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About the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* (KFG)

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

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

Editorial



Prof. Tanja A. Börzel & Prof. Thomas Risse

Dear friends and colleagues of the Kolleg-Forschergruppe,

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

As usual, we look back on a very active spring, summer, and fall season with a good number of activities. You find some of the highlights in this newsletter including our Istanbul workshop in July, a workshop on African regionalism, and Prof. Gary Marks' Alexander von Humboldt Lecture on "Europe and Its Empires." Moreover, we proudly announce the publication of a special issue of *West European Politics* devoted entirely to the KFG's main theme "From Europeanization to Diffusion" (Vol. 35, No. 1, to be published in January 2012).

We also welcome our new group of postdoctoral as well as senior fellows who arrived in Berlin in September. You find all the information about their projects in this newsletter.

This newsletter marks the beginning of the fourth year of the Kolleg-Forschergruppe. Over the past three years, the KFG hosted altogether 17 post-doctoral fellows and 15 senior colleagues. In addition, we provided stipends for 7 PhD researcher at the Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies. The KFG also hosted 22 workshops and conferences.

Since this is the last year of our current funding period, we are currently in the midst of writing the application proposal for the grant renewal with the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – DFG) whose generous support has enabled the KFG to thrive over the past years. We plan to continue our current theme of comparative regionalism and to concentrate on how European and EU policies and institutions are emulated throughout the world through processes of adaptation, translation, but also resistance.

This newsletter is published during the worst crisis of European integration which cannot leave the KFG unaffected. While we can only hope that the EU emerges much stronger out of the crisis, there is some good news despite all the catastrophic events facing us. First, general interest in the EU is at an all-time high worldwide. For us, this means enormously strong media attention. Tanja Börzel alone has given more than fifty interviews to international and domestic newspapers, radio broadcasts, and TV channels over the past months. Second, the crisis provides us with another "real live experiment" on diffusion and transformation. Of course, we would have wished that Europe – particularly Southern Europe – was not exposed to the financial turmoil we are currently facing. Irrespective of how the EU emerges out of the crisis, this will certainly affect the "transformative power of Europe" and its perception worldwide.

We hope that you enjoy reading about the KFGs activities in this newsletter.

Best regards,

Tanja A. Börzel

Thomas Risse

Research Directors

New colleagues at the KFG

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



Dr. Stephanie Anderson

Latest Professional Career:

- Visiting Research Fellow (2012), EU Centre in Singapore, National University of Singapore, Nanyang Technological University
- Associated Professor (2009-present), University of Wyoming, Department of Political Science

Current Project: Where do European Values come from?: CSDP Missions and the Public



Prof. Dr. Detlef Jahn

Latest Professional Career:

- Professor of Comparative Politics (C4, Chair), University of Greifswald, Department of Political Science, since 1999
- Venia legendi (German post doctoral degree: Habilitation) in Political Sociology, University of Paderborn, 1998

Current Project: Effects and Dynamics of Globalization



Prof. Emek M. Uçarer

Latest Professional Career:

- Professor for International Relations, Bucknell University (since May 2011)
- Associate Professor of International Relations, Bucknell University (2011-2004)

Current Project: Nongovernmental Organization (NGO) Advocacy in Justice and Home Affairs Governance in the European Union



Katja Biedenkopf

Latest Professional Career:

- PhD Researcher at the Institute for European Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
- EU Affairs Manager at a Brussels-based trade association

Current Project: Diffusion, Sub-National Regional Integration and Emissions Trading



Assem Dandashly

Latest Professional Career:

- PhD University of Victoria, Canada (2011)
- Research Associate at the Centre for Competition Policy-University of East Anglia-UK (January 2011-September 2011)

Current Project: From Croatia to Ukraine: Europeanization with(out) EU Accession - Can it be a Useful Tool?



Dr. Khalifa Sally Isaac Atwan

Latest Professional Career:

- Assistant Professor of Political Science, Political Science Department, Cairo University, Egypt (2007-Present)
- Research Fellow, Research Division, NATO Defense College, Rome, Italy (2010)

Current Project: Revisiting Euro-Arab Relations Post January 2011



Dr. Heike Klüver

Latest Professional Career:

- Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Department of Politics and International Relations/Nueld College, University of Oxford

Current Project: Interest groups, European politics, Legislative politics and Agenda-Setting, Political institutions, Political parties, Quantitative text analysis



Dr. Arie Krampf

Latest Professional Career:

- Postdoctoral scholar, David Institute for international Relations, the Hebrew University
- Postdoctoral scholar, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin

Current Project: The European Origin of the Central Bank Independence Model"



Diarmuid Torney

Latest Professional Career:

- PhD (submitted, awaiting viva), University of Oxford, 2008–2011
- Visiting fellowships at CEPS (Brussels), ICTSD (Geneva), CEEW (New Delhi)

Current Project: Diffusion of Ideas on Climate Change: EU Relations with China and India



Florian Stöckel

Latest Professional Career:

- PhD Student, Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, since 2009
- Essex University Summer School in Multilevel Modeling, 2011

Current Project: Solidarity among Strangers? Citizenship, Identities, and Ambivalent Attitudes in Europe (Dissertation Project)



Kai Striebing

Latest Professional Career:

- PhD Candidate at the Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (since 2011)

Current Project: In for a penny, in for a pound? The domestic impact of African Regional Organizations on democratization processes.



