The Transformative Power of Europe:

The European Union and the Diffusion of Ideas
(FOR 1026)

Antrag auf Einrichtung einer Kolleg-Forschergruppe

von

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Tanja A. Börzel und Univ.-Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse

1.   Allgemeine Angaben

Antrag auf Einrichtung einer Kolleg-Forschergruppe

1.1   Antragstellerin/Antragsteller

Tanja A. Börzel, Univ.-Prof. Dr.
Lehrstuhlinhaberin (C4)
5. Juli 1970, Deutsch
BO 183
Arbeitsstelle Europäische Integration

Otto-Suhr-Institut für Politikwissenschaft
Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaf-
ten
Freie Universität Berlin
Ihnestr. 22
14195 Berlin
Tel.: +49-(0)30-838 54830
Fax: +49-(0)30-838 55049
Email: boerzel@zedat.fu-berlin.de

Thomas Risse, Univ.-Prof. Dr.
Lehrstuhlinhaber (C4)
17. Dezember 1955, Deutsch
RI 798
Arbeitsstelle Transnationale Beziehungen,
Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik
Otto-Suhr-Institut für Politikwissenschaft
Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaf-
ten
Freie Universität Berlin
Ihnestr. 22
14195 Berlin
Tel.: +49-(0)30-838 55527
Fax: +49-(0)30-838 54160
Email: risse@zedat.fu-berlin.de

1.2   Thema

The Transformative Power of Europe: The European Union and the Diffusion of Ideas

1.3   Fach- und Arbeitsrichtung

Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften, Institutionalismusforschung

1.4   Voraussichtliche Gesamtdauer

8 Jahre

1.5   Antragszeitraum

06/2008 – 06/2012

1.6   Zusammenfassung

The diffusion of ideas has become a central research theme in political science, sociology, law, history, and economics. In this context, the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* focuses on the theo-retical and methodological challenges of identifying scope conditions for and interaction effects between the various causal mechanisms by which ideas are spread across time and space. We concentrate on the European Union (EU) as an almost ideal laboratory for investigating processes and outcomes of diffusion. First, European integration itself can be described as an effort to promote the diffusion of ideas across Europe and beyond. Second, European societies and polities emulate each other through mimetic processes. Third, Europe and the EU also serve as active promoters of diffusion processes toward the outside world. Last not least, European integration is embedded in and responds to larger global diffusion processes. The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will explore the diffusion of ideas in three thematic areas: "identity and the public sphere," "compliance, conditionality, and beyond," and "comparative regionalism and Europe's external relations". We will pursue our goals through a Fellow Program, a Sabbatical Program, the promotion of junior researchers, and outreach and exchange activities, which seek to engage practitioners in politics, media, and civil society.

2. Ziele und Arbeitsprogramm

2.1 Ziele und Einordnung in den Stand der Forschung

The diffusion of ideas has become a central research theme in political science, sociology, law, history, and economics. In studying how ideas are spread across time and space, scholars have focused on several questions: under which conditions does diffusion occur, what are the mechanisms of diffusion, which actors are involved in diffusion processes, which factors promote and retract diffusion, and how does diffusion affect political, social, cultural, legal, and economic conditions (for overviews see Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006; Holzinger, Jörgens, and Knill 2007; Strang and Soule 1998)? Scholarly interest in the diffusion of ideas has grown irrespective of researchers' meta-theoretical orientations, such as rational choice or social constructivism (see e.g. Fehr and Gächter 2002; Fehr and Rockenbach 2003; Powell and DiMaggio 1991).

The European Union (EU) serves as an almost ideal laboratory for investigating processes and outcomes of diffusion. First, European integration itself can be described as an effort to promote the diffusion of ideas across Europe. Europeanization research has investigated the domestic effects of these diffusion processes in the current and future member states of the EU. Second, this *vertical* diffusion of ideas has to be contrasted with *horizontal* processes of diffusion. European societies and polities emulate each other through mimetic processes as well as learning. Third, Europe and the EU also serve as active promoters of diffusion processes toward the outside world. The EU has various policies in place to diffuse its ideas – both in its immediate neighbourhood and worldwide. At the same time, European ideas are being emulated across the globe – from Mercosur in Latin America to the African Union and the newest attempts at regional integration in Asia. Finally, European integration is itself embedded in and responds to larger global diffusion processes – economically, politically, and culturally.

The diffusion of ideas is not a process free of conflict, resistance, and politics. European efforts to diffuse values, norms, and rules – both internally as well as externally – have to cope with heterogeneity and diversity. Since they often do not resonate with the domestic structures of their recipients, European ideas often face political contestation and social mobilization. Citizens – the ultimate recipients of attempts at diffusion – may not like what they see – as experienced in 2005 when French and Dutch citizens rejected the Constitutional Treaty. As a result, diffusion processes inside and outside Europe have not produced homogeneity and convergence. Europeanization has not led to the disappearance of national institutional and cultural differences. Nor has the emulation of European ways of doing things resulted in similar models of regional integration across the globe. Historical, social and cultural factors may significantly mitigate and refract the diffusion of ideas, inside and outside the EU. European ideas are particularly influential if they resonate with the social, political, economic, cultural and historical conditions of the receiving countries.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* focuses on the EU as both subject and object of the diffusion of ideas. We understand diffusion as a process through which ideas are spread across time and space (cf. Strang and Meyer 1993). We concentrate in particular on two dimensions of ideas that can be diffused (see e.g. Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Rein and Schön 1991; Lepsius 1990):

- *Cognitive dimension* of ideas, such as causal beliefs or knowledge, i.e. collectively shared validity claims with regard to cause- and effect-relationships and states of the world;
- *Normative dimension* of ideas, e.g. principled beliefs or norms as collectively shared expectations about appropriate behaviour on the basis of a given identity (see Jepperson, Wendt, and Katzenstein 1996).

Ideas are embedded in and influence social processes and structures on various levels (see Jachtenfuchs 1995). We will focus on ideas in their relationship with policies, interests, identities, and institutions. *Policies* on various levels encapsulate and promote both causal and normative ideas. Ideas also affect how actors perceive and articulate their *interests* and preferences.[1] Moreover, ideas are part and parcel of how actors think of themselves and others, i.e. how they form their collective *identities.* And they form an intrinsic part of social structures insofar as social *institutions* can be regarded as cognitive and normative ideas "frozen in time" (see Sikkink 1991: 26).

The proposed *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* investigates the diffusion of ideas in and through Europe and the EU by asking three sets of interrelated questions:

1. How and under what conditions do Europe and the EU function as *promoter* of ideas, both internally and externally? What diffusion mechanisms does it employ in which contexts?

2. What about Europe and the EU as *recipients* of diffusion processes at the global level? Which diffusion mechanisms are particularly conducive to transformational changes inside the EU and its member states?

3. What are the *institutional effects* of these diffusion processes on political, economic, social, and cultural structures and processes inside the EU and its member states, which factors promote and constrain the diffusion of ideas, and how are these differential effects to be explained?

To study the diffusion of ideas, both as process and outcome, we can draw on a vast literature. Large-n macro-quantitative studies have demonstrated, among others, the diffusion of state sovereignty (Strang 1990), of liberal economic policies (Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006), of democracy and human rights (Huntington 1991; Starr 1991; Gleditsch and Ward 2006), of technology and management practices (Mansfield and Milner 1999; Rogers 2003; Keller 2002), of mass schooling (Meyer et al. 1992), or of new environmental policy instruments (Tews, Busch, and Jörgens 2003; Holzinger, Knill, and Schäfer 2003).[2] In the international relations literature, the so-called "second image reversed" approach (Gourevitch 1978) has analyzed how international institutions impact upon the domestic structures of states (Milner 1988; Keohane and Milner 1996). A similar perspective has been adopted by students of European integration who seek to identify conditions under which European institutions, policies and processes affect member states (Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse 2001; Graziano and Vink 2006; Bach 2000; overview in Börzel and Risse 2006). In both literatures, compliance with international and European policies, respectively, has been identified as a major route through which ideas may transform the behaviour, structures and identities of states (for an overview of the vast literature on compliance see Raustiala and Slaughter 2002).

---

[1] We do not subscribe to a simplistic "ideas vs. interests" account. Irrespective of how one conceptualizes the relationship between material factors and ideas, suffice it to say at this point that a conceptualization of interests without taking ideational factors into account is highly questionable.

[2] Pioneering research has been done by the "Stanford School" which has been tracing the global diffusion of norms and values as part of an emerging world culture and world society (Boli and Thomas 1999; Meyer et al. 1997).

The literatures on policy diffusion, policy transfer and institutional isomorphism,[3] both at the global and the national level, complement the research on internationalization and Europeanization. First, they systematically consider the generation and diffusion of ideas by norm- or policy-entrepreneurs, e.g. through the building or shaping of institutions (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Payne 2001). Second, these literatures also specify more indirect mechanisms through which ideas can spread. They do not necessarily require the intentional action of a norm- or policy-entrepreneur. Actors may decide to emulate others by adopting certain ideas to improve their performance or obtain greater legitimacy (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977). This is particularly likely if institutions frequently interact and are exposed to each other or are located in a similar environment with stable, formalized and clear-cut organizational structures (Meyer and Rowan 1991; DiMaggio 1991; Strang and Meyer 1993; Scott and Meyer 1994).

The social science research on policy diffusion, policy transfer and isomorphism resonates well with the debates in economics on the diffusion of ideas at the international level and within federations through learning, information spillovers, and factor mobility. Under the headline of "yardstick competition," economists discuss the impact of comparative performance evaluation between different governments by voters, arguing that this will allow identification of good and bad policies and, ultimately, lead to the spread of policy ideas across borders and regions (Salmon 1987; Besley and Case 1995; Bordignon, Cerniglia, and Revelli 2004; Brueckner 2003 for a survey). A related mechanism, system competition, is based on the notion that increasing cross-border mobility of capital will lead, among other things, to a harmonization of national and regional regulatory and tax systems (Tiebout 1956; Sinn 2003; Wilson 1999 for an overview). Finally, economists have taken a keen interest in the determinants of the diffusion of "best practices" in the design of important policy institutions such as central banks (Berger, Eijffinger, and Haan 2001) and fiscal policy (Hallerberg, Strauch, and Hagen 2004). Often these institutional changes combine elements of coercion and emulation. A case in point is the harmonization of central bank independence within the EU both prior and after the decision to introduce the Euro and the evolution of the Euro zone's fiscal institutions since the late 1990s. Finally, economists have started to debate whether diffusion is always based on strategic choices or may also result from "contagious" herd behaviour triggered by sequential learning (Banerjee 1992; Kaminisky and Reinhart 2000; on diffusion as contagion see also Levi-Faur 2002 and Myers 2000).

