

Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster
Institut für Politikwissenschaft
1st supervisor: M.A. Sinja Hantscher (WWU)
Bachelor Thesis

University of Twente
School of Management and Governance
2nd supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ramses Wessel (UT)
Bachelor Thesis

| BACHELOR THESIS |

THE EUROPEAN UNION'S PARTNERSHIP POLICIES TOWARDS THE STATES
OF THE 'ARAB SPRING':
ANALYSING THE STYLE OF ARGUMENTATION FROM A HABERMASIAN
PERSPECTIVE.

Anne Sophie Eberstein
Public Administration
(Special Emphasis: European Studies)
Münster, 30/06/2014

PLAGIARISM STATEMENT

I hereby declare in lieu of oath that I have written the following Bachelor thesis independently, without outside assistance and without making use of any other resources than stated in the thesis. All parts adopted literally or correspondingly from any publication are marked.

Münster, 30/06/2014


ANNE SOPHIE EBERSTEIN

ABSTRACT

In the thesis at hand the European Union's argumentation in its partnership agreements towards the Southern Mediterranean will be analysed by using the theory of discourse ethics and with it the typology of argumentation by Jürgen Habermas.

The 'Arab Spring' started in the end of 2010 as an uprising by the people of the Arab states to fight for the rule of law, fundamental freedoms and human rights. Preceding the uprisings the European Union's policies towards the states of the Arab Spring campaigned for more justice and political reforms for more than ten years. In order to find out more about the reasons for the inability of the partnership agreements between the EU and the states of the Arab Spring to implement reform programmes, the proposed thesis will study the style of argumentation by the European Union. The analysis will provide the findings in order to answer the research question on what kind of argumentation was used by the EU in order to justify its policies.

Therefore, the thesis will rely on the theory of discourse ethics by the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas. The three different models of argumentation by Habermas, the pragmatic, the ethical and the moral approach, will be applied to the three main policies between the European Union and its Southern neighbours between 1995 and 2010 by the use of qualitative content analysis. The findings will show, that the argumentative style used by the EU was mainly pragmatic. Assumptions on the possible reasons why pragmatic argumentation was used mostly will provide an outlook on possible further research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Association Agreement
BD	Barcelona Declaration
EC	European Commission
EMFTA	Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EU	European Union
MS	Member States
PD	Paris Declaration
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UfM	Union for the Mediterranean
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicators

LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

PAGES

Figure 1:

*Path Diagram on theory-based categories and sub-categories and empirical-based codes.
(own chart, data source: Habermas, 1991; Barcelona Declaration 1995; ENP, 2003; UfM,
2008; Paris Declaration, 2008)*

20

Table 1:

*Rule of Law and Voice & Accountability in the countries of the Arab Spring in percentile ranks
from 0 to 100 (own table, data source: WGI, 2013c-g)*

11

Table 2:

Coding Agenda

23-24

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	I
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	II
LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES	III
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	2
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION	3
1.3 SECONDARY RESEARCH	6
1.4 LIMITATIONS	6
2 CASE SELECTION	7
2.1 THE EU AND THE ARAB SPRING	8
2.2 ASSESSING THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERSHIP	10
3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	15
3.1 WORK AND LIFE OF JÜRGEN HABERMAS	15
3.2 ON THE PRAGMATIC, THE ETHICAL AND THE MORAL EMPLOYMENTS OF PRACTICAL REASON	16
4 METHODOLOGY	18
4.1 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS	19
4.2 OPERATIONALISATION SCHEME	20
4.3 CODING AGENDA	21
5 DATA ANALYSIS	24
5.1 THE BARCELONA DECLARATION	25
5.2 THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY	27
5.3 THE UNION FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN	29
6 CONCLUSION	31
7 REFERENCES	34
8 BIBLIOGRAPHY	35
APPENDIX	41

1 INTRODUCTION

'There never should have been hopes for a linear trajectory. The Arab Spring was a development of historic importance, threatening many powerful interests. Power does not say "thank you for dismantling us," then walking quietly away.'

- *Noam Chomsky*

This is what Noam Chomsky, an American linguist, philosopher and political commentator, noted in an interview in November 2013 regarding the question: of what had happened to the initial hopes for a linear trajectory towards empowerment and democracy in the states of the Arab Spring¹ (Chomsky, 2013).

Now, three years after the uprisings of the people in several north African states, also known as the 'Arab Spring', the people still believe that the realisation of its demands are a long way to go: Egypt is struggling from a military coup, Tunisia is suffering political motivated assassinations and the civil war in Syria is still on-going, with no resolutions on the horizon. Overall, power struggles and unrests have been dominating the region since the start of the democracy-seeking protests in 2011 (Kleber, Naumann, 2013). As such there might be validity behind Chomsky statement, noting that long established power regimes will not walk away quietly.

For the European Union (EU), this means that now is the time for fundamental decisions being taken not only on its role in the Southern Mediterranean², but its neighbourhood policy strategies in general: this would include not only the neighbours in the Southern Mediterranean, but also Europe's eastern neighbours, such as the Ukraine and Russia, and Turkey as an accession candidate country who are also struggling with conflict and instabilities.

¹ In this thesis, the term 'Arab Spring' will be used as equivalent to the uprisings by the people in the Arab States that started in November 2010 calling for more democracy, fundamental freedoms, civil rights, a sustainable economy and shared prosperity.

² The Southern Mediterranean in this thesis means 15 neighbours of the European Union in North Africa and the Middle East: Albania, Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey.

This thesis will contribute to the research on the role of the European Union in the world: with 28 Member States (MS) the EU consists of a variety of different cultures, economies and political self-understanding. The EU enlargements in recent years have increased the heterogeneous tendencies in the agenda setting of the EU even more. Especially within the context of the current crises it is time for a common and strong foreign policy strategy by the EU. For the EU, foreign relations towards third countries neighbouring the Union are of particular importance: if the EU neighbourhood would be able to create a ring of political stability and economic prosperity around the outer borders of the EU, the internal stability and the unity of the MS would be less challenged and more strengthened. As such it is highly important that the EU has a common and strong political strategy when dealing with the recent political struggles in its neighbourhood. As such, this thesis will analyse and evaluate the political strategy of the EU concerning its neighbouring states and the relations between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean, based on the example of the states of the Southern Mediterranean, in particular on Egypt, Libya, Syria and Tunisia. This will be done by applying the Habermasian approach on the employment of practical reason on the practical reason by the EU in the partnership agreements towards the above-stated countries between 1995 and 2010.

1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This thesis aims at identifying the style of argumentation, which the EU has used in its partnership policies towards the Southern Mediterranean. On the basis of the Habermasian typology of argumentation, one could expect that the European Union justifies its argumentation in a holistic approach of pragmatic, ethical and moral argumentation, since Habermas understands the three types of argumentation as reciprocal influences (Habermas, 1991, p.100).

As such it is believed that an analysis of the argumentation by the EU in the partnership agreements on the basis of a qualitative content analysis, would show, what kind of argumentation has been used, while also allow the identification of one type of argumentation that was not used at all. The findings will allow the making of assumptions on the possible reasons for the EU not to employ one or another style of argumentation, more precisely on possible reasons that have detained the EU from being able to justify their policies towards their neighbourhood in an ideal way.

In the conclusion, the findings will be used to design the hypotheses, which may be tested in further empirical research. This thesis will contribute to the research on the European Unions's behaviour in foreign affairs towards its neighbouring countries.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

Even though the states of the Arab spring still suffer from political instabilities and see themselves far from the realisations of their demands, the Arab Spring led to numerous democratic achievements in the Southern Mediterranean neighbourhood of the EU, namely democratic elections in several countries for the first time, a stronger and more present civil society and fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of association and expression (EC, 2013, 2).

These as well as the historical and geopolitical relations of the European Union with the Southern Mediterranean were the reasons, why the European Union responded to the wave of protests in March 2013 through releasing a joint communication 'For a partnership for democracy and shared prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean'. In order to support the democratisation process in the states of the Arab Spring, the EU assured their knowledge and experience in building democracy:

'While acknowledging the difficulties, the EU has to take the clear and strategic option of supporting the quest for the principles and values that it cherishes. For these reasons the EU must not be a passive spectator. It needs to support wholeheartedly the wish of the people in our neighbourhood to enjoy the same freedoms that we take as our right.' (EC, 2011, 2)

Through this policy paper the EU aimed at consolidating and improving the Mediterranean Partnership (EMP)³, and its influence in the neighbouring region on the other side of the Mediterranean. In order to implement reforms more successfully and to support the rise of a political stable and democratic neighbouring region, the EU could analyse its former policies towards the Southern Mediterranean critically and work out the good, while learning from the mistakes made in the past. Evidence suggests that the European Union's political

³ The EMP means the relations between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean. When referred to in this context, it refers to the time span between 1995 and 2010 and concentrates on the following European Union policy papers: Barcelona Declaration (1995), European Neighbourhood Policy (2004), Union for the Mediterranean (2008) and Paris Declaration, 2008).

strategy in their foreign policies towards their neighbouring countries needs to be revised.

When looking at the goals of European Union policies towards the Southern Mediterranean since 1995, one may ask why it still came to the uprisings in the Arab states: both, the Barcelona Process⁴ as well as the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)⁵ articulated their goals in their agreements as follows: implementing the rule of law and democracy, respecting fundamental freedoms and human rights, improving the living standards of the people and increasing the employment rate by creating a sustainable and balanced economic and social development (Barcelona Declaration, 1995; ENP, 2005; UfM, 2008). Even though the European policies towards the Southern Mediterranean took action against socio-economic problems for more than 15 years, problems against which the people in the Arab states have raised, problems such as high unemployment, corruption and a lack of democratic structure, the partnership agreements⁶ were not able to implement sufficient improvements until the end of 2010. So, why weren't they? The overall assumption underlying the previous argumentation is that there must be a reason for the inability of the European Union policies to achieve the demanded. In the case of the policy partners in the states of the Arab spring, those showed reluctance when it came to the reform programmes included in the partnership agreements. But why did they react with hesitation? This in turn requires a typology, which allows analysing the way the EU justified its policies towards its partners. In this thesis, the focus will lie, based on the conceptual model on the pragmatic, ethical and moral uses of argumentation by Habermas, on the argumentative structure of the EU policies. Hence, the thesis will work on the explanatory research question:

*Under which argumentation did the European Union justify its
policies towards the Southern Mediterranean?*

⁴ Barcelona Process: 'The Barcelona Process was launched in November 1995 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the then, 15 EU members and 12 Mediterranean partners, as the framework to manage both bilateral and regional relations.' (http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/barcelona_en.htm)

⁵ European Neighbourhood Policy: 'The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was developed in 2004, with the objective of avoiding the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and our neighbours and instead strengthening the prosperity, stability and security of all. It is based on the values of democracy, rule of law and respect of human rights.' (http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/about-us/index_en.htm).