KFG International Conference

“Europe From the Outside In”

Berlin, December 15-17, 2011

We are glad to announce the 2011 international conference of the Kolleg-Forschergruppe, which will take place from December 15-17, 2011 in Berlin. The conference will focus on the EU at the receiving end of external influences and the diffusion of ideas, policies, and institutions into Europe. You will find a final program on the website of the KFG (www.transformeurope.eu) within the coming weeks. The following draft gives a first impression.

Panel I: US Influence on European Integration

Chair: Gary Marks

Discussant: Katja Biedenkopf

Classified Information at the European Union: External Influence and Implications. **Kaija Schilde**, Boston University

US Influences on European Integration: Of Natality, Midwifery and Gender. **Catherine Guisan**, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Panel II: Influence of International Institutions on EU

Chair: Sally Isaac

Discussant: Nico Jaspers

NATO'S Influence on the European Union's Evolution as a Security Actor: Between Isomorphism and Autonomization. **Joachim Koops**, Free University of Brussels (VUB), Global Governance Institute (GGI)

Knowledge is power: the EU and Security Sector Reform. **Giovanni Faleg**, London School of Economics

When Multilateralism hits Brussels. The influence of international institutions on the EU. **Costa Oriol**, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona / **Knud Eric Jorgensen**, Aarhus University, Denmark

Panel III: EU Promotion of Regional Integration and its Impact on the EU

Chair: May-Britt Stumbaum

Discussant: Stephanie Anderson

The Effect of Regional Trade Negotiations on Policies in Southern Africa and the EU. **Kathleen Hancock**, Colorado School of Mines, Golden, USA

Transformations on the ACP's terms? Understanding the new EU-ACP trade relations from the outside in. **Ulrike Lorenz**, Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG), Freie Universität Berlin

The Impact of EU-India FTA negotiations on the Usage of EU Policy Instruments. **Shazia Wülbers**, University of Hamburg

The EU's Promotion of Regional Integration in Southeast Asia and Its Impact on EU Actorness. **Laura Allison**, University of Melbourne, Australia

Panel IV: Perceptions of the EU from the Outside

Chair: Liesbet Hooghe

Discussant: Diarmuid Torney

Europe view from China: The EU as an Idea and a Model. **Lucie(qain) Xia**, College of Europe, Bruges

The perceptions of the EU in Latin America. **Roberto Dominguez**, Suffolk University Miami-Florida

Why do they differ? Asian Perceptions of the EU as a civilian power: Analysing Indian and Chinese elites' views. **May-Britt Stumbaum**, NFG Research Group "Asian Perceptions of the EU", Freie Universität Berlin

Panel V: External Perceptions of EU International Policies

Chair: Detlef Jahn

Discussant: Wolfram Kaiser

The Influence of External Perceptions on the EU's Participation in the International Climate Regime. **Diarmuid Torney**, Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG), Freie Universität Berlin

External perceptions of the EU: effects on the role of the Union in the Human Rights Council. **Ketevan Kerashvili**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia

RENEW: De(Euro)centring Europe's International Relations. **Nora Fisher Onar**, University of Oxford

Panel VI: The Euro Crisis: does the EU learn?

Chair: Assem Dandashly

Discussant: Arie Krampf

The Euro crisis as an instance of diffusion and policy transfer: does the EU learn? **Ramūnas Vilpišauskas**, Vilnius University

Dancing to the IMF tune? Re-regulation of EU banking during the Euro Crisis. **Zdenek Kudrna**, Institute for European Integration Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Explaining European macroeconomic (non-)coordination at the IMF: member states? guarded sovereignty or international institutional hurdles. **Katharina Gnath**, Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (BTS) / MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University

West European Politics Special Issue

“From Europeanization to Diffusion”

The next special issue of *West European Politics* will be dedicated to the theme „From Europeanization to Diffusion“ (Vol. 35, No. 1, to be published in January 2012). This special issue has resulted from various activities at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe „The Transformative Power of Europe“ (KFG). The drafts of the papers were presented at the KFG’s first international conference, December 10-11, 2009, and at a workshop on October, 22-23, 2010 at the KFG.

The special issue explores to what extent policies and institutions of the European Union (EU) spread across different contexts. Are the EU’s attempts to transfer its policies and institutions to accession and neighbourhood countries sustainable and effective? To what degree do other regions of the world emulate the EU’s institutional features, what are the mechanisms of and scope conditions for their diffusion?

