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### About the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* (KFG)

The diffusion of ideas has become a central research theme in political science, sociology, law, history, and economics. In this context, the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* (KFG) focuses on how ideas are spread across time and space, as can be observed especially in the European Union in various socio-political fields.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* (KFG) is a new funding program launched by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – DFG) in 2008. As a Research College, it is intended to provide a scientifically stimulating environment in which innovative research topics can be dealt with by discourse and debate within a small group of senior and junior researchers.

## Editorial



Prof. Tanja A. Börzel & Prof. Thomas Risse

Dear friends and colleagues of the *Kolleg-Forscherguppe*,

Welcome, once again, to our *Kolleg-Forscherguppe* (KFG) “The Transformative Power of Europe”! This is our altogether fourth newsletter informing you about what is going on at the KFG. Here are some highlights of what has happened since spring:

This fall, the third group of post-doctoral fellows has arrived, selected from more than 60 applicants. We look forward to working with them. Moreover, a special welcome to Profs. Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks (both from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) and David Levi-Faur (Hebrew University Jerusalem) who will spend the coming year at the KFG! Profs. Hooghe and Marks have worked extensively on multi-level governance and will contribute to our focus on comparative regionalism, while David Levi-Faur has done remarkable work on policy diffusion and on regulatory agencies.

The KFG’s focus so far has been on norm and rule transfers within the EU and beyond, on European identity, European public sphere and on comparative regionalism. As to norm and rule transfers, Tanja Börzel and Carina Sprungk are currently summarizing major findings in a book on compliance with EU law. As to European identity, Thomas Risse’s new book *A Community of Europeans?* just came out with Cornell University Press (see abstract below; see also the contributions of Christiane Eilders and Jürgen Gerhards in this newsletter).

Work on a European public sphere continues at the KFG, with Marianne van de Steeg and Thomas Risse working on an edited volume devoted to stock-taking and to exploring new frontiers of research.

The EU’s norm and rule transfer beyond its borders is the subject of a special issue of *West European Politics* on “When Europeanization Travels” and its limits will be explored in a book Tanja Börzel plans to work on next year.

European identity and European public sphere and EU norm and rule transfer will be continued in the framework of the KFG, but increasingly within a larger context of comparative regionalism which is quickly becoming a major focus of the KFG’s activities (see programme at the end of this newsletter). This includes our second international conference to be held in Berlin in December 2010. As last year, we issued an international call for papers, and once again, we were overwhelmed by the response of almost 90 applications for about 20 slots in the program.

In the meantime, we had to say goodbye to Vivien Schmidt and Jolyon Howorth. Vivien led several workshops on “discursive institutionalism” at the KFG bringing together scholars working on the role of language and discourses. Vivien was back at the KFG this October for an international workshop on “The Single Currency and European Citizenship” which she co-organized with Giovanni Moro from the FONDACA foundation and the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence “Europe and its Citizens”. Vivien’s contribution in this newsletter focuses on economic solidarity and the financial crisis.

Jolyon Howorth introduced us to the EU’s foreign and security policy as an (often failing) attempt to diffuse European ideas across the globe (or not). See his piece in this newsletter!

As you can see from this brief report, the *Kolleg-Forscherguppe* continues to be an active and extremely lively center of activities in EU studies. We hope that you enjoy reading this newsletter.

Best regards,

Tanja A. Börzel      Thomas Risse  
Research Directors

# KFG-Conference on “The Diffusion of Regional Integration”

Berlin, December 10–11, 2010

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* (KFG) “Transformative Power of Europe” organizes an international conference on “The Diffusion of Regional Integration” which will be held on December 10–11, 2010 in Berlin.

The conference will have three major themes around which the panels will be organized:

## 1. Comparing Regional Integration: Divergence or Convergence?

Since the end of the Cold War, regional cooperation and integration has significantly increased, even if we discard the ever growing number of regional free trade agreements, of which the vast majority is not truly regional. We invite papers analyzing institutional forms and patterns of multilateral cooperation and integration among contiguous countries. Papers engaging in cross-regional comparisons are particularly welcome.

## 2. Exporting Regional Integration: The European Union as Promoter of Regional Integration

Regional cooperation is part of the governance package the EU seeks to export through its external relations with third countries and regions. We look for papers that explore what exactly the EU seeks to promote in terms of regional integration and to what extent it has been successful in transplanting (part of) its model in other parts of the world.

## 3. Importing Regional Integration: Adoption, Translation, Resistance

The receiving end of the EU’s efforts at exporting regional cooperation has received less attention so far. We invite papers concentrating on particular

regions of the world and exploring to what extent external models of regional cooperation – whether from the EU, the U.S. or other external actors – are being referred to, adopted, adjusted to and translated into regional circumstances, or resisted and challenged.

A detailed program of the conference is available here (PDF). The official language of the conference will be English.

We kindly ask you to use the registration form available online to register for the conference until 27. November the latest. With our confirmation you will receive a password that will allow you to download the conference papers from our website in advance once available. For more information please contact Ina Nordwald (transform-europe@fu-berlin.de).

