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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. The Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG) investigates how ideas spread across time and space. During its first phase of research, from 2008 to 2012, the KFG studied the diffusion of policy ideas and institutions within the European Union (EU) and its candidates and neighborhood. During the second phase, from 2012-2016, the KFG realigns its focus of interest on the diffusion of ideas, policies, and institutions beyond Europe (comparative regionalism) and the analysis of the EU at the receiving end of external influences.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* is a 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-Forschergruppe,

Welcome to the ninth edition of our newsletter informing you about what is going on at the Research College “The Transformative Power of Europe”!

In this edition, you will find a detailed report on our annual conference “Transformative Power of Europe 2.0: The Road Ahead” organized in December in which we focused on the past, present and future research agenda of the KFG. In panels such as “Europeanization and Enlargement – Past and Present”, “European Identity and its Consequences”, “Inside Out: EU and Comparative Regionalism” we reflected on the research findings from the last years and discussed future topics. The public panel discussion “The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration” added to the current debate on the European currency with its complex problems facing during the last years.

The newsletter also informs about a new research project funded by the EU’s 7th Framework Programme, launched in April and entitled “Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: Lessons and prospects for enlargement and beyond” (MAXCAP). The upcoming Kick-off-Conference on 30 May – 1 June conference intends to provide a first forum for the exchange of ideas and viewpoints of the partners involved in the MAXCAP project. You are welcome to attend the conference!

A real highlight was this year’s Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in San Francisco. Its theme “The Politics of International Diffusion: Regional and Global Dimensions” revealed the strong relationship to the KFG theme – not surprising, given that Tanja was invited to be Program Chair. Together with the outgoing ISA president Etel Solingen we are organizing a special issue of International Studies Review devoted to regional diffusion. In addition, the KFG was present at the ISA meeting with its own booth in the exhibition hall and it also organized a reception attended by more than 300 people (together with SFB 700 “Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood”). Below you can find a report of two of our PhD. students visiting the ISA Annual Convention in San Francisco.

Moreover, the newsletter contains a report on the workshop “EU External Environmental Governance Beyond its Neighbourhood”, organized by Katja Biedenkopf, Diarmuid Torney and Detlef Jahn.

Last but not least, you will find a call for paper for a workshop on “Regionalism, Norm Diffusion and Social Policy: Dealing with Old and New Crises in Europe and Latin America” to be held in Berlin in November.

As always, we hope that you enjoy reading about the KFGs activities in this newsletter.

Best regards,

Tanja A. Börzel *Thomas Risse*
Research Directors

Call for Papers

“Regionalism, Norm Diffusion and Social Policy: Dealing with Old and New Crises in Europe and Latin America”

KFG Workshop to be held in Berlin on 22-23 November 2013

Workshop Convenors



Dr. Andrea Bianculli



Dr. Prof. Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann

The world has seen a dramatic revival of regional integration since the late 1980s, yet little research has provided sustained comparative analyses of these institutions and initiatives. Building on, but seeking to go beyond the European experience, this workshop aims to foster both institutional and policy-oriented approaches to the study of regionalism. The main aim is to explore the extent to which problems deriving from the current economic crisis can be addressed by the provision of social policies at the regional level. The welfare systems of European Union (EU) member states are being challenged by unprecedented levels of public indebtedness, nevertheless regional integration has so far been timid in reproducing their social model at the supranational level. In Latin America, where countries have never achieved comparably efficient welfare systems, and poverty and exclusion have been endemic problems, regional initiatives on social issues have recently become more popular. What role can regional organizations play in the area of social policy? Can the provision of social policies at the regional level address long-existing problems of Latin American development or the newly emerging problems in Europe? To what extent, and through what mechanisms, have regional models of social policy in Europe and Latin America traveled via bi-regional relationships, such

as between the EU and Mercosur, or the EU and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)?

