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About the *Kolleg-Forscherguppe* (KFG)

The diffusion of ideas has become a central research theme in political science, sociology, law, history, and economics. In this context, the *Kolleg-Forscherguppe* (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-Forscherguppe* 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-Forschergruppe,

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

We are excited to report that the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) has decided to provide us with four more years of funding enabling the KFG to continue its activities until the fall of 2016. In the coming years, we will concentrate on two themes:

1. Comparative regionalism and the diffusion as well as the localization of EU policies and institutional solutions in various regions of the globe;
2. The EU as recipient of global diffusion processes.

As usual, this newsletter gives an overview of the ongoing activities of the KFG. We welcome our new (post-doctoral) fellows and tell you about their research. The newsletter also informs you about three workshops held at the KFG in the past months and organized by our postdocs and senior fellows. The first workshop took place in June and dealt with the developments in the Arab world and the role of the EU. In October, we explored environmental protection in the 20th century and the diffusion of ideas from a historical perspective. The third workshop was held in November and analyzed the Euro crisis from a comparative perspective. The newsletter also contains calls for papers of future workshops and conferences.

Last not least, the newsletter showcases the research project of one of our doctoral fellows, Kai Striebinger, on the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS) and its role as a regional governance provider.

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

Best regards,

Tanja A. Börzel

Thomas Risse

Research Directors

KFG is granted another four years of funding – the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft provides 3.9 million Euro

We are happy to announce that the Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG) is going to be funded by the German Research Foundation for another four years.

The KFG, directed by Prof. Dr. Tanja A. Börzel and Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse, will continue to bring together research on the diffusion of ideas within and beyond Europe. While studies within the first phase of the KFG mainly covered processes of diffusion within the EU, scholars will now place a stronger focus on other regions and diffusion processes outside of Europe.

Do European policies and institutions spread to other regions? Did the EU serve as a role model for regional settings in other parts of the world, such as the African Union or ASEAN? And if so, what are the effects of these processes of diffusion?

Moreover, the EU will be analyzed as a recipient of global diffusion processes. Has the EU learned from other region's experiences, for example concerning the current financial crisis? And has this impacted on Europe's self-understanding?

Within their research, the KFG members will continue to combine theoretical approaches from the Europeanization literature with approaches of

social science research on diffusion, the historical transfer literature and cultural-scientific research on translation.

For four more years, the Research College will provide for a supporting and stimulating research environment for its members. It will continue to promote young talented researchers through its doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships and provide top scholars with the opportunity to concentrate on their studies through its sabbatical program.

Moreover, the KFG will be able to draw attention on its work through the realization of exciting activities as the up-coming conference on "Transformative Power of Europe 2.0: The Road Ahead".

2012 KFG International Conference

The 2012 international conference takes place in Berlin from 14 - 15 December 2012. Under the title "Transformative Power of Europe 2.0: The Road Ahead", the conference will bring together around 50 current and alumni KFG fellows from all over the world. More information is available *on our website* - a detailed report will be included in the next issue of the KFG newsletter.

New colleagues at the KFG

We are pleased to announce that a number of new colleagues have joined the Kolleg-Forschergruppe this autumn.



Dr. Ali Arbia

Latest Professional Career:

PhD from the Political Science Department of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies Geneva

Current Project: Mapping Diffusion: Mechanisms of Diffusion in EU Preferential Trade Agreements



Dr. Daniel Berliner

Latest Professional Career:

PhD in Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle

Current Project: Regional Institutions and Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Diffusion of Transparency and Accountability Policies



Dr. Andrea Bianculli

Latest Professional Career:

PhD in Political and Social Sciences, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Current Project: The Diffusion of Regulatory Regionalism: When the European Union Travels to the Global South



Elin Hellquist

Latest Professional Career:

PhD in Political Science, European University Institute, Florence

Current Project:

Regional Organisations and Normative Discipline through Sanctions



Dr. Isik Özel

Latest Professional Career:

- Visiting research fellow, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City (2012)
- Assistant Professor, Political Science, Sabancı University, Istanbul, Turkey (since 2007)

Current Project: Institutions, State-Business Coalitions and Economic Development - Comparative Perspectives from Turkey and Mexico



Dr. Majda Ruge

Latest Professional Career:

- PhD, European University Institute
- Lecturer of International Relations at the Sarajevo Institute of Science and Technology (2009)

Current Project: Perspectives on the EU by moderate Islamists in Tunisia. Role of the norms, institutions, interests and regional influences in the reform process



Mathis Lohaus

Latest Professional Career:

PhD Candidate, Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies

Current Project: Establishing a Common Set of Rules? A Comparative Analysis of International Efforts in the Fight against Corruption



Sören Stapel

Latest Professional Career:

PhD Candidate, Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies

Current Project: The EU is not the only game in town – disentangling global and regional patterns of diffusion in comparative regionalism



Stefan Skupien

Latest Professional Career:

PhD Candidate

Current Project: Conceptual appropriation and resistance in Ghana's constitution-making, 1988-1993