In addition, legal scholars have long studied the diffusion of legal ideas from a historical perspective. The influence of Roman law on the development of the continental or civil law systems (Wieacker 1967; Zimmermann 1996) or the global rise of the protection of fundamental rights after the Second World War are striking examples (Stern 2003). The Council of Europe and, in particular, the European Convention of Human Rights was – and continues to be – a major factor in the promotion of democracy, the rule of law and human rights throughout Europe (ECHR 1950). The transfer of ideas from one country to the other and reciprocal learning processes regarding constitutional concepts and principles in Europe have not only supported the democratization processes in Greece, Spain and Portugal, and more recently, in Central and Eastern Europe, but even form a basis for a specific analytical approach in constitutional theory (Häberle 1992; 2006; Bogdandy, Cruz Villalón, and Huber 2007). The transfer and adaptation of constitutional principles as well as legislation in areas such as cor-

---

[3] While representing different literatures and disciplines of social sciences, theoretical arguments on policy diffusion, policy transfer and institutional isomorphism focus on similar causal mechanisms. While organizational theory refers to "coercive, normative and mimetic isomorphism" (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), research on policy transfer speaks of "direct coercive, indirect coercive, and voluntary transfer" (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; Evans and Davies 1999). Institutional isomorphism is rather structure-oriented while policy transfer and policy diffusion focus more on the role of agency. Policy diffusion, in turn, is mostly concerned with process. Policy transfer is more interested in policy goals, content and instruments (cf. Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Holzinger, Jörgens, and Knill 2007). The Europeanization literature has sought to integrate the various concepts (cf. Radaelli 2000a, 2000b).

porate law, environment, and working conditions are also a condition for the accession of new members to the EU. But legal harmonization is not a one-way street. The EU constitutional law as well as its secondary legislation reflect the general principles and traditions of the member states' constitutional law or are inspired by specific solutions found at the national level (Pernice 2001). Important recipients of European ideas are Japan, Korea, China or Latin America in areas, such as private law, criminal and administrative law. Such forms of "legal transplants" (Watson 1974) and transfer processes are increasingly acknowledged as global practice, but there is little systematic analysis on their conditions, structures and effects (Jackson and Tushnet 1999; Rosenfeld et al. 2003).

Last not least, the study of diffusion requires an encounter with history, since ideas not only spread across space, but also across time (overview in Djelic 2007). Historians point to three concepts that help to historicize diffusion processes at the intersection of social science and historical analysis. First, historians emphasize contextualization. Ideas do not just spread across time, but meet specific historical and social contexts in which they are adapted and transformed (see e.g. Westney 1987; Djelic 2007; Paulmann 2004; Grazia 2005). Second, contextualization of ideas requires "translation," from one historical time and cultural setting to another. Such translation processes may involve appropriation, resistance, and reinterpretation. They encompass generational leaps (time) but also cultural differences (space) (cf. Randeria 1999; Randeria and Conrad 2002; Werner and Zimmermann 2002). Third, the concept of path dependence which historical institutionalists also emphasize (see e.g. Steinmo, Thelen, and Longstreth 1992) needs to be considered. It "characterizes specifically those historical sequences in which contingent events set into motion institutional patterns of event chains that have deterministic properties" (Mahoney 2000: 507). In sum, the historicization of diffusion processes makes us aware of the fact that active construction and reconstruction plays a significant role in the spread of ideas over time and space.

Bringing these various literatures and experiences together, we can identify different mechanisms for the diffusion of ideas resulting in various degrees of social change and transformation (see figure 1).[4] While these mechanisms themselves are widely quoted in the literature, the theoretical and methodological challenge of our *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will be to identify the scope conditions of and the interaction effects between the various diffusion mechanisms.

The mechanisms can be subsumed under three major logics of social action that rest on distinct assumptions about actors and their relations with social structures and institutions (cf. March and Olsen 1998; Habermas 1981; Risse 2000): 1) instrumental rationality or rational choice; 2) normative rationality or logic of appropriateness; 3) communicative rationality or logic of arguing. The three lines of theorizing give rise to different expectations when and how actors seek to promote ideas and decide to adopt them, respectively.[5] Based upon the three logics of social action, we identify five different mechanisms (summarized in figure 1).

---

[4] For similar approaches see Diez, Stetter, and Albert 2006; Holzinger, Jörgens, and Knill 2007; Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2004; Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006; Johnston 2007.

[5] Note that the following mechanisms represent ideal types. Ideas diffuse in such a complex process that several mechanisms should be assumed at work simultaneously in a given empirical situation.

Figure 1: Mechanisms of Diffusion

Social mechanism and underlying theory of social action	Promoter of Ideas (Sender)	Recipient of Ideas
Coercion *(legal and physical imposition)*	coercive authority (*Herrschaft*), legal or physical force	obedience, submission
Manipulation of Utility Calculations *(instrumental rationality)*	(positive) and (negative) incentives	reward (reap benefits) punishment (avoid costs); adaptive learning
Socialization *(normative rationality)*	promote ideas through providing an authoritative model (normative pressure)	internalization of ideas; identity change to gain social acceptance
Persuasion *(communicative rationality)*	promote ideas as legitimate or true through reason-giving	reasoned consensus (acceptance of idea as legitimate or true); complex learning; identity change
Emulation (indirect Influence) *a)* lesson-drawing (instrumental rationality) *b)* mimicry (normative rationality)	(Promote comparison and competition)[6]	a) performance (adopt effective and efficient policy solution) b) imitation (become more like the relevant peers)

The first mechanism, which is often overlooked in the literature assuming voluntary diffusion of ideas, concerns *coercion*. Actors may simply have no choice but to accept an idea because they are forced by the threat or the actual use of physical violence (Hurd 1999). Strictly speaking, coercion is only relevant with regard to the internal diffusion of ideas (Europeanization) as part of the member states' obligation to comply with EU law. Member states of the European Union are subject to ideas diffused by the case law of the European Court of Justice (Shapiro 1992) or European directives harmonizing national legislations (Scharpf 2003; Börzel 2007). In a historical perspective, however, coercion plays a more prominent role (cf. Owen 2002). Not only did European powers impose ideas on their colonies, often justified along a mission to civilize (see the French "mission civilisatrice" or the British "White Man's Burden"). Europe itself has been subject to attempts at coercive diffusion at various times in its history.

The second mechanism concerns diffusion of ideas through the *manipulation of utility calculations* by providing negative and positive incentives. Actors seek to promote certain ideas to realize individual gains, such as getting access to new markets, or to avoid costs, e.g. by stabilizing a political situation in neighbouring countries that creates negative externalities, such as civil wars. In a similar vein, the promoters of ideas can induce other actors into adopting their ideas by manipulating their utility functions. They provide rewards, e.g. in form of financial and technical assistance, or incur costs through sanctions or empowering domestic actors who push for the adoption of the idea (Keohane 1984; Legro 1997; Weitsmann and Schneider 1997). The supply of causal ideas can also result in adaptive or "Baysian" learning (Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006: 796) if actors receive new information that permits updating their beliefs e.g. about how to best reach a certain policy goal (Meseguer 2006).

Concerning internal diffusion, the EU has quite a few instruments at its disposal to induce member states to adopt certain policies through rewards and sanctions (cf. Börzel 2003b; Tallberg 2003). While internal diffusion processes are well researched, this is less the case with regard to the EU efforts to export certain ideas to the global level and their projection

---

[6] Strictly speaking, this mechanism does not require the active promotion of ideas.

into third countries, respectively (external diffusion). To a certain degree, the EU has used the externalization of European ideas to pursue its own instrumental interests, such as security, stability, prosperity and environmental protection. In the accession process of the Central, Eastern, and South Eastern European countries, the EU and the member states have mostly relied on external incentives or reinforcement through rewards, on the one hand, and capacity-building, on the other (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005; Kelley 2004; Vachudova 2005; Dimitrov, Goetz, and Wollmann 2006). But while the effects of European ideas on the candidate countries have been immediate and fast, conditionality appears to be far less effective with countries that are either not willing or not capable of adopting European ideas because they do not resonate with domestic structures and identities or they lack the necessary capacities to introduce required changes (Youngs 2001; Holland 2003; Magen and Morlino 2008). Yet, alternative mechanisms, such as socialization, persuasion and emulation, have received little attention in the literature so far.

The third and the fourth mechanisms draw on logics of social action theorized by social constructivism that also resonates with historical work on diffusion. *Socialization* works through normative rationality or the logic of appropriateness (March and Olsen 1989, 1998) which differ from strategic and instrumental behavior in that actors seek to do "the right thing" rather than maximizing or optimizing their given utilities. Actors learn to internalize new norms and rules in order to become members of (international) society "in good standing" (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998). Such processes of socialization often result in complex learning by which actors redefine their interests and identities (Checkel 2005; Johnston 2007).

Persuasion is based on communicative rationality or the logic of arguing. It refers to situations in which actors try to persuade each other about the validity claims inherent in any causal or normative statement. Arguing involves reason-giving and challenging these claims as well as the legitimacy of norms. While some authors emphasize the role of international organizations, which "teach" state actors international ideas (Finnemore 1996; Checkel 2001), others focus on the role of (trans)national non-governmental organizations as promoters of ideas (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Haas 1992).

Once again, socialization and persuasion processes contain an internal and an external dimension with regard to the EU. The emerging literatures on the Europeanization of national identities, values, as well as of public spheres provide a good example for internal diffusion processes of ideas about who "we" are and how we engage each other in the public sphere (see e.g. Gerhards in cooperation with Hölscher 2005; Herrmann, Brewer, and Risse 2004; Kantner 2004; Trenz 2006b; Koopmans 2004; Jachtenfuchs, Diez, and Jung 1998). While these literatures are increasingly well developed with regard to descriptive inferences about the evolution and diffusion of identities and values, we have very little systematic knowledge about its causes and its effects on European policies and politics, particularly when European ideas are contested and meet with resistance.

