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Editorial



Prof. Tanja A. Börzel & Prof. Thomas Risse

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

Welcome, once again, to our Kolleg-Forscherguppe 'The Transformative Power of Europe'! This is our third newsletter informing you about what is going on at the KFG. Here are some highlights of what has happened since last fall:

On Sept. 1, 2009, the second group of post-doctoral fellows arrived at the KFG. As usual, this is a very lively group of scholars who debates critical issues of EU studies during our weekly seminar and beyond. The KFG has instituted two working groups, one dealing with the European public spheres and the other one with comparative regionalism. Some of our new fellows are contributing to this newsletter. In the meantime, we have issued the third call for applications for our post-doctoral program which is also included in this newsletter. We are looking forward to applications from around the world.

At the end of September, a high level delegation of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), which funds the KFG, paid a visit to our group. We had a very intensive discussion about the way in which the Research College works. The delegation was particularly impressed by our post-doctoral program.

In early December, the KFG organized its first international conference which took place at the representation of the EU Commission in Berlin at Pariser Platz, close to the Brandenburg Gate. We had issued a 'call for papers' to the conference for which we received over hundred applications. More than hundred participants discussed the transformative power of Europe for two days. You find a report in this newsletter.

In addition, there have been several workshops at the KFG dealing with 'discursive and visual strategies of transnational diffusion', 'discursive institutionalism' and other themes. These workshops are usually organized by our very active group of post-doctoral fellows teaming up with one of our visiting scholars. This year, we are happy to welcome Vivien Schmidt and Jolyon Howorth, who have joined our group in January and will stay through July.

Last not least, we would like to mention that the European Commission has awarded a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence to our team led by Tanja A. Börzel. You will hear more from us in the coming years. See also our new website of the Berlin Center for European Studies (<http://www.fu-europeanstudies.eu/>), which is to provide a gateway for research activities and cooperation on European Integration and the European Union in the capital region of Berlin-Brandenburg.

As you can see, the Kolleg-Forscherguppe has become a very lively center of activities in EU studies. We hope that you enjoy this newsletter.

Best regards

Tanja A. Börzel Thomas Risse
Research Directors

New colleagues at the KFG

We are pleased to announce that Prof. Vivien Schmidt and Prof. Jolyon Howorth have joined the Kolleg-Forschergruppe in January 2010.

Vivien A. Schmidt (BA Bryn Mawr College, MA, PhD University of Chicago) is Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Professor of International Relations, and Director of the Center for International Relations at Boston University as well as Visiting Professor at Sciences Po, Paris. Professor Schmidt has written widely in the areas of European political economy, institutions and democracy, and political theory. She is the author or editor of nine books and has published over one hundred academic articles and chapters in books. During her KFG-visit Vivien Schmidt is working on discursive institutionalism, legitimacy and European Integration.

Jolyon Howorth is Jean Monnet Professor of European Politics ad personam at the University of Bath (UK). He has been a Visiting Professor of Political Science at Yale since 2002. Professor Howorth has published extensively in the field of European politics and history, especially security and defense policy and transatlantic relations - fourteen books and two hundred journal articles and chapters in books. Jolyon Howorth is going to work on Europe's External Relations and its global impact.

Both Vivien Schmidt and Jolyon Howorth will stay at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe until June 2010.



Prof. Vivien A. Schmidt



Prof. Jolyon Howorth

Call for Applications: 6 Postdoctoral fellowships (starting October 2010)

Fellowships: 6 postdoctoral fellowships
Date/duration: 10 months fellowships starting October 2010
Deadline for Applications: 1 April 2010
 (Successful candidates will be informed by end April 2010)

The Research College (Kolleg-Forschergruppe) advertises **up to 6 post-doctoral fellows**. We particularly encourage applications on projects located in the field of comparative regionalism. The fellows should have their PhD in hand by the fall of 2010. The **duration of the fellowship is 10 months** (October 1, 2010–July 31, 2011) with the possibility to reapply. The stipend amounts to **€ 30.000 annually** (including travelling expenses).