Junprof. Dr. Heike Klüver

Famous Last Words

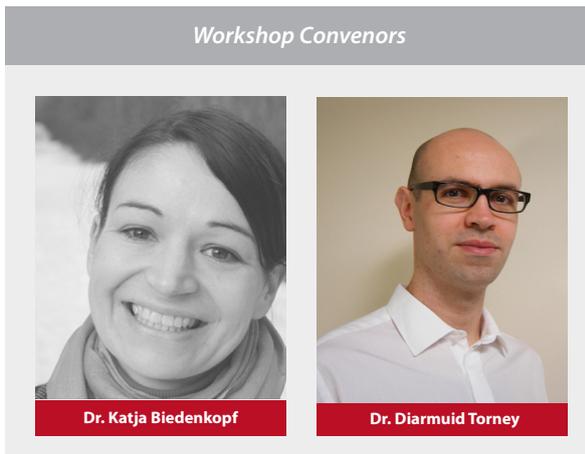
I spent several months as a Visiting Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Kolleg-Forscherguppe during the academic year 2011/2012 and had an excellent time throughout my stay in Berlin. The KFG offers a truly unique academic environment as it brings together a wide variety of scholars studying the transformative power of Europe from different theoretical and methodological perspectives. I particularly appreciated the combination of junior scholars with established senior researchers that resulted in a very stimulating academic exchange. I would like to thank Tanja and Thomas and the KFG team for a great time in Berlin.

Heike Klüver
KFG Visiting PostDoc in the Academic Year 2011 / 2012
Junprof. at the University of Konstanz

Call for Abstracts

“EU External Environmental Governance Beyond its Neighbourhood”

KFG Workshop to be held at Berlin on 19-20 April 2013



This workshop adopts a wide angle on a variety of external governance efforts in which the EU engages, including international negotiations, policy promotion and the use of market power. It strives to analyze the effectiveness of EU external environmental governance efforts, to identify their different patterns and to explore the conditions in non-EU countries that enable or impede effective EU external governance.

The slow progress of international climate negotiations and the ‘failed’ leadership of the European Union at the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen attracted significant scholarly attention. Finding consensus on a suitable post-Kyoto Protocol agreement poses major challenges. The difficulties with the ‘traditional’ multilateral way of governing global environmental problems through treaties gave rise to a search for solutions that complement and support these efforts. The EU has set ambitious domestic climate targets and strives for similar commitments of other major polluters. In environmental policy areas such as chemicals

policy, the EU leads by adopting and promoting ambitious regulation. Apart from multilateral negotiations, the EU’s toolbox comprises bilateral agreements, cooperation efforts with non-EU jurisdictions at different levels of governance, coercion and incentives, as well as external effects of EU pioneering policy through learning, competition and emulation.

Studies show that the more remote from the EU’s neighborhood a jurisdiction is located, the more important domestic conditions in non-EU countries become because the EU’s leverage diminishes. The workshop stresses this aspect and strives to investigate the interplay between non-EU domestic factors and the EU’s external governance activities. EU scholars recently have paid increasing attention to the external effects of EU policies and institutions on countries beyond the EU’s neighborhood. They propose conceptualizations of EU external governance and Europeanization beyond Europe. This workshop aims at contributing to this emerging field by focusing on the area of environmental policy.

We invite paper proposals that cover, in particular, the following aspects and questions. Ideally, papers will deal with a number of these elements. Both individual case studies and comparative studies are invited.

Different EU activities and mechanisms: What kind of external governance tools and activities (international negotiations, policy promotion, capacity building, conditionality etc.) does the EU engage in, and what are the results? Conditionality

figures highly in the EU's neighborhood and accession policy. However, it becomes less salient in EU external governance beyond its neighborhood. What mechanisms prevail in external environmental governance?

Different domestic factors in third countries: The success of EU external governance efforts depends on certain scope conditions. Which domestic factors foster the effectiveness of or constitute a barrier to EU external environmental governance?

Different levels of governance: Not only nation states, also sub-national entities and international organizations can be subject to external effects of EU environmental policy. How can we characterize the EU's external environmental governance in a multilevel context?

Different regions and countries: How can we characterize EU external environmental governance in different countries and regions of the world? Are there differences with regard to the EU's approach and its effectiveness?

Different institutional embeddedness: To what extent is a non-EU jurisdiction embedded in regional networks that are not directed towards Europe (Asia, Latin America, Africa etc.)

Different policy subfields: How can we characterize EU external governance in different areas of environmental policy? Are there differences between policy types (for example product- vs. process-related) and policy areas (for example climate change vs. biodiversity)?

Interested authors are invited to send an abstract (max. 500 words) to Katja Biedenkopf (k.biedenkopf@uva.nl) and Diarmuid Torney (diarmuidtorney@gmail.com) by 31 December 2012. Invited paper givers will be asked to submit their final paper by 5 April 2012.

The workshop is funded by the Kolleg-Forschergruppe "The Transformative Power of Europe" of the Freie Universität Berlin. Accommodation and travel expenses will be covered for invited paper givers.

Famous Last Words



Dr. Assem Dandashly

It has been an honor to spend an academic year (2011-2012) as a postdoctoral fellow at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe at the Freie Universität Berlin. The KFG team has created a wonderful research environment facilitating lively interdisciplinary debates and discussions that made the stay at KFG very fruitful. It is a significant learning atmosphere in which senior academics provide their expertise, feedback and supervision to the more junior researchers. The stay at KFG enabled me to finish my PhD, also work on a new related-research project and receive productive feedback. Many thanks to Tanja and Thomas for creating such a research college, to all the administrative team at KFG for the great work they do and of course to all the postdoctoral colleagues who made the stay enjoyable.