With regard to the external diffusion of ideas via socialization and persuasion, the EU also provides a rich laboratory. The EU and its member states do not merely promote democracy and human rights as normative standards in their external relations with third countries. These ideas also constitute causal beliefs since they are considered as the best way to ensure (regional) security, stability and prosperity at the EU's borders and beyond (see Magen 2006). The same is true for specific policy areas, such the environment. The Kyoto Protocol is a telling example of how the EU sought to persuade other states that legally binding emission standards are a more effective instrument to reduce greenhouse gas emissions than economic and voluntary measures (Jachtenfuchs 1996; Scheipers and Sicurelli 2007; Schreurs 2004a). Finally, the export of ideas which build upon the very foundations of the European Union, has served to construct a distinct foreign policy identity (Manners 2002; Diez 2005; Manners and Whitman 2003). In its external relations, the EU and the member states seek to persuade state actors to adopt this model through processes of arguing and persuasion in institutionalized patterns of political dialogue and cooperation (cf. Youngs 2001). In this context, the question has to be asked to what extent the EU diffuses distinc-

tively *European* ideas. Human rights, democracy, open market or multilateralism can be seen as part of the global diffusion of a wider international order promoted by "Western" countries and international organizations (Gleditsch and Ward 2006; Epstein 2008).

While the EU and its member states as promoters of normative and causal ideas are pretty well researched, we know very little as to the effects of these attempts at diffusion which often meet with resistance and contestation on the ground. The diffusion literature tends to turn a blind eye to issues of (conflicting) interests and power and has paid little attention to unintended or "nasty" (Schimmelfennig 2007: 14) consequences. Thus, the EU's effort to export regionalism has crowded out and undermined endogenous region-building developments in the Baltic (Christiansen, Petto, and Tonra 2000) and, arguably, also in Sub-Saharan Africa (Hurt 2003). The conditions under which efforts at socialization and persuasion work and to whose advantage are still under-researched. This is also the case for the EU as a target of socialization and persuasion where the EU becomes a taker of ideas promoted by international organizations and third countries. The EU has Europeanized ideas it received from the outside world, e.g., with regard to the liberalization of capital markets and telecommunications, but also concerning the re-regulation of firms and financial markets (Schneider 2001; Levi-Faur 2004; Lütz 2002; Lütz and Eberle 2007). To a certain extent, even European integration itself can be regarded as the diffusion of (American) ideas about the post-World War II European order (Gillingham 2003; Lundestad 1986; Majone 1991; Neuss 2000).

Equally neglected has been the fifth mechanism of *emulation* which does not require an active promoter of ideas, but relies on indirect influence. While there is a rich sociological literature on institutional isomorphism, emulation and mimicry (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Powell and DiMaggio 1991), political science, economics, or history which are usually rather agency-centred, have yet to catch up with these studies. Indirect mechanisms of diffusion are largely based on the principle of competition (competitive isomorphism, cf. Hannan and Freeman 1977). Actors compete with each other over meeting certain performance criteria, e.g. creating employment or fostering economic growth, to which they unilaterally adjust their behavior accordingly (Elkins, Guzman, and Simmons 2006; Vogel 1995; Busch, Jörgens, and Tews 2005). External actors may foster processes of emulation by promoting comparison and competition as the OECD or the European Union do among its members by setting bench-marks and organizing regular peer reviews (Rose 1991; Tews 2002; Jakobi and Martens 2007). Competition does not only entail the diffusion of ideas as normative standards for political or economic behavior but also seeks to spread causal beliefs, e.g. by learning from best practice, on how to best reach these standards (Börzel 2007). Actors, in turn, borrow ideas in order to improve their performance (emulation) in comparison to others. Ideas may become "contagious" (Myers 2000: 175) under conditions of uncertainty, policy failure and dissatisfaction with the status quo, rather than external pressure. Actors look to others for policies and rules that effectively solved similar problems elsewhere and are transferable into the domestic context (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Goetz 2001). Next to lesson-drawing, which is based on instrumental rationality (cf. Rose 1993), actors may also emulate others for normative reasons, to increase their legitimization (symbolic imitation; cf. Polillo and Guillén 2005) or to simply imitate their behavior because its appropriateness is taken for granted (mimicry; cf. Meyer and Rowan 1977; Haveman 1993).

Emulation processes are the least understood with regard to the EU. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) is probably the most prominent example of internal diffusion through emulation (Hodson and Maher 2001). It comes closest to (managed) policy emulation, which is also enshrined in the principle of mutual recognition. The latter constitutes the framework for a moderate regulatory competition between the member states that helps to diffuse ideas, not only with regard to economic activities (Sun and Pelkmans 1995: 68f.) but also in the area of asylum and immigration policy (Schmidt 2007). In its external relations, the EU and the member states have sought to encourage competition among countries seeking closer relations with the EU. While the EU's external relations have been largely structured around

regional dimensions, countries negotiate bilateral agreements based on their performance with regard to adopting European ideas (Bauer, Knill, and Pitschel 2007).

Even less understood is the receiving end of emulation. We know very little about efforts by member states and non-member states to emulate EU practices through either lesson-drawing or simple mimicry. The accession countries, for example, emulated European ideas in policy areas in which the EU did not demand adjustment. They chose EU ideas rather than ideas from elsewhere in anticipation of having to adopt these ideas sooner or later anyway as part of their objective to achieve membership. With regard to the EU as a model of regional integration, the African Union serve as an example of emulating particular institutional arrangements without much EU interference (Farrell 2007).

In sum, there is a rich theoretical literature on diffusion which we subsumed under different causal mechanisms. We also need to distinguish between various *effects* of diffusion processes on policies, interests, identities, and institutions (see above). On each of these levels, the effects of diffusion processes can range from more or less cosmetic change to large-scale transformation.

The literatures on diffusion processes and on Europeanization point to the following desiderata which the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will address:

- With regard to the internal diffusion of ideas in Europe (Europeanization), the spread of policies and regulatory practices including institutional designs is well researched. We know far less about the conditions under which *identities* Europeanize or variations in European identities and values arise, e.g. through processes of contestation. We also know little about diffusion processes and mechanisms in Europeanized public spheres and their effects on the construction of European identities among Europeans.

- The EU as an active promoter of causal and principled ideas in its external relations has given rise to a growing literature. But we know little about the *long-term effects* of these conscious efforts at diffusion and the conditions under which they yield what kind of results in terms of interest and identity changes. How does the EU respond to resistance and contestation to its attempts at diffusing ideas? To what extent are these ideas truly European and not general "Western" principles that are also promoted by non-European countries? Finally, how do the attempts at exporting European ideas compare to historical forms of external diffusion, such as colonialism?

- The recent literature has also neglected the role of EU as a *taker* of ideas, i.e. as subject of diffusion processes, be it through the conscious promotion of ideas by others (e.g. the U.S.), be it through indirect emulation or mimicry. This question is particularly interesting from a historical perspective since European integration has not only become a model to be emulated by other regions around the globe but has been shaped by external ideas.

- With regard to the mechanisms specified, the use and the effects of positive and negative incentives are well researched given the predominance of rational choice in EU studies. In contrast, we know rather little about the conditions under which efforts at *socialization and persuasion* yield which results (see, however, Checkel 2005). Moreover, the literature tends to treat the different mechanisms as alternative or even competing explanations. Potential *interaction* and feedback effects are hardly explored (cf. Braun and Gilardi 2006).

- This is even more the case for emulation processes that are based on indirect social influences without the active engagement of idea promoters. *Lesson-drawing and/or mimicry* is probably the least researched area both with regard to Europeanization as an internal process and with regard to the external diffusion of European ideas.

- Finally, the *politics* of diffusion, i.e. the role of power and interest, is often neglected. Moreover, the diffusion of ideas is often considered solely at the level of elites, while citizens' reactions and protests are neglected. Despite the image as a civilian power the EU

seeks to promote, its attempts at diffusing ideas have often met with contestation, conflict and resistance, both within and outside the EU. Cases of failed diffusion have hardly been studied so far (for an exception see Eimer 2008).

Concentrating on these neglected research fields will help us to tackle the major theoretical and methodology challenge of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* identified above, namely to specify the scope conditions of and interaction effects between the various causal mechanisms. This will be our main contribution to the larger literature on the diffusion of ideas.

2.2   Vorgehensweise

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* "The Transformative Power of Europe" seeks to investigate Europe and the EU as agents of political, social, economic, legal, and cultural change inside and outside of Europe. And we examine Europe and the EU at the receiving end of global diffusion processes. The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will study the interaction between the generation of ideas, on the one hand, and the social, political, economical, cultural and historical conditions that facilitate and mitigate their diffusion, on the other. Seeking to tackle the three sets of research questions and the desiderata in the literature identified above, our common endeavour focuses on the following three research areas that have been at the core of our work:

Research Area 1: Identity and the Public Sphere

Political entities depend on bonds rooted in a feeling of belonging or identity. Without social ligatures, citizens are unlikely to accept majority decisions on highly controversial issues, nor are they willing to transfer parts of their own wealth to needy members of society. This research area will explore how the diffusion of ideas through and by the European Union affects collective identities and their Europeanization. To what extent has the internal diffusion of European ideas affected the emergence of common values and identities leading to an "imagined European community" among the citizens (Anderson 1991)? Can we observe a socialization process by which the new member states in Central Eastern Europe incorporate Europe and the EU into their collective identity narratives? And how can we explain these diffusion processes and their differential effects on the Europeanization of collective identities? How does the "politics of identity" affect these diffusion processes? What are the scope conditions of identity transformation in the European Union?

At the same time, the EU actively promotes a particular identity through its internal and external policies, but also through its accession criteria. In this context, the discursive constructions of European borders and the controversies about these borders (Does Turkey belong to "Europe"?) tell us a lot about the mechanisms through which European identities diffuse and to what extent they are contested. What are the cultural "borders" of Europe in these constructions? How do processes of "Othering" e.g. with respect to religious or gender identities contribute to constitute these borders and how are they transgressed by constructions of hybrid identities and transnational communities (Harders 2004)?

A particular arena in which ideas are diffused and identities are constructed is the public sphere. More than ten years of empirical research on public spheres in Europe has shown the gradual Europeanization of public spheres as a result of which Europeans are increasingly enabled to meaningfully communicate across borders (see e.g. Kantner 2004; Trenz 2006a). The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will explore the consequences of Europeanized public spheres for the diffusion of ideas in Europe and beyond. In particular, it will examine European-wide transnational discourses and controversies as sites in which European identities are constructed as well as contested. How will the increasing politicization and contestation of EU economic and social policies in transnationalized and Europeanized public spheres impact upon the legitimization of EU policies?