The articles in the special issue find ample evidence for the EU’s influence on domestic and regional institutions. Its impact is patchy, often shallow but certainly not spurious. They demonstrate that it is worthwhile to integrate the Europeanization literature and its theoretical arguments into the larger literature on diffusion. But they also show limits of the diffusion approaches in the social sciences which tend to privilege structure over agency and, as a result, tend to focus on institutional convergence and isomorphism rather than variation in institutional outcomes. The articles find some general impact of the EU on domestic institutional change in its neighbourhood and beyond, and they also see some diffusion of EU institutional models of regional integration worldwide.

The special issue of *West European Politics* will be published in January 2012 consisting of the following table of contents:

*Table of Contents:***From Europeanization to Diffusion: Introduction**

Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse

Is Europeanization Through Conditionality Sustainable? Lock-In of Institutional Change After EU Accession

Ulrich Sedelmeier

Catching up? Consolidating Liberal Democracy in Bulgaria and Romania after EU Accession

Aneta B. Spendzharova and Milada Anna Vachudova

Lost in Europeanization: The Western Balkans and Turkey

Gergana Noutcheva and Senem Aydın Düzgit

Pathologies of Europeanization. Fighting Corruption in the Southern Caucasus

Tanja A. Börzel and Yasemin Pamuk

Israel and the Many Pathways of Diffusion

Amichai Magen

Europeanization Through Cooperation? EU Democracy Promotion in Morocco and Tunisia

Vera van Hüllen

The Global Spread of European Style International Courts

Karen J. Alter

Spurred Emulation: The EU and Regional Integration in Mercosur and SADC

Tobias Lenz

Diffusing Regional Integration: The EU and Southeast Asia

Anja Jetschke and Philomena Murray

When Europeanization Meets Diffusion: Exploring New Territory

Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse



Lecture Report

“From Rome to the European Union” - A Lecture with Prof. Gary Marks

*Lecture held on October 19, 2011
by Katja Biedenkopf and Assem Dandashly*

The Freie Universität Berlin, in cooperation with the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Foundation, and the Kolleg-Forschergruppe "The Transformative Power of Europe" (KFG) organized a special lecture by Professor Gary Marks – the winner of the 2010 Humboldt Research Award. The event took place on Wednesday, October 19, 2011. Prof. Dr. Peter-André Alt, President of the Freie Universität Berlin, welcomed Professor Marks and the audience

followed by a short introduction by Prof. Dr. Tanja A. Börzel, Director of the KFG.

In his lecture “Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union”, Gary Marks argued that the existing tension between ‘scale’ and ‘community’ has direct effects on the territorial structure of government. Marks provocatively compared the five largest polities in the history and territory of

Western Europe: the Roman Empire, the Frankish Empire, Napoleonic France, the Third Reich, and the European Union. In order to deal with this clash between scale and community, empires adopted a combination of some strategies: accommodation (“allow the community a measure of self rule in exchange for some share of its financial, physical, or human resources”); assimilation (“incorporate the community or its leaders by inducing them to identify with the empire”); and elimination (“destroy the community by dispersing, enslaving, or killing its members”). For Gary Marks, the EU “is a response to the following question: How can one realize the benefits of scale while accommodating diverse communities?” The answer to this dilemma is through soft law, benchmarking, the fact that decisions are mostly taken by consensus, unanimity or super-majority voting, the imposing of very little tax, no major redistribution of resources across member states, and enhancing “cooperation by subsets of member states”, in addition to granting some members opt-outs from certain policy areas. The EU has mainly developed on the basis

of accommodation and if the empire is defined to have a center and to be based on coercion, then the EU definitely does not fit that category.

Gary Marks’ lecture was followed by comments from the discussant Professor Dr. Sebastian Conrad (History, Friedrich Meinecke Institute, Freie Universität Berlin) who questioned some of the bases for the arguments and comparisons. He raised the question if it makes sense to call the EU an empire given the significant differences to the other empires for example the fact that in the case of the EU some member states competed to join. Then “it is a very untypical empire. Don’t we need some coercion to call it an empire?” Sebastian Conrad also highlighted the importance of the time factor, which was missing in Marks’ argument. The temporal context is very crucial in influencing why an empire functioned properly or worked and why others did not. Following the discussant’s comments, the floor was opened to the audience for questions and answers.

Impressions



Workshop Report

“Mapping Agency. Comparing Regionalisms in Africa”

*Workshop held on July 7-8, 2011
by Ulrike Lorenz und Martin Rempe*

Workshop Convenors



Dr. des. Ulrike Lorenz



Dr. des. Martin Rempe

On July 7-8, 2011, researchers from Europe and Africa convened at the Centre for Area Studies of the Freie Universität Berlin to map agencies of African regionalisms in a comparative perspective. The workshop was jointly organized by Ulrike Lorenz, currently a Postdoc at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe “The Transformative Power of Europe” (KFG) and Martin Rempe, a former KFG Postdoc and currently assistant professor at Konstanz University. Following up the KFG’s International Conference theme “The Diffusion of Regional Integration” in December 2010, the workshop aimed at systematically scrutinizing actors at and from the “receiving end” and their role in regional integration processes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the workshop wanted to serve as a platform for an interdisciplinary exchange by bringing together junior and senior researchers from political science, history, the area studies and economy working on the topic. Grouped in five panels, presentations addressed historical dimensions of regionalisms, agency in regional security issues, “actors below the radar”, the relationship of the Economic Partnership Agreements and regional integration processes, and finally, “actors beyond the radar” in South-South co-operations and South-East co-operations.