Assem Dandashly
KFG PostDoc, 2011-2012
Maastricht University

Workshop Report

“Europe and the Arab Region Post January 2011. Coping with Multifaceted Challenges”

*KFG-DGAP Workshop held in Berlin on 8-9 June 2012
by Dr. Sally Khalifa Isaac Atwan*

Workshop Convenors



Dr. Sally Khalifa Isaac



Dr. Assem Dandashly

The workshop was organized by the KFG in cooperation with the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) and held in Berlin from 8-9 June 2012. It focused on the debate regarding Euro-Arab relations after the Arab uprisings, and how Europe can effectively reinvent its role in the region amid challenging security, political, economic and social contexts. Distinguished scholars and experts on the topic from different disciplines and from the Middle East, Europe and the United States participated in the workshop and presented their analytical views and perspectives on this important debate.

The workshop started with a key-note speech by Ambassador Dr. Amin Shalaby, Executive Director of the Egyptian Council on Foreign Affairs, entitled "The European Union and the Arab Uprisings: Challenges and Prospects". This was followed by an *an opening "Policy Panel"*, moderated by Dr. Henning Hoff from the DGAP, that gathered four distinguished panelists: Ambassador Amin Shalaby; Ambassador Shimon Stein from Israel, Dr. Ghada Karmi from Palestine and KFG Research Director Prof. Thomas Risse from Freie Universität Berlin. The panel initiated a constructive policy-oriented discussion, with a considerable dose of realism, on the various dimensions that the workshop sessions would deal with on the following day. For that purpose, the panel triggered discussion on what Arab countries in transition expect from Europe and the limitations of Europe's role in this process. It also triggered discussion on the prospects for peacemaking in the Middle East, and what Europe's prospects as a broker in the process could be.

The workshop proceeded on the second day with three panels:

The first panel, entitled "General Assessment of Euro-Arab Relations Post January 2011", provided an overall assessment of the EU response to the Arab revolutions. Gergana Noucheva presented a paper on "A New EU Strategy for the Neighbourhood? The Impact of the Arab Spring on the European Neighbourhood Policy", and argued that the momentous changes in the Mediterranean provoked a rethinking of the EU's approach to the region but that the policy change that followed did not constitute a real strategy for the neighborhood. In this sense, she concluded, the introduced policy change leaves key policy questions unanswered and fails to offer a clear vision for neighborhood security, economic development and democratization.

In his co-authored paper "Structural Competition in Arab Mediterranean Societies: Islamist Parties and European Foreign Policy after the Arab Uprisings", Charles Thépaut (together with Stephan Keukeleire) argued that the rise of political Islam in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings offers a new challenge to the EU in dealing with its southern partners. Thereupon, the authors claimed that the foundations of Euro-Arab dialogue have to be revisited and that the EU should focus on a balanced approach towards religiosity in the Arab Mediterranean countries.

The second panel, entitled "Case Studies and the Role of Arab Actors", focused on the two case studies of Egypt and Tunisia, as well as on the external role of Arab actors, mainly those of the Gulf States and the Arab League. In his paper "Managing International Assistance to Egypt after January 2011", Khaled Zakaria Amin provided analyses of the political economy context of Egypt before January 2011 and how international donors – including the EU - managed their assistance to Egypt over one decade before the uprising. He discussed the environment in which the international donors would manage their assistance to Egypt after January 2011 in an attempt to explore new mechanisms that these donors should consider in managing assistance in the future.

Workshop co-convenor Assem Dandashly presented a paper on the EU democratization efforts in Tunisia, arguing that supporting democracy is a necessary condition for guaranteeing a stable and secure southern border, and that economic growth is an essential condition for consolidating democracy and political reforms in Tunisia.

Discussing the roles of external Arab actors, workshop co-convenor Sally Khalifa Isaac presented a paper on "The Limits and Prospects for Euro-Gulf Collaboration in Arab Transitions". She highlighted the centrality of the Gulf in the Arab uprisings with the main goal of maintaining the political stability in the wider Arab region. She then moved to assess the limits of European influence in the Gulf, due to a continuing disjuncture between European interests and Gulf priorities. The author concluded that Euro-Gulf collaboration post-January 2011 is both needed and possible, and offered recommendations for enhancing future cooperation between the two sides.

Finally, Vera van Hüllen presented a paper on the new role of the Arab League in the changing regional context post January 2011. She argued that the Arab League has been an active player in regional and international politics since January 2011, even though its success in terms of conflict management remains open for debate. The author also pointed out how the active role of the Arab League post January 2011 has been dependent on individual countries – especially the Gulf States – as drivers of collective action.

The third panel, entitled "Europe and External Actors in the Arab Revolutions", focused on the role of external players such as the United States and Turkey in the Arab uprisings. It also included the discussion of the Israeli perspective on the developments in the Arab region and the relevance of the Palestinian question.

The first paper in this panel was presented by Astrid B. Boening on the transatlantic link and EU foreign policy towards its southern neighborhood. The paper sought to discuss several aspects pertaining to the transatlantic relationship in the post January 2011 Euro-Mediterranean context.

A second paper was presented by Benoit Challand on "How New Can the EU Aid Policies Be vis-à-vis Arab Countries after the Arab Spring? Some Lessons from the Palestinian Case". The author examined the EU's past policies, particularly aid policies, towards the Palestinians in order to understand what the EU's stance is in relation to the Arab revolts. Used as an analytical prism, aid disbursed by the EU reveals another dimension of the widening gap between rhetoric and reality in terms of EU policy towards the Palestinian

question. Challand argued that the risk for the EU is that, despite the emphasis on "deep democracy", its new policies might reinstall the biases of the Barcelona Process, where processes of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation were deeply skewed in favor of economic and security terms.