The following materials should be submitted:

- CV and list of publications
- Proposal for a post-doctoral project
- Transcripts of degrees and other relevant material
- Two letters of reference

Please send your application to the following address:

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 Otto-Suhr-Institute for Political Science
 Research College 'Transformative Power of Europe'
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Or via email to: transform-europe@fu-berlin.de
 For further information please consider the relevant FAQ section or contact us at transform-europe@fu-berlin.de

International Conference

Transformative Power of Europe?

The European Union and the Diffusion of Ideas



KFG Conference December 2009

In its many years of existence, the European Union (EU) has evolved various ways of diffusing ideas within its borders. Today, not even skeptics would deny that the European integration project does substantially affect its member states. Things, however, seem to be different when one looks at Europe's transformative power in other parts of the globe. In many corners of the world, the 'European model' is not a source of inspiration, but one of contestation. How far then does the EU's transformative power reach? Can Europe diffuse its ideas to states which do not, and will never, have an accession perspective? Can it have an impact on regions, which are neither willing nor capable of adapting to Europe? Can Europeanization travel?

The question, how Europe's transformative power hits beyond its borders, has been at the center of a two-day international conference organized by the Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG) in December 2009. Twenty scholars, selected out of more than one hundred applicants, were invited to present their papers in the Representation of the European Commission in Berlin. Divided into seven panels, the scholars discussed some of the major themes of the KFG: the diffusion of ideas in new EU member

states and those that aspire to become one, as well as broader diffusion mechanisms – from Europe's immediate backyard to far-away regions like the Asia-Pacific and Latin America.

If EU conditionality has the potential to substantially change new EU members and candidates is still debated – a discussion, which has been at the focus of one of the first panels. Ulrich Sedelmeier, senior lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science, finds that the new member states, which joined in 2004, comply extraordinarily well with EU law, contrary to many of the long-standing EU members. According to Sedelmeier, this could be due to the fact that the new members



KFG Conference December 2009

have been subjected to an extensive pre-accession process – a process, which might have socialised them to conceive of good compliance as appropriate behaviour. Eli Gateva (University of Manchester), however, contradicts this view. She observes a 'growing sense of frustration in Brussels' with the slow pace of reforms in some of the new members and asks: Why does the effectiveness of EU conditionality deteriorate after accession? Her answer is a rational-choice argument: Once a state joined,

the EU is stripped of its most attractive reward, membership – a loss, which cannot be compensated for with weak and not very credible sanctions for non-compliance.

Even though conditionality might have been successful in transforming the new European members, it clearly hits its limits, when it comes to the current accession states: the Western Balkans and Turkey. Analyzing the Europeanization process in Turkey, Jörg Baudner (Bilgi University Istanbul), Digidem Soyaltin (Central European University) and Gözde Yilmaz (KFG) agree that Europeanization has met considerable resistance in Turkish domestic politics. Hence, in order to fully comprehend Europeanization, a close look at domestic actors is required: Does the EU perspective offer them new opportunity structures? To what extent can domestic actors make use of and interpret European pressure? Gergana Noutcheva (University of Maastricht), expert in Europeanization processes in the Western Balkans, makes a similar argument, when she refers to the lack of legitimacy of the EU's external actions in the region. Contrary to its perception of a normative power, the European Union loses its power of attraction and persuasion, since its policies are neither grounded in its own norms and values nor always aligned with universal principles and global norms.



