

Fortress Europe? How the Rest of the World Shapes European Integration (EUROFORT)

Proposal for the Humboldt-Princeton Strategic Partnership through Humboldt's Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences (BGSS) and the European Union Program at Princeton (EUPP)

Lead Princeton Applicant: Sophie Meunier, Co-Director, European Union Program at Princeton, Research Scholar Woodrow Wilson School

Lead Humboldt Applicant: Ellen M. Immergut, Director, Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Professor of Comparative Politics, Institute of Social and Political Science

Princeton Faculty Participants

Deniz Aksoy (Associate Research Scholar in Politics)

Rafaela Dancygier (Assistant Professor of Politics and Public and International Affairs)

Marina Henke (Post-Doctoral Research Associate and Lecturer in Public and International Affairs)

Harold James (Claude and Lore Kelly Professor in European Studies and Director, Program in Contemporary European Politics and Society)

Ashoka Mody (Charles and Marie Robertson Visiting Professor in International Economic Policy)

Andrew Moravcsik (Professor of Politics and International Affairs and Director, EU Program at Princeton)

Humboldt Faculty Participants

Klaus Eder (Professor of Comparative Sociology, Institute of Social Sciences)

Magdalena Nowicka (Principal Investigator, ERC Project / Grant Agreement No. 313369: "Transforming Migration: Transnational Transfer of Multicultural Habitus")

Friedbert Rüb (Professor of Political Sociology and Social Policy, Institute of Social Sciences)

Silvia von Steinsdorf (Ernst Fraenkel Professor of Comparative Democracy and East European Studies)

Konstantin Vössing ("Assistant Professor" in Comparative Politics, Institute for Social Sciences)

Gökce Yurdakul (George Simmel Professor of Diversity and Social Conflict)

Executive Summary

The Princeton-Humboldt strategic partnership “Fortress Europe? How the Rest of the World Shapes European Integration” (EUROFORT) introduces a transatlantic teaching and research program that builds on existing structures of both partner institutions — the European Union Program at Princeton (EUPP) with its Annual Workshop on European Integration, and the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences (BGSS) with its Annual Berlin Summer School on Linking Theory to Empirical Research. The program would bring Princeton and Humboldt faculty as well as BA, MA and PhD students together to carry out collaborative research on European Integration, with a particular focus on global economic, social and political impacts on Europe. EUROFORT would introduce a course on European integration as a response to external forces and constraints co-taught on both sides of the Atlantic in real time. It would provide a framework and seed money for the development of collaborative research projects amongst faculty members of the departments that staff the EUPP and BGSS programs, such as the Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School and Politics Department and Humboldt’s Institute of Political and Social Sciences, as well as additional affiliated departments and programs, such as Princeton’s Program on Contemporary European Politics and Society. Sustainability for these exchanges and collaborative activities will be achieved through research and teaching grants that have been (Einstein Foundation) or will be submitted (DAAD Promos grants for exchange of groups of students, DFG Research Collaboration Grant, Thyssen Foundation, Volkswagen Foundation, Annual Action Programme of the European Union for the Industrialised Countries Instrument, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, various Fulbright programs).

Research Focus

The European Union (EU) is the unique exemplar of a collective of states which enjoys both supra-national powers and binding procedures for democratic decision-making. It is central to theories of cooperative international relations (Keohane, Moravcsik) and theories of global democracy (Dahl, Held). Yet in spite of its remarkable accomplishments over more than fifty years, the EU is now in crisis. It is challenged, as perhaps never before, to develop internal cohesion and solidarity while simultaneously opening up its borders in a globalizing world. This creates both opportunities and challenges for Europe: opportunities, because the external pressures emanating from the rest of the world—from competition from emerging economies to the contagious diffusion of international crises—can provide a centripetal impulse forcing European states to accelerate the process of European integration; but also challenges, because the new cut-throat international competition provides centrifugal pressures for EU member states to abandon their European partners and jettison the accomplishments of European integration.