A third paper was presented by Amichai Magen, who gave an Israeli perspective on the "Arab Spring". This paper provided a "view from Jerusalem" on the strategic assessment of the Arab revolts. Magen pointed out some of the key differences in perspective on the meaning and consequences of the "Arab Spring" between Israel and its main Western partners, and demonstrated how Israel's evaluation of the dramatic, often violent events happening around it have evolved over the past eighteen months. The author then proceeded to examine Israel's policy responses to the Arab revolts so far. He contended that, in this context, the Jewish State is currently guided by four mutually reinforcing principles, which can be summarized as: Strategic silence; asset preservation; avoiding diversion from the Iranian nuclear threat; and searching for new friends and sources of influence in an increasingly hostile region.

Finally, a fourth paper was presented by Bilgin Ayata on Turkey as an emerging regional actor in the Middle East, particularly after January 2011. The author discussed the potentials and pitfalls of Turkey's recent changes in foreign policy, and evaluated to what degree it can play a key role in the transformation processes that are undergoing in the Arab region. Ayata touched on the wide debate on the applicability of the 'Turkish Model' for its neighbors, as well as debates on Turkey's proactive engagements in the region. She argued that while Turkey's popularity under the leadership of Erdogan and the ruling Justice and Development Party is skyrocketing in the Middle East, inconsistencies in its foreign policy initiatives, its unresolved Kurdish conflict at home as well as the stagnation in the EU accession process are casting doubts on to what degree Turkey can actually fulfill an expanded role in its neighborhood.



Prof. Stephen Clarkson

Famous Last Words

Cycling to the KFG with the U-Bahn tracks on my left and a meadow on my right as if I were pedaling through a nature reserve. Enjoying the Jour fixe presentation of a post-doc on a subject I would otherwise not have grappled with. Having wide-ranging discussions with Thomas and Tanja in a Biergarten afterwards. Having talks with Thomas about my aspirations to develop a big project on inter-regional norm diffusion. Preparing my own paper on foreign investment protection norms and arbitration for our Monday afternoon encounter with colleagues both senior and junior. Being challenged by Tanja's critique of my critique of North American (dis)integration. Starting my fieldwork with exploratory interviews in the German government and in the EC's DG Trade in Brussels. Enjoying the friendly help of Ina and Carina on matters organizational. Preparing to play a bit part – including composing a poster that nobody looked at – in the larger drama of the "Transformative Power of Europe"'s mid-term review. It all added up to 3 months of my own transformation from analysing the political economy of North America to researching inter-regional norm diffusion. In sum, it was an enriching, deepening, unforgettable experience for which I will always be deeply grateful.

Stephen Clarkson
KFG Senior Fellow, 2012
Professor, University of Toronto

Conference Report

“Environmental Protection in the Global Twentieth Century: International Organizations, Networks and Diffusion of Ideas and Policies Challenges”

*KFG Conference held in Berlin on 25-26 October 2012
by Dr. Jan-Henrik Meyer*

Conference Convenors



Prof. Dr. Wolfram Kaiser



Dr. Jan-Henrik Meyer

The long rays of the yellow autumn sun shining on the red leaves of the Dahlem Campus provided a local touch of nature for an international conference devoted to the protection of the environment on a global scale. Sixteen researchers from eleven different countries from Europe and overseas gathered at the Free University's Silberlaube conference centre to discuss "Environmental Protection in the Global Twentieth Century: International Organizations, Networks and Diffusion of Ideas and Policies".

International organizations (IOs) played a crucial role in defining and diffusing ideas about the environment. Notably, IOs were central forums for negotiating and placing environmental protection on the international political agenda. It is widely assumed that 1972 – the year of the first UN conference on the human environment in Stockholm and of the publication of the Club of Rome report "Limits to Growth" – marked the starting point of international environmental politics. Taking a long-term perspective across the entire twentieth-century, the conference set out to reconsider this received wisdom. Paper gives approached IOs from two perspectives: first, which role did IOs play as norm entrepreneurs, selecting, defining, diffusing and translating ideas about the environment in the course of the twentieth century? Secondly, which structural conditions facilitated – and at times inhibited – diffusion? A core assumption was that the embedding of IOs in national and transnational networks crucially mattered in this respect.

The contributions addressed these core issues in six panels in roughly chronological order. In a first panel Patrick Kupper (Zurich) traced the origins of environmental internationalism to Paul Sarasin, a Swiss scientist and networker, advocating "World Nature Protection". Sarasin managed to gather an international group of scientists in Berne in November 1913 for what could have been the start of a first international NGO, but the outbreak of World War I thwarted his ambitions. Sarasin's ideas were however not forgotten. As Anna-Katharina Wöbse (Geneva) explained in her paper on the League of Nations, other activists picked up these ideas and took them to the new organization. While the League of Nations failed to fulfill the hopes of the activists, its definitions of nature – frequently in terms of economic resources – continued to frame discussions well into the post-World War II United Nations. Iris Borowy's (Paris) paper similarly traced diffusion of ideas across IOs. She argued that it was a network of – mostly individual – actors

who transmitted and translated environmental ideas from the OECD Environment Committee to the Brundtland Commission, the latter combining both developmental and environmental issues.

