: The outcomes of concern to policy researchers typically involve complex chains of events unfolding over time, which defy accurate characterization through regression analysis, with its more static snapshots of co-variation. Given this, it is unsurprising that historical process tracing has played a central role in the canons of policy studies, where it has been used to shed light on the nature of decision-making (Allison 1971, Tuchman 1984), to evaluate implementation and effectiveness (Bardach 1977, Haas et al. 1993, Young and Levy 1999), and to understand the evolution of institutions, policy processes, and social demands (Baumgartner and Jones 1993, Kingdon 1984, Ostrom 2005).

it endeavours to uncover the way in which that reality was produced" (Hardy et al. 2004).[31] Discourse analysis basically is an analysis of texts. Its main characteristics may be best presented in comparison to a method that refers as well to the study of textual data, namely content analysis. Both methods are interested in exploring social reality, but, according to Hardy et al., discourse analysis focuses more on the relation between text and context - in comparison to content analysis, which "[…] focuses on the text abstracted from its context. […] While discourse analysis is concerned with the development of meaning and in how it changes over time, content analysis assumes a consistency of meaning that allows counting and coding. Where discourse analysts see change and flux, content analysis looks for consistency and stability."[32] Whenever the research is focussed on interaction, on interpretation of social contexts and events, on inter-subjective definition of these contexts and events as well on mapping of change, discourse analysis seems to be the appropriate tool.

4.1.3 Data Collection Techniques

As implied above, the focus of empirical works on the development of discourse, actor logics and arenas will rather be on causal processes as opposed to causal effects. The observation of such processes or mechanisms can be achieved by, for example, several data collection techniques.

Drawing on the works of Bennett and George (2003), and Hall (2003), process tracing, or systematic process analysis, consists of the identification of "the intervening causal processes – the causal chain and causal mechanism – between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable" (Bennett 2003: 206). The 'detailed narratives'[33] result in a chronological thick description of the processes under scrutiny, open for the inductive inclusion of all its facets. Process-tracing relates particularly well to hypotheses generating endeavours. Similar in its focus on causal processes, analytical narratives follow a somewhat more deductive logic by applying the analytical template as a rigid guide in the empirical reconstruction of the cases.[34] It is thus very well suited as a tool for hypotheses testing.

[31] For further elaborations on discourse analysis see (Hardy 2001, Philipps and Hardy 2002, Wood and Kroger 2000)
[32] However, "[a]s one moves from simple counting to more complex interpretation, the two forms of analysis become increasingly compatible […]"(Hardy et al. 2004: 20)
[33] (c.f . Blatter et al. 2006: 195)
[34] An exemplarily application is (Bates et al. 1998).

4.1.4 Operationalization

In the following we will suggest some research questions on the theoretical-analytical concepts identified above. The answers to these questions are possible indicators for research on communicative processes in multidimensional peace operations.

- How was the phenomenon of interest framed rhetorically and by whom?
- How consistent were the underlying normative patterns?
- Which were the crucial argumentations in the external, public discourse?
- Which were crucial factors within the internal discourse?
- What are prevailing positions on the phenomenon of interest, e.g. evaluation standards for PKOs?
- Were there actors of particular influence?
- Which ones were proposed in opposition the hegemonic discourses?
- Which actors were the proponents of the dominant views? In which arena could they articulate their views?
- What made discourses change? What were a triggering moment and/or factor?
- Were there external crises influencing the course of discourse?
- Was there a change in logics of action underlying the discursive interventions by dominant or non-dominant actors?
- What influence did changes in logics of action have?

Potentially fruitful and accessible data sources for pertinent analysis consist in:

- Secondary literature
- Primary sources, e.g. UN documents on resolutions, guidelines etc., records of speeches; press releases by headquarters and international administrations
- Newspapers
- Reports by involved organisations and other grey literature
- Expert interviews
- Interviews with the populations and elites involved.

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