The EUROFORT project proposes to examine the process of European integration in a new light, by focusing on how it has and will develop in response to external pressures. Three key sources of such pressures on the EU are 1) currency speculation and international economic competition; 2) increasing international migration (legal and illegal); 3) growing demographic and climate imbalances that radically affect policies ranging from environmental and agricultural policies to the sustainability of social policies. This focus on external pressures raises a variety of research questions, such as: Will the pressures from the rest of the world turn the EU into a fortress, to be built in order to resist change? Or can the conflicts resulting from these stresses be resolved? How do national political structures, such as constitutional veto points (Immergut), and patterns of political competition affect supra-national and inter-governmental efforts to come to grips with these issues? Further,

how do political institutions (Aksoy, von Steinsdorff) and political communication (Eder, Vössing) affect supra-national identities? Under what conditions can the European Union extend its competencies in the international political economy (Meunier, Mody)? Further, will new forms of supra-national democratic governance emerge (Moravcsik)? Or will we see ever more delegation to 'non-majoritarian' (Føllesdahl) authorities and agencies? The answers to these questions are critical both for the future of Europe and for our understanding of the possibilities and limits of international governance relying on democratic cooperation and accountability in today's global world.

EUROFORT, the strategic partnership we propose, would combine expertise on European integration and European societies and politics from both sides of the Atlantic to produce innovative research and teaching on the impact of the world outside of Europe on European integration. The Departments and Institutes in question have developed an international reputation in the areas of neo-liberal institutionalism, neo-institutionalist theory, European Integration, and European politics and societies. For Princeton's programs on European Union Politics and Contemporary European Politics and Society, the partnership provides a European base and hands-on research opportunities in Europe. For Humboldt, the cooperation brings the necessary external perspective to the study of Europe, which also facilitates comparisons with other cases of regional integration.

In addition to its outstanding programs on Europe, Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School and Politics Department contain a number of programs that complement the strengths of the BGSS and the ISW at Humboldt. Humboldt's undergraduate methods instruction is the best in Berlin and one of the best programs in Germany, but the ISW needs to build up its strengths at the MA and PhD levels. To this end, a link through the Europe programs to Princeton's program on Quantitative and Analytical Political Science, as well as its Research Program in Political Economy, and The Princeton Laboratory for Experimental Social Science (PLESS) would add methods and political economy competencies. The Institute of Social and Political Sciences (ISW) is stronger in the comparative politics of Europe than in International Relations *per se*, but it is a member of the Berlin-wide MA Program in International Relations, and thus can link Princeton participants to the strong international relations competence in the wider Berlin area. Like Princeton, the ISW has recently developed a center of experimental research which is now engaged in experimental studies on attitudes towards European integration and the development of European identities. This will allow experimental studies to be coordinated across the Atlantic, and to access a wider diversity of experimental subjects. The ISW has strong cooperative relations with the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), which is compatible with a number of other European panels and can thus provide important data on the politics and social consequences of European integration. The newer SOEP-IS is embarking on experimental survey methodologies, including facial recognition technology, which can be (and is being) used to provide experimental evidence for the development of European identities. The ISW has strength in Demography and cooperates with the Max-Planck-Institute for Demographic Research in Rostock; Princeton's Office of Population Research is internationally-recognized in demography. In both Princeton and Humboldt, the Institutes and Departments that are the home to the Europe Programs and the BGSS are rapidly expanding the faculty and research projects concerned with the causes and consequences migration to and within Europe, as well as citizenship rights and integration (Dancygier, Nowicka, Yurdakul).

This strategic partnership will allow faculty and students to make a substantial contribution to the frontiers of multi-level and transnational politics. Existing paradigms are in a state of flux, as the stability of domestic politics in Europe is increasingly threatened by the Euro crisis and ensuing

austerity measures, while international politics become ever more global, and as such increasingly influenced by the global south. Current theory is just beginning to address changing domestic and global influences on European integration; this is precisely the focus of our teaching and research endeavor.