The workshop aims to explore these questions by focusing on the supply and demand of governance at the regional level, and on the transformative power of regions. We welcome research both on institutional change and on the diffusion of policy ideas in areas of social policy, with a special focus on:

- Gender;
- Health;
- Higher education and research; and
- Social protection, employment and decent work.

We also welcome research focusing on historical periods as well as on the present. The workshop seeks to contribute to literatures of comparative regionalism, EU studies, diffusion, and international political economy of development.

We invite paper proposals addressing these questions and issues. All papers must be based on original research. Paper proposals must include the name of the presenter and any other authors, a short CV, and an abstract of no more than 250 words. The deadline for the submission of paper proposals is 31 May, 2013. Paper proposals should be sent to both Andrea Bianculli and (abianculli@ibei.org) and Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann (arhoffmann@zedat.fu-berlin.de).

Successful applicants will be informed on or shortly after 10 July, 2013. The deadline for circulation of full papers will be October 30, 2013. The KFG “The Transformative Power of Europe” will cover accommodation and travel expenses for invited presenters.

New Research Project at Freie Universität Berlin

Maximizing the Integration Capacity of the European Union: Lessons and Prospects for Enlargement and beyond (MAXCAP)



On 1 April 2013 a new three-year research project started at the Center for European Integration at Freie Universität Berlin which is coordinated by KFG's director Tanja A. Börzel. The project "Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: Lessons and prospects for enlargement and beyond (MAXCAP)" is funded under the EU's Seventh Framework Programme for Research (FP7).

MAXCAP will start with a critical analysis of the effects of the 2004-2007 'big bang' enlargement on stability, democracy and prosperity of candidate countries, on the one hand, and the EU's institutions, on the other. It will then investigate how the EU can maximize its integration for current and future enlargements. Adopting an inter-disciplinary and mixed methods approach that combines desk research, in-depth interviews and Q-methodology, MAXCAP will

- a) explain the effects of the EU's integration modes and strategies on democracy and socio-economic development in the new members, candidates and neighborhood countries;
- b) inquire into the relationship between the widening and deepening of the EU by establishing conditions for effective decision-making and implementation in an enlarged EU;
- c) identify the social limits to the EU's integration capacity related to citizens' perceptions of the last and future enlargements;
- d) study the EU's current and past negotiation strategies in the context of enlargement and investigate

to what extent they need to be adjusted to changing conditions in the EU and the candidate countries;

- e) examine how the EU employs different modes of integrating countries with highly diverse economic powers, democratic qualities of governance, and institutional capacities and
- f) assess whether alternative models, such as the European Neighbourhood Policy, can be successful in bringing countries closer to the EU.

MAXCAP, which features a nine-partner consortium of academic, policy, dissemination and management excellence, will create new and strengthen existing links within and between the academic and the policy world on matters relating to the current and future enlargement of the EU. MAXCAP Partners are Freie Universität Berlin (coordinator), Leiden University (co-coordinator), London School of Economics and Political Science, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich, Sabanci University Istanbul, European University Institute, Florence, Balkan Civil Society Network, Central European University, Budapest, and Sofia University, Sofia.

Kick-Off-Conference: 30 May – 1 June, 2013 in Berlin

MAXCAP's Kick-Off-Conference aims at bringing together renowned scholars from the interdisciplinary fields of EU Studies addressing MAXCAP-related topics from different angles. As the title suggests, the conference intends to provide a first forum for the exchange of ideas and viewpoints of the partners involved in the MAXCAP project as well as external guests. The participation is open for anyone interested in the topic.

In case you wish to subscribe to MAXCAP's mailing list or want to register for the conference, please send an e-mail to maxcap@zedat.fu-berlin.de.