The Senegalese historian Bara N’Diaye (University of Olsztyn) provided the participants with an overview on regional integration efforts in francophone West-Africa from colonial times until today. Alexi Ylönen (University of Bayreuth) illuminated the historical roots of South-Sudan’s struggle for independence, which he understood as a process of regionalism beneath state level turning into a nationalist project. Martin Welz (University of Konstanz) highlighted the significant influence of Uganda’s president Museveni on the revival and development of the East African Community.

The second panel on agency in regional security issues was opened by Malte Brosig from the University of the Witwatersrand, South-Africa. Focusing on the African Union and its co-operation with the UN and the EU, he presented the African peace and security regime as an interlocking system of global and regional governance. In a similar vein, Deborah Valentina Malito (University of Milano) analysed global penetration on the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). She argued that IGAD was considerably weakened by US interests pursuing their war on terror. Overall, it became clear that peace building and security, more than other issues of regional co-operation in Africa, are highly sensitive to external agencies.

“Actors below the radar” were in the focus of the third panel. Andréas Godsäter (University of Gothenburg) analysed the impact of regional civil society organisations on trade integration in Southern Africa. Based on a critical understanding of the civil society concept, he identified several regional civil society organisations which, however, were mainly elitist associations and by no means united. Lisa Nixdorf (University of Leipzig) examined the impact of regional integration on informal cross-border traders. Drawing on field-work at the

border between Kenya and Tanzania, she claimed that a lack of information as well as a lack of implementation of formal regulations rather leads to informal traders opposing regional integration efforts.

The recent negotiations of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between African countries and the EU were at the heart of the fourth panel. Taking the EPAs as a case study, Johannes Muntschick (University of Mainz) asked about the relationship between institutional deadlocks in southern African regional organisations and the role of extra-regional actors like the EU. While he argued that the influence of the EU causes institutional standstill and fragmentation, Ulrike Lorenz (KFG/ FU Berlin) showed that regional long-term dynamics and differences between the negotiation structures are equally important to explain developments in the EPA negotiations. She provided a comparative analysis of the formation of alliances in two EPA negotiation groups in eastern and southern Africa, the negotiation structures and the role of the two regional hegemony South Africa and Kenya to provide insights into complex regional dynamics.

The last panel highlighted the role of external actors. Frank Mattheis (University of Leipzig) presented his research on interregional relations between Latin America and Southern Africa and

concluded that, despite a long entangled history on the one hand and rapprochement of the two regional hegemony South-Africa and Brazil on the other, mutual transfers remained limited. Daniela Sicurelli (University of Milano) highlighted the attractiveness of the traditional Chinese security model based on non-interference for the African Union compared to the EU's model which rather relies on the idea of pooled sovereignty. Finally, Bob Deacon from the University of Sheffield presented a personal account on how the idea of Regional Social Policy spread on the African continent. He put strong emphasis on the role of individual experts and advocacy networks which were crucial for the introduction of the RSP idea in several regional frameworks such as ECOWAS or SADC.

With their constructive comments, the discussants Andreas Eckert, Jana Höhnke, Rainer Tetzlaff, Tanja Börzel, and Martin Rempe facilitated intense and fruitful debates in each panel that allowed the workshop to lead to new insights in actors' roles in African regionalisms beyond the common comparison with the EU. Participants agreed that the phenomenon of regionalism itself is too often narrowly bound to regional institutions. Instead, a more open understanding of regions as "action spaces" can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of regional processes in Africa. Final papers will be published as an edited volume in the coming months.



Dr. Tatiana Skripka

Famous Last Words

My year at the Research College was both exciting and challenging. Academically, I found the KFG special for its dynamic research environment: projects, collaborations, seminars, workshops, and the KFG annual conference as a highlight. The KFG provided many formal and informal opportunities to exchange ideas and learn from peers and senior researchers. But no less important for me was its warm and supportive atmosphere. I truly felt I was among friends. Thank you very much, Tanja and Thomas and my dear colleagues for this experience!

Dr. Tatiana Skripka

KFG Post-doctoral Fellow, October to July 2011

Since July 2011 SNSF Fellow and Visiting Researcher at the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance at Maastricht University and UNU-Merit



Photo: First part of the workshop "Faraway So Close?"

Conference Report & Commentary

“Faraway So Close?”

