

**Annex to**

**Scratching the Heart of the Artichoke?  
How International Institutions and the EU  
Constrain the State Monopoly of Force**

**Information on coding procedure,  
computer aided qualitative data analysis and documents analyzed**

In our study, we attempt to measure the strength of international institutions in the field of international policing with three ordinal scales. Table 1 in the main article presents these scales in detail. Table 2 provides an overview of the issues analyzed and explains the abbreviations used to identify them. While our article summarizes the results, this accompanying text aims to provide a transparent and reproducible account of the coding procedure used to arrive at these results. We also provide a complete list of the documents included in the analysis as well as the data file with all documents and our codings.

**Description of data**

The issues analyzed cover a number of rather different topics and are spread over more than 40 years. In selecting the documents for analysis we were guided by the idea that the cases should reflect the central issues debated in the field of international policing in two time periods, the 1960s and 1970s on the one hand and the 1990s and 2000s on the other. To identify the central issues, we adopted the perspective of the actors who saw terrorism and drugs as the major international threats in both time periods. Terrorism is perceived as a direct threat to the state because it attempts to change the prevailing political order. Drugs are considered as the largest of all illegal markets, as being against public morality and linked to numerous other areas of criminal activity. Finally, unlike other themes of international policing such as human trafficking or corruption, both themes

have been on the international agenda for more than forty years. This gives us a large enough time span for measuring changes in the strength of international institutions in the field of policing.

As we selected the issues we analyzed according to their importance we did not restrict our sample to a specific type of organization (e.g. the UN or the EU) or to a specific type of documents (e.g. only international treaties or EU legislation). Rather, we searched for documents providing hints to the strength of international institutions concerning the crucial issues we had identified. This also allowed us to trace how issues have moved from one institutional forum to another.

One major challenge of this approach consisted in the selection of documents to be analyzed. Sometimes, the choice was straightforward. This was for instance the case with the UN conventions on drug prohibition needed for defining drugs in the cases *Drug-Leg-60s* and *Drug-Leg-90s*, because they constituted the key policy instruments dealing with the issue. Other cases were less obvious and needed a broader document base. This was for instance necessary for analyzing the cases of information and intelligence sharing with respect to terrorism (cases *Terr-Meth-60s* and *Terr-Meth-90s*) since these issues were not dealt with in a single legislative document but in a variety of measures with varying status, ranging from bilateral treaties to internal guidelines. In all cases, the criterion for document selection has been centrality in the respective case.

Overall, our document database contained about 450 documents of different types, such as treaty texts, speeches by key actors, internal notes or minutes of meetings between police officers. Some of the documents were easily available on the websites of the EU, the UN or the Council of Europe. For information on the 1960s and 1970s in the terrorism cases in particular, research in official governmental archives (the German *Federal Archive*, the French *Foreign Ministry Archive*, the French *Centre des Archives Contemporaines* and the British *National Archives*) was necessary because many of the documents were kept secret at the time and are only now being declassified after the usual 30 year delay.

### **Coding procedure**

In light of the variety and wealth of material, we decided to code our data. In the broadest sense, coding consists of assigning labels – ‘codes’ – to ‘different segments or instances in the data’ (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 27). Coding helps to organize and retrieve data, brings those fragments together that have something in common (or that are defined to have something in common) and links all those data fragments to a particular idea or concept. Accordingly, codes are ‘tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study’ (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 56).

Based on our scales, we created three code families before we started to code the data. The respective categories within our scales became the sub-codes of each code family. For instance, the scale of the legislative function (decision-making) has five sub-codes: segments in the text are assigned to the code ‘none-mutual adjustment’, whenever states merely act strategically in reaction to the moves of other states, do not cooperate at all or react with unilateral ‘friendly behavior’ (one state offers the other access to information but has not made a promise to keep doing so). In our scale, the sub-code has a value of 0. We proceeded in a similar manner with the other sub-codes of the legislation scale and with the executive and adjudication scales.