⁶ Partnership agreements in the context of this thesis refer to the European Policy papers of the EMP.

'Justify' in this case shall be defined by reference to the Habermasian approach of discourse ethics: You are able to justify your action, if your own preferences are of such strong character that they touch your identity, which is in turn a set of your self-understanding, natural lifestyle and character. This identity gives existential decisions not only their weight, but also a context, in which they are both in need but especially capable of justification (Habermas, 1991, p. 103).

In the end, the findings will contribute to the self-reflection of the EU in its foreign policy approach. By aiming at implementing rule of law, fundamental freedoms and human rights in the world and especially in its neighbourhood, the new knowledge may bring the role of argumentation on the EU's agenda in dialogues with its partners in the world. The results may be used by the European Union and other actors in international relations in the future development of partnership agreements to give more attention to the details of the international communicative action in the beginning. For further scholarly work, the findings contribute to widening the set of theoretical instruments (by adding discourse ethics) one may rely on when looking for explanations in certain problematic fields of foreign relations.

In order to ensure a clear and comprehensible, self-contained thesis, it follows a theoretical base, on which the analysis will build on. In the first chapter, the case selection will be further illustrated: After giving a short review on the developments leading to the uprisings in the Southern Mediterranean, the relation between the EU and the states of the Arab Spring will be explained. An assessment of the policy papers underlying this thesis enables to identify the actual progress and the shortcomings in the implementation of the partnership policies between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean.

Following this part, the theory used in this thesis will be presented. After a short introduction to the life and work of the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas, the theories underlying his essay 'On the Pragmatic, the Ethical and the Moral Employments of Practical Reason' will be further discussed and applied to the thematic part of this thesis. How the theory will be linked to the thematic part will be further explained in the methodological chapter of this thesis following the theoretical framework. After introducing the documents to be analysed, the research method, more precisely qualitative content analysis, will not only be presented and explained in detail but also checked for risks and inconsistencies. The way of operationalisation will further be explained and a scheme including a coding agenda will be presented in order

to ensure a detailed and traceable operationalisation. The preceding chapters will then allow a sound data analysis.

Subsequently, the findings of the data analysis will be portrayed in a discussion, which leads to drawing a sound and valid conclusion eventually.

1.3 SECONDARY RESEARCH

Existing scientific literature focuses on political, legal or economic limits that might explain the lack of success of the EU policies towards the Southern Mediterranean (Hollis, 2012), this thesis though concentrates on the study of discourse ethics in international relations and more precisely on their role as a 'force for good' in implementing policies: As Barbé and Johansson-Nogués (2008) assume, policies hit on more fertile ground while partners are equal in candid dialogue and can expect a fair share of the gains (Barbé and Johansson-Nogués, 2008, p. 5).

This thesis will build on the study by Barbé and Johansson-Nogués (2008) on the ethical power of the European Neighbourhood Policy, which will be one of the main policy papers analysed. In contrast though, the thesis will re-orientate on the theoretical approach by Sjursen (2002) based on the conceptual model by Habermas (1991) on discourse ethics in argumentation.

Besides, the main difference to the work by Barbé and Johansson-Nogués won't be just a modification in the theoretical framework fitting to the thesis but also a new perspective on real politics due to the progress in historical perception and a larger scope in the empirical data analysis.

1.4 LIMITATIONS

Due to the limited scope of the thesis its findings shall be understood under the following terms: The context of the analysis focuses on the argumentative style used by the European Union towards the states of the Arab spring, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Tunisia, before the uprisings. In the time between 1995 and 2010 the EU launched the Barcelona Process in form of the Barcelona Declaration in 1995, the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2004 and re-launched the Barcelona Process with the Union for the Mediterranean in 2008. Hence, the analysed policy papers in the context of the thesis will be the Barcelona Declaration, the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the

Mediterranean (including the Paris Declaration in 2008). Therefore, the analysis concentrates on the above stated partnership agreements.

This does not imply, that the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership can only be understood as the sum of those policy papers, but a long-term relationship based on dialogue and cooperation on various levels, such as bilateral and regional dialogue, conferences and summits, economic cooperation and academic exchange. Nonetheless, the theoretical framework by Habermas used for this thesis was specifically designed to fit the method of qualitative content analysis and closely linked to the characteristics of policy papers. The specific adaption of the theory on different kinds of data would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis. For further research, however, this would be an interesting approach to go deeper into the analysis of the use of argumentative styles and to add a long-term approach on the possible changes in the use of argumentation over time.

Additionally, the analysis of the influences of the use of argumentation in implementing partnership agreements and the testing of the hypotheses, that will be developed on the basis of the findings will be interesting to work on in future studies. Nonetheless, the scope of this thesis remains limited.

2 CASE SELECTION

The thesis will focus on the relation between the European Union and its original Mediterranean partners from the Barcelona Declaration (BD)⁷ in 1995. Since this would be a very broad perspective on 12 very diverse countries, from Turkey in the North-East via Syria and Israel all the way down to Algeria and Morocco in the north-west of Africa (EU, 2011a), the focus will be more explicitly on the intersection between the states of the Arab Spring and the neighbouring countries of the EU in the Mediterranean Area due to the link of the research question to the events of the Arab uprising: Tunisia, Libya, Syria and Egypt (ENP, 2003, p. 3; GIZ, 2013, p. 1). Nonetheless, the analysis is not focussing on the behaviour of the partner countries but on the behaviour of the European

⁷ Barcelona Declaration: 'This declaration is the founding act of a comprehensive partnership between the European Union (EU) and twelve countries in the Southern Mediterranean. This partnership aims to turn the Mediterranean into a common area of peace, stability and prosperity through the reinforcement of political dialogue, security, and economic, financial, social and cultural cooperation.' (http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/external_relations/relations_with_third_countries/mediterranean_partner_countries/r15001_en.htm).

Union, precisely on its style of argumentation. In principle, the thesis will analyse the European Union and the argumentation by the EU in the following partnership programmes until the Arab Spring: the Barcelona Declaration in 1995, the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2005 and the revision of the Barcelona Process, more precisely the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)⁸ in 2008.

The time frame starts with the first broad cooperation policy towards the southern neighbours of the EU in 1995, when the EU worked on new solutions for the cooperation with all its neighbouring countries set off by the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. The analysed time frame ends with the end of 2010, before the uprisings in the Arab states started that forced the EU to a review of its neighbourhood policy towards the Southern Mediterranean. This led to the 'Partnership for democracy and shared prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean' in March 2011.

2.1 THE EU AND THE ARAB SPRING

When the Arab Spring started in Tunisia in the end of 2010, it quickly spread to the neighbouring states in the region. This was due to a shared socio-economic discontentment of the people in the Arab states: Manfreda (2014) summarises the main challenges that lead to discontent and ultimately to the protests, uprisings and revolutions called 'Arab Spring' as follows: The region suffered from a widespread low income standard as well as from a high unemployment rate. The fast demographic growth in the Arab states aggravated the situation and there was no economic growth that was able to ease the situation. Instead, the ageing dictatorships were neither capable of stabilising the economic growth nor of securing an equal distribution of wealth or fighting corruption (Manfreda, 2014). Since this represents the media coverage of the causes for the Arab Spring, research shares the findings: Joffé for example summarises the main causes for the uprisings in the Arab region as 'global economic crisis and [in] the neo-patrimonial political natures of regional states' (Joffé, 2011, p. 507).

Today, the states of the Arab spring see itself in very differ political situations, much has been achieved by the protestors, much still needs to be changed to

⁸ Union for the Mediterranean: 'The Union for the Mediterranean promotes economic integration and democratic reform across 16 neighbours to the EU's south in North Africa and the Middle East. Formerly known as the [Barcelona Process](#), cooperation agreements were re-launched in 2008 as the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM).' (http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/index_en.htm).

provide the democratic and successful economies of shared prosperity the protestors asked for. In Egypt, the in 2012 elected president Mohamed Morsi and its party of the Muslim Brotherhood were removed by a military coup in summer 2013, followed by an interim government redrafting the constitution, and new presidential elections in June 2014, won by the former military chief Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (BBC, 2013; Basil, 2014). Tunisia underwent power struggles between the Ennahda, the moderate Islamist party and its secular oppositional parties. Political motivated assassinations of two leftist politicians and public violence blamed on Salafists impeded the situation (BBC, 2013). Libya struggles from instabilities, revolutionary militias and the resurgence of battles, while the civil war in Syria remains constantly serious with almost 2.8 Million registered refugees (BBC, 2013; UNHCR, 2014).

Despite the various different situations, the states of the Arab Spring share their desire for democratic structures among the people. With its 'Partnership for Democracy and shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean' the EU declared its interest in the region and in a close cooperation already in March 2011, quickly responding to the uprisings.

The EU is generally interested in a 'ring of friends' - which means a zone of shared prosperity and friendly neighbourhood around the outer borders of the EU. Further more, the EU proposes that it should aim at those friends 'with whom the EU enjoys close, peaceful and co-operative relations' (ENP, 2003, p. 4). The high interest of the EU in its neighbouring areas requires a founded strategy in order to meet its expectations.

The main interest of this thesis lies in the European Union's behaviour in foreign affairs towards its neighbouring countries. Thus, the status quo of the states of the Arab Spring is of interest, since it offers a realistic perspective on the context of the analysis and a deeper insight into the topic: It is a striking and recent example for the relations of the EU towards its neighbouring regions, while it can provide insights into the behaviour of the EU towards its neighbours and partners in the Southern Mediterranean in particular.