With regard to collective identities and the public sphere, *Thomas Risse* has pursued an active research program over the past ten years (Risse 1997; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004a; 2004b;

forthcoming; Risse et al. 1999; Risse and Van de Steeg 2007). This research has demonstrated the Europeanization of national identities in the sense that "Europe" has been integrated in various national identity constructions. Yet, two competing visions of Europe appear to clash in these collective identity constructions, namely a modern political Europe based on the values of secularism and enlightenment, on the one hand, and a more traditional and culturally bound Europe with religious (Christian) undertones, on the other hand.

Risse's work is complemented by *Jürgen Gerhards*' sociological research on the European public sphere as well as on the cultural and value differences between old and new EU member states (e.g. Gerhards 2007; Gerhards in cooperation with Hölscher 2005). *Markus Jachtenfuchs* (political science) and *Ingolf Pernice* (law) contribute to the research area their expertise on the diffusion of constitutional ideas in the European Union (Jachtenfuchs 1995; 2002; Jachtenfuchs, Diez, and Jung 1998; Pernice 2004; 2005), while *Cilja Harders* (political science) brings to it her scholarship on the construction of religious and gender identities, particularly in the processes of boundary construction between Europe and the Arab world (Harders 2002; 2004). Last not least, *Ursula Lehmkuhl* (history) will help us to put our findings in a historical perspective and to explore the degree to which contemporary narratives about European identity and the public sphere reflect and are embedded in the construction of historical memories (see e.g. Lehmkuhl 2000; 2001). Our research group will greatly benefit from guest scholars from the Fellow Program. In particular, we plan to expand our expertise in the fields of law, sociology, and history through inviting external senior and junior fellows to contribute to our work.

Thus, the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will enable us to synthesize our work on the mechanisms by which normative and causal ideas spread in transnationalized public spheres and affect collective identities. While we concentrate on Europe and the EU as our empirical domain, we aim at generalizable knowledge on the diffusion of collective identities and the emergence of public spheres beyond the nation-state.

Research Area 2: Compliance, Conditionality, and Beyond

The EU as a "normative power" promotes ideas that often create serious adaptation problems both for its member states and third countries. How and to what extent have European ideas transformed the political-administrative, economic, social, and cultural institutions of nation-states within and outside the EU? To what degree does the diffusion of European ideas result in institutional convergence, and what explains the persisting differences? Which conditions foster and retract the diffusion of European ideas? Who are the agents of change? Most importantly, how do the different diffusion mechanisms interact? How do "soft" and more indirect diffusion mechanisms, such as socialization, persuasion, emulation and mimicry, compare to conditionality and coercion in terms of effectiveness, particularly if European ideas meet with contestation and resistance? Are socialization and persuasion functional equivalents to the provision of incentives or do they reinforce each other? They could also be linked sequentially with socialization and persuasion locking-in the more immediate effects of incentives. Finally, the different mechanisms could undermine each other resulting in unintended or even "nasty" consequences.

Tanja Börzel has conducted several research projects on compliance with EU policies in member states, accession countries and neighbourhood states (Börzel 2001; 2003a; 2006, Börzel et al. 2007; Börzel, Hofmann, and Sprungk 2003; Börzel and Risse 2002; Börzel, Pamuk, and Stahn 2007). Her research shows that the effectiveness of legal coercion and the manipulation of utility calculations are seriously mitigated by the power and capacities of the recipient countries.

The country and policy expertise of *Klaus Goetz* (Goetz 2001; 2005; 2006), *Cilja Harders* (Harders 2002; 2004), *Markus Jachtenfuchs* (Jachtenfuchs 2001; Jachtenfuchs 2005), *Susanne Lütz* (Lütz 2004; Lütz and Eberle 2007) and *Miranda Schreurs* (Schreurs 2004a; Schreurs 2004b) will help to explore the question to what extent experiences from member states and candidate countries can be extended beyond Europe, i.e. to countries that are not

eligible for membership (particularly the Mediterranean and post-Soviet countries in the EU's neighbourhood). Together with guest scholars, the members of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will investigate which ideas are diffused, intentionally and unintentionally, beyond the integrated Europe and whether these ideas are distinctively European and differ from the values and norms promoted by other actors, such as the U.S., NATO, the OECD, the U.N., the OSCE or the Council of Europe. Moreover, the theoretical works of *Helge Berger* (Berger, Kopits, and Székely 2007; Berger, Eijffinger, and Haan 2001)*, Jürgen Gerhards* (Gerhards 2007; Gerhards 2000)*, Ingolf Pernice* (Pernice 2001)*, and Ursula Lehmkuhl* (Lehmkuhl 2001) will broaden the political science perspective in studying the mechanisms of diffusion beyond the current and would-be members of the EU. Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, the group will explore how important learning and competition, in the political (yardstick) and economic (taxation and regulation) sphere, are compared to more coercive forces such as the centralized harmonization of laws within the EU or the standardized accession process for potential members. Special focus will be placed on the extent to which socialization and emulation are more effective in ensuring sustainable compliance with and internalization of European ideas resulting in transformation rather than what Goetz has called "shallow Europeanization" (Goetz 2005: 262). The Fellow Program will allow gaining additional expertise, particularly with regard to ideas' promoters other than the EU and the historical dimension of the diffusion of ideas within and into Europe and the EU.

Thus, the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will provide the opportunity to bring together the empirical and theoretical findings from various projects. It will enable us to systematically theorize the conditions for the effective diffusion of European ideas in different contexts that vary with regard to the type of countries targeted by the EU and the prominence of the mechanisms the EU draws on to induce these countries into adopting European ideas.

Research Area 3: Comparative Regionalism and Europe's External Relations

The EU perceives itself as a model for effective and legitimate governance to be emulated by other countries and regions. Moreover, the EU seeks to actively promote the development of genuine (intra-) regional economic and political cooperation, the building of issue-related regimes, and the creation of joint institutions for consultation and decision-making in its neighbourhood and beyond as well as between the world regions and the EU. In its attempt to promote regionalism as a distinct European idea (Bicchi 2006; Grugel 2004), the EU constructs "new" regions, e.g. in Sub-Sahara Africa, which share few regional characteristics (e.g. economic interdependence) and have hardly developed a collective identity. What are the effects of these efforts at diffusing regionalism as a distinctively European idea? How are these efforts perceived by non-European partners (Harders 2005)? How do the institutionally complex processes of negotiation and re-negotiation change politics and identities on both ends? Can the EU's effort to export regional governance be compared with similar efforts by other actors, e.g. the U.S. or Great Britain promoting economic and political integration in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific? To what extent does regional integration (or liberal democracy and market economy for that matter) present genuinely European ideas instead of a global diffusion process (Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2006)? At the same time, Europe and the EU are themselves exposed to global processes of the diffusion of people and ideas e.g. through migration (Harders 2002). How does Europe respond to these economic, political, and cultural processes and how do they transform the European landscape? More specifically, how has the EU dealt with challenges to its "normative power" by national, international and transnational actors who reject European ideas and their normative hegemony and its unintended or "nasty" consequences?

The external dimension of the EU's transformative power is subject of various research projects in which *Börzel* and *Risse* are currently involved. In the framework of the *Collaborative Research Center* (SFB 700) "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood" for which Risse serves as co-ordinator, Börzel directs a project on the EU's neighbourhood policies and its attempts to promote good governance in the Southern Caucasus (Börzel, Pamuk, and Stahn

2007). Several SFB projects investigate the efforts by international actors including the EU to promote democracy and human rights, to provide security and other public goods in areas of limited statehood. Moreover, *Börzel* and *Risse* co-direct a project with Stanford University's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law comparing EU and U.S. efforts at democracy promotion worldwide (Börzel and Risse 2004, Börzel and Risse 2007). Finally, Risse co-directs a project on public and media discourses on the creation of a distinct European foreign and defence identity.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will enable us to bring these various research strands together and, in particular, to link our interests in diffusion processes with the research program of the SFB 700. This will also allow us strengthening the historical perspective. *Ursula Lehmkuhl* is cooperating with other historians in the SFB on the diffusion of governance ideas through colonialism in the Americas and East Asia.[7] Moreover, we will have the possibility to counter the somewhat normative bias in the literature by systematically exploring the disruptive effects of the EU's attempt at region-building, particularly in its immediate neighbourhood. Finally, we take special interest in the role of migration for the diffusion of ideas out of as well as into the EU. Here, we will greatly benefit from the work of *Cilja Harders* and *Jürgen Gerhards* (Harders 2002; Gerhards and Hans 2006). But the EU also seeks to diffuse its model of regional integration to other continents. In order to explore the outcomes of these efforts and the mechanisms employed, we have to rely on external expertise. The Fellow Program will allow us bringing in experts from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. They will help us account for the receiving end of European diffusion processes and explore alternative influences.

For each of the three research areas, the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will study the role of the EU as the promoter and recipient of ideas analyzing the mechanisms and effects of internal and external diffusion processes. We will also systematically explore the *linkages* between the three research areas. For instance, by trying to bring third countries and other regions into compliance with its 'European' ideas, the EU projects its internal identity into its external relations and seeks to construct a distinct foreign policy identity. At the same time, compliance with European ideas becomes more likely, the more these ideas resonate with domestic identities, norms, and causal beliefs in third countries. Public spheres, in turn, are a major location for the contestation of European ideas that are not voluntarily accepted and adopted. While the EU can rely on legal coercion to overcome resistance in case of current and would-be members, it has to rely on more indirect diffusion mechanisms in its external relations beyond Europe.

Research Approach

The purpose of the proposed *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* is not to enable empirical research as such. We do not suffer from a lack of funding for our empirical projects. Rather, we lack time
- for synthesizing the results from the various projects,
- for discussing these results with eminent scholars in the field,
- for writing up these results into major and internationally recognized publications,
- and for transforming new research ideas into viable empirical projects.

We need the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* to accomplish these tasks and, thus, will use the following approach. We will concentrate on each of the three research areas identified above in a sequential way (see figure 2). Each research area extends over a period of two years, with

---

[7]   Vgl. SFB 700, Project B3 „Colonial Governance und Mikrotechniken der Macht: Englische und französische Kolonialbesitzungen in Nordamerika, 1680-1760" (Lehmkuhl); Project B4 „Wissen und Herrschaft: Scientific colonialism in den deutschen und japanischen Kolonien, 1884-1937" (Conrad), and Project B5 „Herrschaftslegitimierung über Partizipation im kulturell heterogenen Raum: Lateinamerika zwischen Kolonie und postkolonialem Staat, 1759-1865 (Rinke); http://www.sfb-governance.de/teilprojekte/index.html; last access October 26, 2007.

one phasing out while the other phases in – allowing us to explore the linkages between them to the fullest.

