

## **Additional Material**

Annika E. Poppe, Whither to, Obama? U.S. Democracy Promotion after the Cold War, PRIF Report No. 96, Frankfurt/M. 2010

1. Figures 1-3 and Table 1-2: Results of all Categories
2. List of all Coded Documents (Content Analysis)

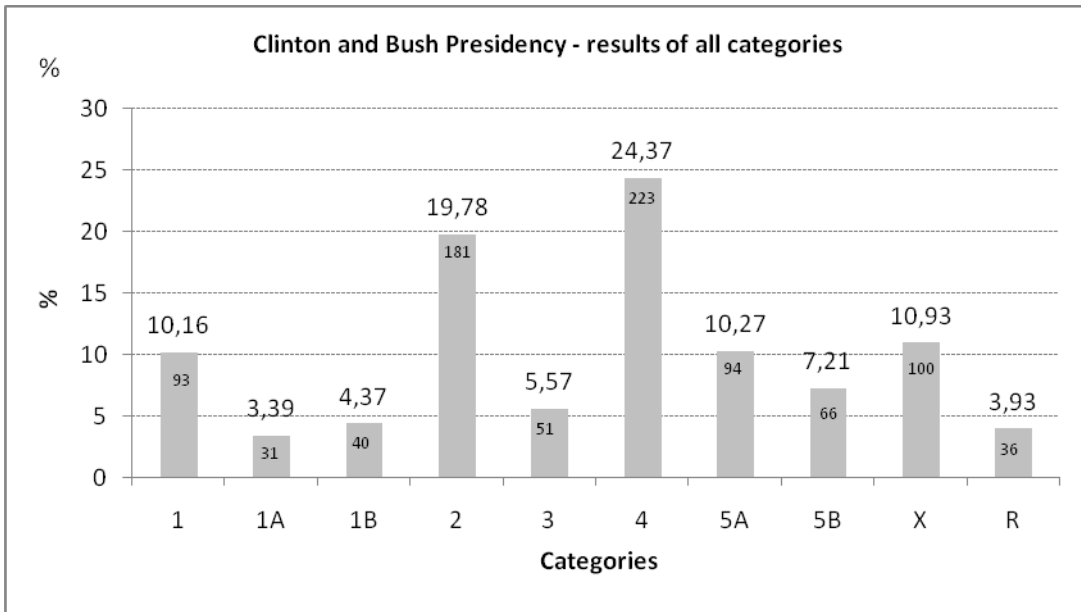
### **1. Figures 1-3 and Table 1-2: Results of all Categories**

The following figures and tables show the content analysis' results for all categories. In the figures, the smaller numbers inside the bars indicate the incidence of an argument. Numbers above the bars indicate the relative percentage of the argument's frequency to the total number of arguments.

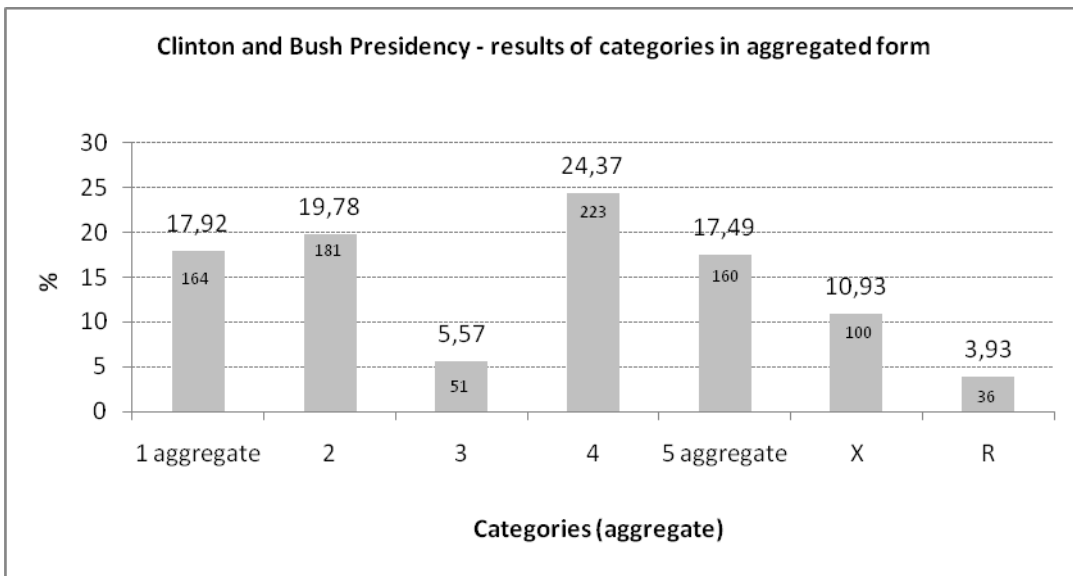
#### Legend: Categories of arguments pro democracy promotion