### Famous Last Words



Dr. Beken Saatcioglu

**Dr. Beken Saatcioglu**  
Postdoc KFG  
Oct. 2009–Jul. 2010  
Now post-doctoral  
researcher at the Institute  
for European Integration  
Research, Austrian Acad-  
emy of Sciences, Vienna.

I am truly grateful for a wonderful year at Kolleg-Forschergruppe. It is not so common that one is fortunate enough to enjoy teaching-free time for a whole year right after grad school. It is fair to say that I was among the “lucky few” to benefit from KFG’s research-friendly environment! Our weekly seminars helped me develop new ideas on the “transformative power of Europe” and many other issues. So, many thanks to Tanja, Thomas, the fellows and the KFG staff for making it all happen! This was a year definitely worth remembering.

# New colleagues at the KFG

*We are pleased to announce that three new senior fellows have joined the Kolleg-Forschergruppe.*



Prof. Liesbet Hooghe

## Prof. Liesbet Hooghe

Liesbet Hooghe is a comparativist with an IR and public administration / public policy bent. She is Zachary Taylor Smith Professor at UNC Chapel Hill and Chair in Multi-Level Governance at the VU Amsterdam. Furthermore, Professor Hooghe is known as one of the pioneers in multi-level governance research, that is, the incidence, sources and implications of the dispersion of authority across multiple levels of authority. Most of her research involves Europe with a focus on identity, parties and public opinion as well as political elites (especially the European Commission) and European Integration.

For further information, please visit the KFG-website of Liesbet Hooghe.



Prof. Garry Marks

## Prof. Garry Marks

Gary Marks is Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill and founding Director of the UNC Center for European Studies. Professor Marks has been National Fellow at the Hoover Institution (1986–87) and fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 1991–92, and Visiting Fellow at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung in 2002–03. He has held visiting professorships at Sciences Politiques, Paris (2002), Konstanz University, Germany (2000) as well as at the University of Twente, the Netherlands (1998). He was Hooker Visiting Professor at McMaster University. In 1998 Professor Marks was elected Chair of the European Community Studies Association. His teaching and research interests lie in the field of comparative politics.

Professor Marks will spend the academic year of 2010 / 2011 together with Prof. Liesbet Hooghe at the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* “The Transformative Power of Europe” in order to complete the research project of his Humboldt Research Award, which has been granted to Professor Marks in May 2010. The project will analyze the effects of multi-level governance.

The Humboldt Research Award is granted in recognition of a researcher’s life achievements to date, to academics whose fundamental discoveries, new theories or insights had a significant impact on their own discipline and who are expected to continue producing cutting-edge achievements in future. We are proud to announce that Gary Marks has received this award this year.

For further information, please visit the KFG-website of Gary Marks.

### Famous Last Words



Dr. Swantje Renfordt

**Dr. Swantje Renfordt**  
Ph.D. Student at the KFG,  
Oct. 2008–May. 2009

My special thanks go to the KFG organizers Tanja and Thomas as well as to the other fellows and staff for making this valuable opportunity available to me. At the KFG I found the stimulation as well as intellectual and practical support that helped me to flesh out new ideas. The KFG provided room to think in new directions and develop a research project in a new area of interest. It was inspired learning and great fun to be part of the KFG community.



Prof. David Levi-Faur

**Prof. David Levi-Faur**

David Levi-Faur is Associate Professor at the School of Public Policy and the Department of Political Science, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a founding editor of *Regulation & Governance*, a Wiley-Blackwell's journal that aims to serve as a leading platform for the study of regulation and governance in the social sciences. He held research and teaching positions at the University of Haifa, the University of Oxford, the Australian National University and the University of Manchester. He held visiting positions in the London School of Economics, the University of Amsterdam, University of Utrecht and University of California (Berkeley). He currently works on a book manuscript – “Regulating Capitalism: Governance and the Global Spread of Regulatory Agencies” – to be published by Princeton University Press. His recent work includes special issues of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* (The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism, co-edited with Jacint Jordana) and *Governance* (Varieties of Regulatory Capitalism).

For further information, please visit the KFG-website of David Levi-Faur.

# *Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst* to support the Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies with 300.000 Euro

The Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (BTS, [click here to visit their website](#)) secured project funding of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) financed by the Federal Ministry of Research and Education. By its decision, the DAAD approved the training and supervision system as well as the outstanding academic profile of the BTs. The amount of 300.000 will be used to support the institutionalisation strategy in recruitment and programme outlook. The aim is to recruit excellent postgraduate PhD candidates worldwide in order to prepare them for an international career, in the academia but also in the public or private sector. BTS is a joint endeavour of the Freie Universitt Berlin, the Hertie School of Governance, and the Social Science Research Center Berlin. It offers a rigorous and intense English-language PhD programme for exceptionally-talented graduate students in the field of transnational and international relations, broadly defined. The three-year programme has a strong focus on social science theories and methods, but also welcomes applications from adjacent disciplines such as history, economics, and law.