Figure 2: Sequential Logic of Research Plan

1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year
Identity and social cohesion			
	compliance, conditionality and beyond		
		comparative regionalism and Europe's external relations	
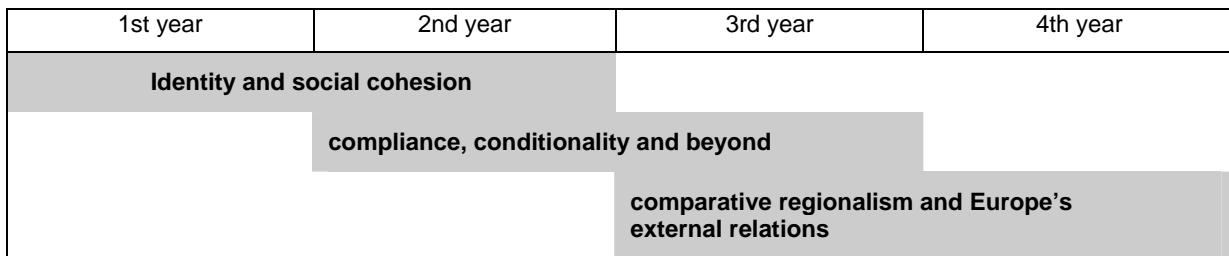
The planned measures of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* are designed to accomplish the tasks outlined above. Among the *core group* of participating scholars (see below), we will select a *steering group* for each of the research areas who will then collectively direct the activities for the respective two-year period. The steering groups will invite a selected group of up to eight *fellows* for a year or two to discuss the various empirical findings and to put them into theoretical perspectives. The steering groups, the fellows, selected doctoral students (see below), and other guest scholars together form the *research group* for each research area.

In order to engage in a regular exchange, there will be a weekly *research seminar* discussing topics and presentations (including guest lectures) pertinent to the research areas. The research groups will also organize a series of small *workshops* (including retreats outside Berlin) and one or two major international *conferences* in order to expose its deliberations to a wider audience. Moreover, flexible funds will be used to enable small groups (3-5) concentrating on particular themes of the respective research area.

At the same time, the research group will engage in promoting *junior researchers* – both doctoral students and post-docs – to pursue their own research in this area. This includes:
- funding and supervising at least five doctoral students, who participate in one of our Ph.D. programs and who work on issues related to the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe*;
- inviting three to five doctoral students from our international partner universities working on a dissertation pertinent to a theme covered by the research areas for a short-term visit or summer grant;
- inviting post-doctoral researchers who have worked on similar subjects to turn their findings into a book, and involving these junior fellows in the research group.

In addition, the research groups will engage in *outreach activities* with practitioners in the capital city of Berlin. These knowledge exchange activities will be pursued in cooperation with think tanks, such as the SWP German Institute for International and Security Affairs as well as the IEP Institute of European Politics. We also plan to invite at least one practitioner as part of the Fellow Program.

The activities of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will result in the following products:
- monographs and edited volumes to be submitted to major international university presses. We envisage about two such volumes per research area;
- articles in major international refereed journals;
- working papers to be made available online and through internationally recognized online distribution systems (such as CIAO[8]);
- short policy papers to explore the policy implications of our research activities.

We will use funds for the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* to reduce our teaching and administrative obligations. This will enable us to spend more time for writing and synthesizing our own projects and the results from the working group.

---

[8]   Columbia International Affairs Online.

Participating Scholars

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* brings together a core group of participating scholars who have been at the forefront of research in European Studies. The two directors – *Tanja A. Börzel* and *Thomas Risse* – have played a major role in defining the international research agenda on questions of Europeanization, the domestic impact of European integration, on compliance with European law and regulations, and on European identity in recent years (see curriculum vitae and list of publications attached).

In addition, the following scholars are part of the core group and will participate in the steering groups of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* mentioned above.[9] We are an interdisciplinary group of scholars with a proven record of research cooperation across disciplines:

- *Helge Berger* (FU Berlin), an economist, has focused on the institutional design of European institutions including the European Central Bank and on European monetary integration. His knowledge of economic approaches to diffusion processes is of crucial value to all three research areas.

- *Jürgen Gerhards* (FU Berlin), a sociologist, has contributed major studies on questions of a European public sphere and on cultural and value differences between old and new EU member states including accession candidates such as Turkey. His work is particularly relevant for the research areas on "identity and cohesion" and on "compliance, conditionality, and beyond."

- *Klaus H. Goetz* (University of Potsdam) is a political scientist focusing on public administration. He has published major contributions on Europeanization and administrative reforms in Central Eastern Europe as well as on questions of institutional design. The research area focusing on "compliance, conditionality, and beyond" will benefit from his expertise on the external diffusion of European ideas to transition countries.

- *Cilja Harders* (FU Berlin), a political scientist, is a specialist on the Middle East and on gender studies. Her expertise includes profound knowledge of Arab societies at the receiving end of the EU's efforts at diffusing political and economic ideas. Her work will contribute to the research areas on "identities and social cohesion" as well as on "comparative regionalism and Europe's external relations."

- *Markus Jachtenfuchs* (Hertie School of Governance), a political scientist, has extensively worked on questions of European governance and on the role of ideas in European integration. His expertise is particularly relevant for the research area focusing on "compliance, conditionality, and beyond."

- *Ursula Lehmkuhl* (FU Berlin) is a contemporary historian with a particular expertise on the history of transatlantic relations including the pre-modern and colonial period. She will help us to historicize our findings, particularly in the research areas of "identity and social cohesion" and "comparative regionalism and Europe's external relations."

- *Susanne Lütz* (FU Berlin) is a political scientist focusing on comparative and international political economy. She has extensively worked on the transformation of models of capitalism and financial regulation. Her work is particularly relevant for the research areas on "compliance, conditionality, and beyond" as well as on "comparative regionalism and Europe's external relations".

- *Ingolf Pernice* (HU Berlin) is among the leading specialists on European law in Germany and on the constitutionalization of the EU. He will provide the legal expertise to tackle questions in the research areas on "identity and social cohesion" and on "compliance, conditionality, and beyond."

- *Miranda Schreurs* (FU Berlin) is a political scientist specializing in West European and Asian comparative politics and in environmental policies. She is director of the *Forschungsstelle Umwelt* (FFU), which has done important research on diffusion of environmental policy. Her expertise will support our activities in the research areas on "compli-

---

[9]   Note that the following list might be expanded if appropriate, e.g. following the appointments of new colleagues at one of the Berlin/Potsdam universities or research institutions.

ance, conditionality, and beyond" as well as on "comparative regionalism and Europe's external relations."

This group is uniquely positioned to pursue the research agenda of external and internal diffusion of ideas in the EU. The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will allow pooling the competence on the transformative power of the EU in the Berlin-Potsdam Area, systematically bringing together top scholars in the various disciplines that constitute European Studies. By combining our expertise, we will create a potential for generating synergies across disciplines and attracting excellent scholars from all over the world to join us in our quest for developing a comprehensive understanding of diffusion processes inside and outside the EU. The various measures and programs described below will allow us to systematically evaluate and theorize the various empirical projects on Europeanization and diffusion processes which we have been directing, accumulating our current knowledge and advancing future research by identifying new and exciting research agendas.

2.3 Struktur, Organisation und Management

Sabbatical Program

This program will enable the core group of participating scholars to regularly take time off from teaching and administrative duties to engage in sustained periods of research and writing or to collaborate with the fellows and junior researchers in a more intensive way. Thus, we do not assume that the scholars on sabbatical will spend all their time away from the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe.* On the contrary, we will give priority to those who plan to spend their research time in Berlin in order to contribute to the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe's* activities. We apply for two types of teaching replacements (*Freistellungen*):

- replacements to enable one-semester sabbaticals;
- part-time replacements to enable reductions in teaching load (currently nine contact hours per semester).

Applications to the Sabbatical Program will be decided by the core group of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* on a competitive basis.

Fellow Program

We plan to invite up to eight fellows per year. Our Fellow Program is designed to allow us the utmost flexibility with regard to inviting fellows who work on similar topics and who contribute to the research agenda of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe*. Thus, there will be an annual open competition – usually surrounding a particular research topic, but we will also invite specific scholars to spend time with us. We envisage a sound mix of junior (post-doctoral) and senior research fellows, including one or two of the top senior scholars in the various fields of our research. Some of the fellows will typically pursue their own research projects, while others will be more closely attached to individual projects of our core group. We will advertise the fellowships internationally, but we seek for a mix of scholars from European countries as well as from overseas including the developing world. At the same time, we do not want to exclude fellows from neighbouring universities and research institutions in the Berlin-Brandenburg region. Also, we envisage a good mix of short-term fellows (three-to-six months) and fellows who spend a year or two working with us, depending on our needs for additional expertise and the fellows' availability. Finally, we want to be able to invite an annual *practitioner in residence*, i.e., somebody who is involved in European politics (as politician, official, or journalist) to contribute to our deliberations.

Promotion of Junior Researchers

The promotion of junior researchers forms a centrepiece of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe.* In particular, we plan the following measures:

- *Doctoral students* who work in our various individual research projects as well as students enrolled in the various existing and planned Berlin/Brandenburg Ph.D. programs

(e.g. Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Berlin Graduate School of Transnational Studies of FU Berlin, Hertie School of Governance, and Social Science Center Berlin (WZB), Graduiertenkolleg "Verfassung jenseits des Staates" of HU Berlin, Promotionskolleg "Institutions and Policies" of Potsdam University) working on themes related to the research agenda of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will be invited to be part of its community and participate regularly in its activities. In addition, we will seek support for up to five doctoral stipends for three years each. These doctoral students will be affiliated with one of the Ph.D. programs and work on topics relevant to the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe*. Finally, we envision five short-term travel and research grants that will allow doctoral students to spend time at *the Kolleg-Forschergruppe* ("summer grants").

- *Post-doctoral researchers* will be regularly invited to join the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* as part of the Fellow Program (see above).
- A *junior research group* (modelled after the Emmy Noether program of the DFG) will be advertised within the overall theme of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe*.
- *Research assistant grants* will allow the junior fellows to employ senior B.A. and M.A. students to assist them in their research.