- Category 1: establishment/strengthening of liberal-democratic world order  
*non-specific*
- Category 1A: establishment/strengthening of liberal-democratic world order  
*emphasis on democracies 'producing good'*
- Category 1B: establishment/strengthening of liberal-democratic world order  
*emphasis on democracies fighting/enlightening enemies*
- Category 2: strengthening U.S. national security
- Category 3: strengthening U.S. economy
- Category 4: fulfilling/strengthening U.S. mission/identity/role
- Category 5A: providing material benefits for others
- Category 5B: providing non-material benefits for others
- Category X: strengthening U.S. national interest
- Category R: residual arguments

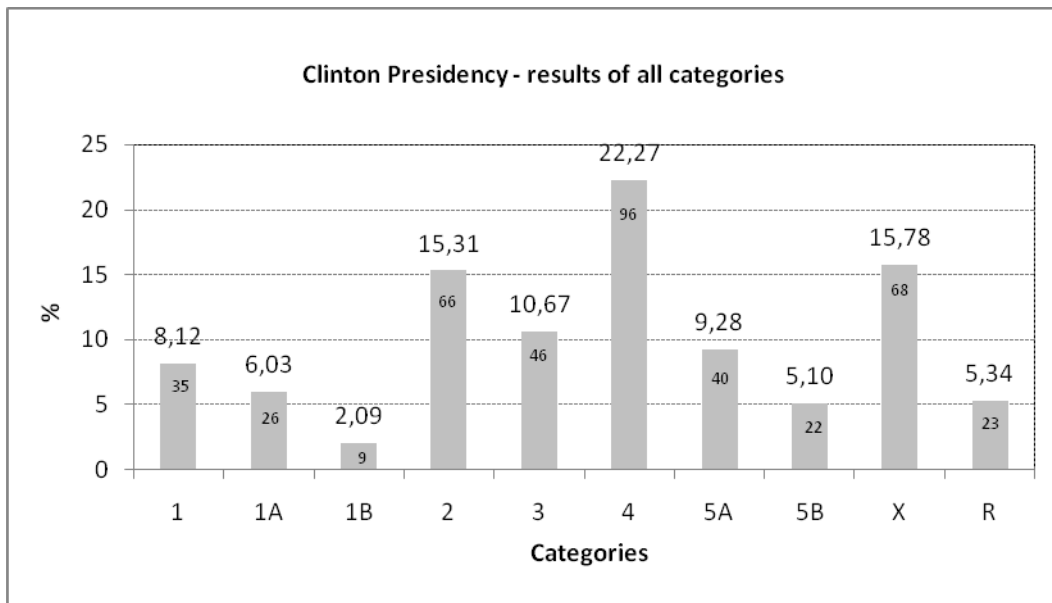
**Figure 1a: Clinton and Bush Presidency – results of all categories**