Author Workshop

“Regional Dimensions of Diffusion”

Author Workshop for International Studies Review Special Issue

*Workshop to be held at Seminaris Campus Hotel Berlin, Takustr. 39, 14195 Berlin on 5-6 July 2013
by Sören Stapel*

About the workshop: Recently, the diffusion concept has gained much prominence in the study of international politics and it has been established that regional and global diffusion can take place across several dimensions. Yet, we still do not know much about stimuli and results of these diffusion processes. Who are the agents of diffusion and what are their rationales to advertise or to take over policies and institutions? What are the causal mechanisms carrying out or blocking diffusion and how do these mechanisms operate? And, finally, what are the outcomes of these processes? Are models simply taken over or are they adapted to specific circumstances?

Based on paper contributions to the ISA 2013 Annual Convention “The Politics of International Diffusion: Regional and Global Dimensions”, past ISA president Etel Solingen and ISA 2013 Program Chair Tanja Börzel will bring together a group of scholars to prepare a special issue for the International Studies Review. Papers will be concerned with domestic and international actors, mechanisms, and different outcomes of diffusion. The papers will tackle a number substantive issues as diverse as the diffusion of democratization efforts, norm diffusion, and economic policies.

Paper givers and papers will be announced soon.

Report

“Transformative Power of Europe 2.0: The Road Ahead”

*2012 KFG International Conference, held in Berlin on 13-15 December 2012
by Farina Ahäuser*

Last year's KFG conference focused on the past, present and future research agenda of the Research College (KFG). Around 50 current and alumni KFG fellows reflected on the College's findings of its first research phase and discussed topics for the following four years. Thus, a wide area of research was addressed, ranging from the EU's relations with its candidates and neighbors, to European identity and comparative regionalism. Meanwhile, scholars discussed the European Union both from the “inside out” – as a promoter of ideas – and from the “outside in” – as a recipient of external influences and the diffusion of ideas, policies, and institutions.

The public panel discussion focused on the persistent and complex problems the European common currency is facing. Fritz W. Scharpf, Vivien Schmidt, Charalampos Koutalakis and Brigid Laffan discussed “The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration”. All panelists expressed skepticism towards the rescue policies taken so far. They suggested that, rather than the differences in economic policies, the divergences in competitiveness and economic performance of the member



2012 KFG International Conference

states posed the biggest challenge in dealing with the crisis. For Fritz Scharpf (Max Planck Institute for the Studies of Societies), the source of this divergence is rooted in the poor governance of the European Monetary Union (EMU). National divergences had to be overcome and shared policies developed, backed up by a new input legitimacy on the European level. The exclusive focus on the creditor crisis will only lead to an aggravation of social and economic problems. Charalampos Koutalakis (University of Athens) also pledged for a deeper integration of fiscal policies on the European level. Moreover, he voiced the need for a ‘Marshall Plan’ for Greece, noting that an agreement to ‘give up sovereignty in order to gain sovereignty’ was needed. Vivien Schmidt (Boston University) criticized the excessive intergovernmentalism and the bypassing of the European Parliament caused by the rescuing policies. She argued for a gentle politicization of European topics, as well as new narratives and visions in order to increase legitimacy on the European level. The need for more legitimacy and accountability was also voiced by Brigid Laffan (University College Dublin). She pointed out the profound effects that the crisis already has on EU integration discussions and processes. Laffan called for more steps leading towards divergence of economic performance instead of economic policies. Besides that, the functionalist logics that are leading the restructuring of the EMU have to be changed, as they provide a wrong image and framing of the crisis.