Focusing on different actors, the second panel addressed a number of issues that only became part of the environmental agenda in the early 1970s. While Enora Javaudin (Paris) studied how scientists turned nuclear technology into an environmental issue, Wolfram Kaiser (Portsmouth) pointed to the conditions for preventing ideas diffusion and change. In the relevant committees of the OEEC and the UN Economic Commission for Europe, heavy industry representatives made sure that air pollution in their sector was exclusively treated as a technological issue in the 1950s and 1960s, to avoid the imposition of tighter rules and new capital costs. Raf de Bont outlined the research agenda of the new project "Nature's diplomats" at Maastricht University, which focuses on experts in environmental IOs in the 20th century.

Two panels zoomed in on the Stockholm conference of 1972. Luigi Piccioni (Calabria/Rome) allowed the audience a glimpse behind the closed doors of the Vatican, and its surprisingly active involvement and networking in the context of the Stockholm conference. Michael Manulak (Oxford/Ottawa) and Roger Eardley-Pryor (Santa Barbara) both considered the role of developing countries led by Brazil at the UN conference, opposing a strong UN environmental organization and laying the groundwork for the subsequent "sustainable development" agenda. Jan-Henrik Meyer (Aarhus) and Francesco Petrini (Padua) pointed to IO responses to the Stockholm conference: The European Communities started their own environmental policy, taking on board what seemed to be a popular new issue. OPEC's price rise in 1973 was informed by debates within OPEC about limited resources – and the need to protect them for the future.

As part of a panel on societal actors, Stephen Macekura (Charlottesville) returned to the issue of sustainability, however, highlighting the role of NGOs in the crafting of the World Conservation Strategy. Renaud Bécot (Paris) provided insights in the diffusion of ideas on the working environment between labour unions and the International Labour Organization. The final panel was devoted to post-1972 issues across the globe. Alessandro Antonello (Canberra) explained how the scientific concept of the ecosystem became a shorthand reference for political actors designating the political and ecological space of Antarctica. David Hirst (Manchester) pointed to the scientific networks and path dependencies in the creation of the International Panel on Climate Change. Michel Dupuy's (Paris) study about the late German Democratic Republic's vain attempts to conform to international conventions on air pollution provided an instructive case of the strength of IOs as norms entrepreneurs across the Iron Curtain.

The conference was a pioneering enterprise – trying to bring together for the first time researchers working on this issue world-wide, laying the basis for future cooperation, and mapping the field. This research area seems to be dominated by Western scholars working with (mostly) Western sources. De-centering Europe – one of the initial objectives of the conference in line with the KFG's goals – will eventually require moving beyond this state of research, activating scholars in other world regions like Asia and Latin America to discuss issues linking environmental protection, international organizations and diffusion.



Prof. Emek Ucarer

Famous Last Words

I have tremendously enjoyed my time at the KFG. What an opportunity to be surrounded by people doing cutting edge research and, equally importantly, willing and excited about sharing it and exchanging ideas! I benefited immensely from the comments and feedback of my colleagues at the KFG while learning a lot from their research. The wonderful KFG team made everything easy. Heartfelt thanks to Tanja and Thomas for the welcoming and productive research space, which made all the difference. I will cherish, and miss, my time at the KFG.

Emek Ucarer
KFG Senior Fellow, 2012
Professor, Bucknell University

Conference Report

“The Financial Crisis in Comparative Regional Perspective: Can Europe Learn from other Regions?”

KFG Conference held in Berlin on 23-24 November 2012

by Dr. Arie Krampf

Conference Convenor



Dr. Arie Krampf

The conference "The Financial Crisis in Comparative Regional Perspective: Can Europe Learn from other Regions?" took place at the Freie Universität Berlin from 23-24 November 2012. It was hosted by the Kolleg-Forschergruppe "The Transformative Power of Europe" and convened by Arie Krampf. The conference brought together political scientists, economists and sociologists to discuss the European financial crisis in comparative regional perspective.

The conference sought to compare the current European financial crisis to previous financial crises in other regions in order to reach generalizations regarding the putative effects of a financial crisis on regional integration processes, with the aim of identifying the mechanisms that link the crisis to an institutional regional change and the political and economic factors that explain inter-regional variations.

Several key themes emerged from the panel discussions:

Variations of regional paths: Several papers compared different cases of regional integration and identified the variations between the different regional paths of integration in the EU, ASEAN and Mercosur. Variations were explained on the basis of factors such as the level of trust among governments in the regions, the role of regional leaders, common interest vis-à-vis extra-regional actors and deviation from historical paths. There was also an attempt to compare the European process of integration with the monetary federalization of the United States.

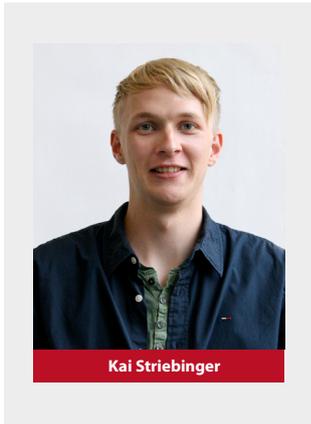
Regional responses to financial crises: A key theme that ran through most of the papers was the regional response to a financial crisis. Given that a regional financial crisis creates a demand for an urgent facilitation of liquidity provision, the issue of Regional Liquidity Funds (RLF) recurred in several papers. The need for rapid and flexible regional sources of liquidity, it was agreed by the participants, is one of the key drivers of financial regional integration. However, the outcomes in the different regions vary in terms of depth and mode of integration. Hence, crises were discussed as events that have the potential to transform the region. However, the materialization of this potential is dependent on regional political and economic features. In this context, a panel on banking supervision addressed the different modes of banking regulation in Latin America and in Europe and how financial crises affected the regional mode of banking regulation.