1) Summer Research Exchange and Mentoring

EUROFORT will provide funds for a delegation of 5 Humboldt students (BA, MA and PhD) and 3 Humboldt faculty members to attend the Princeton Annual Workshop on European Integration in May 2014 and May 2015. Similarly, we will fund the attendance of 5 Princeton students (BA, MA and PhD) and 3 Princeton faculty members at the BGSS-WZB Berlin Summer School on Linking Theory with Empirical Research in July 2014 and July 2015. At each event, we will organize special panels for the EUROFORT participants, and individual research mentoring events with local experts.

These annual conferences will serve to frame and structure our program of summer research grants and mentoring. We will pick the students for this summer grants and research mentoring program based on a competitive call for proposals. The call for proposals would be aimed at early stage researchers—advanced BA students (Juniors and Seniors at Princeton, those having passed the *Grundausbildung* at Humboldt), MA students (including Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School and the Berlin-wide MA in International Relations—a joint program of Humboldt University, the Free University and Potsdam University), and early stage PhD candidates. These early stage researchers may apply to work as RA’s for Princeton and HU Faculty, or they may propose their own research project. We are particularly looking to fund collaborative projects involving several grantees working on different aspects of a common topic.¹ A joint-Princeton-Humboldt committee would select 10 proposals per year for funding (5 from Princeton and 5 from Humboldt). This funding would provide two months of support for 5 Princeton and 5 Humboldt undergraduates and graduate students (MA and doctoral researchers) to carry out their research in Europe. Princeton students would come to Berlin, and after an orientation would either carry out their research in Berlin or elsewhere in Europe, as needed. As our common topic is European Integration, the Humboldt students would also carry out their research in Berlin or elsewhere in Europe. Obviously, for any Humboldt students that do not need to travel outside of Berlin, the stipend would be adjusted accordingly.

The concrete timing and travel plans would be as follows. The call for proposals will be issued in December 2013. The decision on grants will be made by February 1 2014. In May 2014, all of the summer research grant recipients (from both Princeton and Humboldt), as well as selected Humboldt Faculty will attend the Princeton Workshop, followed by a separate day-long seminar and individual meetings with Princeton scholars set up expressly for this group. This will serve to launch the summer research projects of the 10 early stage researchers (5 BA/MA/early PhD from Princeton and 5 BA/MA/early PhD from the HU) that will be conducted in June and July 2014 in Europe. The Princeton summer research grantees would fly to Berlin in June, receive an orientation, and then go on to conduct their research. The Berlin summer research grantees would attend the orientation, and begin their research in June and July, as well.

¹ Just to give one concrete example, Dancygier’s work on *Immigration and Conflict in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) could provide a framework for a new study, carried out by undergraduates or graduate students in cities other than the case studies of the book (Great Britain, the UK and France), such as Sweden, Italy or Portugal, for example.

As the German semester does not end until July, but the next semester begins first in October, they could elect to conduct the fieldwork portions of their research later in the summer. After completing all or major parts of their research, in late July

2014, the early stage researchers will meet in Berlin with faculty mentors from both Princeton and Humboldt University. The early stage researchers will be able to attend sessions of the WZB-BGSS Berlin Summer School; additionally a separate day-long program will be set up for the Princeton-HU Research Grantees so that the results of their research and the dissemination of their findings may be discussed. All materials and data collected (for instance interviews with policy-makers, data collection, etc.) would be made available to all the participants to the project. The same cycle will be repeated with a new group of early stage researchers in 2015.

2) Transatlantic Course Development

As a second leg of our research and teaching cooperation, we propose to develop a course on “Fortress Europe? How the rest of the world shapes European integration” to be conducted jointly (for part of the term that overlaps between Princeton and Humboldt) in a live video-classroom setting. Eight to ten students from Princeton (Juniors and Seniors) and 8-10 students from Berlin (MA and selected advanced BA) will interact in a seminar setting with the two instructors (the course will be launched with Meunier and Immergut as co-teachers). In addition to the substantive content of the course and the chance for exchanging transatlantic viewpoints, the course would help students prepare research proposals that they might submit to the summer research grants and exchange program, or use to prepare their Senior or MA theses. The course will also include oral presentations by students, which will be discussed and critiqued live by students on the other side of the Atlantic. Selected students in the course would be able to attend the May workshop in Princeton or selected panels of the Berlin Summer School. This single course would serve as a pilot project for exploring the feasibility of additional transatlantic courses. Once established, the trans-Atlantic courses would constitute an attractive value-added to the Princeton and Humboldt Politics and social sciences curriculum that is low-cost and self-sustaining. In order to launch this initiative, however, we need the framework of regularized contacts as well as research and teaching collaboration.