Management and Coordination

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will be part of the Freie Universität Berlin Center for European Studies (BEST) that is currently being instituted and directed by Tanja Börzel. BEST serves as the core centre for research on European affairs in the Berlin-Brandenburg region and institutionalizes the cooperation with other universities and research institutions. These include the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, the University of Potsdam, and the Hertie School of Governance as well as the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and the Berlin Institute for Advanced Study (*Wissenschaftskolleg*).

The two directors of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will be responsible for its management and daily operations. They will be supported by a small administrative staff (see below). The directors and elected members of the core group will serve as the *governing board* in charge of major decisions with regard to its activities and the allocation of funds.

In addition, we will institute an *international advisory board* to supervise the activities of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* and to recommend on the direction of the research. Members of the advisory board will be also asked to peer-review proposals with major financial implications.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* offices including rooms for the fellows will be located at BEST and will use its infrastructure (e.g. seminar rooms). The Freie Universität's presidency has agreed to provide the necessary building and offices (see attached letter). In addition, however, we will require funding from the DFG for a scientific coordinator (*wiss. Geschäftsführer/in*), a full-time secretary/accountant, a communications and conference manager, and a group of research assistants supporting the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* members and fellows (see 3.1). Experience shows that such a service unit is absolutely necessary to relieve the two directors of most of the managerial work that comes along with the activities of such a collective research center (for example, accounting and finance, attend the fellows, organize the weekly meetings and conferences, set up and maintain a web-based infrastructure for communication and e-learning, copy-edit publications, obtain literature, and help cultivate the academic life in the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe*).

The core joint activity of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* will be a *weekly research seminar* organized within each research area that brings together the steering group, the fellows, and the doctoral students (*research group*). This seminar is designed to discuss "work in progress" on the basis of papers distributed in advance and is mainly devoted to the research of members of the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* itself. In addition, there will be regular *guest lectures*.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* plans to hold one annual major *international conference*. Moreover, members of the core group are encouraged to assemble small working groups on the topics of the research agenda which could then organize small research workshops.

The *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* is designed to enable and strengthen existing basic research on internal and external diffusion processes in Europe and the EU. But we cannot ignore the fact that the *Kolleg-Forschergruppe* is located in the city of Berlin, one of Europe's major capitals. As a result, we plan some *outreach and knowledge exchange activities* to engage practitioners in politics, media, and civil society. These activities will be planned in cooperation with the *Institute for European Politics (IEP)* and the *German Institute of International and Security Affairs (SWP).* The *Hertie School of Governance* with its explicit mission of knowledge transfer is also an important partner in this respect.

3. References

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Bach, Maurizio (ed.). 2000. Die Europäisierung nationaler Gesellschaften. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Sonderheft* 52 (40).

Banerjee, Abhijt V. 1992. A Simple Model of Herd Behavior. *Quaterly Journal of Economics* 107 (3): 797-817.

Bauer, Michael, Christoph Knill, and Diana Pitschel. 2007. "Differential Europeanisation in Eastern Europe: The Impact of Diverse EU Regulatory Governance Patterns. *Journal of European Public Policy.*

Berger, Helge, Sylvester Eijffinger, and Jakob de Haan. 2001. Central Bank Independence: Update on Theory and Evidence. *Journal of Economic Surveys* 15 (1): 3-40.

Berger, Helge, George Kopits, and István Székely. 2007. Fiscal Indulgence in Central Europe: Loss of the External Anchor? *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* 54 (1): 116-35.

Besley, Timothy, and Anne Case. 1995. Incumbent Behavior: Vote Seeking, Tax Setting and Yardstick Competition. *American Economic Review* 85: 25-45.

Bicchi, Federica. 2006. "Our Size Fits All": Normative Power Europe and the Mediterranean. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (2): 286-303.

Bogdandy, Armin von, Pedro Cruz Villalón, and Peter M. Huber, eds. 2007. *Handbuch Ius Publicum Europaeum. Band I: Grundlagen und Grundzüge staatlichen Verfassungsrechts.* Heidelberg: C.F. Müller.

Boli, John, and George M. Thomas. 1999. *Constructing World Culture. International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bordignon, Massimo, Floriana Cerniglia, and Federico Revelli. 2004. Yardstick Competition in Intergovernmental Relationships: Theory and Empirical Predictions. *Economics Letters* 83 (3): 325-333.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2001. Non-Compliance in the European Union. Pathology or Statistical Artefact? *Journal of European Public Policy* 8 (5): 803-824.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2003a. *Environmental Leaders and Laggards in the European Union. Why There is (Not) a Southern Problem.* London: Ashgate.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2003b. Guarding the Treaty: The Compliance Strategies of the European Commission. In *The State of the European Union VI: Law, Politics, and Society*, edited by T. A. Börzel and R. Cichowski. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 197-220.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2006. Coping with Accession - New Modes and EU Enlargement. In *Europeanization of Governance – The Challenge of Accession*, edited by G. F. Schuppert. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 613-641.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2007. EU Governance - Verhandlungen und Wettbewerb im Schatten von Hierarchie. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft* 2007 (2).

Börzel, Tanja A., Meike Dudziak, Tobias Hofmann, Diana Panke, and Carina Sprungk. 2007. Recalcitrance, Inefficiency and Support for European Integration. Why Member States Do (Not) Comply with European Law. *CES Working Paper, Harvard University* (148).

Börzel, Tanja A., Tobias Hofmann, and Carina Sprungk. 2003. Einhaltung von Recht jenseits des Nationalstaats. Zur Implementationslogik marktkorrigierender Regelungen in der EU. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 10 (2): 247-286.

Börzel, Tanja A., Yasemin Pamuk, and Andreas Stahn. 2007. Good Goverance in the European Union. *Berliner Arbeitspapiere zur Europäischen Integration, Center of European Studies, Freie Universität Berlin* 07 (5).

Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2002. Die Wirkung Internationaler Institutionen: Von der Nor-
manerkennung zur Normeinhaltung. In *Regieren in internationalen Institutionen*, edited by M.
Jachtenfuchs and M. Knodt. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 141-182.

Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2004. One Size Fits All! EU Policies for the Promotion of Human
Rights, Democracy, and the Rule of Law. *paper presented for the Workshop on Democracy
Promotion organized by the Center for Development, Democracy, and the Rule of Law, Stan-
ford University, October 4-5, 2004.*

Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2006. Europeanization: The Domestic Impact of EU Politics. In
Handbook of European Union Politics, edited by K. E. Jorgensen, M. A. Pollack and B. Rosa-
mond. London et al.: Sage,

Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2007. Venus Approaching Mars? The European Union as an
Emerging Civilian World Power. *Berliner Arbeitspapiere zur Europäischen Integration, Center
of European Studies, Freie Universität Berlin* 07 (7).

Braun, Dietmar, and Fabrizio Gilardi. 2006. Taking the Galton's Problem Seriously. Towards a Theory
of Policy Diffusion. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 45 (1): 298-322.

Brueckner, Jan. 2003. Strategic Interaction Among Governments: An Overview of Empirical Studies.
International Regional Science Review 26 (2): 175-188.

Busch, Per-Olof, Helge Jörgens, and Kerstin Tews. 2005. The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Instru-
ments: The Making of a New International Environmental Regime. *The ANNALS of the Ameri-
can Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 598 (1): 146-167.

Checkel, Jeffery T. 2001. Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change. *International
Organization* 55 (3): 553-588.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. (ed.). 2005. International Institutions and Socialization in Europe. *International
Organization* 59 (4): Special Issue.

Christiansen, Thomas, Fabio Petto, and Ben Tonra. 2000. Fuzzy Politics Around Fuzzy Borders: The
European Union's 'Near Abroad'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 35 (4): 389-415.

Cowles, Maria Green, James A. Caporaso, and Thomas Risse, eds. 2001. *Transforming Europe. Eu-
ropeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Diez, Thomas. 2005. Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering 'Normative Power
Europe'. *Millenium* 33 (3): 613-636.

Diez, Thomas, Stephan Stetter, and Matthias Albert. 2006. The European Union and Border Conflicts:
The Transformative Power of Integration. *International Organization* 60 (3): 563-593.

DiMaggio, Paul J. 1991. Constructing an Organizational Field as a Professional Project. In *The New
Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by W. W. Powell and P. J. DiMaggio. Chi-
cago and London: Chicago University Press, 267-297.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1983. The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism
and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review* 48 (2): 147-
160.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1991. The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism
and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. In *The New Institutionalism in Organiza-
tional Analysis*, edited by W. W. Powell and P. J. DiMaggio. Chicago, London: University of
Chicago Press, 63-82.

Dimitrov, Vesselin, Klaus H. Goetz, and Hellmut Wollmann. 2006. *Governing After Communism: Insti-
tutions and Policymaking*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Djelic, Marie-Laure. 2007. Sociological Studies of Diffusion: Is History Relevant? *Uppsala Lectures in
Business* Uppsala University, Department of Business Studies.

Dolowitz, David P., and David Marsh. 1996. Who Learns from Whom: a Review of the Policy Transfer
Literature. *Political Studies* 44 (2): 343-357.

Dolowitz, David P., and David Marsh. 2000. Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in
Contemporary Policy-Making. *Governance* 13 (1): 5-24.

Eimer, Thomas R. 2008. Decoding Divergence In Software Regulation: Paradigms, Power Structures,
and Institutions. *Governance* 21 (2): in press.

Elkins, Zachary, Andrew T. Guzman, and Beth A. Simmons. 2006. Competing for Capital: The Diffu-
sion of Bilateral Investment Treaties 1960-2000. *International Organization* 60 (4): 811-846.

Epstein, Rachel. 2008. *In Pursuit of Liberalism: The Power and Limits of International Institutions in
Postcommunist Europe*. Baltimore: Jons Hopkins University Press.

Evans, Mark, and Jonathan Davies. 1999. Understanding Policy-Transfer. A Multi-Level, Multi-
Disciplinary Approach. *Public Administration* 77 (2): 361-385.

Farrell, Mary. 2007. From EU Model to External Policy? Promoting Regional Integration in the Rest of the World. In *Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty*, edited by S. Meunier and K. R. McNamara. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 299-315.

Fehr, Ernst, and Simon Gächter. 2002. Do Incentive Contracts Undermine Voluntary Cooperation? *Zürich Institute for Empirical Research in Economics Working Paper* (34).