A KFG Workshop in Istanbul on the Eve of Elections in Turkey

by Bilgin Ayata

From June 2-4, 2011, the second part of our workshop “Faraway So Close – Reaching beyond the Pro/Contra Controversy” took place in Istanbul, Turkey. This two-tiered workshop was a result of a cooperation between the KFG, Berlin and Sabanci University. After the first successful workshop in February 2011 hosted by the KFG in Berlin, it was now time for a group of KFG scholars to travel to Istanbul to participate in the second part of the conference that was hosted by Sabanci University’s Jean Monnet Chair and the Istanbul Policy Center. KFG

directors Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse, myself, as well as the KFG doctoral fellows Digidem Soyaltin and Gözde Yilmaz had the opportunity to discuss, exchange and network for three days with more than 20 senior and junior scholars from various Turkish universities on the topic of Turkey’s EU accession. The workshop started on Thursday with a presentation of Thomas Risse’s book “A Community of Europeans”, sponsored by the Istanbul Policy Center. The next day of the workshop began with a roundtable entitled “Quo Vadis Turkey, Quo Vadis



Dr. Bilgin Ayata

Europe?” that brought together Turkey’s leading political scientists Fuat Keyman, Ayse Kadioglu, Ayhan Kaya as well as Tanja Börzel. After a vibrant discussion about the future of EU-Turkey relations, two rich panels followed presenting new research on Europeanization in the Turkish context. The day was concluded with a powerful keynote address by Meltem Müftüler-Bac (Jean Monnet Professor at Sabanci University), in which she provided a concise analysis of Turkey’s EU accession since 1959. The participants were rewarded for their hard work on this day with a superb dinner at a restaurant right by the Golden Horn. The last day of the workshop included two more stimulating panels, one on the issue of migration and the

other one on minority reforms in Turkey. Just like the day before, these panels followed thematically the content of the first workshop in Berlin, of which the podcasts are available at http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/news/events/report_teuc_2011.html. The idea of a two-tier workshop in Berlin and Istanbul to connect the debates on Turkey’s EU accession at European and Turkish universities proved to be a great success that enabled the participating scholars to build new networks, facilitate and engage in a scholarly exchange. Most importantly, it showed that irrespective of public and political debate on the issue, academic research on Turkey’s EU accession keeps flourishing. After the workshop series, we are in the process of preparing a special issue together with my co-organizer Banu Karaca from Sabanci University based on a selection of papers that were presented at both workshops.

Turkey after the elections: What next?

While we were discussing Turkey’s EU accession in our conference room at Sabanci University, outside on the streets of Istanbul political parties were busily campaigning in preparation for the national elections of June 12, 2011. Huge mass events, a sea of leaflets, flags and party banners placed all over Istanbul, debates on all public spaces illustrated once again that Turkey is a highly politicized country, where elections are taken seriously. The visible dominance of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) during the election campaign already pointed to the victory to come: On June 12th, Prime Minister Erdogan and his party not only managed to win a third consecutive term, but the AKP even increased its vote from 39% to 49,8%, thus obtaining an absolute majority in Parliament. This provides PM Erdogan and his government with an unprecedented power to rule Turkey. In addition to the AKP, another notable victory was achieved by the pro-Kurdish party BDP (Freedom and Democracy Party), who did not participate as a party in the elections due to the 10% threshold in Turkey –an

undemocratic obstruction of the Turkish political system that still has not been reformed. To circumvent this threshold, the BDP had put up 61 independent candidates, 35 of whom were elected into Parliament – a record high of the party’s representation in the National Assembly. Both domestic and international observers widely agreed, the election results provided excellent conditions for two urgent tasks regarding Turkey’s democratization: 1) the reforms for a democratic constitution could gain pace and credible force, and 2) the government could now push for a democratic and political solution to the Kurdish conflict. While these are the most two pressing issues at hand within Turkey, the third, larger concern relates to the question where PM Erdogan is going to lead Turkey with this consolidation and expansion of power: stronger towards the EU or to the Middle East, where it aspires a role as a regional power? Particularly in the wake of the Arab Revolutions and the ongoing transformation processes in the Middle East, the course of the AKP –as a political experiment of a conservative party

that emerged out of the Islamic movement- has important repercussions for its wider neighborhood as well.

Even though only a few months have passed after the election, three brief observations can be made. Firstly, only a month after the elections, PM Erdogan announced that Turkey is going to freeze accession negotiations with the EU in 2012 when Cyprus is going to take up the EU Presidency. Given that negotiations have been stagnating anyway, this temporary freeze has in effect only a symbolic meaning that underscores Turkey's new self confidence based on its booming economy, especially as EU member states –in particular Turkey's longtime adversary Greece- are suffering severely from the financial crisis. This does not mean that Turkey is turning its back to the EU, but rather that it strives to diminish the asymmetry in the existing relationship. Secondly, the striking disinterest of the Turkish public in the EU accession process may be reversed in the near future, and experience a revival among the Turkish civil society if PM Erdogan continues with arbitrary arrests and intimidation of journalists, intellectuals and human rights activist. A growing number of disappointed liberals and progressives are arguing that the AKP has replaced the military state by a police state, pointing to the increasingly authoritarian rule of PM Erdogan. For