In order to understand, why it is of interest to analyse the European behaviour towards its partners, the relations between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean will be portrayed below, while particular importance will be given to the achievements and failures of the EU reform programmes in terms of political partnership. The gap between the envisaged reforms by the EU-Mediterranean Partnership and the actual realized reforms in the states of the Arab Spring demonstrates the European lack of success in achieving its

preferred objectives and why it is reasonable to study the behaviour of the EU towards its neighbours to offer a sound base searching for a more successful one.

2.2 ASSESSING THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERSHIP

The partnership between the EU and its neighbouring states in the Southern Mediterranean started in 1995 with the adoption of the Barcelona Declaration introducing the Barcelona Process, the basis of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. It focused on the relation between the EU and the states of the Southern Mediterranean and the relations between the states of the region on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea itself. With the launch of the ENP in 2004, the BD concentrated on the regional partnership, while the ENP was used to create bilateral agreements. The Union for the Mediterranean re-launched the Barcelona Process in 2008 by concretising and regionalise the promotion of economic integration and democratisation (EEAS, 2014).

Starting in 1995 the Barcelona Process pursuit a threefold approach: a political, socio-economic and cultural partnership with the Southern Mediterranean (Barcelona Declaration, 1995). In the BD, the political aims were set broadly: the states who signed declared to act according to international law, more explicitly the United Nations Charter⁹ and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)¹⁰, to implement the rule of law and democratic structures in their own political systems and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p.2). The main objective in the economic chapter of the BD was the establishment of a Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area (EMFTA)¹¹ until 2010 in order to strengthen the trade and to lower the barriers in the flow of goods between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean on the one hand, and between the states of the Southern Mediterranean on the other hand

⁹ United Nations Charter: 'The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24 October 1945. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is an integral part of the Charter.' (<http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/intro.shtml>)

¹⁰ Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a milestone document in the history of human rights. Drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, the Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It sets out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected.' (<http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/introduction.aspx>).

¹¹ The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area is a key objective of the EMP, which should have been implemented by 2010. Even though numerous aspects from it could be achieved by other , the EMFTA is still not implemented.

(Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 8). The third part concentrated on the partnership concerning social and cultural exchange and development. Especially the dialogue between the cultures and religions in order to strengthen the relations and the development of human resources by improving the training and education of young people in particular were put into focus (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 6).

Nonetheless, in the time span between 1995 and the re-launch in 2008 the BD was not able to implement remarkable and sustainable reforms concerning the political partnership that would allow to speak of an implemented rule of law or a respectful treatment of fundamental rights and freedoms.

In order to measure the improvements that occurred in the time span of the Barcelona Process, the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) by the World Bank will be used: the WGI provide a broad overview of indices on, among others, the rule of law and voice and accountability to classify a number of 213 countries in the time between 1996 until 2012. The countries are measured in percentile ranks between 0 and 100, while 0 equals the lowest rank and 100 equal the highest rank possible.

According to the WGI, improvements could be reached in the time period between 1996, when the index started and 2008, when the BD was re-launched in terms of rule of law, but not in terms of voice and accountability in the countries of the Arab Spring: Rule of law in this database is defined as capturing 'perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence' (WGI, 2013a, p. 1). Voice and accountability in this case means the 'perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media' (WGI, 2013b, p. 1). The WGI therefore offer the ability to investigate the objectives of the first chapter of the BD.

Country	Rule of Law		Voice & Accountability	
	1996	2008	1996	2008
Egypt, Arab Republic	53.6	52.9	24.0	15.4
Libya	15.3	28.4	9.1	3.4
Syrian Arab Republic	38.3	34.6	10.6	4.3
Tunisia	45.9	57.7	35.1	11.1
Germany (comp. figure)	93.8	94.2	90.4	93.8

Table 1: Rule of Law and Voice & Accountability in the countries of the Arab Spring in percentile ranks from 0 to 100 (own table, data source: WGI, 2013c-g).

Table 1 shows that for the cases of Egypt and Syria remarkable changes or even improvements in the rule of law or voice and accountability could not be measured by WGI. Instead, All four countries suffered from a remarkable decrease in voice and accountability between 1996 and 2008 (WGI, 2013c, p. 2 and p. 6; WGI, 2013d, p. 2 and p. 6).

While the facts for voice and accountability remarkably decreased, the WGI measured improvements of over 10 points in rule of law in Libya and Tunisia though. Still, the improvements measured in the case of the rule of law have to be seen in relation to the broad range of the WGI in percentile ranks from 0 to 100 (WGI, 2012e, p. 2 and p. 6; WGI, 2012f, p. 2 and p. 6).

As an example, Germany was used as a comparative figure with a percentile rank of 94, while Tunisia reached the highest rank within the states of the Arab Spring with a rank of only 58. Even though Libya and Tunisia could improve their rule of law, there is, especially in the case of Libya with a percentile rank of 28 in 2008 a large range of points open to achieve to fully speak of a sustainable and reliable rule of law (WGI, 2012g, p. 2 and p. 6).

Concerning the second part of the BD, the main economic objective, namely the implementation of the EMFTA between the EU and the States of the Southern Mediterranean, could not be reached entirely. The Barcelona Process was in the first place interested in implementing an integrated economic area. Therefore, its main instrument was the implementation of the EMFTA until 2010 (Martín, 2010, p. 73). This would have meant the removal of all custom duties and the prohibition of quantitative restrictions on imports and exports (EU, 2011b). Nonetheless, certain achievements could have been made, such as the implementation of bilateral Association Agreements (AA)¹² between the EU and all States of the Arab Spring except from Syria, where the signing and ratification of the AA is still pending. Also, the regional economic policies do all include references to full trade liberalisation, except from Syria (Martín, 2010, p. 73). In comparison to the political partnership, the economic partnership could move towards remarkable improvements in the establishment of a free trade area effectively.

When it comes to achievements in the cultural sector since 1995, the European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed) conducts a yearly survey on the results of the EMP (since 2009), the Euromed Survey. The surveys include the

¹² Association Agreements: 'Association Agreements are international agreements that the European Community / European Union has concluded with third countries with the aim of setting up an all-embracing framework to conduct bilateral relations.' (<http://eeas.europa.eu/association/>).

assessment of all policy papers underlying this thesis concerning all three parts of policies, namely the political, economic and cultural results: the BD, ENP and UfM are assessed in the surveys, which includes the questioning of experts and key actors of the Euro-Mediterranean space (IEMed, 2009a, p. 14). The sample of the 2009 survey consisted of 371 actors, of which four fifth came from Mediterranean countries from both sides of the sea. Concerning the exchanges in areas of education, culture, youth and research 72% of the respondents perceived a significant progress in the EMP. Additionally, gender equality was considered by 59% of the participants as having experienced progress. The respondents assessed the reduction of educational imbalance between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean as less progressive: 73% agreed that in this area no progress had been achieved (IEMed, 2009b, p. 25-26). Nevertheless, concerning the EU's objectives, the achievements in the cultural sector could be seen as achievements in the implementation of the BD.

Besides the cultural sector, the survey also obtained information on the assessment of the sector of economic partnership, while shortcomings were especially recognised under the participants among the political sector: thus, 60% of the respondents found an improvement in the overall business climate, while 73% saw no progress or even regression in the possibility to participate in local decision-making, 71% missed political pluralism and 69% felt the promotion of freedom of expression and association as a major lack in the political sector (IEMed, 2009b, p. 26).

While the information above allows concluding that the progress in the time span after the BD meets a certain amount of objectives concerning the economic and cultural sectors, it is possible to state that the objectives concerning the political sector of the BD have hardly been implemented.

In addition to the BD, the ENP was launched in 2004 to concretise the bilateral relations between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean by bilateral action plans. The findings of the Euromed Survey 2009 also relate to the progress of the ENP: progress was assessed by the participants concerning the economic and cultural sector – the ENP focussed on strengthening 'the rule of law, democracy and the respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities, to promote market-oriented economic reforms, to promote employment and social cohesion and to cooperate on key foreign policy objectives such as counter-terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction' (ENP, 2005, p. 2). Since 'market-oriented economic reforms' could according to the progress report of the ENP in 2010 be implemented at

least partly by, for instance, a free trade regime on industrial products with Tunisia in 2008 (EEAS, 2010, p. 7) or the implementation of numerous AA with the states of the Southern Mediterranean, the findings of the Euromed Survey can be supported. On the other hand, the findings of the Euromed Survey are supported by the ENP progress report in 2010 not only in terms of progress, but also in terms of shortcomings concerning the political partnership: for example, in the years between 2004 and 2010, the states of the Arab Spring did not progress in terms of death penalty and its application (EEAS, 2010, p. 7) and even though the states with action plans (Egypt and Tunisia) ratified the United Nations Convention against Corruption¹³ in 2005, corruption gained in importance (EEAS, 2010, p. 4).

Concerning the UfM that re-launched the BD in 2008 due to the increase of the gap in prosperity between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean and a lack of economic convergence (UfM, 2008, p. 3). The main objectives set in the UfM were the following: increasing the co-ownership of the EMP, raising awareness in the civil society and among people, adopting the threefold approach of the BD and strengthening an additional fourth chapter concerning cooperation in migration, social integration, justice and security (UfM, 2008, p. 4-5). Concerning the three chapters of political, economic and cultural cooperation, which the UfM shares with the BD, the findings above may be applied: several shortcomings in terms of political partnership facing progress in the fields of economic and cultural cooperation are worth mentioning. In addition to the political partnership, 83% of the participants missed progress in the facilitation and management of migration, the fourth pillar of the EMP (IEMed, 2009b, p. 27).

Considered as a whole and comparing the objectives of the policy papers of the EMP to the progress in real, one can say that the political dimension of the policy objectives, including the migration pillar, are insufficient, while in the economic and cultural sector cooperation could develop progress besides some shortcomings concerning the objectives of the EU.