Entitled as “Europeanization and Enlargement – Past and Present,” the first panel of the conference mostly focused on the limits of Europeanization in the European periphery. In her Paper, Bilgin Ayata pointed out a recently emerging process of decoupling in Turkey. Referring to this process as ‘de-Europeanization’, Ayata asserted that the EU did neither constitute a carrot nor a stick for Turkish policy-makers anymore. She stated that the Turkish state went through a major identity shift “emancipating” itself from its ‘European fantasy’, while a new national identity was reinvented based on the Ottoman past. This new identity, she argued, helped claim leadership particularly in the Middle East. Asking why ‘Islamic’ organizations opt for certain political choices in certain points of time, the paper by Arolda Elbasani and Beken Saatçioğlu offered an explanation for the cross-case and cross-temporal differential support for Europeanization of Albanian Muslim Community (AMC), on the one hand, and the Turkish Justice and Development Party (JDP), on the other. Acknowledging the differences between the weak civil society organization and the increasingly stronger political party, Elbasani suggested that the variation could be explained by the incentive of enhancing organizational capacities. Selcen Öner’s paper pointed out that civil society organizations (CSO) in Turkey are facing a decline of their “qualitative development”. Underlining factors such as insufficient resources and problematic governance structures, Öner emphasized the ineffectiveness of CSOs in pushing for reforms, a process she referred to as the “accession fatigue”. The following discussions initiated by Eva Heidbreder addressed several issues as the generalizability of the findings to explain similar phenomena in other cases; the need to incorporate interests and power; major differences in historical legacies which might impair similar cases analyses; and the need to delineate other interaction models than that of the EU.



The panel “Europeanization in the European Neighborhood” provided insights of the impact and prospects of the EU’s transformative power in both the Southern and Eastern Neighborhood by drawing on different country cases and policy fields. The findings are quite heterogeneous: While the EU-Tunisia relation seems to be more on track towards democratic reforms, the EU foreign policy-making toward the Mediterranean still depends on the nature of the available leadership. On the

Eastern border, partner countries seem to selectively converge to European and international market rules and norms and effective compliance depends on the application of policy conditionality by the EU and the domestic preferences of incumbents for or against policy change. The discussion showed that governments frequently use multiple external opportunity structures to promote their own agenda and that despite the leverage used convergence takes place in a highly selective manner.

The panel “European Identity and its Consequences” addressed the theme of European Identity from two angles: the identification of citizens with Europe and the European Union’s international identity or ‘actorship’. Jolyon Howorth argued that while the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) has created a space for thinking about a European security identity, the EU’s management of the Libya crisis shows that a collective security identity remains a distant prospect. To overcome this impasse, the ambiguous relationship between the CSDP and NATO needs to be settled. Stephanie Anderson provided evidence that negative images of the US foster European (security) identity while positive ones have the opposite effect. Europeans favored independent European action as long as the demonized Bush Jr. was

US president, but they do not mind following US international leadership under the popular Obama – in spite of his relative disinterest in Europe. Theresa Kuhn and Florian Stöckel presented a study of citizens' preferences for European economic governance (EEG). In light of the economic crisis, their findings suggest that European identity has implications for daily life. Citizens with an exclusive national identity are less likely to support EEG than those who identify with Europe, and citizens of poor member states tend to be more supportive of EEG than their more well-off counterparts. The discussion, initiated by Majda Ruge, mirrored well the diversity of the scholarly debate on European identity. In particular, several speakers underlined the importance of analyzing how European identity relates to other actors (US, NATO), to national identities, to the readiness to pay for European-level policies (e.g. EEG, defense spending), as well as how issues of identity apply to different policy areas.

The panel on “European Public Sphere” comprised papers forming part of a forthcoming book project. This panel not just theorized communication flows within the European public sphere but also dealt with the empirical possibility of the emergence of such a public sphere. The papers ranged from an analysis of the construction of European identity in national public discourse, to national media as an arena of transnational discourse, as well as to the impacts of the financial crisis on the development of a European public sphere. The papers argued that identity is a social construction and varies within national perspectives and event context.



Through quantitative content analysis of national weeklies published in member states, they analyzed the impact of critical event context on the degree of identification with the European identity. Questioning if integration is accompanied by the creation of a European public sphere, the papers on this panel defined a general approach using media infrastructures, actors' communicative needs and political opportunity structures. While national mass media still proves to be the best source of information and dialogue about the EU, multilevel EU governance provides the political space for a Europeanized public debate. The following discussion was mainly driven by euro-skeptic voices, focusing i.e. on the impact of the euro crisis and the topic's increased visibility in the media voices. Moreover, variation of discourse within different nation states, the role of 'power', and the framing by institutions and individuals following their own agendas was addressed.