these progressive and liberal circles, Turkey's EU membership could become a reference point again in the effort to contain the increasingly unrestricted power of the AKP's and to push for further democratic reforms. Thirdly, the prospects for a credible reform of the constitution and a solution to the Kurdish conflict are intimately connected to and depend on the political courage of the AKP government. While the AKP government embarked on a democratic initiative in August 2009 to solve the Kurdish conflict, it dropped quickly this approach and has now resorted again to military incursions into N.Iraq. In addition to military operations, since December 2009, over 7000 members and supporters of the legal political party BDP have been arrested on dubious grounds, effectively foreclosing the legal, democratic field for Kurdish politics. A recent global study of anti-terror arrests and convictions reported that Turkey alone accounted for a third of all convictions worldwide, with 12,897 convictions; followed only by China. These numbers are as worrisome as is the fact that Turkey has the highest number of arrested journalists worldwide. Without a political solution to the Kurdish conflict, and without a democratic constitution that embraces Turkey's diversity and allows for dissent and opposition, it will be rather difficult for PM Erdogan to lead Turkey closer towards the EU, or the Middle East, or both for that matter.



Prof. Ockert Dupper

Famous Last Words

Thank you so much for the opportunity to spend six months in the vibrant and stimulating KFG community. I have learnt a tremendous amount during my time at the Forschergruppe, and I hope that my work on legal transplants – in particular in the area of social security law - will make some contribution to the growing literature on the diffusion of ideas. I have established good ties with a number of people at the KFG, and am confident that these can be strengthened and maintained. Finally, a lot of thanks should go to Astrid. She immediately made me feel welcome and was extremely helpful in assisting with all the daily problems that I faced (from helping with the visas to correcting my German in formal letters!). Without her help, life in Berlin would have been much more cumbersome and difficult. With all the best wishes for continued success in the important work that you are doing.

Prof. Ockert Dupper
KFG Senior Fellow, January to June 2011
Prof. at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

Project Information

KFG supports launch of CES-EU Centre in St. Petersburg

by Anna Dekalchuk & Olga Litvyak



On December 1, 2010 it was not only winter which began. That day the new three-year EU Centre project was launched at the Centre for European Studies – EU Centre (CES – EU Centre) of the European University at St. Petersburg, Russia.

‘Why am I reading about some Russia-based project in the KFG Newsletter?’ – you would probably think. And the answer to this question is out there. The Kolleg-Forschergruppe ‘The Transformative Power of Europe’ at the Freie Universität Berlin has kindly agreed to be one of the two associate partners for this project (the second one is the Aleksanteri Institute at the University of Helsinki). Moreover, Prof. Dr. Tanja Börzel has become the external academic expert of the project. Already in June 2011 she came to St. Petersburg to teach at the annual Summer school ‘European Union Studies:

Methodological Opportunities and Limits’, which is run within the EU Centre project.

Yet, before introducing you to the main activities of the CES – EU Centre, it is necessary to explain the *raison d’être* of the project. The main idea behind the launch of the Centre for European Studies – EU Centre in St. Petersburg is to contribute to the understanding of European integration and the EU governance processes among the academia and practitioners in Northwest Russia. Having put that as our aim, we see our mission as quite multi-task. That is why the activities of the Centre are aimed at both students and professors, business community and local officials, general public.

We organize different public events such as the EU Info-days to explain to the journalists the current issues of the EU integration process; the EU-Russia Cooperation Exhibition to help businessmen and NGOs share their experience in running EU-Russia cooperation projects; the Art Competition ‘Visions of Europe’ to attract the attention of the Russian creative youth to Europe, its peoples, traditions and culture. Moreover, within the frame of the project the professors from the three Russian partner universities, namely the European University at St. Petersburg, the Petrozavodsk State University and the Pomor State University, develop new curricula on the EU. Finally, we have different activities for BA, MA and PhD students such as two annual



Olga Litvyak

summer schools with one taking place in Karelia and another in St. Petersburg; scholarships for participation in the EU-based summer schools; master classes taught by the European professors in Russia and one-month internships at the associate partners of the project. This way, already in May 2011 Olga Litvyak, one of the PhD students from the European University at St. Petersburg, had a great opportunity to come to Berlin and to spend one month in the KFG working on her PhD project. And probably she is the better person to describe her experience at the KFG. So, I pass the floor to her:

"The month at the Research college „Transformative Power of Europe“ at the Freie Universität Berlin was very fruitful for my research and for my personal and professional development. In my PhD project I conduct research about the electoral success of the extreme right at recent elections to the European Parliament. Thus a stay in Europe and in the capital of one of the founding fathers of the European Union was a unique opportunity to get the latest information on the topic, both on paper and in person. I spent a lot of time in the libraries of the Freie Universität Berlin and got access to the latest publications on my topic, interviewed the leading scholars working in my research area and

had a chance to discuss my research with the students from the case-study countries as well, while working in the friendly and multicultural university environment. Due to my previous internship in German Bundestag I also had access to one of the largest parliamentary libraries with excellent research opportunities – the Bundestag library. Moreover, it was possible to talk to some politicians on the topic and discuss the latest changes in the institutional system of the European Union.