KFG Conference December 2009

How successful then is Europe in globally exporting human rights, democracy, and the rule of law? Analyzing the EU's norm diffusion in Latin America, Roberto Dominguez (Suffolk University) argues



KFG Conference December 2009


that the EU's role as a norm-maker and -diffuser is not at all limited to prospective member states. On the contrary, even in far-away regions, Europe can help improving the quality of democracy by offering sufficient settings and resources. The EU's current instruments, however, do not seem to fulfill that purpose: Katrin Kinzelbach (University of Vienna) states that despite the proliferation of EU human rights dialogues in recent years, their impact has been very limited. Kinzelbach criticizes the EU for still lacking conceptual clarity on when to initiate such dialogues and what goals to prioritize. Following her argumentation, the EU has yet to demonstrate the success of any individual dialogue – and of the policy as a whole.

To sum up the many diverse discussions, one thing seems to be clear: The further the focus moves away from Europe – and the weaker the shadow of EU conditionality – the less apparent is the EU impact and the more important are the recipients' reactions towards the European impulse. If coercion and manipulation do not work, which mechanisms and processes of diffusion can Europe employ? In order to answer this question, KFG Directors Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse advocate for a new interdisciplinary approach, which links Europeanization research with scholarship on transnational diffusion and comparative regionalism. One opportunity to develop this approach will be a follow-up conference of the KFG in the coming winter.

Panel:

The EU as a model of regional integration

by Dr. Anja Jetschke



Short CV

Margarete-von-Wrangell
Fellow at the Department
of Political Science of the
University of Freiburg
(2008–2013)
Post-Doctoral Fellow at
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Studies, Ohio State University
(2007–2008)
Assistant Professor for
Political Science at the
University of Freiburg
(2001–2008)
Ph.D. in Political Science
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Research Fellow at the
University of Konstanz
(1995–2000)

The panel ‘The EU as a model of regional integration’ focused on the question to what extent the European Union has served as a model for other regional organizations. Three papers were presented on this panel: Karen Alter from the Northwestern University, Chicago focused on the export of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) model to other regional organizations. Tatiana Skripka from the ETH Zurich presented a paper investigating the role of the EU as a model for regional initiatives in its wide Neighbourhood and Philomena Murray from the University of Melbourne, Australia, analyzed the impact of the EU for regional integration efforts in Asia. The papers were discussed by Anja Jetschke, currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe.

Drawing on an existing database of International Courts and Tribunals (ICT) to trace the spread of ICTs outside of Europe, Karen Alter finds that a number of regional organizations have adopted the ECJ model for their own regional groupings. She then uses a comparative method to explain similarities and differences. The distinctiveness of the European Court model lies in its compulsory jurisdiction and in the fact that it grants individuals private access. Alter then not only demonstrates why the ECJ became a model and spread: its design allowed the court to grow into an activist court, to establish interdependent relations between domestic court and a legal community, and to develop an evolving body of court decisions; she also explains why the ECJ ‘clones’ develop differently from the ECJ after adoption. Later adopters did not have the time to develop their own jurisprudence, they were scrutinized much more than their European counterpart and therefore could not develop what Karen calls an ‘incremental style of decision-making’.

Tatiana Skripka chooses a different approach to the same question: She disaggregates the European model of integration into several dimensions (level of legalization, obligation, enforcement) and develops a database of regional organizations in Europe’s wider neighbourhood to test whether and to what extent EU efforts to promote regional organizations have led other states to actually take over institutional design features. In her cross-sectional analysis, Skripka does not see support for the hypothesis that the EU model has been systematically adopted by other bodies. Only in those cases in which the EU has explicitly demanded the taking over of specific features as a precondition for subsequent integration into EU markets do we find similarities. This confirms one of the central claims within the research of Europeanization that clear material incentives are the central driver behind efforts to adopt an EU design.