If a segment was considered to be relevant, but could not be assigned clearly to one code, it was assigned to the code ‘undecided’ in the respective code families. The code families are displayed in the following table:

Code family	Sub-Codes
legislation: decision-making	0 = none (mutual adjustment) 1 = negotiation 2 = compulsory negotiation 3 = voting after compulsory negotiation 4 = hierarchy
execution: precision	0 = impossible to determine whether conduct complies 1 = 'Standards': only meaningful with reference to specific situations 2 = broad areas of discretion 3 = narrow areas of discretion
adjudication: dispute settlement	0 = states decide, accused state has veto 1 = states decide, accused state has no veto 2 = disputants control selection of third-party judges 3 = disputes are decided by independent court

Thus, the overall approach to generate the code system was deductive as all our codes derive from our theoretical conceptualizations. This implies, first, that the concept of a code is handled inflexibly, i.e. the code families match our three functions and the sub-codes represent the values on the scales of the respective function. Second, the sub-codes are mutually exclusive. As a consequence, a text segment can only be assigned to *one* sub-code *within* a code family but it can be assigned to more than one sub-code as long as they are from *different* code families.

With regard to reliability, we cross-checked our codings by having two people code the documents independently and exchange their results only afterwards. Differences in coding arose only in a very limited number of cases which were settled by agreeing on a more precise operationalization and a subsequent recoding of the respective text segments.

Not all of the analyzed documents have been coded. Many documents provided us with valuable background information to understand the cases. We thus used them for our analysis and included them in the database. As they did not contain information that was relevant for our research question, they were not coded.

### **Use of computer aided qualitative analysis**

With a corpus of roughly 450 documents, it is advisable to use a computer program in order to systematize the empirical material, to document the research process comprehensively and ensure its transparency and plausibility, and, finally, to base our quantifications on a solid qualitative analysis. Furthermore, the software simplifies the practical organization of the material and the analytical work as it enables the researcher to constantly and instantly verify decisions directly at the relevant text lines and allows them to be revised and adapted if necessary (Diaz-Bone and Schneider, 2003: 485). We have chosen MAXQDA for this task as it is well-established among qualitative researchers and has a free reader for viewing the data and coding. With its functions of analysis such as searching for co-occurrences or intersections of codes, MAXQDA provides the main tools necessary for the coding process in a qualitative analysis.

We are aware that MAXQDA brings some specific methodological assumptions due to its proximity to grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). However, in this respect our choice of software is purely pragmatic. While grounded theory aims at data expansion in order to arrive at more abstract concepts that allow in turn the generation of theories and frameworks, our approach aims at data reduction. We needed to reduce the wealth and variety of information in our data by organizing and assigning particular segments to a limited set of codes. These codes are developed deductively and used merely for marking and retrieving specific text passages (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 28-30).

Overall, the instrumental benefit and flexibility of the use of MAXQDA for the present study outweighed the differences between our approach and the methodological presuppositions of grounded theory. Readers interested in our material and our coding can access our MAXQDA project with the free MAXQDA-Reader available at [www.maxqda.com](http://www.maxqda.com).

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### **List of documents included in the database**

In the following, we list the documents that have been included in our project. The documents are arranged, first, according to the issue to which they belong, i.e. first the documents pertaining to drugs, second the ones pertaining to terrorism. Second, within these two rubrics they are organized according to the institution which issued the document, i.e. documents either came from an international institution like the EU or UN or from national sources. The latter category comprised a great variety of different sources and has been organized by country. In order to provide a comprehensive but not too complicated overview, within these rubrics official, archival documents or newspaper and magazine articles are listed alphabetically.

#### **1. Drugs**

##### ***United Nations***

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### **European Union**

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- Foreign & Commonwealth Office (1973), *Initiatives of the USA on narcotics*, FCO 61/1083.
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- Home News (2002), *Britain Pioneers Anti-Drugs Team*, 14 February 2002.
- Home Office Circular (2002), *No title given*, HOC 53/2002 01.10.2002, 1 October 2002.
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<sup>1</sup> Centre des Archives Contemporaines (CAC) at Fontainebleau ([http://www.sceau-archives-ovni.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=category&id=39&Itemid=62&lang=en](http://www.sceau-archives-ovni.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=39&Itemid=62&lang=en))

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