Berlin is not only a scientific, but also a real cultural metropolis, where one can participate in dozens of discussions, lectures and seminars every day. Besides the weekly lectures of the Otto-Suhr-Institute for Political Science and different research centres of the institute and the other events in the city, I had a unique chance to visit a lecture of Robert D. Putnam together with some hundreds students and professors of the Freie Universität Berlin. It is surely one of my personal highlights of the year, as professor Putnam is not only one of the most distinguished intellectuals of our time, but also an impressive speaker, who was eager to make all his ideas understandable to the audience. He is a person who makes you look at your own work from a brand new angle."

For more information of the activities of the CES – EU Centre, see www.eu.spb.ru/ces.



Dr. des. Martin Rempe

Famous Last Words

I really enjoyed the open-minded, outstanding atmosphere at "Ihne 26". As a historian, I listened and learnt a lot, and especially in theoretical respect I profited enormously from the discussions at the jours fixes and the several workshops and conferences. Special thanks go to Tanja and Thomas as well as to my lovely post-doc colleagues, with whom I shared most of my all too short time at the KFG. Last not least, Astrid and the whole staff provided for perfect working conditions - thank you very much for your great organisational commitment."

Dr. des. Martin Rempe
KFG Post-doctoral Fellow, October 2010 to March 2011
Since April 2011 Assistant Professor at the University of Konstanz

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KOLLEG-FORSCHERGRUPPE "THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF EUROPE"

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Working Paper NO. 26**Europeanization Subverted? The European Union's Promotion of Good Governance and the Fight against Corruption in the Southern Caucasus**

Tanja A. Börzel and Yasemin Pamuk - April 2011

Abstract: In order to foster peace, stability and prosperity in its near abroad, the European Union has invoked the European Neighbourhood Policy that seeks to transform the domestic structures of the Newly Independent States in the post-Soviet space thus building a "ring of friends" that share European norms and principles of democracy, rule of the law, market economy, and good governance. Empirical evidence, however, suggests that the EU's capacity to hit across its borders and to realize its reform agenda seems limited. Moreover, most neighborhood countries appear to be stuck in transition and suffer from serious problems of both weak state capacity and defect democracy. Hence, EU efforts may also bear the danger of unintended and negative effects on the domestic structures of states, as its policies and institutions do not only empower liberal reform coalitions, to the extent that they exist in the first place, but can also bolster the power of incumbent authoritarian and corrupt elites. This paper intends to capture this "dark side of Europeanization" (Schimmelfennig 2007). It thus conceptualizes ENP as a political opportunity structure that provides opportunities and constraints to both supporters and opponents of the European Union's reform agenda. Which of the two ultimately get empowered depends not only on the EU's capacity to push for reforms but also on the pull of domestic actors.

Working Paper NO. 27**Decolonization by Europeanization? The Early EEC and the Transformation of French-African Relations.**

Martin Rempe - May 2011

Abstract: "Françafrique", "Francophonie", "l'état franco-africain" and "Mafiafrique" – all these terms are commonly used if one comes to talk about French-African relations after the severing of colonial ties in 1960. Even though they bear slightly different meanings, they share the notion of a very close, stable, and continuous if not to say colonially-styled relationship. According to the relevant literature, the European Economic Community (EEC) acted thereby as a stabilizing instrument. Against this backdrop, the paper tries to present new perspectives on the complex relationship between the EEC, France and its former African colonies associated to the community since 1958. The paper explores to what extent France's belonging to the EEC triggered Europeanization processes that directly affected French-African relations and eventually acted in favor of decolonization of metropolitan France. I will argue that, in the course of the 1960s, emulation of community procedures as well as supranational legal coercion to a certain extent transformed French development co-operation and trade relations with the Franco-phone African states and in the end fostered France's regional reconfiguration towards Europe.

Working Paper NO. 28**Comparative Regionalism: A New Research Agenda**

Tanja A. Börzel - August 2011

Abstract: After the end of the Cold War, students of International Relations observed an expansion of inter-state activities at the regional level. Regional and sub-regional groupings appeared to gain momentum as the way in which countries cooperate and should cooperate to pursue peace, stability, wealth and social justice. The surge and resurgence of regionalism has triggered the proliferation of concepts and approaches. The focus of this paper

will be on processes and structures of state-led regionalism driven by the delegation of policies and political authority to regional institutions. Based on this understanding of regionalism, the existing literature will be reviewed with regard to three general questions. These questions do not only require research across regions but also allow developing a common research agenda to accumulate knowledge generated about specific regions. First, what are the outcomes of regionalism? How can we describe and compare the results of the delegation of policies and political authority? Second, what are the drivers of regionalism? Why do some governments choose to delegate policies and political authority while others do not? Finally, what are the internal effects of regionalism? How does the delegation of policies and political authority impact back on the domestic structures of the states involved?