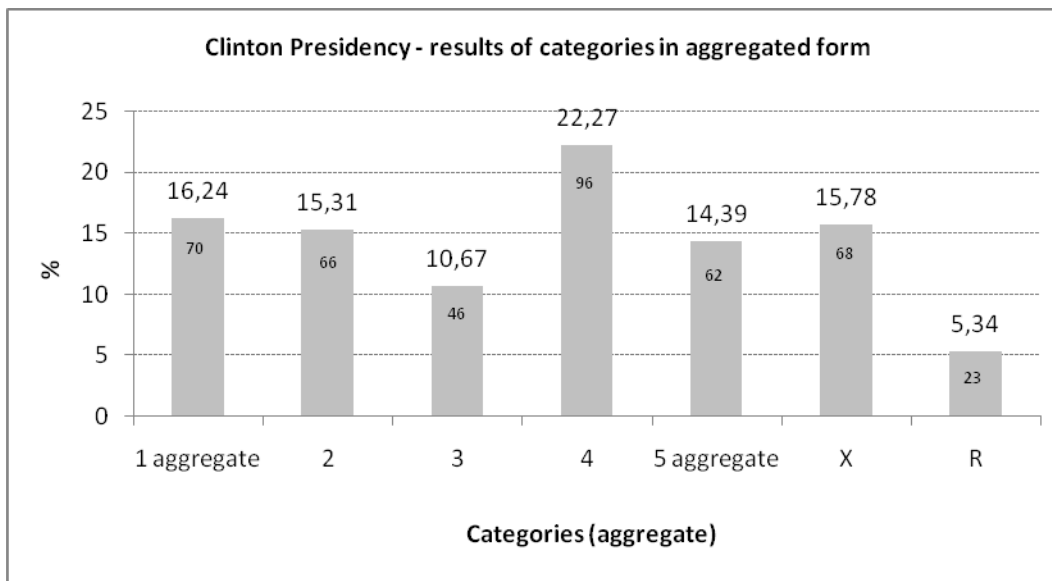
**Figure 1b: Clinton and Bush Presidency – results of all categories in aggregated form**



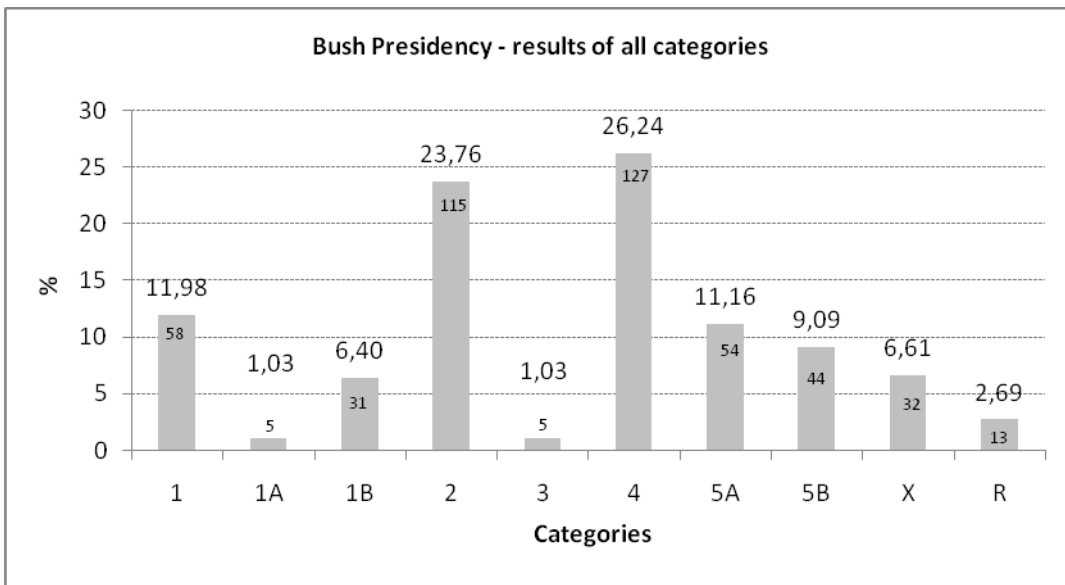
**Figure 2a: Clinton Presidency – results of all categories**