Finally, Philomena Murray uses a process tracing method to establish whether or not the European Union succeeded in promoting its own model in East Asia. Her paper takes the audience far beyond Europe to East Asia to explore whether or not a

European model of integration has spread here, too. As Murray points out, while these effects can be observed, they are unsystematic. Her explanation emphasizes the following key factors: First, there is uncertainty about what exactly the EU model is. Second, foreign policy tends to be contradictory when it comes to the promotion of the EU as a model: Where the EU is explicit on what it promotes, such as respect for democratic procedures, the rule of law and human rights, actual policy deviates remarkably from the rhetoric of EU representatives. These mixed signals create conflicting behavioural expectations that make it easy for adopters to avoid complying with EU demands. Finally, the EU is unable to translate its own experience of developing peaceful relations among member states into a persuasive 'causal story' and strategic vision that helps overcoming the collective action problems that Asian states face at the moment. Their conflicts are so virulent that they prevent them from starting a European style integration effort.

All three papers make important contributions to our understanding of the logics of diffusion and their effects on regional organizations outside of Europe. In a way, they present themselves different models on how to methodologically approach the question of diffusion that will enliven debates within the Kolleg-Forscherguppe as it enters its third phase which is dedicated to comparative regionalism.

Turkey's EU Candidacy Revisited: What is Happening to the EU Reform Process?

by Bilgin Ayata



Bilgin Ayata

Short CV

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Dept. of Political Science,
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College, Maryland, USA
(2007)
Instructor at Bilgi Univer-
sity, Istanbul, Turkey
(1999)
M.A. Political Science,
York University, Canada
(1999)

If there was a genre of political tourism, this would be the best time to go Turkey. Ideological contradictions, political scandals, societal polarization and public turmoil abound. Each day there is plenty of action and new puzzles to ponder about as common political categories that may help navigate through complex scenarios in other countries currently fall short in Turkey. A pro-Islamic government has been the front-runner for EU reforms making them a liberalizing force. On the other hand, the Kemalist – and traditionally pro-Western – opposition party has been vetoing these reforms turning the once Republican modernizers into today's reactionaries. Hardly a week goes by where liberal newspapers do not report about a new scandal regarding the military, until recently the most trusted institution of the Turkish society. Two alleged coup plans drafted by circles within the military called 'Sledgehammer' and 'Cage' were disclosed to the public by journalists, outlining a military plot against the government by instigating civil unrest through assassinations, bombings, and other forms of vio-



Dr. Eva G. Heidbreder

Dr. Eva G. Heidbreder
Postdoc Fellow KFG
Oct. 2008–Feb. 2010
Since 15 February 2010
Associate Researcher
at the Hertie School of
Governance

Famous Last Words

From its day of inaugura-
tion, the KFG has not only
assembled people but made
scholars meet to diffuse,
exchange and grow ideas.
After six years of 'Lehr- und
Wanderjahre' abroad, the
postdoctoral period has
been a great experience of
returning back to Germany
and extending networks
across countries and dis-
ciplines at the same time.
Therefore, I am sure leaving
will not really mean farewell
but the KFG will Keep Fel-
lowships Growing!

lence. Meanwhile, over 100 persons have been arrested since 2008 in the course of the ERGENEKON investigation, where former generals and active duty officers have been charged with running a covert organisation to incite an armed insurgency to topple the government and to derail Turkey's EU accession process. This court case could potentially shed light on some of the darkest crimes of the 'deep state' in the past decades.

What do these developments indicate about the stage of the EU reform process? From the outset, it may seem that Turkey, and the government in particular, has dropped the EU from its priority list. There is hardly an EUphoria these days in the Turkish public, and when the Prime Minister reiterated in December 2009 that the EU is still on his top agenda, it was news that made headlines. Nevertheless, it would be hasty and misleading to conclude that the government has come off-track from the European course. While the pace of legal reforms has slowed down in the second term of the AKP government, its struggle to tame the influence of the military in civilian life may lead to a groundbreaking transformation of Turkish politics and society. The biggest obstacle for a solid and functioning democracy in Turkey has been the unrestricted power of the military, both in politics as well as in society. Three bloody military coups, the occupation of Northern Cyprus, and a protracted armed conflict with the PKK for two decades have firmly consolidated the military as the ultimate institution that proclaims to guard the Kemalist state principles. By challenging these ingrained power structures in Turkey, the government has set the grounds for a transformation process that could be even described as a second secularization process. The first secularization occurred at the beginning of the Republic and eliminated religion from the public sphere. Yet the subsequent emerging vacuum was filled with a nationalist, Kemalist orthodoxy, whose defenders did not shy away from violence and authoritarianism to protect its ideology. Until recently, it amounted nearly to blasphemy to criticize the military, or even to think about modifications of Kemalist state principles. This gave tremendous