*Famous Last Words*

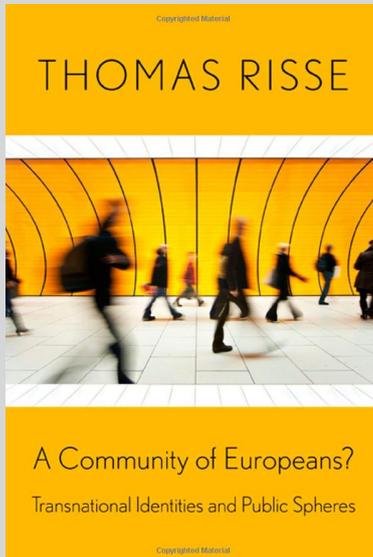


Dr. des. Osvaldo Saldias

**Dr. des. Osvaldo Saldias**  
Ph.D. Student KFG  
Oct. 2009–Jul. 2010

Considering my legal background, being able to fulfill the expectations of a group of leading social scientists was no minor challenge. The KFG Research Group, however, constantly encouraged me to let my ideas evolve and blossom. There are certainly few places in the world where interdisciplinarity can be so fruitful as here. I am grateful for all the inspiring debates, the excellent advice, as well as the interest with which my ideas were discussed. I will cherish my experience at the KFG and the friends that I made during my stay.

## Book Recommendation: *A Community of Europeans?*



In *A Community of Europeans?*, Thomas Risse evaluates the state of the art about European identity and European public spheres. Risse argues that integration has had profound and long-term effects on the citizens of EU countries, most of whom now have at least a secondary “European identity” to complement their national identities. Risse also claims that we can see the gradual emergence of transnational European communities of communication. Exploring the

outlines of this European identity and of the communicative spaces, Risse sheds light on some pressing questions: What do “Europe” and “the EU” mean in the various public debates? How do European identities and transnational public spheres affect policymaking in the EU? And how do they matter in discussions about enlargement, particularly Turkish accession to the EU? What will be the consequences of the growing contestation and politicization of European affairs for European democracy?

This focus on identity allows Risse to address the “democratic deficit” of the EU, the disparity between the level of decision making over increasingly relevant issues for peoples' lives (at the EU) and the level where politics plays itself out – in the member states. He argues that the EU's democratic deficit can only be tackled through politicization and that “debating Europe” might prove the only way to defend modern and cosmopolitan Europe against the increasingly forceful voices of Euroskepticism.

*A Community of Europeans?* can be ordered with the order form.

### Famous Last Words



Prof. Vivien A. Schmidt

**Prof. Vivien Schmidt**  
Senior Fellow KFG  
Jan. 2010 - Jun. 2010  
Jean Monnet Professor of  
European Integration, Profes-  
sor of International Relations,  
and Director of the Center for  
International Relations at Boston  
University

Being at KFG “The Transformative Power of Europe” was a wonderfully “transformative” experience for me for a number of reasons. Most important was the intellectually stimulating exchange among resident researchers and visitors. The environment was also highly conducive to moving forward on my own research. And finally, being in Berlin – such an effervescent city in the heart of Germany – gave me a front row seat for viewing the “transformations” in response to the economic crisis not only in the country but in the European Union as a whole. What more could one ask for?

# Security Cooperation in the EU: towards a new international order?

*Keynote speech to the "Expert Seminar on Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)", organized by the Belgian Presidency of the EU, at the Royal Military Academy of Belgium on 13 July 2010.*

*by Jolyon Howorth*

The European Union, and indeed the entire world, has reached a major historical crossroads – not dissimilar in scale to 1648, 1815 or 1945. We are entering a complex period of power transition, triggered simultaneously by the end of the Cold War and by globalization. These processes reflect powerful movements of history's tectonic plates. The challenges they have thrown up are like nothing the world has seen before. As Einstein noted, "We can't solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used in creating them". A new approach, a new mindset is required to move forward. We know that the EU was founded to solve yesterday's problem – the one thousand year old civil war within and between Europe's barbarous member states. That narrative of internal peace no longer resonates with today's generation of twenty-somethings who will run the Union in 20 years' time. There has to be a new type of motivation. We are in desperate need of a new narrative. In Athens on 8. July 2010, Catherine Ashton was upbeat about the progress which Lisbon induces, at the same time as she acknowledged that we are still in a "transition phase". But Lisbon does not amount to a new narrative.

I don't have all the answers. As Oscar Wilde quipped, "I am not young enough to know everything"... but of this I am certain. If the EU fails to capitalize on the promise of Lisbon (including, crucially, permanent structured cooperation), if the member states continue to fiddle while Brussels burns, then the whole intricate tapestry woven over the last fifty odd years could well begin to unravel. Einstein defined insanity as "doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results". How

## Short CV

### Jolyon Howorth

is Jean Monnet Professor of European Politics ad personam at the University of Bath (UK). He has been a Visiting Professor of Political Science at Yale since 2002. From 2008–13, he will be Visiting Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, dividing his teaching between the Political Science Department and the International Affairs Council. He has published extensively in the field of European politics and history, especially security and defense policy and transatlantic relations - fourteen books and two hundred journal articles and chapters in books. Recent books include: *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Palgrave, 2007; *Defending Europe: the EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, Palgrave, 2003 (edited with John Keeler); *European Integration and Defence: the Ultimate Challenge?* Paris, WEU-ISS, 2000.