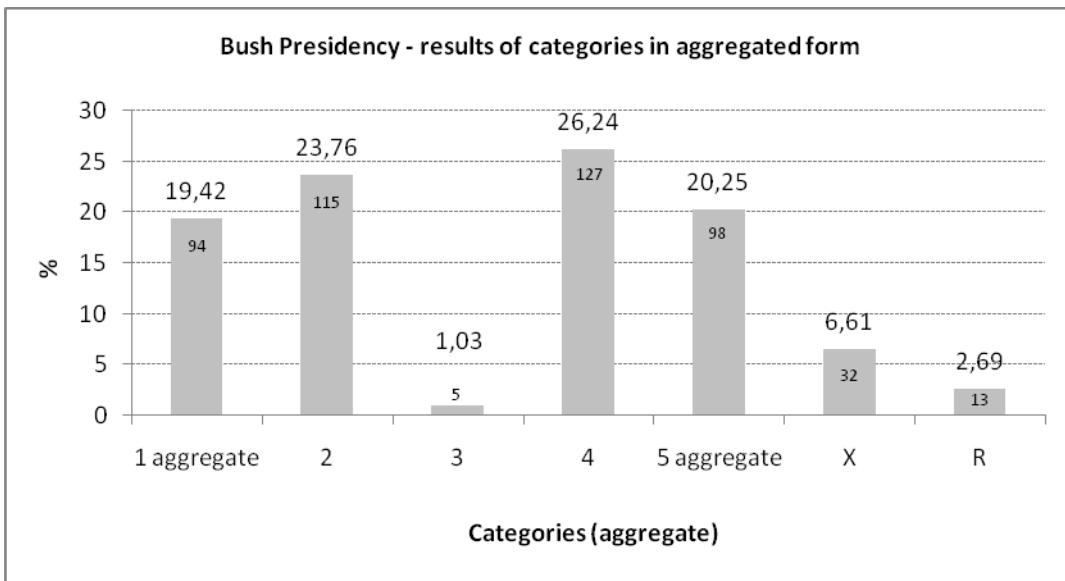
**Figure 2b: Clinton Presidency – results of categories in aggregated form**



**Figure 3a: Bush Presidency – results of all categories**



**Figure 3b: Bush Presidency – results of categories in aggregated form**



**Table 1: Incidence of all Arguments in all Samples**

Category	Clinton Adm. Occurrence (%)	Bush Adm. Occurrence (%)	All Adms. Occurrence (%)
1	35 (8,12)	58 (11,98)	93 (10,16)
1A	26 (6,03)	5 (1,03)	31 (3,39)
1B	9 (2,09)	31 (6,4)	40 (4,37)
2	66 (15,31)	115 (23,76)	181 (19,78)
3	46 (10,67)	5 (1,03)	51 (5,57)
4	96 (22,27)	127 (26,24)	223 (24,37)
5A	40 (9,28)	54 (11,16)	94 (10,27)
5B	22 (5,1)	44 (9,09)	66 (7,21)
X	68 (15,78)	32 (6,61)	100 (10,93)
R	23 (5,34)	13 (2,69)	36 (3,93)
Total	431	484	915

This table shows the incidence of all arguments for the Clinton administrations and the Bush administrations as well as for the combined count of all administrations in comparison. Numbers in brackets indicate the percentage rate relative to a sample's total count.