The panel “Outside In: External Influences on European Integration” looked into the diffusion of ideas and the role of international organizations (IO) and international actors in shaping European Union policies and approaches. Insights from different policy sectors showed that, although to different extents, the international environment influenced EU policies, structures and strategies. The case of the ‘polluter pays principle’ confirms that importing ideas from IOs, but also from relevant national actors inside or outside the EC/EU, notably the US, served at least as a practical issue, as a rhetorical and a political purpose in terms of politics and policy making. NGOs as well provided crucial contributions in terms of facilitating exchanges between the EC/EU and other international organizations. As for development cooperation, it is rather difficult to draw a clear line between the inside and the outside in the development cooperation between the EC/EU and its associated countries and the ‘external’ was as much influenced by the EC/EU as

the 'external' left its mark on the Brussels institutions. In some cases, such as the anti-discrimination policy, diffusion did not go down to the level of the member states, despite the efforts of civil society. Diffusion has also been approached from a historical perspective, arguing that its success or failure cannot but being assessed over the long term and it entails long term processes of negotiation, re-negotiation and change in institutional practice.



Contributions to the panel "Inside Out: EU and Comparative Regionalism" focused on the role of the EU as provider and active promoter of norms in inter-regional relations and its effects on regional co-operation outside of Europe. In an attempt to actively transfer lessons from Europe to other world regions, the EU has not triggered but at least shaped North American initiatives regarding greenhouse gas emissions trading systems (Katja Biedenkopf). It has also fueled the rise of regional parliamentary bodies in other regional organizations by writing and promoting the global script of regional parliamentarization (Tobias Lenz). However, there are also clear limits to the EU's transformative power. Taking up the EU's normative discourse on development partnerships, African states have resisted the EU's ambitions at imposing its imperative of trade liberalization through 'mimetic challenges' (Ulrike Lorenz). In relations with China, there is a clear disconnect between fundamental notions of security, resulting in divergent views of the EU's role as an international actor (May-Britt Stumbaum). Discussions with the panelists centered

on methodological challenges to studying processes of diffusion through discourses and on empirically investigating the different causal mechanisms at work.

The panel "The EU and the Global Economy" included three papers studying changing ideas and institutions in three key types of governance in the global economy - preferential trade agreements, central banks, and capital controls - and the role played by the EU in all three. Ali Arbia argued that preferential trade agreements are increasingly legalized, and that they are increasingly intertwined with, and complementary to, WTO legalization. Arie Krampf argued that the global spread of central banks in the period from the 1940s to 1970s reflected two separate norms - one global and another regional, grounded in developmental central banking policies originating in Latin America. He combined norm life cycle and norm localization approaches to explain these patterns. Unfortunately, Barbara Fritz was not able to attend the panel. Employing case studies from South Korea and Brazil, her paper examined changing approaches to capital controls by the IMF and national policymakers, both increasingly turning away from the neoliberal consensus to the recognition that some forms of capital controls are often beneficial. The presentations were followed by a rich discussion on theories of norm diffusion and international legalization, the conceptualizations and methods used in the papers, and other topics.

With contributions from:

Daniel Berliner, Federica Bicchì, Corinna Blutguth, Elin Hellquist, Garima Mohan, Isik Özel, Vera van Hüllen

Report

“The Politics of International Diffusion: Regional and Global Dimensions”

*International Studies Association 2013 Annual Convention, held in San Francisco on 3-6 April 2013
by Sören Stapel & Mathis Lohaus*

Sunny spring weather welcomed more than 6000 IR scholars in San Francisco at the beginning of April (among them, two PhD candidates from Berlin were particularly grateful to catch a break from the never-ending winter). The lobby of the Hilton hotel was crowded by an enormous number of people discussing international politics, and you could not buy a coffee anywhere near the hotel without waiting for 15 minutes. It was the time of the ISA Annual Conference 2013.