¹³ United Nations Convention against Corruption: 'The Convention approved by the Ad Hoc Committee was adopted by the General Assembly by resolution 58/4 of 31 October 2003. In accordance with article 68 (1) of resolution 58/4, the United Nations Convention against Corruption entered into force on 14 December 2005.' (<https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC/>)

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

After illustrating the shortcomings and progress of reform programmes in the states of the Arab Spring regarding the main EMP policies, the following section will concentrate on the theoretical framework underlying the thesis:

The thesis' theoretical framework is based on Jürgen Habermas' *Remarks on Discourse Ethics* [Erläuterungen zur Diskursethik] (1991). With the essay *'On the Pragmatic, the Ethical, and the Moral Employments of Practical Reason'* (Habermas, 1991, p. 100-118) he constructed a model to critically analyse discourses¹⁴ on their argumentative approaches and reasoning.

3.1 WORK AND LIFE OF JÜRGEN HABERMAS

Born in 1929 in Germany Jürgen Habermas became one of the most important philosophers and sociologists after the end of World War II. He studied philosophy, psychology, history and economics at the Universities of Göttingen, Zurich and Bonn. In 1954, Habermas joined the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt/ Main, where he assisted the philosopher and sociologist Theodor Adorno and where he started to deal with questions of critical social theory. Habermas wrote his habilitation on *'The structural Transformation of the Public Sphere'* (1961), but with the publication of his study *'Knowledge and Human Interest'* (1968) Habermas became known internationally. With his principal works, *'Theory of Communicative Action'* in 1981 and *'Between Facts and Norms'* in 1992, Habermas linked philosophical analysis with modern social research (HdG, 1999).

The Habermasian work underlying this thesis is *'Remarks on Discourse Ethics'*, which was published in 1991 as successor of Habermas' investigations on *'Moral consciousness and communicative action'* (1983). In his book, Habermas discusses the universalistic concept of moral, referring to Aristotle, Hegel and the contemporary contextualism (Habermas, 1991, 7).

¹⁴ Discourse in the context of this thesis and the theoretical framework by Habermas shall be defined as social interaction through communication of at least two participants.

3.2 ON THE PRAGMATIC, THE ETHICAL AND THE MORAL EMPLOYMENTS OF PRACTICAL REASON

In his essay '*On the Pragmatic, the Ethical and the Moral employments of Practical Reason*', Habermas created a threefold typology of argumentation in the presence of practical problems. The basic condition to apply the typology of argumentation by Habermas is the presence of practical problems: in the case of the thesis, practical problems are rationally evaluated goals that need to be achieved based on existing preferences. The preferences are pre-determined and there is only a choice option on the alternatives concerning instruments and objectives to meet the preferences (Habermas, 1991, pp. 101-102). In this case, the European Union's preferences are set in the European Union's constitution¹⁵. Constitution shall be defined for this thesis as the following:

[...] the body of doctrines and practices that form the fundamental organizing principle of a political state.' (Spiro, 2014)

The EU's preferences, set in its constitution, may be seen more precisely as the European identity; an identity in turn is determined by the way you see yourself and the way you want to see yourself (Habermas, 1991, pp. 103-104). Identity attributes a certain weight to the decisions to be made and the ability of justifying the preferences. This results not only in practical reason, but also in justifying the good next to the pragmatic. The discourse steps into the fields of ethics (Habermas, 1991, p. 103).

Habermas distinguishes between three different employments of practical reason: the pragmatic, the ethical and the moral, while he stresses that those cannot be considered separately as he argues against that the universalistic concept of moral by Aristotle or Hegel (Habermas, 1991, pp. 100, 110).

For this thesis, Habermas' approach on the different employments of practical reason shall be applied to the practical reason of the European Union in its policies towards its neighbouring countries, more specifically in its policies towards the Southern Mediterranean states. His distinction between the different forms of argumentation under the aspects of the functional, the good and the just shall be used as a typology to classify the argumentation the European

¹⁵ European Constitution in this thesis refers to the Treaty of the European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Lisbon Treaty).

Union used in its communications in form of partnership agreements towards the Southern Mediterranean, explained in more detail in case selection.

The aim here lies in analysing and evaluating the concepts used by the European Union through its policies towards enabling the participating countries to be partners in cooperation? More precisely the question of: with what argumentation has the European Union justified its policies towards the Southern Mediterranean and the associated transfer of European values to its partners? Employing Habermas' model on international relations, the thesis will apply Sjursen's analytical approach categorising the different types of argumentation (Sjursen, 2002, p. 494): first, Sjursen states that the pragmatic approach is defined as a utilitarian argumentation where actors focus on their interests and preferences (Habermas, 1991, p. 105). Policies are justified by the income that they achieve the participants. It follows from this utilitarian perspective that the partners of the EU would only be willing to participate in the reform plans by the European Union, if they met the interest of the partners (Sjursen, 2002, p. 494). The actors in the pragmatic approach consider the other of a self-centred utilitarian behaviour, which leads according to Habermas to a latent conflict between the different actors (Habermas, 1991, p. 105).

Second, the ethical-political approach is categorised as follows: actors belong to a certain kind of collective and share specific values that are elementary for the collective. Thus, policies are justified based on those values (Sjursen, 2002, p. 494). Habermas concludes that there should be a clarified collective identity to share. Additionally, the ethical approach unifies the will and the reason, whilst justifications found a rational motif for changing preferences (Habermas, 1991, pp. 111-113). As such the European Union would argue on the basis of the European identity to justify its policies.

Third, there is the moral approach, which actors argue on the basis of a universal concept of justice (Sjursen, 2002, p. 494). The policies of the European Union would therefore be justified by universal maxims, such as the UDHR, which was signed by all partners. At the same time, Habermas emphasises that those kind of universal moral commandments are valid regardless of the power of the addressee to do right. However, they do need to be acknowledged by all partners as a universal maxim of justice. This includes that any action can be seen by anyone as just for anyone at any time (Habermas, 1991, p. 114).

Those three types of argumentation may be identified by a set of concepts that allow one to assign arguments to the different approaches and to search for the

argumentative model used. According to Sjørnsen the concept of utility is the endeavour to promote solutions that meet the preferences of the policy-makers. If the solutions correspond to their interests the utilitarian promotion of a policy can be understood as justified. Against that, *values* resemble a specific idea of the good, an identity, which is shared by the policy-makers. This identity represents the self-perception and self-interpretation of the collective, the way it sees itself and the way it wants to see itself and under which it reasons its policy-making. Finally, *rights* justify the action of policy-seekers regardless the preferences or the identity of the collective. Much more, *rights* depend on the universal set of justice that was referred to above and under those the policy-making may be justified (Sjørnsen, 2002, p. 495).

4 METHODOLOGY

Under which argumentation did the European Union justify its policies towards the Southern Mediterranean? To answer the research question of the thesis I will go deeper into the analysis of the way the EU legitimated its policies by argumentation. By creating an operationalisation scheme according to the research method of qualitative content analysis by Mayring (2000) by applying the Habermasian theory on the methodological approach, the European Union policies towards its Southern Mediterranean partners shall be empirically analysed. This aims at analysing and evaluating if the partnership agreements between the EU and its partners follow the holistic approach of Habermas, who understands the three types of argumentation as reciprocal influences and not three separated approaches (Habermas, 1991, p. 100). The results will on the one hand show, what kind of argumentative approach the European Union employed and what kind of argumentative approach was possibly left out, while on the other hand the analysis will allow to give an outlook on possible reasons for the EU not to employ one or another argumentative style and to design hypothesis, which may be tested in further empirical research.

The methodology of this study resembles the methodological approach by Sjørnsen (2002), who refers to the interpretative approach by Max Weber (1978) that social science 'is a science concerning itself with the interpretative understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences' (Weber, 1978, p. 4). Thus, the findings will be

provided in form of a qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000) and a systematic text analysis associated with it.

4.1 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Qualitative content analysis is the most common qualitative research method, which was developed in the 1980s by *inter alia* the German psychologist and sociologist Philipp Mayring, whose approach will be applied in this context. Qualitative content analysis allows studying different kinds of communicative action that have been preserved in any kind. In many cases, the communicative action can be found in the form of a text (Mayring, 2000, p. 2). The objectives to be analysed in this case are the EU's partnership policies towards the Southern Mediterranean: The Barcelona Declaration, the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean and with it, the Paris Declaration (PD)¹⁶. The central approach to derive categories for this analysis will be deductive category application: Deductive category application means the formulation of categories prior to the actual text analysis on theoretical basis. The categories to be used in the text analysis would be drawn from the theoretical framework underlying the text analysis. In this thesis, the analysis is deductive, which is why firstly the categories will be defined on the basis of Habermas' theoretical approach. The categories and possible sub-categories allow creating definitions, examples and coding rules for each of the categories. On basis of those coding rules, the texts will be analysed and the categories will be formatively checked on their reliability and possibly revised. In the end, the findings allow to be analysed on quantitative aspects, such as frequency (Mayring, 2000, p. 5).

While case studies may not be able to prove causal relation due to a lack of pre- and post-test and a control group, they are able to provide in-depth understanding of the situation. Concentrating on the deeper content, it won't be possible to measure the role of argumentation as possible variable influencing the reluctance of policy partners to react on the reform programmes by the EU and this shall not even be the focus of the present thesis. The research interest rather lies in the theoretical handling and the application of the Habermasian

¹⁶ Paris Declaration: 'The Paris Summit of the 'Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean' (Paris, 13 July 2008) injected a renewed political momentum into Euro-Mediterranean relations. In Paris, the Heads of State and Government agreed to build on and reinforce the successful elements of the Barcelona Process by upgrading their relations, incorporating more co-ownership in their multilateral cooperation framework and delivering concrete benefits for the citizens of the region.' (<http://ufmsecretariat.org/institutional-documents/>)

model on a new political situation, in this case on the behaviour of the European Union in foreign affairs. By analysing the style of argumentation by the EU, the thesis will provide a theoretical instrument, not new in social sciences, but new for research on international affairs. Other approaches, however, concentrating on the role of argumentation itself, would go beyond the scope of the thesis. Nonetheless, the findings will provide founded assumptions on possible influences by the style of argumentation that could be used as starting points for further research.

4.2 OPERATIONALISATION SCHEME

In order to find out, which style of argumentation was used by the European Union towards its policy partners, the policies have been browsed for characteristics of the three different models of argumentation.