**Table 2: Incidence of all Arguments in all Samples (aggregated categories)**

Category	Clinton Adm. Occurrence (%)	Bush Adm. Occurrence (%)	All Adms. Occurrence (%)
1 aggregate	70 (16,24)	94 (19,42)	164 (17,92)
2	66 (15,31)	115 (23,76)	181 (19,78)
3	46 (10,67)	5 (1,03)	51 (5,57)
4	96 (22,27)	127 (26,24)	223 (24,37)
5 aggregate	62 (14,39)	98 (20,25)	160 (17,49)
X	68 (15,78)	32 (6,61)	100 (10,93)
R	23 (5,34)	13 (2,69)	36 (3,93)
Total	431	484	915

This table shows the incidence of all arguments in aggregated form for the Clinton administrations and the Bush administrations as well as for the combined count of all administrations in comparison. Numbers in brackets indicate the percentage rate relative to a sample's total count.

## 2. List of all Coded Documents (Content Analysis)

The following tables list all documents coded for the qualitative content analysis.

### Clinton Administrations

Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
William J. Clinton President	First Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1993
William J. Clinton President	Remarks by President Clinton to Conference on US-Africa Partnership for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century, Department of State, Washington, D.C., March 16, 1999
William J. Clinton Governor of Arkansas	A New Covenant for American Security, Remarks to Students at Georgetown University, December 12, 1991
William J. Clinton President	Statement on International Broadcasting Programs, June 15, 1993
William J. Clinton President	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at Waseda University in Tokyo, July 7, 1993
William J. Clinton President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. January 25, 1994
William J. Clinton President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. January 24, 1995
William J. Clinton President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. January 23, 1996
William J. Clinton President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. February 4, 1997
William J. Clinton President	Remarks to Family, Friends, the People of Arkansas, and the People of the United States, Old State House, Little Rock, Arkansas November 5, 1996
William J. Clinton President	Remarks on Signing the Human Rights Proclamation, December 10, 1996
William J. Clinton President	Remarks by President Clinton on Keeping America Secure for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., January 22, 1999
William J. Clinton President	Letter to the House of Representatives, October 18, 1999
William J. Clinton President	Remarks by the President at American University Centennial Celebration, Bender Arena, American University, Washington, D.C., February 26, 1993
William J. Clinton President	Remarks by the President to the 75 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Edmund J. Walsh School of Foreign Policy, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., November 10, 1994
William J. Clinton President	Veterans Day 1994, A Proclamation October 27, 1994
William J. Clinton President	Remarks by the President in Freedom House Speech, The Hyatt Regency, Washington, D.C. October 6, 1995

Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	America's Leadership, America's Opportunity, Foreign Policy 98, Spring 1995, 6-28
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Budget Priorities for Shaping a New Foreign Policy, Statement before the Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary of the House Appropriations Committee, Washington, D.C., March 10, 1993
Warren Christopher Secretary of State – Designate	Statement at Senate Confirmation Hearing, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., January 13, 1993
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Address at Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Executives' Club of Chicago and Mid-America Committee, Chicago, Illinois, March 22, 1993
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Remarks at Fourth World Conference of the National Endowment for Democracy Washington, D.C., April 26, 1993
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Remarks at the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, Austria, June 14, 1993
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Speech at University of Washington, Seattle November 17, 1993
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Address at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, Massachusetts January 20, 1995
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., February 15, 1995
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Address before the John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 18, 1996
Warren Christopher Secretary of State	Press Briefing by Secretary of State Christopher, Main Press Tent, Port of Miami, Miami, Florida December 10, 1994

Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Address to the National Democratic Institute, Presentation of the 11 <sup>th</sup> Annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award Washington, D.C., November 5, 1997
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Remarks at U.S. Agency for International Development Conference on Promoting Democracy, Human Rights, and Reintegration in Post-Conflict Societies, Washington Renaissance Hotel, Washington, D.C., October 31, 1997
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Prepared statement before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1997
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Prepared statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., January 8, 1997
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., February 10, 1998
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Remarks at Tennessee State University Nashville, Tennessee, February 19, 1998
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Opening Remarks Before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations,