Working Paper NO. 29

EU Member States' Humanitarian Assistance and Issue Salience in Public Discourse: Preliminary Findings for the 2000 to 2008 Period

Matteo Garavoglia - August 2011

Abstract: The establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) that took place with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty lays the basis for a potentially more coherent and better-structured approach of the European Union to the issue of the provision of humanitarian aid. Within such a context, this paper investigates the relationship between the provision of emergency financial assistance and the extent of the presence of the issue of humanitarian aid in public discourse in seven EU member states. The empirical findings highlight a strong correlation between increases in issue salience and increases in the provision of humanitarian assistance as well as a significant concomitant variation in the issue cycles of the investigated EU member states.

Working Paper NO. 30

When Europeanization Hits Limited Statehood: The Western Balkans as a Test Case for the Transformative Power of Europe

Tanja A. Börzel - September 2011

Abstract: The EU seeks to transform the domestic structures of the Western Balkan countries in order to foster peace, stability and prosperity in the region ridden by war and ethnic conflict. Unlike in case of the Mediterranean and Newly Independent States, the EU has even offered its South Eastern European neighbors a membership perspective. Whether the “golden carrot” is big enough, however, to draw the Western Balkans closer to Europe, is still an open question. Croatia has made sufficient progress to successfully conclude accession negotiations in the years to come. The EU rewarded domestic reforms in Macedonia and Montenegro with granting them candidate status, which Serbia is likely to receive in the near future. Albania, by contrast, appears to be more reluctant to engage in the changes necessary to get even with Macedonia and Montenegro. Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo, finally, are seriously lagging behind and have not even applied for membership. Can Europeanization approaches account for the differential impact of the EU in the Western Balkans? The paper argues that problems of limited statehood have seriously curbed the transformative power of the EU in the Western Balkans - despite their membership perspective. Not only has the EU exerted less pressure for adaptation on Western Balkan governments. Weak state capacities and ethnic conflicts have reduced both their willingness and capacity to implement the *acquis communautaire*. Given its lack of experience in state building, the EU is ill-equipped to address these problems. This results in a serious dilemma. On the one hand, the EU has offered the Western Balkans a membership perspective to stabilize the region and overcome problems caused by weak and contested statehood. On the other hand, it is the limited statehood of Western Balkan countries, which undermines their compliance with EU norms and rules.

Working Paper NO. 31**Appropriating the Environment. How the European Institutions Received the Novel Idea of the Environment and Made it Their Own.***Jan-Henrik Meyer - September 2011*

Abstract: Environmental policy has become an important area of European Union (EU) policy making, even though it had not originally been foreseen in the Treaty of Rome. Its emergence in the early 1970s can be understood as a result of a transfer of the novel policy idea of the environment to the European level. This paper thus inquires into the emergence of a European environmental policy from a diffusion of ideas perspective. Rather than focusing on multi-level policy making it seeks to trace the diffusion of environmental ideas from the level of international organizations to the European Communities (EC) in the early 1970s. It analyzes how and why these new concepts were taken up by the European Communities and adapted to the specific institutional framework of the EC. Starting with a brief introduction into the historical context, the paper first explores the origins of the notion of the environment as a political concept emerging in the context of international organizations at the time. Secondly, an analysis of the first Environmental Action Programme of 1973 will be used to show how the EC conceptualized the environment, including the definition of problems and potential remedies. Thirdly, the origins of these ideas will be traced back to international models, from the UNESCO conference “Man and the Biosphere” in 1968 onwards. In a final step, the paper tries to explain the diffusion and reception of ideas. It examines how these ideas were received by the EC, which actors were involved in this process, and which mechanisms of diffusion played a role. The goal is thus to make a contribution to the debate about the transnational diffusion of ideas. foreign and security policy, which is considered sacrosanct by member state governments, is only rarely exercised by politicians at the level of the European Council or Council of Ministers.

Working Paper NO. 32**You Make Us Do What We Want! The Usage of External Actors and Policy Conditionality in the European Neighborhood***Esther Ademmer - November 2011*

Abstract: In academic and public debates, external actors have been considered to promote their rules most effectively in third countries in cases of high and asymmetric interdependence. Hence, high interdependence of European Neighborhood Countries (ENC) with Russia has been discussed as a major constraint to EU rule transfer. The case of migration policies, however, represents an odd one out: high degrees of interdependence of the ENC and Russia are coupled with compliance with EU rules, whereas lower degrees of interdependence correlate with shallow and selective compliance. The paper investigates the de facto impact of Russia and the EU on the implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) in this highly interdependent policy field and argues for a change in perspective: adopting a stronger bottom-up perspective on power-based approaches of external governance cannot only account for varying compliance records, but also shows how domestic actors can use multiple external opportunity structures to promote their own agenda.