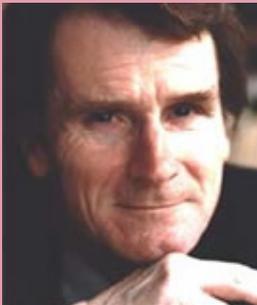
long will it take us to recognize that, if the prime motive force behind the European story is narrow member-state national interest, then the Union as a global actor will remain merely a figment of the political imagination, a revolutionary new Broadway show for which there were many rehearsals, props and a script but which simply failed to open. The recent Greek crisis demonstrated that the member states ultimately understand that, in the words of Benjamin Franklin, they must hang together in order to avoid hanging separately. But it took them an awful long time to demonstrate that collective understanding. And the financial markets remain largely unimpressed. Andrew Moravcsik recently argued in *Newsweek* that the EU enjoys a blissful state of stable equilibrium which rules out with equal certainty either a collapse of the Eurozone or a great leap forward towards much deeper integration. I am far from convinced by this thesis... The EU needs to go boldly forward on both fronts: its own internal functioning and its role on the global stage.

Churchill said that “a pessimist sees the difficulty in every opportunity; an optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty”. As you may recall, Churchill also said, “as for me, I am an optimist. I frankly see little point in being anything else”. Many of us are life-long optimists, who have believed strongly in the historical importance of the European integration story. Recently, I think many of us have felt our optimism ebbing away. Yes, we expected turf wars after Lisbon was ratified; yes, it is normal that such a significant institutional innovation as the External Action Service would take time to bed down; yes, we knew that the High Representative post and that of Presidency of the Council would have to co-exist with powerful egos in the national capitals and in the Charlemagne building. All this, we expected. What we did not expect was such a protracted and small-minded type of guerrilla warfare over the tiniest details of competence and responsibility. This must be avoided at all cost when implementing PESCO.

Let me be clear. I consider the EU to be an amazing success story, the most incredible experiment in international relations since the Roman Empire – and infinitely less bloody. For more than fifty years, we have muddled along, accumulating an *acquis* and creating a *praxis* which has brought us to the verge of international actorness. But the curtain has not yet gone up and the show has not yet really begun. Much of the progress towards actorness is attributable to the sheer determination and commitment of the founding fathers and their waves of successors. There have been as many failures as successes. And, to quote Churchill once again, “success consists in going from failure to failure without loss of enthusiasm”. But is that enthusiasm still there today? Where is the new narrative?

One important part of the new narrative is that the EU has become a military actor – but of a new and different type. Brussels does not do classical warfare, but it does do international crisis management – and it will have to do much more of it in the future. The number of fragile and failing states is not decreasing. The member states have something called “defense budgets”, but “defense” as traditionally understood is only a small part of what the EU is about militarily. In fact, collective defense remains, in all official discourse, the responsibility of NATO. The EU-27, in 2008, nevertheless spent almost US\$300 billion on “defense”, less than half the US defense budget for that year – \$696 billion. But the EU includes eight of the top twenty national defense budgets in the world, and currently contains the world’s number two and three spenders (France and the UK). The collective EU spend is equivalent to the combined defense budgets of the eight next biggest defense spenders (China, Japan, Russia, Saudi-Arabia, India, Brazil, South Korea and Australia – \$289,108), which include all the “rising powers”. And yet, the EU gets very little bang for its Euros. Out of that colossal overall “defense” outlay, the EU-27 has been attempting to fund twenty-seven separate armies, twenty-three air-forces and nineteen navies. [Click here to continue reading...](#)

### Famous Last Words



Prof. Jolyon Howorth

**Prof. Jolyon Howorth**  
Senior Fellow KFG  
Jan. 2010–Jun. 2010  
Yale University

The six months I spent at KFG were some of the most enjoyable, stimulating, productive and varied of my career. An intellectually vibrant environment, an ultra-efficient administration, a super-friendly and richly endowed community, research facilities of the first order, real coffee across the street and above all time – time to read (which academics have time to read these days?), time to think and to reflect, to discuss and to engage, and time to continue to grow. Plus, it was Berlin – the centre of gravity of Europe, the

place where it is all happening (even if some of what is currently happening may not be music to the EU’s ears), the place where music comes alive and lifetime aficionados of Paris can learn to appreciate a different river, on whose banks one can actually eat and drink. Berlin is already a big absence, but I shall be back.