Challenges for Europe: Several of the papers focused on the impact of the Eurozone crisis on the future of the European integration process. The conclusions were mixed: some papers argued that the crisis led to a "national backlash" among European countries, while other papers pointed out the new opportunity for further integration.

Report

“Well-meant is not Well Done – ECOWAS and the Crisis in Mali”

by Kai Striebinger



Suspension, sanctions, military intervention. In response to the Coup d’Etat against the Malian president on March 22, 2012, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) seems to follow its strict policy of “zero tolerance against unconstitutional accession to power.” While ECOWAS was indeed successful in its short term reaction to the coup, the long term action aimed at establishing democratic structures in the country can best be characterized as “well meant is not well done”: while the intentions are praiseworthy, the concrete implementation attempts are likely to fail. But, after all, ECOWAS’ efforts go far beyond what other regional organizations do.

But before addressing ECOWAS’ actions, some brief words on the complex military and political situation in Mali. In fact, the Northern part of Mali is no longer under control of the Malian Defence and Security Forces. Instead the North is controlled by a variety of actors who have an interest in a weak Malian state. Among them are: (1) religious extremists aiming to establish the Sharia with links to various international terrorist networks (for example, Al-Qaida or Boko Haram), (2) organized criminal networks specializing in international drug trade and human trafficking, (3) disappointed Tourag rebel groups. And, in Bamako, the cabal is ongoing. Leaders are caught in a vicious circle of meanness, mistrust, and malevolence. For example, some Malian Generals attempted a counter coup shortly after the initial coup.

While ECOWAS – in correspondence with its protocols and the Malian constitution – did pursue a tough stance on the coupists at the beginning, it fails to impose a coherent solution for the military and political situation.

ECOWAS immediately condemned the coup and held an extra-ordinary summit of Heads of State and Government. At this meeting, presidents adopted decisions eventually leading to the handing over of government responsibility from the coup leader, Amadou Sanogo, to the speaker of the national assembly, Dioncounda Traoré, and to the adoption of a transition roadmap, which should lead to elections in April 2013.

This first success is undermined by the developments of the following months. Three examples: First, on November 11, 2012, the ECOWAS summit adopted the establishment of an international military force (IMF) composed of 3.300 troops – instead of the once planned several ten thousands. With the (military) help of the European Union, the IMF is supposed to support the Malian army of 5.000 demoralized soldiers and security personnel to establish territorial integrity. However, the IMF is not big enough to do that. It also has neither the experience, nor the training, nor the equipment to fight in the desert region in Northern Mali.

Second, by accepting Sanogo to occupy a central position in the Malian government (his intimates occupy the ministries of defence, interior, and internal security), ECOWAS accepted a known coupist and his entourage as future negotiation partners – instead of putting them into prison.

Third, by appointing Blaise Compaoré as the official ECOWAS mediator, ECOWAS has reduced its credibility in the region. The Burkinabe did not only come to power via a coup himself but also led a war against Mali – and therefore is rather unpopular with the Malian people.

But alternatives to this pragmatic approach are not very attractive either. One alternative would be to increase the international efforts, but neither the development partners nor ECOWAS want to provide the necessary resources for such an all-encompassing solution (It would, however, be a first step for France to stop the direct financing of terrorist groups through the payment of ransom money). The other alternative would be to accept the splitting of the Malian state. But so far almost no one considers this possibility. That is why ECOWAS moves on with its well-meant plan. But if it will be done well and will lead to the desired results can be doubted.

In comparison, however, ECOWAS seems to do relatively well. The crises in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in Somalia, and in (South) Sudan all show that without a strong regional organization, peace and stability would be even further away. The Southern African Development Community, the East African Community, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development all lack these strong – albeit imperfect – political will, legal bases, and institutional resources that ECOWAS has. Also, Mali provides a case in point for the relevance of the regional level for resolution of internal conflict. In cooperation with the United Nations, the African Union, and the European Union, it is ECOWAS that leads the process. It remains to be seen in how far these other regional organizations can learn from ECOWAS' successes and failures in managing undemocratic behavior in West Africa.



Esther Ademmer

Famous Last Words

As a doctoral fellow, I have enjoyed being with the Research College for an entire three years, which proved to be indeed a transformative experience. The KFG helped me turn a rough research idea into my proper PhD project, financed my field trips and offered the academic environment I needed to make sense of empirical overload and conceptual confusion. I shared the ups and downs of my PhD endeavor with my doctoral peers and thankfully used the experience of the KFG postdocs, whenever I needed to see some light at the end of the tunnel. And brighter it got indeed. Thank you!

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

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Working Paper NO. 40**Transformations on Whose Terms? Understanding the New EU-ACP Trade Relations from the Outside In**

Ulrike Lorenz - June 2012

Abstract: In the past ten years, the long-standing trade relations between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries have experienced radical transformations. The negotiations of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the EU and seven regional groupings formed by the ACP countries have led to the EU being maneuvered into an unexpectedly weak position. For the first time, European negotiators had to substantially leave their pre-agreed negotiation path and positions due to the immense pressure from ACP countries, regional organizations, and non-state actors – and still have not been able to finalize negotiations that had initially been expected to only take five years until the end of 2007.