Prior to that, the theoretical framework was the basis for deducing categories from the Habermasian typology of argumentation in order to identify the different styles of argumentation within the context. The categories retrieved from the theory and the empirical-based codes will be explained in detail in the following and have been visualised in the path diagram below (see Fig. 1). The findings achieved by the coding rules retrieved from the text analysis (compare: Table 2) have been summarised in the last column of the path diagram.

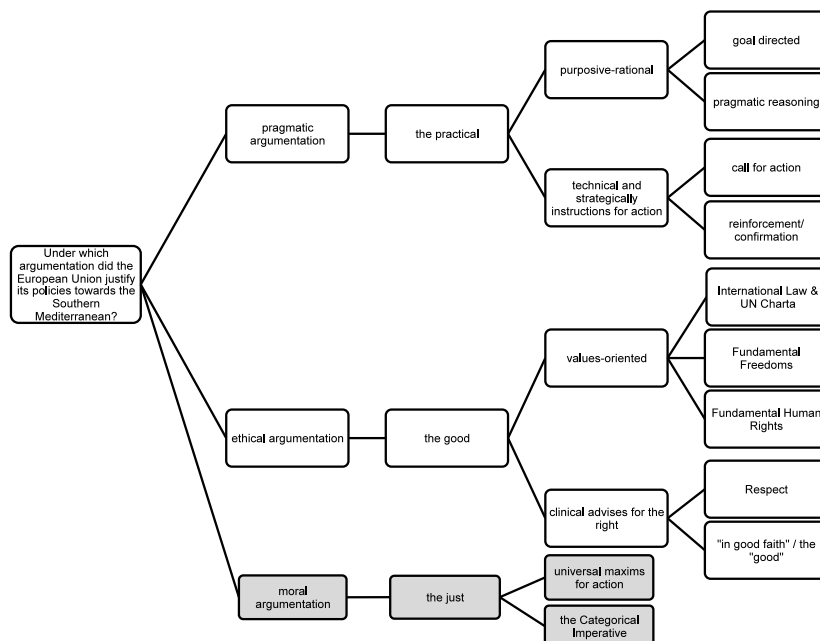


Fig. 1: Path diagram on theory-based categories and sub-categories and empirical-based codes. (Own chart, data source: Habermas, 1991; Barcelona Declaration 1995; ENP, 2003; UfM, 2008; Paris Declaration, 2008).

According to Habermas, pragmatic argumentation focuses on practical considerations in order to reach self-serving interest from a utilitarian perspective (Habermas, 1991, p. 102, 105). The arguing person acts purposive-rational in order to reach the own preferences according goals (Habermas, 1991, 105). Technical and strategically instructions are the main instruments to be used by pragmatic argumentation (Habermas, 1991, p. 102). The argumentative style either aims at achieving above-mentioned goals by pragmatism or makes reinforcements linguistically calling for action to reach the goals.

Ethical argumentation by Habermas is defined by what is good corresponding to the own understanding of values (Habermas, 1991, p. 104-105). By using practical reason ethically, clinical advises for the right corresponding to the set of values are provided (Habermas, 1991, p. 109). The argumentative style makes either use of references towards concrete samples of the values related to or references to the use of respect and references to the good, in order to prove the preferences in the argumentation.

In terms of moral argumentation Habermas refers to the use of universal maxims of action in the sense of the Categorical Imperative in order to ensure universal justification (Habermas, 1991, p. 107-109). Since even Habermas admits that faultless moral argumentation comes up against the fact that subjective perception of the just and a universal perception of the just interferes with the actual feeling of justice by individuals, no characteristics for moral argumentation could be identified in the text analysis underlying this thesis (Habermas, 1991, p. 113). Therefore, no coding rules and no empirical-based codes could be retrieved.

4.3 CODING AGENDA

In addition to the operationalisation scheme presented above, a coding agenda is the main instrument to enable the researcher assigning specific parts of the texts to one argumentative style in a systematic way. As shown in Table 2 the analysis distinguished between the three categories pragmatic, ethical and

moral argumentation, of which each stands for justification through the practical, the good and the just.

After defining the character of the deductive categories explicitly on base of the theory by Habermas, striking examples from the texts were given to guarantee a right and uniform understanding of the defined categories and the size and character of the analysed text passages. The research focus was put on the argumentative style of one train of thought, more precisely: one train of thought of a specifically envisaged objective, such as the implementation of the Charter of the United Nations. Argumentative style in this case shall be defined as the use of linguistically units that fit to the thematically ones, such as the use of the name 'Charter of the United Nations' in conjunction with the substantive presentation of the wish to achieve the objective. The analytical step in this case is a two-piece: The envisaged objective is analytical detected by a headword that fits into the codes from the operationalisation scheme. The presence of an actual articulated wish to achieve the headword-matching objective is analytical detected by the transformation from the read into the understood.

Accordingly, the BD, the ENP and the two UfM policy papers were searched for significant examples with considering the definitions to be analysed for each category, coding rules have been formulated to guarantee an objective and reliable analysis. On basis of these coding rules, the texts have been read twice: firstly, the categories have been formatively checked, if they are reliable and secondly, the possibly revised categories have acted as the final definitions for the analysis of the texts.

The findings, meaning the significant sections that will be categorised under the pragmatic, the ethical or the moral, will be evaluated by frequency in the discussion below. Assuming as an example that there are numerous significant evidences of an ethical argumentation, while there is only little evidence of pragmatic and moral argumentation, the findings would point into the direction of ethical argumentation.

To counter the critics of the qualitative content analysis that this is a subjective, little reliable approach, the respective steps of qualitative content analysis undertaken will be presented in the following in detail and shall allow the recipient to be able to relate to any step in the analysis procedure.

Categories	Sub-Categories	Definitions	Examples	Coding rules
C1: Pragmatic argumentation: <i>The practical</i>	Purposive-rational	The preferences of the EU will be justified by pragmatic argumentation. Preferences shall be achieved by target-oriented logic. The preference to be achieved is put in focus of the argumentation.	"[...] <i>They agree, in view of the importance of their relations, to continue the dialogue in order to achieve progress in the competent fora.</i> [...]" (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 4)	The argumentation line depends on the desire to achieve the preferences safe, fast and targeted. Certain wording can identify Goal-directed formulation, such as: in order to, it requires, objectives, purpose, with a view to, with the aim, etc. Pragmatic formulation can be identified by certain key words, for example: effective/efficient, essential, important, necessary, practical, progressive, etc.
	Technical and strategic instructions for action	The preferences of the EU will be justified by pragmatic argumentation. Preferences shall be achieved by target-oriented logic. The concrete way to achieve the preference is put in focus. Practical instructions for action are created.	"[...] <i>Economic development must be supported both by internal savings, the basis of investment, and by direct foreign investment. They stress the importance of creating an environment conducive to investment, in particular by the progressive elimination of obstacles to such investment which could lead to the transfer of technology and increase production and exports;</i> [...]" (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 4)	The argumentation line depends on the desire to achieve the preferences safe, fast and targeted. Therefore, the formulation stands for technical and strategic instructions for action or how to behave. Examples for calls for action are: action, improvement, etc. Examples for reinforcing argumentation are: to achieve, to develop, to encourage, to ensure, to maximise, to promote, to stimulate, to strengthen, to stress, to support, to take forward, etc.
C2: Ethical argumentation: <i>The good</i>	Values-oriented	The preferences of the EU will be justified by ethical argumentation. Preferences shall be achieved by values-oriented logic. The preferences to be achieved are justified on a sound base of shared values by the EU. Those values are the focus of the argumentation.	"[...] <i>the Union should take the opportunity offered by enlargement to enhance relations with its neighbours on the basis of shared values (Notably democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law, as set out within the EU in the Charter of Fundamental Rights)</i> [...]" (ENP, 2003, p.3)	The argumentative line depends on the desire to achieve preferences that fulfil and further strengthen values oriented on international law. Ethical argumentation can thus be identified by references towards international human rights law, such as: the independency of the judiciary, Charter of the United Nations, UDHR, etc., and by references towards fundamental human rights, such as: democracy, civil liberties, core labour standards, cultural identity, fundamental social rights, rule of law, fundamental freedoms, etc.
	Clinical advises for the right	The preferences of the EU will be justified by ethical argumentation. Preferences shall be achieved by values-oriented logic. The advise for action in order to achieve the values-oriented	"[...] <i>act in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as other obligations under international law,</i> [...]" (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p.2)	The argumentative line depends on the desire to achieve preferences that fulfil and further strengthen values oriented on international law. The above-mentioned key words in addition to an advisory formulation can be identified as clinical advises for the right. Further examples of key words are respect, shared

	Clinical advises for the right	The preferences of the EU will be justified by ethical argumentation. Preferences shall be achieved by values-oriented logic. The advise for action in order to achieve the values-oriented preferences is the focus of the argumentation.	"[...] <i>act in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as other obligations under international law, [...]</i> " (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p.2)	The argumentative line depends on the desire to achieve preferences that fulfil and further strengthen values oriented on international law. The above-mentioned key words in addition to an advisory formulation can be identified as clinical advises for the right. Further examples of key words are respect, shared values, good and good faith.
C3: Moral argumentation: <i>the just</i>	Universal maxims for action	The preferences of the EU are justified by moral argumentation that is based on a universal set of maxims for action. All partners participating feel treated just and share the same perception of justice.		
	The categorical imperative	The preferences of the EU can be justified as actions able to use as universal maxims for action.		

Table 2: Coding Agenda

5 DATA ANALYSIS

In the following, the analytical method will be described in detail and policy-specific. After giving an overview of the analysed text data, the findings will be illustrated by striking examples in terms of text passages of each style of argumentation. After the analysis of all three EMP policies concerning each of the three typologies of argumentation, the following set of headwords could be retrieved (*see Appendix: Table 3*):

Under the category 'pragmatic argumentation' with its sub-category 'purposive rational' the empirical-based code 'goal directed' is composed of *in order to*, *it requires*, *objectives*, *purpose*, *with view to* and *with the aim*. Concerning the empirical-based code 'pragmatic reasoning' the headwords *effective/efficient*, *essential*, *important*, *necessary*, *practical* and *progressive* could be worked out.

Under the sub-category 'technical and strategically instructions for action' the code 'call for action' produced the headwords *action* and *improvement*, while the code 'reinforcement/ confirmation' resulted in the headwords *achieve*, *develop*,

encourage, ensure, maximise, promote, stimulate, strengthen, stress, support and take forward.