# EU Economic Solidarity: A Great Leap Forward or a Bridge too Far?

*First published in German in the Neue Gesellschaft-Frankfurter Hefte (June 2010)*

*by Vivien A. Schmidt*

May 2010 will go down in history as a major watershed for the European Union. First, the €110 billion loan to save Greece from default; then the massive €750 billion loan guarantee mechanism designed to stop the contagion from Greece's sovereign debt crisis infecting other weaker European economies. With these actions, the EU took an unprecedented great leap forward, representing a new kind of economic solidarity among the member-states. But for this not to be a leap into the void, the EU now needs to do much much more. It must rethink its approach to economic governance by coming up with better criteria and oversight along with more coordinated action to promote sustainable growth while calming the markets. For this it needs not just greater economic solidarity but also social solidarity, to deal with rising unemployment, poverty

and inequalities. And all of this in turn demands real political will – to deepen economic integration even where this undermines national sovereignty – and political leadership – not only to pursue these initiatives but also to legitimize these at a time when inward-looking politics, not to say nationalism, is on the rise. The question is: Are these next steps a bridge too far for the EU?

This great leap forward itself came at the very last minute after much hesitation and tremendous delay. Had the intervention come when the Greek crisis first arose, the markets might have been reassured, although this might still have only briefly put off the attack on the other weak Southern European economies. There was, in other words, always the need for some kind of collateral loan guarantee mechanism or financial lending institution of last resort – better, a European Monetary Fund (EMF) equivalent of the IMF – to deal with the problem.

But it would have actually been even better had a European Monetary Fund covering the entire EU been set up much sooner, arguably already when the Central and Eastern European countries were in danger of default in 2008. Had the EU signaled to the markets that it would take care of its own rather than send them to the IMF, this might have been sufficient to avoid the whole sovereign debt problem in the first place. Instead, the member-states retained the principle of “every man for himself”, refusing to create a bailout for the East European countries in response to the *cri de coeur* of the Hungarian Prime Minister against the creation of a new economic iron curtain, arguing that this would create “moral hazard” if countries believed they would be bailed out for their bad debts and overspending.

## Short CV

### Vivien A. Schmidt

(BA Bryn Mawr College, MA, PhD University of Chicago) is Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Professor of International Relations, and Director of the Center for International Relations at Boston University as well as Visiting Professor at Sciences Po, Paris. She has published over 100 academic articles and chapters in books and is the author or editor of nine books. Recent publications include *Democracy in Europe* (Oxford 2006), *The Futures of European Capitalism* (Oxford 2002), *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy* (2 vols, co-ed. with F. W. Scharpf, Oxford 2000), “Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse” *Annual Review of Political Science* (2008), and “Putting the Political Back into Political Economy by Bringing the State Back in Yet Again,” *World Politics* (2009). Recent awards and distinctions include an honorary doctorate (doctor honoris causa) from the Free University of Brussels (ULB) (2008); the Franqui Interuniversity Chair, Belgium (2007); Visiting Researcher at CEVIPOF, Sciences Po, Paris (2007). She is past head of the European Union Studies Association-USA and has consulted widely in the US and Europe on issues related to European government, business and US-EU relations.

Point taken. But leaving the bailout to the IMF instead created a “market hazard”, with the development of an entire market betting against the EU rescue of any of its member-states from sovereign debt default once further vulnerability was detected. It is also led to tremendous hardship for the Eastern European countries that went to the IMF for help. At a time when the rest of Europe, and in particular the richer countries, were encouraged to spend, spend, spend to avoid recession and maintain employment, East Europeans in trouble were plunged into deepening recessions and rising unemployment.

Now Greece under EU prescription and the other Southern European countries on their own are preparing to engage in the same recession-promoting, growth-destroying economic exercise – with the additional risk of political instability and civil unrest. And this is at a time when they are already paying the price for their perceived weakness, as governments pay higher interest rates on their bond issues and even profitable businesses find credit scarce.

It should therefore come as no surprise that the value of the Euro in the currency markets, which bounced back briefly in response to the loan guarantee instrument, quickly slid on worries not so much about whether Southern European countries would stick to budgetary austerity as about what such austerity would do to European growth generally.

So the first big question for the EU is: how to promote growth? Going back to the same old restrictive numerical targets of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) – that countries have honored more in the breach – is not the answer. Nor is imposing balanced budget rules and other draconian measures on Eurozone members – such as withholding EU funding from “profligate” members who disobey the rules, as Germany proposed.

Credibility of the Eurozone was maintained not because of the Eurozone’s notionally hard but practically soft criteria. Rather, it was because of positive market perceptions of ECB monetary governance and of the economic fundamentals of the Eurozone countries as a whole. In this regard, it is important to remember that the problem for Europe started not with public debt – governments with the exception of Greece were for the most part fiscally responsible throughout this period, while Spain actually reduced its public debts significantly. Rather, it came from private debt (of household and financial institutions) – such as the housing bubbles in the UK and Spain – and the crisis sparked by banks’ losses in the US subprime markets, that governments then made public through loans, guarantees and outright nationalization of the banks in their efforts to avoid catastrophe. Restrictive macroeconomic policies therefore would do a lot to punish countries for problems that are not entirely of their making while doing little for growth, which is likely to be promoted more effectively by enhancing competition and combating corruption, boosting productivity through worker training and re-skilling and reforming labor markets.