Fehr, Ernst, and Beate Rockenbach. 2003. Detrimental Effects of Sanctions on Human Altruism. *Nature* (422): 137-140.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization* 52 (4): 887-917.

Gerhards, Jürgen. 2000. Europäisierung von Ökonomie und Politik und die Trägheit der Entstehung einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit. In *Die Europäisierung nationaler Gesellschaften. Sonderheft 40 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, edited by M. Bach. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 277-305.

Gerhards, Jürgen. 2007. *Cultural Overstretch? Differences Between Old and New Member States of the EU and Turkey*. London: Routledge.

Gerhards, Jürgen, and Silke Hans. 2006. Zur Erklärung der Assimilation von Migranten an die Einwanderungsgesellschaft am Beispiel der Vergabe von Vornamen. *Freie Universität Berlin: Berliner Studien zur Soziologie Europas* (5).

Gerhards, Jürgen, and unter Mitarbeit von Michael Hölscher. 2005. *Kulturelle Unterschiede in der Europäischen Union*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Gillingham, John. 2003. *European Integration 1950-2003*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede, and Michael D. Ward. 2006. Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization. *International Organization* 60 (4): 911-933.

Goetz, Klaus H. 2001. Making Sense of Post-Communist Central Administration: Modernization, Europeanization or Latinization. *Journal of European Public Policy* 8 (6): 1032-1051.

Goetz, Klaus H. 2005. The New Member States and the EU: Responding to Europe. In *The Member States of the European Union*, edited by S. Bulmer and C. Lequesne. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 254-280.

Goetz, Klaus H. 2006. Post-Communist Executives and European Governance. In *The Europeanisation of Governance*, edited by G. F. Schuppert. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 93-131.

Goldstein, Judith, and Robert O. Keohane. 1993. Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework. In *Ideas and Foreign Policy. Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change*, edited by J. Goldstein and R. O. Keohane. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 3-30.

Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics. *International Organization* 32 (4): 881-912.

Grazia, Victoria de. 2005. *Irresistable Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Graziano, Paolo, and Maarten P. Vink, eds. 2006. *Europeanization: A Handbook for a New Research Agenda*. Houndmills and London: Palgrave/Macmillan.

Grugel, Jean. 2004. New Regionalism and Modes of Governance - Comparing US and EU Strategies in Latin America. *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (4): 603-626.

Haas, Peter M. 1992. Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination. *International Organization* 46 (1): 1-36.

Häberle, Peter. 1992. Theorieelemente eines allgemeinen juristischen Rezeptionsmodells. *Juristenzeitung* 47: 1033-1043.

Häberle, Peter. 2006. *Europäische Verfassungslehre*. 4 ed. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1981. *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*. 2 vols. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

Hallerberg, Mark, Rolf Strauch, and Jürgen von Hagen. 2004. The Design of Fiscal Rules and Forms of Governance in European Union Countries. *European Central Bank Working Paper* 419.

Hannan, Michael T., and John H. Freeman. 1977. The Population Ecology of Organizations. *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (5): 929-964.

Harders, Cilja. 2002. *Staatsanalyse von unten - urbane Armut und politische Partizipation in Ägypten, mikro- und mesopolitische Analysen unter-schiedlicher Kairoer Stadtteile*. Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut.

Harders, Cilja. 2004. Gender and Security in the Mediterranean. In *Euro-Mediterranean Relations After September 11. International, Regional and Domestic Dynamics*, edited by A. Jünnemann. London: Frank Cass, 54-72.

Harders, Cilja. 2005. Kopperation unter Bedingungen der Asymmetrie - Zehn Jahre Euro-Mediterrane Partnerschaft aus arabischer Sicht. *Orient* 2005 (3): 288-413.

Haveman, Heather A. 1993. Follow the Leader: Mimetic Isomorphism and Entry Into New Markets. *Administrative Science Quaterly* 38 (4): 593-627.

Herrmann, Richard K., Marilynn Brewer, and Thomas Risse, eds. 2004. *Transnational Identities. Becoming European in the EU, Governance in Europe*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hodson, D., and I. Maher. 2001. The Open Method Of Coordination as a New Mode of Governance. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (4): 719-746.

Holland, Martin. 2003. *The European Union and the Third World*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Holzinger, Katharina, Helge Jörgens, and Christoph Knill. 2007. Transfer, Diffusion und Konvergenz: Konzepte und Kausalmechanismen. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft* 38 (1): 11-38.

Holzinger, Katharina, Christoph Knill, and Achim Schäfer. 2003. Steuerungswandel in der Europäischen Umweltpolitik? In *Politische Steuerung im Wandel: Der Einfluß von Ideen und Problemstrukturen*, edited by K. Holzinger, C. Knill and D. Lehmkuhl. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 103-129.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hurd, Ian. 1999. Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics. *International Organization* 53 (2): 379-408.

Hurt, Stephen R. 2003. Co-operation and Coercion? The Cotonou Agreement Between the European Union and ACP States and the End of the Lomé Convention. *Third World Quaterly* 24 (1): 161-176.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus. 1995. Ideen und internationale Beziehungen. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 2 (2): 417-442.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus. 1996. *International Policy-Making as a Learning Process. The European Union and the Greenhouse Effect*. Avebury: Ashgate.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus. 2001. The Governance Approach to European Integration. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (2): 245-264.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus. 2002. *Die Konstruktion Europas. Verfassungsideen und institutionelle Entwicklung, Weltpolitik im 21. Jahrhundert*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus. 2005. The Monopoly of Legitimate Force. Denationalization, or Business as Usual? In *The Transformation of the State?*, edited by S. Leibfried and M. Zürn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 37-52.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus, Thomas Diez, and Sabine Jung. 1998. Which Europe? Conflicting Models of a Legitimate European Political Order. *European Journal of International Relations* 4 (4): 409-445.

Jackson, Vicki C., and Mark Tushnet. 1999. *Comparative Constitutional Law*. West Conshohocken, PA: Templeton Foundation Press.

Jakobi, Anja P., and Kerstin Martens. 2007. Diffusion durch internationale Organisationen: Die Bildungspolitik der OECD. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft* 38 (1): 247-270.

Jepperson, Ronald, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 1996. Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security. In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, edited by P. J. Katzenstein. New York: Columbia University Press, 33-75.

Johnston, Alastair Ian. 2007. *Social States. China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kaminisky, Graciela L., and Carmen ;. Reinhart. 2000. On Crises, Contagion, and Confusion. *Journal of International Economics* 51 (1): 145-168.

Kantner, Cathleen. 2004. *Kein modernes Babel. Kommunikative Voraussetzungen europäischer Öffentlichkeit*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Keller, Wolfgang. 2002. Geographic Localization of International Technology Diffusion. *American Economic Review* 92 (1): 120-142.

Kelley, Judith G. 2004. *Ethnic Politics in Europe. The Power of Norms and Incentives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Keohane, Robert O., and Helen V. Milner, eds. 1996. *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koopmans, Ruud. 2004. *Integrated Report: Cross-National, Cross-Issue, Cross-Time.* Integrated Report WP 2, Berlin: Europub.com.

Legro, Jeffrey W. 1997. Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure' of Internationalism. *International Organization* 51 (1): 31-63.

Lehmkuhl, Ursula. 2000. Entscheidungsprozesse in der internationalen Geschichte: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Fundierung außenpolitischer Entscheidungsprozesse. In *Internationale Geschichte. Themen - Ergebnisse - Aussichten*, edited by W. Loth and J. Osterhammel. München: Oldenbourg, 187-207.

Lehmkuhl, Ursula. 2001. Diplomatiegeschichte als internationale Kulturgeschichte: Ansätze, Methoden und Forschungsergebnisse zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und soziologischem Institutionalismus. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (3): 394-423.

Lepsius, Rainer M. 1990. *Interessen, Ideen und Institutionen*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Levi-Faur, David. 2002. Herding Towards a New Convention: On Herds, Shepherds and Lost Sheep in the Liberalization of the Telecommunication Industries. *Nuffield College Working Papers in Politics* 2002-W6.

Levi-Faur, David. 2004. On the 'Net Impact' of Europeanization. The EU's Telecoms and Electricity Regimes Between the Global and the National. *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (1): 3-29.

Lundestad, Geir. 1986. Empire by Invation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952. *Journal of Peace Research* 23 (3): 263-277.

Lütz, Susanne. 2002. *Der Staat und die Globalisierung von Finanzmärkten - Regulative Politik in Deutschland, Großbritanien und den USA*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus.

Lütz, Susanne. 2004. Convergence within national Diversity: The Regulatory State in Finance. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (2): 169-197.

Lütz, Susanne, and Dagmar Eberle. 2007. On the Road to Anglo-Saxon Capitalism? German Corporate Governance Regulation between Market and Multilevel Governance. *Comparative Research in Law and Political Economy (CLPE) Research Paper* 3 (3): York University Toronto.

Magen, Amichai. 2006. The Shadow of Enlargement: Can the European Union Neighbourhood Policy Achieve Compliance? *Columbia Journal of European Law* 12: 495-538.

Magen, Amichai, and Leonardo Morlino, eds. 2008. *Anchoring Democracy: External Influence on Domestic Rule of Law Development*. London: Routledge.

Mahoney, James. 2000. Path Dependency in Historical Sociology. *Theory and Society* 29 (4): 507-548.

Majone, Giandomenico. 1991. Cross-national Sources of Regulatory Policy Making in Europe and the United States. *Journal of Public Policy* 11 (1): 79-106.

Manners, Ian, and Richard G. Whitman. 2003. The "difference engine". Constructing and representing the international identity of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10 (3): 380-404.

Mansfield, Edward, and Helen Milner. 1999. The New Wave of Regionalism. *International Organization* 53 (3): 589-627.

March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1989. *Rediscovering Institutions. The Organizational Basics of Politics*. New York; London: The Free Press.

March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1998. The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders. *International Organization* 52 (4): 943-969.

Meseguer, Covodonga Yebra. 2006. Rational Learning and Bounded Learning in the Diffusion of Policy Innovations. *Rationality and Sociology* 18 (1): 35-66.

Meyer, John W., John Boli, Thomas M. George, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. World Society and the Nation-State. *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1): 144-181.