political, economic and social power to the Kemalist elite, which now rightly feels under threat by the government. If successful, this second secularization from Kemalist orthodoxy could lead to a democratic transformation in Turkey, where the issue of religion, ethnic difference and minorities would become a less contentious affair. Irrespective from being a necessary step towards EU membership, such a transformation is of vital importance for Turkey's democracy.

Is the AKP challenging military power and pursuing reforms out of love for democracy and the heartfelt commitment to EU norms, or because it follows a hidden agenda to undercut the secular order in order to consolidate Islamic power, as some critics fear? This question has been polarizing Turkish society between the supporters and critics of the AKP government. It is naïve to expect the first, and unrealistic to fear the latter. The AKP government is far from being a formidable champion of democracy, which is most obvious in its policies towards the Kurdish population and unionized workers. In August 2009, the Prime Minister announced a 'Democratic Initiative' to finally bring an end to the Kurdish conflict, upon which a group of PKK militants symbolically returned to Turkey from



Dr. Silke Adam

Famous Last Words

The 'Kolleg-Forscherguppe' was a paradise for me: freed from any administrative stuff and freed from teaching requirements (which I really like but sometimes it is a pleasure to have some time off), it allowed me to dig deeper into my research on the politicization of EU integration. What makes this

research time very special is the fact that one is involved in ongoing discussions with the colleagues also joining the KFG – colleagues who are bound together by a research theme yet bring along different disciplines, perspectives and backgrounds. Let the ideas diffuse – thanks for this experience!

Dr. Silke Adam

Postdoc Fellow KFG Oct. 2008–Dec. 2009

Since 1 February 2010 Professor at the Institute of Mass Communication Studies, University of Bern

their mountain base in Northern Iraq. While no charges were brought upon them as a gesture by the government, only a few weeks later hundreds of Kurdish politicians – among them elected majors and key party members – of the pro-Kurdish party DTP were arrested; the party itself became banned by the Constitutional Court in December 2009. Although the government declared its priority for a non-military solution to the Kurdish conflict, it has been effectively curtailing the means for Kurds to organize in the legal political realm.

This and many other shortcomings notwithstanding, what matters for the EU accession process is that in comparison to previous governments, the AKP government has considerably opened up the space for public debate on almost all contentious issues. This opening certainly also benefits radical Islamic groups in Turkey, but one cannot foreclose democratic opening out of fear of its potential contesters. As mentioned above, the fear that the AKP rule pursues a hidden agenda that will eventually lead to an Islamic overturn of the secular republic is highly unrealistic. Turkey does not exist in isolation, but is tightly intertwined in regional and international organizations, with very strong ties to the US and Europe. Even though Turkey is engaging for the first time in a new foreign policy that seeks to deepen its relationship to its Arab neighbours, this will hardly cut the bonds to the West. If anything, this will increase the strategic and regional importance of Turkey for Europe, and the US. The EU-Turkey relationship remains controversial and difficult from both ends, yet Turkey is moving forward on a bumpy road.



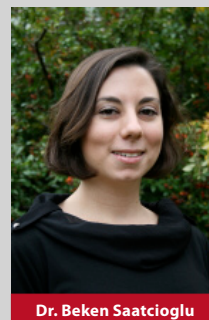
Bilgin Ayata and Beken Saatcioglu at the KFG Conference

What Happened to Turkey's EU Reforms?