Program chairs of this year's conference were Tanja Börzel and Herman Schwartz (University of Virginia) and the conference theme was suggested by (then) ISA president Etel Solingen. Given its theme – “The Politics of International Diffusion: Regional and Global Dimensions” – it promised to be an interesting four-day stimulus in particular for former and current KFG fellows.

So what was the conference about? A big share of the program looked at pretty much everything that is related to instances of international, transnational, and regional diffusion: What is diffusion and how can it be studied? What diffuses, what doesn't, how and why? Who are the agents? What are the causal mechanisms driving or blocking diffusion? And what are the outcomes? A huge variety of panels covered topics as diverse as the global and European financial crises, the Arab spring, democracy promotion, environmental politics, as well as the diffusion of norms about gender, children's rights and other human rights in general.



Prof. Dr. Tanja Börzel

The 2013 conference's theme made it possible for many former and current KFG fellows to present their work that has been informed by a research stay or is still carried out in Berlin. Many papers examined the diffusion processes taking place between or initiated by regional organizations. To name just a few, the KFG directors organized a roundtable on “The Diffusion of Regional Orders: Comparative Regionalism” by inviting former KFG fellows. More specifically, Gary Marks and Tobias Lenz as well as Anja Jetschke presented papers about the spread of similar institutions across regional organizations. Katja Biedenkopf and Diarmuid Torney organized a panel about the diffusion of emission trading, while Esther Ademmer, Gözde Yilmaz and Digidem Soyaltin presented papers examining the diffusion of norms and rules from the EU to the Eastern neighborhood and Turkey respectively.



Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse with Prof. Stephen Clarkson

The two of us presented at panels and mostly attended those that looked at the diffusion of institutional designs and policies between regional organizations. Among others, our panels dealt with the promotion of governance standards at the regional level, the global fight against corruption, or translation and localization as new approaches to the study of norm diffusion. The study of these phenomena is still far from finding a common ground when it comes to theoretical and methodological approaches, and

the work of our colleagues stimulated many post-panel discussions. Most of the panelists presented single case studies explaining the spread of a particular policy from one regional organization to another, by making use of concepts such as diffusion and the world society approach, and by highlighting specific mechanisms of these processes. Given the wide range of topics discussed, it seems impossible to present a few “key findings” here – but it was encouraging to see how well the KFG’s themes fit into the broader trends of the discipline.

ISA conferences are the biggest get-together of their kind. So of course this conference was not only about diffusion, but covered a plethora of different topics. Thus we seized the opportunity to be informed about many different developments and upcoming topics. We heard about new developments with regard to the philosophy of science in



Reception at the 2013 ISA Annual Convention, organized by the KFG and the SFB 700

IR and how (if?) we can accumulate knowledge in the study of international politics. We wanted to know more about innovative teaching: Have you ever considered teaching basic IR topics by making use of popular fiction such as *Battlestar Galactica* (nuclear taboo), *The Hunger Games* (cooperation and anarchy), and *The West Wing* (American foreign policy)? Finally, it was a lot of fun to see some of the well-known scholars ‘live and in action.’ This way, some round tables and panels were at least as entertaining as they were informative.

Yet, ISA was not only about presenting our own work and receiving constructive comments, but it was also about bringing together people working on similar topics and sharing similar approaches. We want to name two highlights.

First and foremost, the reception jointly organized by the KFG and the Collaborative Research Center “Areas in Limited Statehood” brought together many of the fellows of five years of “The Transformative Power of Europe”. All of a sudden, you ran into this person you wanted to write an email ages ago. This reception was one of these opportunities to catch up with the work you liked from the weekly *jour fixes*, or to catch up with people with whom you no longer share a corridor at Ihnestraße 26. We also spotted some prospective visiting scholars thinking about coming to Berlin next fall.