These developments constitute a two-tire puzzle: Not only could the EU not play its ‘negotiation game’ and largely determine the outcomes of negotiations, but also did the outcomes of the negotiations differ between the individual regional negotiations groups despite a single European mandate for all seven regionally conducted EPA negotiations. The paper argues that a comparative ‘outside-in perspective’ from the ACP countries’ side towards the EU is essential to understand the puzzling EPA negotiation process and its (preliminary) outcomes. More specifically, it argues that the negotiations were rather determined by regional dynamics, different negotiation structures of individual EPA configurations, and the role of regional hegemony than by the EU’s actions and positions. This perspective has so far gained little attention. Trade negotiations with the EU have largely been illustrated as a clear-cut case in most studies and it is to be questioned to what extent the EPA negotiations challenge such a scenario. The paper presents a comparative case study on the EPA negotiation groups of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC) from a ‘South-Eastern African perspective’.

Working Paper NO. 41**Tolerance as a European Norm or an Ottoman Practice? An Analysis of Turkish Public Debates on the (Re)Opening of an Armenian Church in the Context of Turkey’s EU Candidacy and Neo-Ottoman Revival**

Bilgin Ayata - June 2012

Abstract: Turkey has undergone significant legal and institutional reforms regarding minority rights and cultural rights in the past decade as part of a reform process to meet political criteria for EU membership. However, it has not been studied so far if this increasing institutional compliance has also led to transformations at a normative level in the public discourse in Turkey. To explore this question, this paper presents the results of a qualitative media analysis that I conducted on the restoration and reopening of an Armenian church in 2007 – a milestone for the Republic as churches were destroyed or doomed to vanish for nearly a century since the Armenian Genocide in 1915. The restoration of the Sourp Khatch/Akhtamar Church became a showcase for Turkey’s self-promotion as a ‘tolerant nation’. However, the church was notably made accessible to the public as a museum that initially lacked the cross on its dome and was conceived to only host a religious service once a year. This opening of a church-museum is a symbolic instance in Turkey’s ongoing transformation process in which tolerance and plurality have become prominent keywords in politics and public debate. Yet, as the findings suggest, they do not so as

a reflection of European norms, but rather stand for a rediscovery and reinterpretation of Turkey's Ottoman past practices as a multi-religious empire. I show, however, that this reinterpretation occurs on the shaky grounds of a blindfolded view of the past, in particular the denial of the Armenian Genocide, and on the denial that minorities are still endangered in present day Turkey. I conclude that, without an acknowledgement of the Armenian Genocide, Turkey's nostalgic embracement of the Ottoman past and representation of norms such as tolerance as the 'true' Turkish/Islamic norms do not stand for a norm internalization or a norm adaptation process, but instead, for a disconnection between norm and practice.

Working Paper NO. 42

The Holy Trinity of Democracy, Economic Development, and Security. EU Democratization Efforts Beyond its Borders - The Case of Tunisia

Assem Dandashly - July 2012

Abstract: The EU has been engaged in democracy promotion, human rights, and civil liberties in the Mediterranean countries for over two decades with results ranging from very limited success to total failure. The revolutions in the Arab world – that have caught the EU and Western countries by surprise – provide a window of opportunity for real democratic reforms in the region. The successful democratization in Tunisia will send positive messages to the neighboring countries. Why should the EU be more involved in supporting Tunisia's democratic transition? And what can the EU do to support Tunisia's efforts to build and reform its institutions and to move towards a consolidated democracy with a functioning market economy? Answering these research questions requires understanding the major failures of the EU in the Mediterranean region – the Union of the Mediterranean is on hold and conditionality (at least political conditionality) is problematic and questionable. Prior to the Dignity Revolution, security and stability were moving in the opposite direction to democracy –leading the EU to focus more on the former. Now, consolidating democracy, economic development, stability, and security on the EU's Southern borders are moving in the same direction. This paper argues that, first, supporting democracy is a necessary condition for guaranteeing stable and secure southern borders and, secondly, economic growth is a necessary condition for consolidating democracy and political reforms in Tunisia.

Working Paper NO. 43

Grounding the European Public Sphere. Looking Beyond the Mass Media to Digitally Mediated Issue Publics

Lance Bennett - August 2012

Abstract: The gold standard for discussing public spheres has long been established around mass media, with the prestige print press given a privileged place. Yet when it comes to a European public sphere, the mass media are also problematic, or at least incomplete, in several ways: relatively few EU-wide issues are replicated in the national media of EU countries, the discourses on those issues are dominated primarily by elites (with relatively few civil society voices included in the news), and public attention is seldom paid to EU issues beyond a select few (money, agriculture, political integration, scandals), creating a distant 'gallery public.' At the same time, many important political issues such as trade and economic justice, development policy, environment and climate change policy, human rights, and military interventions, among others, are being addressed more actively by networks of civil society actors both within and across EU national borders. These networks utilize the Internet and various interactive digital media to publicize their issues, engage active publics, and contest competing policy perspectives not only within specific issue networks, but across solidarity networks involving other policy issues, and with political targets at national and EU levels. This dimension of the EU public sphere has received relatively little attention from observers, and when it has been explored, it is often dismissed as less inclusive, and therefore less significant than the somewhat reified mass media model. This analysis compares networked, digitally mediated

public issue spheres with the mass mediated model, points out ways in which the two types of public sphere are complementary, and also shows how networked issue spheres may be the sites of greater citizen and civil society engagement in keeping with more classical models of public spheres.