Under the category 'ethical argumentation' with the sub-category 'values-oriented' the code 'international law and UN-Charter' retrieved the headwords *independence of the judiciary, United Nations Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The code 'fundamental freedoms' did not produce specific headwords, but includes every fundamental freedom laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. The code 'fundamental human rights' also includes every fundamental human right laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, in addition, however, the analysis produced the headwords *democracy, civil liberties, core labour standards, cultural identity, fundamental social rights and rule of law*. Concerning the sub-category 'clinical advises for the right' the articulated wish to achieve the objectives meeting the codes of the sub-category 'shared values' provides the coding rules. The headwords for the sub-category 'clinical advises for the right' are therefore *respect* and *shared values* under the code of 'respect' and *good* under the code of 'in good faith/ the good'.

The analysis, however, did not provide striking text passages to identify the third category 'moral argumentation'. An overview on data and figures from the process of analysis can be found in the appendix to this thesis.

5.1 THE BARCELONA DECLARATION

The BD launched the Barcelona Process in November 1995. It was the first main partnership policy between the EU and the Southern Mediterranean in order to strengthen the economic and cultural cooperation as well as to promote European democratic values in its neighbourhood. The BD consists of fourteen pages and is structured into four chapters, of which three concern the political, economic and cultural cooperation followed by a chapter on the follow-up to the conference and the Annex: Work Programme.

In the first reading, the BD was analysed in terms of characteristics that indicate the use of pragmatic argumentation. Thirty-nine striking text passages could be identified in the BD concerning pragmatic argumentation. An example of what such a 'striking text passage' looks like is provided below:

'[...] **With a view to** achieving these **objectives**, the participants agree to establish an economic and financial partnership. [...]'
(Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 4)

The example was retrieved under the code 'goal directed'. The coding rule for codes under the category 'purposive-rational' is defined by an argumentation line that depends on the desire to achieve the preferences safe, fast and targeted. Two headwords (*with a view to, objectives*) label the text passage, in which *objectives* refer to improvements in terms of sustainable socio-economic development, living conditions and regional cooperation and integration. The presence of an actual articulated wish is certain, since the objectives are defined and a possible handling instruction is given. In the end, the text passage is a self-contained argumentation line of pragmatic style.

In the second reading, the BD was tested on the presence of ethical argumentation. In this first policy, thirteen text passages were identified using ethical argumentation.

'[...] **respect** their sovereign equality and all rights inherent in their sovereignty, and fulfil **in good faith** the obligations they have assumed under international law; [...]' (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 3)

The headwords *respect* and *in good faith* mark the attendance of the sub-category 'clinical advises for the right'. The coding rule for the codes of this sub-category stresses the presence of the desire to achieve preferences that fulfil and further strengthen values oriented on international law, which can be seen as marked strikingly in this example by the linguistically articulated wish to *fulfil* the obligations made by international law. Fulfil was, due to the very own character of the argumentation of the example above, not taken into account for a regular headword. However, in this case using the wording *fulfil* means a striking analogy of example and coding rule.

One example shall be given at this point to show that there were some passages that have been defined as both, ethical and pragmatic argumentation:

'[...] **respect** human rights and fundamental freedoms and guarantee the **effective** legitimate exercise of such rights and freedoms; [...]' (Barcelona Declaration, 1995, p. 2)

This section may be defined as pragmatic argumentation under the code rules of 'pragmatic reasoning' due to the presence of the headword *effective*. On the other hand, this section may be counted as ethical argumentation, since the headword

respect identifies the code of 'respect' under the sub-category 'clinical advises for the right'. The coding rule for the code 'respect' is that the argumentative line depends on the desire to achieve preferences that fulfil and further strengthen values oriented on international law. This is met in the example by the reference towards human rights and fundamental freedoms and by the articulated wish to exercise those. The pragmatic argumentation has been proofed by the presence of the desire to achieve the preferences safe, fast and targeted, linguistically strengthened by the use of the term *effective*.

For the analysis of the data those examples are counted twice, once under the typology of pragmatic and once under the typology of ethical argumentation.

The third reading with regard to characteristics for moral argumentation, no fitting text passages could be identified.

5.2 THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY

The ENP is the second policy to be analysed. Launched in 2004, the ENP established bilateral political, economic and cultural cooperation. The ENP policy paper analysed in this context means the proposal for a new framework for relations with the EU's neighbour states in the East and South by the EC towards the European Parliament and Council in march 2003. The policy paper comprises 26 pages and is sub-structured in five chapters and an annex consisting of eight pages included in the 26 pages policy paper. The annexes are always included in the analysis as long as they consist of text parts to be analysed. Charts and figures of the annexes have not been analysed due to the text-based method of analysis.

The text analysis was conducted with view to the argumentation by the EU towards its partners in the South, more striking towards its partners in the Southern Mediterranean. Even though not any argumentative line focuses particularly on the Southern Mediterranean, the argumentation lines defined as fitting for the analysis are all articulated objectives focussing on any participating neighbouring country in the framework and all articulated objectives focussing on the neighbouring countries in the Southern Mediterranean in particular.

Analysing the ENP for the presence of pragmatic argumentation, twenty-four text passages could have been identified. The following example presents the argumentative style of the sub-category 'technical and strategically instructions for action':

[...] The EU should **encourage** and **support** telecommunications markets in the neighbouring countries, **improving** the availability of Internet access for business and private use and **encouraging** the growth of knowledge-based economies. [...]' (ENP, 2003, p. 13)

While the headword *improving* can be subordinated under the code 'call for action', the headwords *encourage* and *support* point into the direction of the code 'reinforcement/confirmation'. In accordance with the coding rule for the sub-category 'technical and strategically instructions for action', the argumentation line articulates the desire to achieve the preferences, namely the improvement of telecommunication markets and, Internet access and the growth of knowledge-based economies, safe, fast and targeted. Therefore, the formulation stands for technical and strategic instructions for action or how to behave.

The second reading concentrated on the identification of striking text passages concerning ethical argumentation. In the perusal of the ENP paper, nine argumentation lines were drawn under ethical reason.

[...] the Union should take the opportunity offered by enlargement to enhance relations with its neighbours on the basis of **shared values** (Notably **democracy**, **respect for human rights** and the **rule of law**, as set out within the EU in the **Charter of Fundamental Rights**).[...]' (ENP, 2003, p. 3)

One of the striking text passages for the category ethical argumentation has been the above stated example. The headwords *democracy*, *rule of law* and *human rights* are examples for the code 'fundamental human rights', while the code 'respect' is presented by the headwords *respect* and *shared values*. The code 'fundamental human rights' belongs to the sub-category 'values-oriented', while the code 'respect' belongs to the sub-category 'clinical advises for the right'. Hence, the argumentation in this example articulates not only the wish to achieve preferences that fulfil and further strengthen values oriented on international law by making references towards international human rights law, but also by arguing via an advisory formulation.

Again, in the analysis of the ENP no data could be detected referring to the type moral argumentation.

5.3 THE UNION FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN

The UfM re-launched the Barcelona Process in 2008 in order to get a more focussed regional approach by concrete regional and sub-regional projects and to give the Barcelona Process a new impulse.

First, the final communication from the EC to the European Parliament and the Council concerning the re-launched Barcelona Process from May 2008 was studied. The paper consists of 15 pages including the five-page annex. The text is structured into 40 paragraphs, which in turn are sub-structured into ten different sections including the main objectives, projects and funding.

The analysis of the UfM communication only provided little results in number, namely only one text passage striking for an argumentative line within the typology of Habermas. This is not due to an incoherent theoretical approach, but due to the sort of text of the UfM communication. The linguistical style is not argumentative but visionary and summarising the status quo ante of the UfM. Thus, the one filtered text passage shall be presented below in order to give a striking example of the style of argumentation of the whole policy paper and to present the identified text passage, which is counted as a text passage of the linguistically use of pragmatic and ethical argumentation:

'[...] The partnership has also overseen efforts to **strengthen democracy** and political pluralism by the expansion of participation in political life and continues to **promote** the embracing of all **human rights and freedoms**.[...]' (UfM, 2008, p. 3)

The first part of the above stated train of thought describes the summarising character of the policy paper by referring to the status quo ante of the UfM. The headwords for the pragmatic argumentation in the first part of the phrase are used for the analysis for the reason that the next part of the phrase refers to the first one by using the term *continues*. The second part of the phrase therefore refers to the headwords *strengthen* and *democracy* and with the term *continues* the justifications made by using the codes of ethical and pragmatic argumentation transmit those headwords to the second part of the phrase in order to use those for the argumentation. For pragmatic argumentation the headword *strengthen* from the code 'reinforcement/confirmation' of the sub-category 'technical and strategically instructions for action' was identified. For ethical argumentation the headword *democracy* presents the use of the code 'fundamental human rights' of the sub-category 'values-oriented'.

Regarding the second part of the phrase, the same two sub-categories and therefore coding rules were used applying the headwords *promote* ('reinforcement/confirmation') and *human rights and freedoms* ('values-oriented').

Second, due to the different text style and the consequent result, another policy paper was analysed, namely the Declaration of the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean in July 2008 (Paris Declaration). The PD consists of 20 pages, with the three pages making the annex. The PD is structured similar to the UfM communication in 33 paragraphs and sub-structured in ten sections, which again include the main objectives, projects and funding.

In the first reading, there were seven text passages identified for the typology of pragmatic argumentation. The example below is striking for the style of pragmatic argumentation: As the statement defines clearly the necessary things to do in order to achieve the preferences, it provides at the same time an instruction in order to achieve the preferences as safe, fast and targeted as possible.

'[...] the parties will consider **practical** steps to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapon. [...]' (Paris Declaration, 2008, p. 10)

Analytical, this text passage was derived from the presence of the headword *practical*, which belongs to the code 'pragmatic reasoning' under the sub-category 'purposive-rational'.

When reading the PD for the second time, the text was analysed for the presence of ethical argumentative style. Keeping in mind the coding agenda constructed for this thesis, five text passages were detected for arguing ethically. One of the safest examples for the presence of ethical argumentation has been the following one. 'Safest' in this context is equivalent to the high number of headwords in the train of thought.