Secondly, some of the active IR bloggers organized the first ISA Blogging Reception. Blogging – or tweeting for that matter – is still not very common in German and European academic circles, but has made its way in the US-American branch of the profession. At ISA, established and newly active bloggers got together to celebrate the best of their kind and discuss matters of visibility and improvement. Judging from the great experiences at ISA, we are confident that blogging can be a great tool to present research and to engage with a broader audience. If you are interested in reading or contributing to our own project, please visit www.irblog.eu.



In conclusion, ISA 2013 was a big success and a great experience! This is true not only because the KFG fellows faced the most fitting conference call one could think of. It was a success for us grad students, who received constructive and helpful feedback on projects in their rather early stages and had a great opportunity to get to know the workings of academic conferences. Finally, the KFG team did an excellent job in bringing together former fellows as well as reaching out to prospective new ones.

Report

“EU External Environmental Governance Beyond its Neighbourhood”

*KFG Workshop held in Berlin on 19-20 April 2013
by Katja Biedenkopf & Diarmuid Torney*

Workshop Convenors



Dr. Katja Biedenkopf



Dr. Diarmuid Torney

The Kolleg-Forschergruppe “The Transformative Power of Europe” hosted a two-day workshop on April 19-20, 2013 in Berlin on the theme “EU External Environmental Governance Beyond its Neighborhood”. The workshop sought to move beyond existing generalizations of EU external governance, for example as a ‘normative power’ or ‘leader’, aiming to provide a more nuanced understanding of how and under what conditions the EU succeeds or fails to promote its norms, policies and institutions of environmental regulation beyond its borders.

The papers presented covered EU relations with a variety of countries and regions, including Turkey, the Caucasus, South Africa, North and South America, Central Asia, and Indonesia, as well as a diverse set of policy areas such as climate change, energy, chemicals, biosafety, fisheries, and forestry. The papers adopted diverse methodological approaches and focused both on factors within the EU and third countries that explain variation in the external environmental governance activities of the EU.

A core finding of the workshop hinted at a disconnect between bilateral and international governance. While bilateral policy transfers and external influence was noted in a number of policy areas such as

climate and chemicals, this is not necessarily translated into the approximation of national positions in international negotiations. The papers showed the differential effects of the EU’s external environmental governance across policy areas. In some areas, such as climate change where the EU claims a strong ‘leadership’ role, it has been relatively unsuccessful in shaping the international negotiating positions of other states, although third countries have increasingly adopted European-style domestic climate policies.

Another key theme that was discussed at the workshop was the role of geography. While it has long been recognized that the EU’s ‘transformative power’ is at its highest vis-à-vis countries with a realistic EU membership perspective, the effects of external governance beyond this group of countries seems irregular. A pattern of concentric circles, whereby the furthest away a country from the EU, the less effects there are, could not be identified. The workshop papers illustrated the limited impact of the EU’s external environmental governance beyond the European neighborhood, but also provided examples where EU environmental regulations are partially adopted by actors in distant countries such as Indonesia and the Pacific Ocean. Other factors than geography appear to bear explanatory value for the EU’s external governance effects. The findings stressed that other, potentially competing, actors that promote their own policies are often not given due attention. Such actors can be international organizations and other countries.

Workshop contributors drew attention to a diverse set of factors, which help to explain the differential impact of EU external environmental governance. Some papers focused on intra-EU factors, such as EU coherence, the institutional setup of the EU, and institutional reforms such as the creation of the

European External Action Service. Others highlighted factors in third countries such as domestic political structures, institutional path dependencies, differing interests, and diverging policy frames on the part of third countries vis-à-vis European approaches. The discussion led to the conclusion that a better linking of EU-internal and –external factors could make a contribution to better understanding EU external governance. Such efforts are relatively rare and underdeveloped so far.

The workshop illustrated a distinction between ‘active’ EU promotion of its institutions, norms, and policies in third countries through mechanisms such as conditionality and socialization, and more ‘passive’ mechanisms of transfer in which third countries adopt European approaches through mechanisms such as emulation and learning in which the EU does not play a prominent role.