Working Paper NO.44

Not Another GMO. Explaining Europe's Approach to Nanotechnologies

Nico Jaspers - September 2012

Abstract: Despite early warnings about “knowledge-enabled mass destruction” and the ongoing battle over agricultural biotechnology, the development of nanotechnology in Europe has been remarkably quiet over the past decade: non-governmental organization (NGO) campaigns against “nano” were all but inexistent and the wider public appears largely uninterested in nanotechnology. Why has Europe's experience with nanotechnologies been so fundamentally different from that with genetically modified organisms (GMOs)? This article argues that differences in the technologies as such cannot fully explain this divergence. Instead, a convergence of interests across key groups of stakeholders, the institutional evolution of the European Union (EU) and the experience from the GMO case enabled and facilitated a highly anticipatory and proactive approach to nanotechnology risk governance. This approach, marked by early capacity building, stakeholder involvement and gradual regulation succeeded in avoiding public polarization and in promoting a responsible development of nanotechnologies.

Working Paper NO. 45

Emissions Trading - A Transatlantic Journey for an Idea?

Katja Biedenkopf - September 2012

Abstract: This paper examines the ways in which the EU greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions trading system (ETS) affected the design of similar programs in North America. It investigates the conditions under which EU pioneering policy can play a role in extra-EU jurisdictions' policy-making. The empirical investigation finds that the EU's promotion of emissions trading was successful to some extent. The EU did not influence or trigger the inception of GHG emissions trading programs in North America. The EU ETS, however, played a role in the design process of the North American programs. Actors learned from elements of the EU system. Domestic North American factors were the triggers and drivers of the agenda-setting stage and dominated the policy adoption stage while the EU ETS significantly contributed to the policy formulation processes. The EU ETS played a role at the technical level rather than at the level of political deliberations and decision-making. The EU's policy promotion efforts depended on the demand in North America. The resonance and receptiveness in North America were decisive factors. The EU was not an importunate persuader. Learning from the ETS was to a significant part demand-driven.

Working Paper NO. 46

Assessing EU Leadership on Climate Change. The Limits of Diffusion in EU Relations with China and India

Diarmuid Torney - September 2012

Abstract: The EU has for a long time claimed the title of “leader” in the international politics of climate change. However, existing research has generally failed to specify whether the EU's purported leadership has induced the “followership” of other states. This working paper seeks to shed light on this somewhat neglected topic by examining the attempted diffusion of climate change norms, policies, and institutions by the EU to China and India. The paper makes two principal arguments. First, the development of Chinese and Indian climate change policy should be understood as primarily domestic developments. Nonetheless, there was limited evidence of diffusion from the EU, but there was significant variation between the Chinese and Indian responses to the EU's

diffusion attempts. The Chinese response was one increasing accommodation; the Indian response was a more straightforward case of resistance. Second, domestic factors help to explain the variation in the Chinese and Indian responses to EU attempts at diffusion and, related, the observed pattern of diffusion from the EU to China and India. Particularly important is the degree to which new external ideas and concepts resonate with pre-existing domestic ideas and concepts. The paper thus paints a picture of limited EU leadership, but also suggests that the EU attempts to secure “followership” could be enhanced by paying greater attention to the domestic politics and preferences of third countries.

Working Paper NO. 47

The Consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon/European Consensus on Price Stability. From International Coordination to a Rule-Based Monetary Regime

Arie Krampf - October 2012

Abstract: During the 1990s, a consensus consolidated among policy makers and economists worldwide regarding the desirability of very low inflation targeting. So far, this process has been explained on the basis of a domestic-functional thesis, according to which commitment to very low inflation provides local economic gains with no costs. In this paper, I present an alternative explanation, according to which the global norm of very low inflation targeting was consolidated as a political solution to the problem of exchange rate misalignment and volatility. I argue that policy makers in Germany and the US believed that convergence of monetary policies and inflation rates, in addition to liberalization of financial markets, will stabilize exchange rates without the need for direct coordination. The paper employs the theory of liberal intergovernmentalism as a benchmark to explain the choice of the European and the G-5/7 countries to establish a low-inflation rule-based international monetary regime. The paper concludes that the regime of very low inflation targeting was consolidated as a politically viable solution to a political problem rather than as an economic best practice. Furthermore, it concludes that the norm of very low inflation targeting was a “corer solution” that neglected the problem of exchange rate stability.

Working Paper NO. 48

The EU as a Multilateral Rule Exporter. The Global Transfer of European Rules via International Organizations

Mathieu Rousselin - November 2012

Abstract: This working paper investigates the conditions which prompt a variety of non-EU states grouped within an international organization to adopt European rules or standards rather than any alternative rule or standard available for selection. The paper reviews the main conceptual frameworks from research on the bilateral transfer of European rules and highlights similarities between these and alternative explanatory models of rule transfer, diffusion or convergence found in the broader IR literature. After identifying the main differences between bilateral and multilateral rule transfer processes, the paper proposes theoretical amendments to capture the original forms and new channels via which the EU can either impose constraint or seek consent at the multilateral level. On this basis, two hypotheses are formulated whose plausibility is subsequently probed by means of four comparative case studies dedicated to the worldwide transfer or non-transfer of European rules via international organizations.