3) Faculty Research Cooperation

The exchange activities outlined so far will provide opportunities for conversations about the possibility of further research cooperation between faculty and students of the two project partners. Activities in this third domain are designed to allow participants to further pursue and implement these envisioned joint research projects as a follow up to the activities in the summer exchange and mentoring and the joint transatlantic course. During these prior activities, faculty and students from the two institutions will develop ideas for future cooperation. Funding through the faculty research cooperation will allow faculty and students to elaborate on these ideas and develop them into joint projects, for example joint thematic workshops, the publication of edited volumes, a collaborative research project, data collection efforts, specialized thematic courses of instruction, or the exchange of research assistants across the Atlantic. Any group of at least three students and faculty that includes representatives from both partners can request funds from the faculty research program. To that end, a brief project description should be submitted that outlines the purpose of the project,

its connection to the theme of the cooperation agreement, and the specific activities or publications that are being envisioned.

Self-Financing and Future Sustainability

This program builds on pre-existing structures of the European Union Program at Princeton and the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences. These programs will contribute to financing the Annual Princeton May Workshop on European Integration and the Annual July Berlin Summer School on Linking Theory and Empirical Research. The lead applicants, Meunier as Co-Director of the EUPP and Immergut as Director of the BGSS, will organize the adjoining EUROFORT panels and research mentoring activities that will take place in conjunction with the Annual Workshop and Summer School, respectively. These additional events would be completely new initiatives, but ones that can be nested in an ongoing activity to ensure sustainability. In addition, the BGSS staff will organize the call for proposals and grants committee for the annual summer grants programs. The grants administration and travel reimbursements will be administered by EUP and BGSS staff. It may also be possible to ask the Humboldt University International Office to administer the summer grants, as they administer the ISW exchange program with Duke University. The BGSS will waive tuition for EUROFORT participants in the summer school.

After initial funding by the Volkswagen Foundation, the BGSS is relying on a combination of tuition and external grants for the Summer School funding. For the 2013 Summer School, decision is pending on the BGSS application to the Einstein Foundation in May. For future years, other granting possibilities would be the Thyssen Foundation Conference and Workshop funding, and possibly renewed Einstein and Volkswagen applications. These applications could be used to fund at least portions of the EUROFORT exchange. Further support for faculty and student collaborative research may be provided by The German Marshall Fund of the United States and various Fulbright programs. For our purposes, the previous TRANSCOOP program of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation would have been a very appropriate source of funding; potentially, we could propose a candidate from Princeton to the Anneliese Maier Research Prize, but this program is less suited for our initiative than its predecessor, the TRANSCOOP program.

The two-year funding that we are requesting for the test phase on the transatlantic courses and the summer research exchange will allow us to apply for the DAAD Promos program, which supports for travel from the US to Germany and from Germany to the US for groups of students. The DFG program for bilateral cooperation would support the continuation of faculty and graduate research cooperation. Successful cooperation would then lead to joint research grants proposals from national and EU funding programs, such as the Annual Action Programme of the European Union for the Industrialized Countries Instrument (ICI).

Statement on Selection Criteria

7. How will the initiative contribute to the internationalization and long term programming of your department, center or program?

The initiative would advance two crucial types of internationalization.

First, BA/MA/PHD candidates will gain access to international faculty and be exposed to international theory, data, methods, both through research mentoring/summer grants and through transatlantic

courses. Faculty cooperation will also increase this type of internationalization at the individual and collective level. Second, the initiative will also advance internationalization in a substantive way. The core of the project consists of analyzing the external forces that shape the process of European integration. Having contributors with one foot in Europe and one outside will help to advance this research agenda.