	Washington, D.C., June 16, 1998
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations on the Occasion of the Inaugural Event of the Peter G. Peterson Center for International Studies, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., January 19, 1999
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee On Fiscal Year 2000 Budget, Washington, D.C., February 24, 1999
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	The Rostov Lecture Series, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University Washington, D.C., January 18, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Address to the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, January 30, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Remarks on the FY-2001 International Affairs Budget Request, Washington, D.C., February 7, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Opening Remarks on Fiscal Year 2001 International Affairs Budget before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., February 8, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Opening Statement before the Senate Budget Committee, Washington, D.C., February 11, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Statement before the House International Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., February 16, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Testimony before the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, March 15, 2000, Washington, D.C.
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Speech at University of World Economy and Diplomacy, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, April 17, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Remarks to the National Democratic Institute International Leaders Forum, Pasadena, California, August 13, 2000
Madeleine K. Albright Secretary of State	Address before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and the Mid-America Committee, Chicago, IL, January 17, 2001

Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
Strobe Talbott Deputy Secretary of State	Address at Conference on Diplomacy and Preventive Defense, Co-sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict and the Stanford-Harvard Preventive Defense Project, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, January 16, 1999
Strobe Talbott Deputy Secretary of State	Democracy and the National Interest, Foreign Affairs 75: 6, Nov/Dec 1996, 47-63
Strobe Talbott Deputy Secretary of State	Democracy and the International Interest, Remarks to the Denver Summit of the Eighth Initiative on Democracy and Human Rights, October 1, 1997
Strobe Talbott Deputy Secretary of State	Self-Determination in an Interdependent World, Foreign Policy, Spring 2000, 152-163



Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
Anthony Lake Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	Remarks on the Occasion of the 10 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Center for Democracy, Washington, D.C., September 26, 1995
Anthony Lake Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	From Containment to Enlargement, Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C., September 21, 1993
Anthony Lake Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	The Reach of Democracy; Tying Power to Diplomacy, The New York Times, September 23, 1994
Anthony Lake Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	Confronting Backlash States, Foreign Affairs 73:2, March/April 1994, 45-55

Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
Samuel R. Berger Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	American Power: Hegemony, Isolationism or Engagement, The Council on Foreign Relations, As Prepared for Delivery, October 21, 1999

## Bush Administrations

Speaker	Title/Location/Date
George W. Bush President	President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy, Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, Washington, D.C., October 6, 2005
George W. Bush President	Second Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 2005
George W. Bush President	First Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C., January 20, 2001
George W. Bush President	President Discusses the Future of Iraq, Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 26, 2003
George W. Bush President	President Bush Discusses Freedom in Iraq and Middle East, Remarks by the President at the 20 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy, United States Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C., November 6, 2003
George W. Bush President	Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in New York City, NY, September 2, 2004
George W. Bush President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., January 29, 2002
George W. Bush President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., January 28, 2004
George W. Bush President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., February 2, 2005
George W. Bush President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., January 31, 2006
George W. Bush President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., January 23, 2007
George W. Bush President	The President's State of the Union Address The United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., January 28, 2008
George W. Bush President	Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., September 20, 2001
George W. Bush President	President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, June 1, 2002
George W. Bush President	President Bush Visits Prague, Czech Republic, Discusses Freedom, Large Hall, Czernin Palace, Prague, Czech Republic, June 5, 2007
George W. Bush President	Remarks on Signing the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, 2004, November 6, 2003