The Primacy of Domestic Politics

by Dr. Beken Saatcioglu

Short CV



Dr. Beken Saatcioglu

Beken Saatcioglu is a post-doctoral fellow at the KFG Research College 'The Transformative Power of Europe', Freie Universität Berlin. She received her MA and PhD in International Relations (Comparative Politics minor) from the University of Virginia in August 2009. Her current research at the KFG investigates the relationship between domestic norms and compliance with EU political conditionality with a particular focus on the case of Turkey.

Turkey is undoubtedly the one country which has fought for EU membership longest. An associate EU member since 1963, it first applied for full membership in 1987, earned official EU candidacy status as late as 1999 and has been negotiating EU accession since 2005. So tumultuous is this history that it is almost like an unending relationship of love and hate, much like the themes found in soap-opera-type TV shows. Turkey's march towards EU accession has never been controversy-free.

Yet, despite all the EU-wide noise about whether Turkey should one day be brought in or not, Turkey positively responded to EU political conditionality. Turkish governments adopted political reforms addressing several aspects of the Copenhagen membership criteria ranging from civilianization of politics to the expansion of fundamental freedoms and minority rights. This reform process kicked

in soon after the earning of EU candidacy when Turkey was ruled by a coalition of left- and right-wing parties.

Interestingly, however, it was the ruling, moderately Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) which reformed the most (2002-present). AKP not only showed 'sufficient compliance' with the political criteria but also and consequently, was invited to begin formal accession negotiations with the EU in October 2005. Many interpreted AKP's EU progress as a sign of commitment to political liberalism. Some even argued that the party's reformism superseded the agenda of its Kemalist rivals on the social democratic left and launched a 'silent democratic revolution' in Turkey.

Yet, a close analysis of the AKP's reform trajectory suggests otherwise. In reality, reforms progressed in the first period of AKP's rule (2002–2005) but they slowed down after 2005. A few recent reform initiatives concerning Kurdish minority's cultural rights aside, what we are currently witnessing is a near freeze in Turkey's political reforms. So one must ask: What happened to the AKP's reform zeal? At the same time, the inconsistencies in the AKP's reform policy became increasingly pronounced. AKP picked and chose those pieces of reforms it wanted to pass for domestic political reasons. For example, it heavily promoted the civilianization of politics while giving almost no attention to freedom of religion (which excludes Turkey's headscarf ban for Muslim women, a crucial political issue for the AKP) and consolidation of rule of law.

Clearly, had the AKP been truly liberal, none of this would have happened. The reality is the party's reform process has been driven by instrumental, domestic political calculations from day one. Granted, some would dispute this view and argue that weaknesses in AKP reforms reflect the falling credibility of Turkey's membership perspective in the post-2005 period. After all, Turkey's 2005 Negotiating Framework mentions the 'open-endedness' of EU negotiations along with the possibility of offering Turkey the 'strongest possible bond' short of membership (which is another form of saying Turkey may only get 'privileged membership' status).

However, this is not a plausible scenario simply because, as suggested above, the EU's membership promise to Turkey has never really been credible. Long before 2005 it was obvious that Turkey's EU admission would not depend on domestic reforms alone: The EU's capacity to absorb a large country like Turkey would also be important, among other things. But such membership hurdles did not prevent the AKP from passing democratic reforms in the pre-2005 period. Hence, the post-2005 shift in compliance cannot be attributed to the EU's handling of Turkish membership.

In sum, AKP's reform story reveals the domestically-driven nature of the EU's 'transformative power'. The EU may pressure its candidates all it wants. It may or may not even make a credible membership promise. At the end of the day, these things do not matter as much as domestic politics: Ruling parties in target states will choose from the EU reform 'menu' as they see fit in domestic political terms. In the AKP's case, post-2004 Euro-skepticism among the Turkish electorate has negatively impacted the reform process. Simultaneously, the AKP has begun to prioritize those EU reforms which would appeal to its religious/conservative/islamist constituency over others. Hence, at a minimum, AKP reforms mirror electoral calculations. Unfortunately, political instrumentality seems to mediate the domestic impact of conditionality more than anything else.