8. How will the initiative engage Princeton/HU scholars and students in the partnership?

This initiative provides expanded research opportunities for early stage researchers (Summer grants, research mentoring), thus opening up new horizons by exposing them to research methods and substantive approaches from the other side of the Atlantic (Transatlantic courses, attendance at Princeton Annual Workshop and Berlin Summer School).

Further, the initiative provides structures and resources for scholarly cooperation (seed-money; meetings at the Princeton Annual Workshop and Berlin Summer School; ability to co-direct research under summer grants program; results of data collection to be made available to all EUROFORT participants). This cooperation will allow each of the two project partners access to the unique resources of the other partner and the affiliated infrastructure and networks of HU and Princeton, respectively.

The initiative broadens research on Europe and course offerings on Europe by combining common and complementary strengths of both. It brings two complementary perspectives together that allow for a scholarly investigation of European integration both from within and from the outside.

9. What is the detailed plan for the operation and activities of the initiative?

1) Summer Research Exchange and Mentoring

Selected Humboldt faculty (3), undergraduates (1-2) and graduate students (3-4) attend Princeton EUPP Annual May Workshop (2014, 2015); Selected Princeton faculty (3), undergraduates (1-2) and graduate students (3-4) attend BGSS-WZB Berlin Summer School in July 2014, and 2015.

10 summer research grants award to 5 Princeton and 5 Humboldt undergraduates (1-2 from each university) and graduates (3-4 from each university) for research in Europe (June-July 2014 and June-July 2015);

2) Transatlantic Course Development

Transatlantic Course on Fortress Europe Fall 2014 and Fall 2015.

3) Faculty Research Cooperation

Seed funding for faculty research cooperation (2 x exchange of 3 scholars)

10. Explanation of the profile and interests of sponsoring departments or units and why and how they complement each other.

EUROFORT combines expertise on European Integration and European Societies and Politics of the European Union Program at Princeton and Program in Contemporary European Politics and Society and the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, along with the host departments of these programs (Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School and Politics Department with a possibility for

participation of members of Sociology department, Humboldt's Institute of Social and Political Sciences, which includes a Political Science wing and a Sociology wing).

Princeton contributes strength in liberal IR theory, European Union Politics and Political Economy; Humboldt can contribute especially to neo-institutionalist theory, comparative politics of Europe and the development of the European public sphere and European identities. Both institutions have substantial strength in migration, demography, survey research, and experimental methods.

For Princeton's European programs, the partnership provides a European base, and hands-on research opportunities in Europe. For Humboldt, the cooperation brings a US and comparative perspective to the study of Europe, and allows more broad based comparisons with other areas of regional integration.

11. Describe the funding contributions from sponsoring units and a strategy for longer-term support for the initiative's sustainability.

EUPP funds Princeton Workshop; BGSS funds Berlin Summer School using own funds, funds of WZB, tuition and outside grants (application pending decision in May at Einstein Foundation).

EUPP and BGSS will contribute administrative support for travel reimbursements and grants payments. The lead applicants (Meunier and Immergut) will organize special panels and research mentoring for summer grants recipients, including participation of faculty exchange members. BGSS will administer summer grants competition and organize desk space, library access and logistics for Princeton students, as well as facilitate Europe research for Humboldt students.

Once EUROFORT is up and running, we can apply for a DAAD Grant for group travel of students to fund summer research grants and undergraduate/graduate visits to Princeton Annual Workshop and Berlin Summer School. A DFG Research Cooperation Grant Application can supply funding for continued seed money for faculty cooperation; the next step will be individual DFG grants, as well as US grants (future of NSF funding currently in doubt, however). The additional panels to the Annual Workshop and Berlin Summer School can also be supported with Thyssen Workshop applications and possibly Volkswagen conference funding (VW already funded two years of the Berlin Summer School). The trans-Atlantic courses are in principle self-sustaining, but would be more attractive when coupled with funding for trans-Atlantic exchanges. Additional funding sources for these exchanges would be the Annual Action Programme of the European Union for the Industrialised Countries Instrument (ICI), The German Marshall Fund of the United States, as well as various Fulbright programs).