'[...] They also affirm their ambition to build a common future based on the full **respect** of **democratic** principles, **human rights** and **fundamental freedoms**, as enshrined in **international human rights law**. [...]' (Paris Declaration, 2008, p. 10)

Five headwords could have been determined from the text passage above. *Respect* refers to the code 'respect', while *democratic* and *human rights* belong to the code 'fundamental human rights'. *Fundamental freedoms* is the headword

for the code 'fundamental freedoms'. Additionally, this example is interesting to be given due to another reason. *International human rights law* is categorised as headword for both codes: 'International law', since one definition for the headwords of this code (Charter of the United Nations, UDHR) is international human rights law, and 'fundamental human rights', due to the obvious equivalence of headword and code.

6 CONCLUSION

The analysis undertaken in the context of this thesis aimed at answering the research question, under which argumentation the EU justified its policies towards the Southern Mediterranean. The analysed policies are the main partnership agreements between the EU as a whole and its neighbouring countries in the Southern Mediterranean. The focus of this thesis was narrowed and specialised on the relation between the neighbouring states of the EU, where the Arab Spring occurred in 2011. By analysing the communication from the EU towards the states of the Arab spring in the 15 years preceding the uprisings, findings have emerged allowing to define the kind of argumentation by the EU on the one hand and leading to the development of hypotheses to build on in further research on the other hand. An interesting and current case study on the analysis of the communicative part of EU neighbourhood relations could provide insights in the identity of the European Union and its Member States. The theoretical framework, building on the model of argumentation by Jürgen Habermas, understands identity as the self-conception, natural character and lifestyle (Habermas, 1991, p.103). The way, the EU argues in its partnership agreements with its neighbourhood can substantiate assumptions on the 'why' of the European style of argumentation.

After the evaluation of the findings from the data analysis, such assumptions have been made in order to develop possible hypotheses to work with in future studies. However, the testing of such hypotheses would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis.

Seventy-one out of 99 text passages, coded by the Coding Agenda developed on basis of the Habermasian typology, were assigned to pragmatic argumentation. Twenty-eight text passages were assigned to ethical argumentation. No text passage could be assigned to moral argumentation.

Accordingly, the answer to the research question is, that the EU justified its policies towards the Southern Mediterranean mainly by pragmatic argumentation, while in approximately one-fourth of the cases it justified by ethical argumentation. This leads to the finding that the European Union does not justify its policies towards the Southern Mediterranean on basis of moral argumentation. The results of the analysis have to be understood as specific findings to the specific character of this case study: thus, the results have to be put into the context of the case study, namely the argumentation by the EU in the four policy papers analysed (Barcelona Declaration, European Neighbourhood Policy, Union for the Mediterranean, Paris Declaration) regarding the cooperation of the European Union with the states of the Arab Spring (Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia) between 1995 and 2010. The entire communication process going beyond the four policies between the EU and those states could not be analysed due to the limited access to protocols of informal meetings, internal communications and other types of communicative action between the participants regarding the partnership.

Nonetheless, the results of the analysis should be discussed further going beyond the answering of the research question. Regarding the term of 'justification' within the research question, the EU would have justified its argumentation by founding it on its preferences. Preferences in turn are defined by the European identity. The preferences and with it the argumentation is given a certain weight to built on. The argumentation can be justified by the identity. Following this train of thoughts in reverse, the conclusion can be made that the EU's identity is, while using mainly pragmatic argumentation, mainly a pragmatic one. The community of European states would define, according to the findings of this thesis and the theory of discourse ethics by Habermas, its shared identity in the partnership with the Southern Mediterranean as mainly pragmatic with some ethical attributes in terms of preferences primarily when it comes to international conventions of human rights and democracy.

But why did the European Union build its identity on its relations towards the Southern Mediterranean mainly on pragmatic reason? And could the choice of the type of argumentation have influence on the implementation of partnership agreements and the progress of envisaged goals, such as the implementation of democracy and the rule of law or the establishment of a close and sustainable socio-economic cooperation and shared prosperity? One could assume that the type of argumentation and with it the type of the European identity have influence on the implementation of partnership agreements. If there is a causal relation between the type of argumentation and the results of a partnership agreement can be studied by

a comparative research: Comparing the states of the Arab Spring as examples of failure cases in implementing partnership agreements with successful cases of European partnership with third countries, where the European preferences could be achieved - could be a possible approach for further research and could prove or disprove the causal relation between the type of argumentation and the results of a partnership agreement.

For research in the field of European identity, one can hypothesize that the self-perception and with it the identity of the EU according to Habermas' discourse ethics depends on the policy field. The references towards a 'common foreign and security policy' in Art.27 TEU let assume that a shared identity of the EU in the field of foreign affairs is strived. However, while for example economic policies allow solid shared preferences and with it a solid and shared identity, the multitude of different national identities strengthened in diplomatic relations make it difficult for the EU foreign affairs to create a shared identity. This leads to the question, why the EU did not use moral argumentation in the case of partnership policies towards the Southern Mediterranean. The lack of shared identity in its foreign affairs could be one reason for the EU not to fulfil the holistic approach by Habermas to justify its preferences on the basis of all three typologies of argumentation, the pragmatic, ethical and the moral. It could be assumed that the lack of shared identity, tantamount with a lack of shared preferences and in terms of moral argumentation a lack of shared values, could be the reason for the EU not to be able to justify its argumentation by pragmatic, ethical and moral reason.

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APPENDIX

App. 1: Text passages filtered by Content Analysis

Dokument + Page number	Pragmatic Argumentation	Ethical Argumentation
Barcelona Declaration (BD) 2		act in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights , as well as other obligations under international law,
		develop the rule of law and democracy in their political systems
	respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and guarantee the effective legitimate exercise of such rights and freedoms	respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and guarantee the effective legitimate exercise of such rights and freedoms
BD 3		
	The participants stress the importance of proper education in the matter of human rights and fundamental freedoms ;	The participants stress the importance of proper education in the matter of human rights and fundamental freedoms ;
		respect their sovereign equality and all rights inherent in their sovereignty, and fulfil in good faith the obligations they have assumed under international law;
		respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of international law
		respect the territorial integrity
		reaffirm the right to fully exercise sovereignty by legitimate means in accordance with the UN Charter and international law;
	strengthen their cooperation in preventing and combating terrorism, in particular by ratifying and applying the international instruments they have signed	
		by fulfilling in good faith their commitments under arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation conventions.
	consider any confidence and security-building measures that could be taken between the parties with a view to the creation of an "area of peace and stability in the Mediterranean"	
	The participants emphasize the importance they attach to sustainable and balanced economic and social development with a view to achieving their objective of creating an area of shared prosperity.	
BD 4	They agree, in view of the importance of their relations, to continue the dialogue in order to achieve progress in the competent fora.	
	With a view to achieving these objectives , the participants agree to establish an economic and financial partnership	
	With a view to developing gradual free trade in this area: tariff and nontariff barriers to trade in manufactured products will be progressively eliminated in accordance with timetables to be negotiated between the partners	
	The participants decide to facilitate the progressive establishment of this free-trade area through...	
	acknowledge that economic development must be supported both by internal savings, the basis of investment, and by direct foreign investment. They stress the importance of creating an environment conducive to investment, in particular by the progressive elimination of obstacles to such	

	investment which could lead to the transfer of technology and increase production and exports;	
BD 5	affirm that regional cooperation on a voluntary basis, particularly with a view to developing trade between the partners themselves, is a key factor in promoting the creation of a freetrade area	
	encourage enterprises to enter into agreements with each other and undertake to promote such cooperation and industrial modernization by providing a favourable environment and regulatory framework. They consider it necessary to adopt and to implement a technical support programme for SMEs	
	recognize the key role of women in development and undertake to promote their active participation in economic and social life and in the creation of employment;	
	stress the importance of the conservation and rational management of fish stocks and of the improvement of cooperation on research	
	acknowledge the pivotal role of the energy sector in the economic EuroMediterranean partnership and decide to strengthen cooperation and intensify dialogue in the field of energy policies	
	agree to promote cooperation on statistics in order to harmonize methods and exchange data.	
	The participants consider that the creation of a free-trade area and the success of the EuroMediterranean partnership require a substantial increase in financial assistance	
	they underline the importance of the health sector for sustainable development and express their intention of promoting the effective participation of the community in operations to improve health and well-being;	
BD 6	they recognize the importance of social development which, in their view, must go hand in hand with any economic development.	
	they accordingly agree to strengthen and/or introduce the necessary instruments of decentralized cooperation to encourage exchanges between those active in development within the framework of national laws	
	They agree to strengthen their cooperation to reduce migratory pressures	respecting the cultural identity of each partner
	the partners, aware of their responsibility for readmission, agree to adopt the relevant provisions and measures, by means of bilateral agreements or arrangements, in order to readmit their nationals who are in an illegal situation	
BD 7	they agree to strengthen cooperation by means of various measures to prevent terrorism	
BD 8 Annex	cooperation among statistics organizations with a view to providing reliable data on a harmonized basis;	They attach particular importance to respect for fundamental social rights , including the right to development;
	They attach particular importance to respect for fundamental social rights , including the right to development;	
BD 9 Annex	cooperation in this area will focus on support for policies implemented by them to diversify production	
	development of an efficient Trans-Mediterranean multimodal combined sea and air transport system, through the improvement and modernization of ports and airports	
	connection of Mediterranean transport networks to the Trans-European Network in order to ensure their interoperability	
BD 10 Annex	With a view to creating appropriate conditions for investment in and activities by energy companies,	