[Click here continue to reading...](#)

#### Famous Last Words



**Dr. Anja Jetschke**

**Dr. Anja Jetschke**  
**Postdoc Fellow KFG**  
**Oct. 2009–Jul. 2010**

co-fellows and staff members for a great and productive year. I am looking forward to the future of many KFG events. I will come back!

“The return makes one love the farewell.” (Alfred De Musset)  
 I am deeply grateful for having had the opportunity to be a member of the Kolleg-Forscherguppe. I enjoyed the opportunity to concentrate on my research on comparative regionalism. I enjoyed being part of a group that is working on similar topics, is open to new ideas and always ready to engage in constructive criticism. The power of Europe is also very much the power and energy of T&T, Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. Their energy is a source of motivation! Thank you to all

# The inspiring power of the **KFG**: European identity between communication science and political science

by *Christiane Eilders*

I had the honor of being a resident fellow at the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* for three months this year. The project I pursued during my stay deals with the construction of European identity in the national media discourses of EU-member states. The main concepts of the project, European identity and the public sphere as its theoretical reference were the perfect fit for the research carried out at the KFG. Taking part in the academic life at the KFG was one of the most interesting, challenging and rewarding experiences I have undergone. Being the only communication scientist in a group of scholars with predominantly political science backgrounds, I found myself in an unfamiliar world. Political science with its analyses of political systems, attitudes and behavior has a much broader focus on European integration than communication science. Political communication about and in the EU is only one aspect of it. In contrast, the perspective of communication studies on European integration is narrow. It mostly disregards individual attitudes and behavior (while recognizing system characteristics as the general framework) and strongly concentrates on EU-related political communication in the media. Thus, my stay at the KFG has definitely broadened my horizon in an inspiring way. In addition and even more importantly with regard to my particular project, I very much benefitted from the intense and most sophisticated discussions on the subject of European identity.

The concept of the public sphere marks the main interface between communication and political science. Since the public sphere is based on public discourse and a considerable share of public discourse is carried by the media, the analysis of mediated communication provides a common

## Short CV

### Christiane Eilders

has been working at the University of Augsburg since 2006. Her research and teaching deal with political communication and the public sphere, cultivation of the images of politics, the impact of online-communication on individuals and society and discourses on European integration.

After studying communication sciences in Munich, Christiane Eilders worked as a junior researcher at the Deutsches Jugendinstitut, where she assessed political attitudes and media use among young people. Before moving to the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin she was a lecturer at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich, where she received a PhD in 1995.

In May 2006 she received another degree (Habilitation) with a professorial dissertation named "Öffentlichkeit im Kommentar – Strukturen öffentlicher Meinungsbildung in der überregionalen Qualitätspresse" from the Freie Universität Berlin.

In 2009 she received a grant from the German Science Foundation for a project on the National Constructions of European Identity, which will last until 2011.

ground for both disciplines. Regarding research on the EU, this is clearly reflected by the fact that the Europeanization of the public sphere has attracted multidisciplinary attention. The respective studies have generated an impressive output of models and findings. Yet, this particular focus does not tap the full potential of multidisciplinary research on European integration. Plenty of phenomena have almost exclusively been studied by political science. Communication science has only recently started to deal with integration issues beyond the Europeanization of the public sphere. One of these more recent issues concerns the formation of a European identity.

Whereas European identity is frequently studied via surveys of individual attitudes regarding

the EU, communication scholars – along with a number of political scientists who have paved this path before – choose a different approach. They aim at the degree of European identity expressed in public discourse. In empirical perspective this strand of research analyzes identity – related messages in media content. Particular attention is directed to the frames constructed in the presentation of EU-issues. The type of identity captured in these studies is very much different from the type of identity that is collected in surveys. The latter can be described as the aggregate of individual attitudes regarding the EU. I suggest referring to “individual European identity” in order to discriminate it from the degree of European identity reflected in media discourse.

European identity as reflected in media discourse can be described as the collectively negotiated (always preliminary) result from public discourse between various stakeholders. I suggest referring to “collective European identity” because this puts an emphasis on the collective process of identity construction. The result of this process is unlikely to be a consensus about the community’s identity. It can rather be described as a particular distribution of constructions. Yet, it is more than the aggregate of individual identities. Drawing from public sphere theory in general and the way it conceptualizes the emergence of public opinion in particular, I argue that the resulting distribution depends on the power and status of the actors involved and on the persuasiveness of the arguments put forward. Whereas the individual identities collected in surveys might never be publicly articulated, the constructions exchanged in discourse have to stand the test of public contestation. They will find public support to the degree to which they are convincing and this will again be reflected in discourse. Hence, recording the resonance which the various identity constructions receive from other public speakers is indispensable when assessing the collective construction of a community’s identity. The discrimination of discourse-centered collective identity from individual identity and the explication

of the particular properties of the concept of collective identity was one of the challenges I dealt with this summer. I owe much to the comments from KFG-colleagues who pointed to blind spots and weaknesses not only of the concept, but also of the empirical study based on it. The discussions greatly contributed to relating my project more closely to existing identity research and refining my arguments. Above all, I was forced to reflect on concepts that are often taken for granted in communication science, but actually need to be scrutinized.