Report

“The Democratic Disconnect. Citizenship and Accountability in the Transatlantic Community”

*Presentation of the Annual Report by the Transatlantic Academy, given in Berlin on 14 May 2013
by Andrea Bianculli*



Nick Siegel and Richard Youngs at the presentation

On May 14, the Freie Universität Berlin and the KFG “The Transformative Power of Europe” hosted the presentation of the annual report of the Transatlantic Academy, which explores a central theme of the transatlantic relationship: the challenges and opportunities of the future of the liberal order. Chaired by Nick Siegel, the discussion broadly focused on two main themes. First, Richard Youngs offered an evaluation of the EU’s policy towards democracy and human rights promotion. Rather paradoxically, this policy seems to be in good shape despite the current financial crisis. However, several shortcomings – such as the bloc’s approach to

China and the Arab Spring – must be addressed in the near future in order to assure its impact. Second, Gunther Hellman reflected on the combined effects of the decline of multilateralism and the rise of “minilateralism,” raising both policy-oriented and theoretical questions regarding the future of the liberal international order. These topics will be the focus of the coming research program at the Transatlantic Academy.

OVERVIEW: LATEST WORKING PAPERS**KOLLEG-FORSCHERGRUPPE "THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF EUROPE"**

All Working Paper may be downloaded [here](#)

Working Paper NO. 49**The Life Cycles of Competing Policy Norms. Localizing European and Developmental Central Banking Ideas**

Arie Krampf - April 2013

Abstract: During the 20th century, the institution called central bank was diffused globally. However, central banking practices differed significantly between European market-based economies and developing economies. This paper traces the ideas and norms that shaped and legitimized central banking practices in the two areas. The paper argues that during the period from the 1940s to the 1970s two central banking policy norms existed: the liberal norm, which emerged in Europe, and the developmental central banking norm, which emerged in Latin America and diffused to East Asia. The paper seeks to trace the life cycles of the two norms: to specify the ideational content of each norm and to identify the actors and networks that produced, promoted and diffused them. The paper makes two contributions. First, theoretically, on the basis of Finnemore and Sikkink's theory of international norms' dynamics, it introduces a mechanism that explains the emergence and internationalization of an alternative international norm in the periphery that challenges the standard international norm. Second, it contributes to the literature on comparative regionalism by historicizing the liberal/European standard of central banking practices and by identifying the existence of an alternative standard for central banking practices in developing countries. The paper covers the period from the 1940s to the 1970s.

Working Paper NO. 50**Solidarität unter Fremden? Europäische Identität im Härtetest**

Thomas Risse - May 2013

Abstract: Die Euro-Krise ist nicht nur ein Härtetest für die europäische Integration, sondern auch für die viel-beschworene „Solidarität unter Fremden“ und für die Annahme, dass europäische Identität zu dieser Solidarität führt. Jetzt muss sich zeigen, ob Europäerinnen und Europäer – insbesondere diejenigen in den reichen Schuldnerländern – bereit sind, sich die Europäische Union (EU) und den Euro etwas kosten zu lassen und den südeuropäischen Krisenländern aus der Patsche zu helfen (allerdings nicht bedingungslos). Ich argumentiere auf der Grundlage von Meinungsumfragen und statistischen Analysen, dass Grund für vorsichtigen Optimismus besteht. Erstens hat die Identifikation mit Europa und die Unterstützung der EU während der Krise nicht wesentlich abgenommen. Zweitens sind europäische Bürgerinnen und Bürger bereit, Solidarität zu zeigen mit den Schuldenstaaten – sofern diese ihre Staatshaushalte und Bankensysteme unter Kontrolle bringen. Drittens sind Unionsbürgerinnen und –bürger zunehmend willens, sich wechselseitig als Europäer gleiche politische und soziale Rechte zuzubilligen.