	future cooperation will focus on..	
	With a view to developing a modern, efficient telecommunications network, cooperation will focus on...	
	Intensification of EuroMediterranean exchanges and access to the nascent information society will be facilitated by more efficient information and communications infrastructures.	
	A regional conference is planned for 1996 with the aim of paving the way for pilot projects	
BD 11 Annex	making proposals to establish and subsequently update a short and mediumterm priority environmental action programme	
BD 12 Annex	Support will be given to periodic meetings of representatives of religions and religious institutions with the aim of breaking down prejudice, ignorance and fanaticism	
	officials and experts will meet in order to make concrete proposals for action	
BD 13 Annex	The EuroMediterranean partnership must contribute to improving the living and working conditions and increasing the employment level of the population in the Mediterranean partner States	The EuroMediterranean partnership must contribute to improving the living and working conditions and increasing the employment level of the population in the Mediterranean partner States
	the partners attach particular importance to the respect and promotion of basic social rights	the partners attach particular importance to the respect and promotion of basic social rights
	officials will meet periodically with the aim of strengthening cooperation	
	Officials will meet periodically to discuss practical measures which can be taken to improve cooperation among police, judicial, customs, administrative and other authorities in order to combat, in particular, drug trafficking and organised crime	
Wider Europe-Neighbourhood: A new Framework (ENP) 3	The EU must act to promote the regional and sub-regional cooperation and integration that are preconditions for political stability, economic development and the reduction of poverty and social divisions in our shared environment .	The EU must act to promote the regional and sub-regional cooperation and integration that are preconditions for political stability, economic development and the reduction of poverty and social divisions in our shared environment .
		the Union should take the opportunity offered by enlargement to enhance relations with its neighbours on the basis of shared values (Notably democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law , as set out within the EU in the Charter of Fundamental Rights)
ENP 4	In return for concrete progress demonstrating shared values and effective implementation of political, economic and institutional reforms, the EU's neighbourhood should benefit from the prospect of closer economic integration with the EU.	
ENP 6	The EU and the neighbours have a mutual interest in cooperating, both bilaterally and regionally, to ensure that their migration policies, customs procedures and frontier controls do not prevent or delay people or goods from crossing borders for legitimate purposes . Infrastructure, efficient border management and interconnected transport, energy and telecommunications networks will become more vital to expanding mutual trade and investment.	
	Equally, threats to mutual security will require joint approaches in order to be addressed comprehensively.	
	proximity policy must go hand-in-hand with action to tackle the root causes of the political instability, economic vulnerability, institutional deficiencies, conflict and poverty and social exclusion	
ENP 7	Democracy, pluralism, respect for human rights, civil liberties, the rule of law and core labour standards are all essential prerequisites for political stability, as well as for peaceful and sustained social and economic development.	Democracy, pluralism, respect for human rights, civil liberties, the rule of law and core labour standards are all essential prerequisites for political stability, as well as for peaceful and sustained social and economic development.

	Trade and investment are vital to improving economic growth and employment.	
ENP 8	Spreading the benefits of increased economic growth to all sectors of society requires positive action to promote social inclusion via mutually reinforcing economic, employment and social policies.	
ENP 9	A functioning legal system, implemented by strong regulatory authorities and effective and independent judiciaries equipped with the powers to protect property rights, are also required to maximise economic activity and production, and accelerate economic growth.	A functioning legal system, implemented by strong regulatory authorities and effective and independent judiciaries equipped with the powers to protect property rights, are also required to maximise economic activity and production, and accelerate economic growth.
ENP 11	The sequencing of economic rapprochement is important to ensure that liberalisation really helps development.	
	An efficient and user-friendly system for small border traffic is an essential part of any regional development policy.	
	Concluding readmission agreement with all the neighbours, starting with Morocco, Russia, Algeria, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, will be an essential element in joint efforts to curb illegal migration.	
ENP 12		Shared values , strong democratic institutions and a common understanding of the need to institutionalise respect for human rights will open the way for closer and more open dialogue
	The EU should take a more active role to facilitate settlement of the disputes over Palestine, the Western Sahara and Transdniestria	
		Shared values and mutual understanding provide the foundations for, inter alia, deeper political relations, enhanced cooperation on justice and security issues, environmental improvement and governance
	The EU should contribute to the development of a flourishing civil society to promote basic liberties such as freedom of expression and association . The EU also needs to make a greater effort to create a positive image in the neighbourhood and act to combat stereotypes	The EU should contribute to the development of a flourishing civil society to promote basic liberties such as freedom of expression and association . The EU also needs to make a greater effort to create a positive image in the neighbourhood and act to combat stereotypes
ENP 13	Full integration into EU markets and society requires compatible and interconnected infrastructure and networks	
	The EU should encourage and support telecommunications markets in the neighbouring countries, improving the availability of Internet access for business and private use and encouraging the growth of knowledge-based economies	
	the EU should take forward the opening of the European Research Area (ERA) to integrate the scientific communities of the neighbouring countries, exploit scientific results, stimulate innovation and develop human resources and research capacities.	
	Future agreements concluded with our neighbours could include reciprocal provisions granting companies national treatment for their operations as well to strengthen the overall framework to protect investment.	
	The EU should continue to assist the fight against corruption, strengthening of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary .	The EU should continue to assist the fight against corruption, strengthening of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary .
	The EU should help to enhance business-to-business dialogue initiatives,	
ENP 14	The IFIs have a key role to play in reducing poverty, helping to mitigate the social consequences of transition, assisting accelerated reform and increased investment as well as developing infrastructure and the private sector.	
ENP 15	The EU should ensure the IFIs take adequate account of the importance of spending on education, health and social safety net provisions in their policies towards the neighbouring	

	countries.	
ENP 16	While the EU should aim to ensure a more coherent approach, offering the same opportunities across the wider neighbourhood, and asking in return the same standards of behaviour from each of our neighbours, differentiation between countries would remain the basis for the new neighbourhood policy.	
	These should be political documents – drawing together existing and future work in the full range of the EU's relations with its neighbours, in order to set out clearly the over- arching strategic policy targets and benchmarks by which progress can be judged over several years.	
		key benchmarks should include the ratification and implementation of international commitments which demonstrate respect for shared values , in particular the values codified in the UN Human Rights Declaration , the OSCE and Council of Europe standards.
Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) 3	The partnership has also overseen efforts to strengthen democracy and political pluralism by the expansion of participation in political life and continues to promote the embracing of all human rights and freedoms .	The partnership has also overseen efforts to strengthen democracy and political pluralism by the expansion of participation in political life and continues to promote the embracing of all human rights and freedoms .
Paris Declaration (PD) 9	To achieve these common objectives participants agree to continue with renewed dynamism the quest for peace and cooperation, to explore their joint problems and transform these good intentions into actions in a renewed partnership for progress.	To achieve these common objectives participants agree to continue with renewed dynamism the quest for peace and cooperation, to explore their joint problems and transform these good intentions into actions in a renewed partnership for progress.
		by fulfilling in good faith their commitments under arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation conventions.
PD 10	The parties shall pursue a mutually and effectively verifiable Middle East Zone free of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological, and their delivery systems.	
	the parties will consider practical steps to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapon	
	at the same time reaffirming their resolve to achieve the same degree of security and mutual confidence with the lowest possible levels of troops and weaponry and adherence to CCW; promote conditions likely to develop good-neighbourly relations among themselves and support processes aimed at stability, security, prosperity and regional and subregional cooperation	
		They also affirm their ambition to build a common future based on the full respect of democratic principles, human rights and fundamental freedoms , as enshrined in international human rights law
PD 11	they reaffirm their commitment to fully implement the Code of Conduct on Countering Terrorism in order to enhance the security of all citizens within a framework that ensures respect of the rule of law and human rights , particularly through more effective counter-terrorism policies and deeper co-operation to dismantle all terrorist activities	they reaffirm their commitment to fully implement the Code of Conduct on Countering Terrorism in order to enhance the security of all citizens within a framework that ensures respect of the rule of law and human rights , particularly through more effective counter-terrorism policies and deeper co-operation to dismantle all terrorist activities
	confirm their commitment to do their utmost effort with a view to resolving conflict, ending occupation, confronting oppression, reducing poverty, promoting human rights and good governance, improving intercultural understanding and ensuring respect for all religions and beliefs.	confirm their commitment to do their utmost effort with a view to resolving conflict, ending occupation, confronting oppression, reducing poverty, promoting human rights and good governance, improving intercultural understanding and ensuring respect for all religions and beliefs.

PD 12	Heads of State and Government underline that the Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean aims to achieve a future of peace and shared prosperity in the entire region by implementing projects that will enhance the flow of exchanges among the people of the whole region.	
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App. 2: List of categories, sub-categories, codes and headwords

			Barcelona Declaration	Wider Europe-Neighbourhood: A new Framework	Union for the Mediterranean	Paris Declaration	Sum	
Pragmatic Argumentation								
purposive-rational								
	goal directed							
		in order to	VI	II	-	I	9	
		it requires	I	IV	-	-	5	
		objectives	II	-	-	I	3	
		purpose	-	I	-	-	1	
		with a view to	X	-	-	-	10	
		with the aim	III	I	-	II	6	
	pragmatic reasoning							
		effective/efficient	IV	IV	-	II	10	
		essential	-	III	-	-	3	
		important	-	I	-	-	1	
		necessary	II	-	-	-	2	
		practical	I	-	-	I	2	
		progressive	III	-	-	-	3	
technical and strategically instructions for action								
	call for action							
		action	II	II	-	-	4	
		improvement	IV	III	-	I	8	
	reinforcement/confirmation							
		to achieve	I	-	-	II	3	
		to develop	IV	III	-	I	8	
		to encourage	II	I	-	-	3	
		to ensure	I	IV	-	I	6	
		to maximise	-	I	-	-	1	
		to promote	V	II	I	-	8	
		to stimulate	-	I	-	-	1	
		to strengthen	VI	II	I	-	9	
		to stress	III	-	-	-	3	
		to support	I	I	-	I	3	
		to take forward	-	I	-	-	1	
Ethical Argumentation								
values-oriented								
	International Law & UN-Charta							
		Independence of the Judiciary	I	-	-	-	1	
		United Nations Charter	III	I	-	-	4	

		Universal Declaration of Human Rights	I	-	-	-	1	
	Fundamental Freedoms		II	I	I	I	5	
	Fundamental Human Rights							
		democracy	I	II	I	-	4	
		civil liberties	-	II	-	-	2	
		core labour standards	-	I	-	-	1	
		cultural identity	I	-	-	-	1	
		Fundamental social rights	II	I	-	-	3	
		rule of law	I	III	-	I	5	
clinical advises for the right								
	respect							
		respect	VII	III	-	I	11	
		shared values	-	IV	-	-	4	
	in good faith/ the good							
		good	II	-		II	4	
			82	55	4	18	159	SUM