Surprisingly, the differences between individual and collective European identity have hardly been elaborated so far. The two types of European identity are not to be seen as mutually exclusive concepts, but rather complement one another. They both represent key factors that have to be considered by decision makers in the member states. Whereas individual identity is likely to affect elections and referendums, collective identity can be assumed to guide political actors when assessing the acceptance and feasibility of decisions. The ways in which collective and individual European identity are related and under which conditions they converge or diverge is an empirical question that undoubtedly deserves more attention. It might well be that my summer in Berlin has sparked an idea for my next project.

#### Famous Last Words



**Prof. Dr. Christiane Eilders**

**Prof. Dr. Christiane Eilders**  
Senior Fellow KFG  
May-Jul. 2010  
University of Augsburg

My summer at the KFG was a very intense and inspiring experience. Thomas and Tanja managed to bring together excellent scholars from different origins and disciplines with a common research focus. I was particularly impressed by the productivity of the group. It shows that the institutional setting of a research college forms an ideal environment. The Monday meetings were a great way to learn about new directions and perspectives and develop new ideas for my own project.

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# Who is afraid of Black-Red-Gold?

Patriotism light: The sea of flags at the Football World Cup in South Africa does not transform the Germans into a patriotic community.

Written by Prof. Dr. Jürgen Gerhards and Michael Mutz (Institute for Sociology, Freie Universität Berlin)

Translation: Max Middeke

At the latest of the excellent play of the German national team against England, and especially after the triumphant victory over Argentina, Germany is covered by World Cup fever. Even the more cautious and restrained fans have brought out their German flags, which were stored in the cellar since the last World Cup. They stuck the flags to their cars and decorated their side-view mirrors with black-red-gold overcoats. The summer fairy tale of 2006 seems to repeat itself.

During the World Cup 2006, many political observers had skeptically commented on the new way the Germans use their national symbols. What does the riot of colors of black, red and gold stand for? Is it only the enthusiasm for football, party and fun? Were the Germans just proud of themselves because of their presentation as good hosts to the world football community and the refreshing and offensive play of Jürgen Klinsmann's team? Or was the national football euphoria a sign of a new nationalism that tried to compensate for the negative historical identity of the Germans? The skeptical voices have not passed away even at this year's

**Short CV**



Jürgen Gerhards studied social sciences and German literature at the University of Cologne, where he also received his doctorate. After his postdoctoral lecture qualification (Habilitation) at the Freie Universität Berlin and positions as junior and senior researcher at the University of Cologne and at the Science Center for Social Research in Berlin he became a full professor of Sociology in 1994 at University of Leipzig. 2004 he moved to the Freie Universität Berlin. Since then he is the head of the Department of Sociology, and he is research professor at the German Institute of Economic Research (DIW). He was a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Berlin (Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin), and he spent an academic year at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in Uppsala (Sweden). He is member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**Prof. Dr. Jürgen Gerhards**

World Cup. The federal presidential candidate of the Left Party for example, Luc Jochimsen, found the large numbers of German flags rather strange. As she grew up in the postwar period, she has a “distant relation to flags”.