Prof. Lance Bennett

Famous Last Words

Thanks to everyone at KFG. The fellows, staff and Thomas and Tanja all joined together in creating a wonderful intellectual community. I learned a lot about new topics, and developed a new research direction in my own area of interest. I have to say that the KFG demonstrates the transformative power of a research group.

Prof. Lance Bennett

Senior Fellow KFG Sept. – Dec. 2010
Professor of Political Science and Ruddick C. Lawrence Professor of Communication University of Washington, Seattle, USA
Director, Center for Communication & Civic Engagement

Research Experience

Six Months at the KFG

by Prof. Juan Díez Medrano



Short CV

Juan Díez Medrano is a Professor of Sociology at the Universidad de Barcelona and Coordinator of the Research Program 'Institutions and Networks in a Globalized World' at IBEI (Instituto Barcelona de Relaciones Internacionales). He is currently working on a comparative study among Western trade unions in the United States, France, Austria, Great Britain and Germany, that focuses on their contrasting reactions to free trade agreements with less developed countries.

URL: Personal Website (EUI)

Between June and December 2009, I had the privilege of being a resident fellow at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe 'The Transformative Power of Europe' (KFG). During these six months I enjoyed the opportunity to concentrate on my research in a highly motivating environment, surrounded by doctoral students, postdocs, and professors who work in areas similar to mine. In addition to this, I benefitted from the rich academic and cultural environment that characterizes Berlin today.

I came to the KFG with two main goals in mind: First of all, to move forward with a book manuscript I am writing on the diversity of reactions to globalization in the more developed part of the world. My case study is a comparison of societal - mainly trade union - reactions to the NAFTA Treaty and European Union enlargement in the United States and the European Union, respectively. Secondly, I wanted to pursue my current research program on the transformation of European societies that coincides and is partly the result of the process of European integration. Inevitably, my concentration on these two topics was interrupted by the need to revise book chapters and articles that I had submitted prior to moving to Berlin. Nonetheless, since

they were somewhat related to my current work, they were a useful and enriching distraction. On balance, I think I have been quite productive during these six months. I revised and resubmitted an article and four book chapters, and I made progress on the two priority projects.

My progress on the transformation of European societies has been very much helped by the discussions in the KFG's weekly seminars. I presented two different papers, one on social stratification in Europe and another on identification in Europe. The comments made by the participants made me sorely aware of the need to polish my arguments and the way to present them. The main result from these discussions, plus extra comments delivered by Jürgen Gerhards, is the paper that I have submitted to the KFG's Working Paper Series (soon forthcoming). In this paper I argue that social segmentation between 'national' and 'European' subgroups has taken place in Europe, even though those social segments are not clearly distinct yet. Consumer patterns rather than identification or political attitudes are what distinguish at this point Europeans from Nationals, both among the lower classes and the middle classes. The paper's second argument is that although European integration seems to underlie the Europeanization of national societies and the segmentation of social groups, its effect, at least at the level of transnational personal networks, has been felt more intensely by middle-aged groups among the lower classes. I argue that the main mechanism mediating this impact has been the cheapening, both economic and in terms of bureaucratic barriers, of transnational travelling and communication.

Of course, it is not only research at the KFG that has made my stay in Berlin such a gratifying experience. There is no city like Berlin and I would not have been as productive and happy here weren't it for the city's people and for places like Double Eye, Bonanza, Einstein Café, Pizza Factory, and countless other cafés, restaurants, museums, concert halls. And lest I forget, yes, everybody at the KFG and all the people in and out the university with whom I have spent a beautiful and mild summer and fall months in Berlin.