Meyer, John W., David H. Kamens, Aaron Benavot, Yua-Kyung Cha, and Suk-Ying Wong. 1992. *School Knowledge for the Masses: World Models and National Primary Curricular Categories*. Bristol, PA: Falmer Press.

Meyer, John W., and Brian Rowan. 1977. Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structures as Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology* 83 (2): 340-363.

Meyer, John W., and Brian Rowan. 1991. Institutional Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. In *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by W. W. Powelll and P. J. DiMaggio. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 41-62.

Milner, Helen V. 1988. *Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Myers, Daniel J. 2000. The Diffusion of Collective Violence: Infectiousness, Susceptibility, and Mass Media Networks. *American Journal of Sociology* 106 (1): 173-208.

Neuss, Beate. 2000. *Geburtshelfer Europas? Die Rolle der Vereinigten Staaten im europäischen Einigungsprozess 1945 bis 1958*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Owen, John M. 2002. The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions. *International Organization* 56 (2): 375-409.

Paulmann, Johannes. 2004. Grenzüberschreitungen und Grenzräume. Überlegungen zur Geschichte transnationaler Beziehungen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in die Zeitgeschichte. In *Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen. Erneuerung und Erweiterung einer historischen Disziplin*, edited by E. Conze, U. Lappenküper and G. Müller. Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 169-196.

Payne, Roger A. 2001. Persuasion, Frames and Norm Construction. *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (1): 37-61.

Pernice, Ingolf. 2001. Europäisches und nationales Verfassungsrecht. *Veröffentlichungen der Vereinigung der Deutschen Staatsrechtslehrer (VVDStRL)* 60: 148-193.

Pernice, Ingolf. 2004. The Draft Constitution of the European Union, A Constitutional Treaty at a Constitutional Moment. In *A Constitution for the European Union: First Comments on the 2003 Draft of the European Convention*, edited by I. Pernice and M. P. Maduro. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 13-21.

Pernice, Ingolf. 2005. Zur Finalität Europas. In *Europawissenschaften*, edited by G. F. Schuppert, I. Pernice and U. Haltern. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 743-786.

Polillo, Simone, and Mauro F. Guillén. 2005. Globalization Pressures and the State: The Worldwide Spread of Central Bank Independence. *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (6): 1764-1802.

Powell, Walter W., and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds. 1991. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Radaelli, Claudio M. 2000a. Policy Transfer in the European Union: Institutional Isomorphism as a Source of Legitimacy. *Governance* 13 (1): 25-44.

Radaelli, Claudio M. 2000b. Whither Europeanization? Concept Stretching and Substantive Change. *European Integration on-line Papers* 4 (8).

Randeria, Shalini. 1999. Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne. In *Zukunftsentwürfe. Ideen für eine Kultur der Veränderung*, edited by J. Rüsen, H. Leitgeb and N. Jegelka. Frankfurt aM: Campus, 87-96.

Randeria, Shalini, and Sebastian Conrad. 2002. Einleitung: Geteilte Geschichten - Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt. In *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, edited by S. Randeria and S. Conrad. Frankfurt aM: Campus, 9-49.

Raustiala, Kal, and Anne Marie Slaughter. 2002. International Law, International Relations and Compliance. In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. A. Simmons. London: Sage Publications, 538-558.

Rein, Martin, and Donald Schön. 1991. Frame-reflective Policy Discourse. In *Social Sciences and Modern States. National Experiences and Theoretical Crossroads*, edited by P. Wagner, C. H. Weiss, B. Wittrock and H. Wollmann. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 261-289.

Risse, Thomas. 1997. *Between the Euro and the Deutsche Mark: German Identity and the European Union.* Working Paper, Washington DC: Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University.

Risse, Thomas. 2000. "Let's Argue!" Communicative Action in International Relations. *International Organization* 54 (1): 1-39.

Risse, Thomas. 2001. A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities. In *Transforming Europe. Europeanization and Domestic Change*, edited by M. G. Cowles, J. A. Caporaso and T. Risse. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 198-216.

Risse, Thomas. 2002. Zur Debatte um die (Nicht-) Existenz einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit. Was wir wissen und wie es zu interpretieren ist. *Berliner Debatte Initial* 13 (5-6): 15-23.

Risse, Thomas. 2003. The Euro between national and European identity. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10 (4): 487-503.

Risse, Thomas. 2004a. Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft: Theoretische Überlegungen und empirische Evidenz. In *Europäische Öffentlichkeit*, edited by C. Franzius and U. K. Preuß. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 139-153.

Risse, Thomas. 2004b. European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned? In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. K. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 247-271.

Risse, Thomas. forthcoming. *We the European Peoples? Identity, Public Sphere, and European Democracy*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Risse, Thomas, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher. 1999. To Euro or Not to Euro. The EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union. *European Journal of International Relations* 5 (2): 147-187.

Risse, Thomas, and Marianne Van de Steeg. 2007. The Emergence of a European Community of Communication: Insights from Empirical Research on the Europeanization of Public Spheres. Berlin - Utrecht.

Rogers, Everett M. 2003. *Diffusion of Innovations*. 5th ed. New York: Free Press.

Rose, Richard. 1991. What is Lesson Drawing. *Journal of Public Policy* 11 (1): 3-33.

Rose, Richard. 1993. *Lesson-Drawing in Public Policy: A Guide to Learning across Time and Space*. New Jersey: Chatham House.

Rosenfeld, Michel, Andras Sajo, Susanne Baer, and Norman Dorsen. 2003. *Comparative Constitutionalism. Cases and Materials.* St. Paul, MI: West Publishing Company.

Salmon, Pierre. 1987. Decentralization as an Incentive Scheme. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* (3): 24-43.

Scharpf, Fritz W. 2003. Legitimate Diversity: The New Challenge of European Integration. In *The State of the European Union VI: Law, Politics, and Society*, edited by T. A. Börzel and R. Cichowski. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79-104.

Scheipers, Sybille, and Daniela Sicurelli. 2007. Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45 (2): 435-457.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2007. Europeanization beyond Europe. *Living Reviews in European Governance* 1 (1): http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2007-1.

Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2004. Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11 (4): 661-679.

Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2005. *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, *Cornell studies in political economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Schmidt, Susanne K., ed. 2007. *Mutual Recognition as a New Mode of Governance*: Journal of European Public Policy, Special Issue.

Schneider, Volker. 2001. Institutional Reform in Telecommunications: The European Union in Transnational Policy Diffusion. In *Transforming Europe. Europeanization and Domestic Change*, edited by M. G. Cowles, J. A. Caporaso and T. Risse. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 60-78.

Schreurs, Miranda. 2004a. The Climate Change Divide: the European Union, the United States and the Future of the Kyoto Protocol. In *Green Giants? Environmental Policies of the United States and the European Union*, edited by N. Vig and M. G. Faure. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 207-230.

Schreurs, Miranda A. . 2004b. EU Enlargement and the Environment: Institutional Change and Environmental Policy in Central and Eastern Europe. *Environmental Politics* 13 (1): 27-51.

Scott, W. Richard, and John W. Meyer. 1994. *Institutional Environments and Organizations. Structural Complexity and Individualism*. London et al.: Sage.

Shapiro, Martin. 1992. The European Court of Justice. In *Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the 'New' European Community*, edited by A. M. Sbragia. Washington, DC: Brookings, 123-56.

Sikkink, Kathryn. 1991. *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Simmons, Beth A., Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett. 2006. Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism. *International Organization* 60 (4): 781-810.

Sinn, Hans-Werner. 2003. *The New Systems Competition*. London: Blackwell.

Starr, Harvey. 1991. Democratic Dominoes: Diffusion Approaches to the Spread of Democracy in the International System. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35 (2): 356-381.

Steinmo, Sven, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds. 1992. *Structuring Politics. Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stern, Klaus. 2003. Die Idee der Menschen- und Grundrechte. In *Handbuch der Grundrechte in Deutschland und Eruopa, Band I: Entwicklungen und Grundlagen*, edited by D. Merten and H.-J. Papier. Heidelberg: C.F. Müller, §1.

Strang, David. 1990. From Dependency to Sovereignty: An Event History Analysis of Decolonization 1870-1987. *American Sociological Review* 55 (6): 846-860.

Strang, David, and John W. Meyer. 1993. Institutional Conditions for Diffusion. *Theory and Society* 22: 487-512.

Strang, David, and Sarah A. Soule. 1998. Diffusion in Organizations and Social Movements: From Hybrid Corn to Poison Pills. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 265-290.

Sun, J.-M., and John Pelkmans. 1995. Regulatory Competition in the Single Market. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 33 (1): 67-89.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2003. *European Governance and Supranational Institutions. Making States Comply*. London; New York: Routledge.

Tews, Kerstin. 2002. Politiktransfer: Phänomen zwischen Policy-Lernen und Oktroi. Überlegungen zu unfreiwilligen Umweltpolitikimporten am Beispiel der EU-Osterweiterung. *Zeitschrift für Umweltpolitik und Umweltrecht* 25 (2): 173-201.

Tews, Kerstin, Per-Olof Busch, and Helge Jörgens. 2003. The diffusion of new environmental policy instruments. *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (2): 569-600.

Tiebout, Charles. 1956. A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures. *Journal of Political Economy* (64): 416-424.

Trenz, Hans Jörg. 2006a. *Europa in den Medien. Die europäische Integration im Spiegel nationaler Öf-fentlichkeit*. Frankfurt aM: Campus.

Trenz, Hans Jörg. 2006b. *Europa in den Medien. Die europäische Integration im Spiegel nationaler Öffentlichkeit*. Frankfurt/M.-New York: Campus.

Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vogel, David. 1995. *Trading Up: Consumer and Environmental Regulation in a Global Economy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Watson, Alan. 1974. *Legal Transplants*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

Weitsmann, Patricia A., and Gerald Schneider. 1997. Risky States: Implications for Theory and Policy Making. In *Enforcing Cooperation. Risky States and Intergovernmental Management of Conflict*, edited by G. Schneider and P. A. Weitsmann. London: Macmillan, 283-294.

Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. 2002. Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (4): 607-636.

Westney, Eleanor. 1987. *Imitation and Innovation*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Wieacker, Franz. 1967. *Privatrechstgeschichte der Neuzeit. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Entwicklung*. 2 ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Wilson, John. 1999. Theories of Tax Competition. *National Tax Journal* 52 (2): 269-304.

Youngs, Richard. 2001. *The European Union and the Promotion of Deomcracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zimmermann, Reinhard. 1996. *The Law of Obligations. Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.