**Famous Last Words**

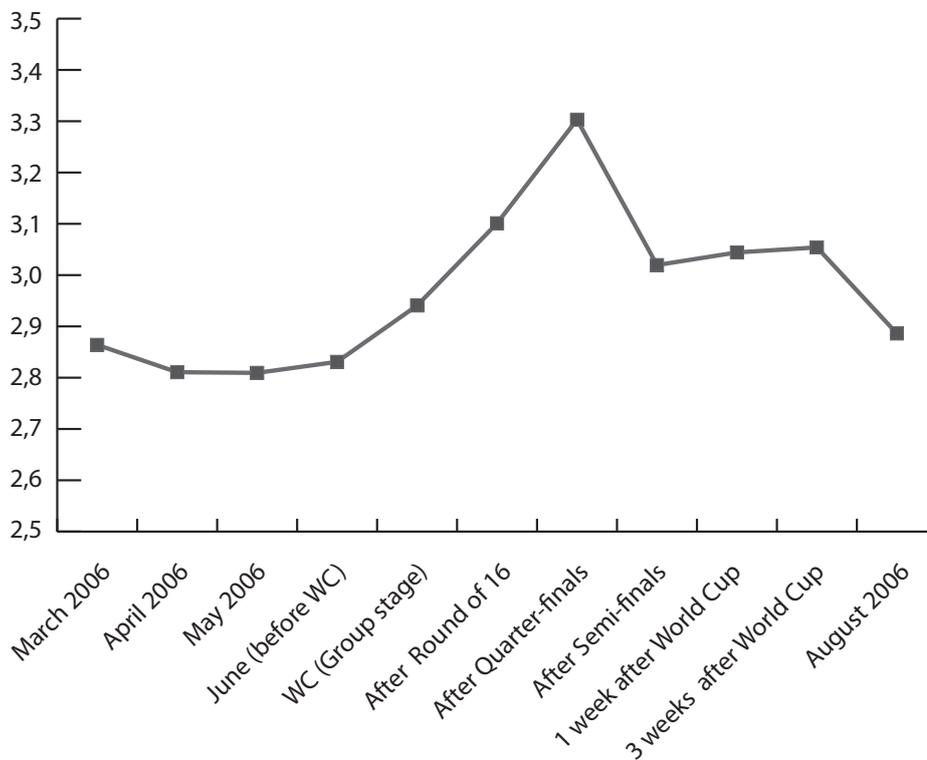


My stay at the *Kolleg-Forscherguppe* has been a great experience. The KFG really provides ideal conditions for exchanging ideas on shared areas of interest – while being exposed to a diversity of perspectives. In particular, the weekly jour fixe is easily the most productive and intellectually stimulating research colloquium I have ever taken part in. I enjoyed the openness of the interdisciplinary exchange, and I feel that I benefitted immensely from the positive and thought provoking atmosphere, as well as frequently very useful practical advice – both by the senior and junior fellows from all over the world and the research directors. Thank you!

**Dr. Jan-Henrik Meyer**

**Dr. Jan-Henrik Meyer**  
Postdoc Fellow KFG  
June–July 2010  
Now Postdoc at the  
Aarhus University,  
Denmark

National pride of Germans during the World Cup 2006



## The long shadow of history cannot be impressed by football

But all those who fear a new national self-confidence triggered by football, can be appeased. The German football-patriotism is largely related to the football itself and rubs off only slightly on the national pride. After the party is over, it disappears without a trace. This is true even if the conditions for a transformation of football pride into national pride are very favorable, as it was the case at the World Cup four years ago: The German team played, similar to the current World Cup, not only successful but also upfront, offensive and beautiful to watch. The weather did play along and the whole world was more than satisfied with the World Cup organizing country.

And what was the influence of the football summer fairy tale on the national consciousness of the Germans? An evaluation of a representative

population survey, which was carried out before, during and after the World Cup in 2006, provides information on this issue. The ongoing World Cup and the success of the German team increased the proportion of those who said they were proud to be German, and shortly after the dramatic victory in the quarterfinal against Argentina, the value reached a climax.

But just weeks later after the football teams had left Germany, the tents were dismantled and the flags disposed, the level of patriotism was lowered. In August 2006, the Germans had the same level of patriotism as before the World Cup. Nothing had changed. The national pride of Germans remains well below average in international comparisons. Hence, the long shadow of history can not be impressed by a short summer of football euphoria.

OVERVIEW: AUTUMN 2010 SCHEDULE

KOLLEG-FORSCHERGRUPPE THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF EUROPE

**Workshop**

*“The Other Side of Euro. The Single Currency and European Citizenship”*

**Date:** Monday, October 11, 2010

**Place:** Seminaris Hotel Berlin

**Head:** Prof. Dr. Vivien Schmidt, Dr. Giovanni Moro, Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse

**Author’s workshop**

*“When Europeanization Travels”*

**Date:** October 22, 2010–October 23, 2010

**Place:** KFG

**Head:** Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse

**Workshop on Varieties of Capitalist Governance**

**Date:** December 2, 2010–December 3, 2010

**Place:** Freie Universität Berlin

**Heads:** Prof. David Levi-Faur

Further information will be provided later on

This workshop will be organized in cooperation with the Social Science Research Center (WZB)

**Method Workshop**

*“How Does Europe diffuse? – Comparative Regionalism and the Causal Mechanisms of Diffusion”*

**Date:** December 8, 2010–December 9, 2010

**Heads:** Dr. Anja Jetschke, Dr. Osvaldo Saldias

Further information will be provided later on

**Call for Papers:** [http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/news/events/CfP\\_Workshop\\_\\_How\\_does\\_Europe\\_diffuse\\_.html](http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/news/events/CfP_Workshop__How_does_Europe_diffuse_.html)

**KFG Conference on Comparative Regionalism**

**Date:** December 9, 2010–December 11, 2010

**Place:** Seminaris Hotel Berlin

**Heads:** Prof. Dr. Tanja A. Börzel, Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse

**Topic:** Comparative Regionalism

Further information will be provided later on

**PhD-Workshop on Multi-Level governance**

**Date:** December 20, 2010–December 21, 2010 (Monday–Tuesday)

**Head:** Prof. Dr. Liesbeth Hooghe, Prof. Dr. Gary Marks

**Topic:** Multi-Level Governance

Further information will be provided later on