Speaker	Title/Location/Date
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	A Strategy of Partnerships, Foreign Affairs 83: 1, Jan/Feb 2004, 22-34
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State - Designate	Confirmation Hearing by Secretary-Designate Colin L. Powell, Washington, D.C., January 17, 2001
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks at the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Center, Residential Palace, Brussels, Belgium, December 8, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Keynote Address of the 60th Anniversary Dinner of the School of Advanced International Studies The Johns Hopkins University, Secretary Colin L. Powell, Recipient of The Johns Hopkins University President's Medal, Embassy of Italy, Washington, D.C., October 13, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks on The Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2003, Washington, D.C., February 25, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	The Work of a Hemisphere, Op-Ed, The New York Times, April 19, 2001
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks at the Development, Democracy and Security Bretton Woods Committee Conference, Ronald Reagan Building, Washington, D.C., September 30, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks at the 2004 Herbert Quandt Distinguished Lecture, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., September 10, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Ongoing U.S. Efforts to Assist the People of Iraq, At the U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., July 15, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Wake Forest University 2004 Commencement Ceremony, Winston-Salem, North Carolina May 17, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Annual B.C. Lee Luncheon Lecture to the Heritage Foundation, Ronald Reagan Building & International Trade Center, Washington, D.C., March 2, 2004
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks at The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., September 5, 2003
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Release of the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2001, Remarks to the Press Washington, D.C., March 4, 2002
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks at the Annual Conference of the Council of the Americas, Washington, D.C., May 6, 2002
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks Upon Receipt of 14th Annual Philadelphia Liberty Medal, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 4, 2002
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Statement to the Community of Democracies Statement delivered by Under Secretary Paula J. Dobriansky on behalf of Secretary Powell, Seoul, South Korea, November 10, 2002
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks on Receiving the 2003 George C. Marshall Foundation Award, National Building Museum, Washington, D.C., November 12, 2003
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks at Briefing on the State Department's 2002 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Washington, D.C., March 31, 2003
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Crisis and Opportunity: Realizing the Hopes of a Hemisphere, Remarks to Council of the Americas' 33rd Annual Washington Conference, Loy Henderson Conference Room, Washington, D.C.,

	April 28, 2003
Colin L. Powell Secretary of State	Remarks on the Occasion of George Kennan's Centenary Birthday, Princeton, New Jersey February 20, 2004

Speaker/Position	Title/Location/Date
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Meeting With Members of the Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion, Washington, D.C., April 16, 2007
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks at the American University in Cairo Cairo, Egypt, June 20, 2005
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks On Transformational Diplomacy, East Auditorium, Washington, D.C., February 8, 2007
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks at Georgetown School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., January 18, 2006
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Rethinking the National Interest, Foreign Affairs, Jul/Aug 2008, 87:4, 2-26
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Inaugural Meeting of Members of the Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion, Washington, D.C., November 6, 2006
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Princeton University's Celebration of the 75 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, NJ, September 30, 2005
Condoleezza Rice National Security Advisor - Designate	Promoting the National Interest – Exercising Power Without Arrogance, Op-ed Column, The Chicago Tribune, December 31, 2000
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks at the U.S. Agency for International Development On Foreign Assistance, Washington, D.C., January 19, 2006
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks at the Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion, Washington, D.C., October 8, 2008
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks on Transformational Diplomacy, Gaston Hall, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., February 12, 2008
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	International Relations Budget for Fiscal Year 2009, Opening Remarks Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Washington, D.C., February 13, 2008
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Keynote Address at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, January 23, 2008
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	The Promise of Democratic Peace, Op-Ed, The Washington Post, December 11, 2005
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks at the U.S. Global Leadership Campaign's 10th Anniversary Gala Dinner, Atrium Ballroom of the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, Washington, D.C., November 8, 2005
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	Remarks With Senator Richard Lugar on the U.S. Department of State and the Challenges of the 21st Century, Washington, D.C., July 29, 2005
Condoleezza Rice Secretary of State	President's FY 2006 International Affairs Budget Request, Prepared Remarks Before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, House Appropriations Committee, Washington, D.C., February 16, 2005

Speaker	Title/Location/Date
Paula J. Dobriansky Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs	Democracy Promotion – The Core of U.S. Foreign Policy (Rebuttal to Thomas Carothers), Foreign Affairs 82:3, May/June 2003, 141-144
Paula J. Dobriansky Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs	Aiming High, Foreign Affairs 85:1, Jan/Feb 2006, 135-137

Speaker	Title/Location/Date
Stephen Hadley National Security Advisor	Remarks by National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley on the Middle East and Freedom Agenda, Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, November 28, 2007