Freie Universität Berlin

Does Europe Matter? The EU as a Security Actor in the Asian Century NFG Final Report 2015

May-Britt U. Stumbaum with Garima Mohan, Olivia Gippner, Jizhou Zhao and Anja Lutz

NFG Working Paper No. 18

Final Report on the Research and Findings of the NFG „Asian Perceptions of the EU" (2011-2015)

NFG Asian Perceptions of the EU

NFG Working Paper Series

Series Editor: May-Britt U. Stumbaum

The NFG Working Paper Series serves to disseminate the research results of the NFG Research Group on „Asian Perceptions of the EU“. It seeks to enhance academic exchange with scholars working in Asia and Europe as well as strengthen the research on Asian perceptions of the European Union as a security actor. The NFG Working Paper Series provides a platform for academic analysis, policy papers and other theme-related publications. The NFG Research Group „Asian Perceptions of the EU“ is an Associated Project of the KFG Research College „The Transformative Power of Europe“ and funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research.

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Chief Editors: May-Britt U. Stumbaum
Layout and Design: Roland Althammer

Stumbaum, May-Britt U./ Mohan, Garima/ Gippner, Olivia/ Zhao, Jizhou/ Lutz, Anja 2015: Does Europe Matter? The EU as a Security Actor in the Asian Century. NFG Final Report 2015. NFG Working Paper Series, No. 18, 2015, NFG Research Group „Asian Perceptions of the EU“, Freie Universität Berlin.

ISSN (Print) 2194-184x
ISSN (Internet) 2194-1858

This publication has been funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research.

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Dear Reader

Does Europe matter? Looking at security in an Asian century, the Asian elite's perceptions of the European Union (EU) deviate significantly from the perception that European policy makers and scholars assign to its role in global politics. Yet, security paradigms in Asia – and in particular those of the emerging global actors such as China and India – are increasingly integrating norms that the European Union actively promotes: effective multilateralism, international regimes in nonproliferation, and a comprehensive security notion. Which political, cultural or historical factors influence Asian decision makers' perceptions of the EU as a security actor? Have European norms and ideas been accepted, adapted or rejected in Asia? Based on new social science research approaches in the field of diffusion and transfer, the NFG Research Group analyses these questions as an interdisciplinary and international research group. Its findings explain the gap between the EU's self-perception as a security actor and the perceptions of its targeted policy 'recipients' in Asia, particularly India and China. In its first phase, the group has been focusing particularly on the EU's role in export control regimes and dual-use technology along with international peacekeeping operations as two tangible examples of EU-Asia interaction. This report presents the main findings and lessons learnt.

The NFG established a unique model of academic cooperation to enable constant exchange across borders and disciplines. Bringing research communities together, transcending geographical borders between Asia and Europe, the NFG's "Networked Think Tank" virtually connects researchers and institutes around the world, providing them with a common glossary, joint bibliography and a web-based collaboration space to exchange ideas, collaborate on sub-projects and co-author academic writing. In addition, the NFG's Annual Conferences in the focus countries, panels, workshops, university seminars and practitioners' briefings create opportunities for passing research findings to a broader policy-oriented audience. In line with Nicholas Kristof's call, "Professors, we need you", the project specifically aims at communicating academic research findings to create policy impact, bridging the gap between academia and policy making.

This report provides a summary of the key theoretical and empirical findings that have emerged from the NFG research.

The report highlights the NFG's academic research agenda and operationalisation, as well as lessons learnt for effective work in international and interdisciplinary research teams. We thank our Academic Council, partner institutions and universities, and Visiting and Associate Fellows for joining us in this ambitious endeavor and for enriching our research with their continuous support. The project was made possible with the generous funding of the German Ministry of Education and Research.

What can Europe and Asia, what can the EU, China and India learn from each other? How can academic analysis and policy applicability benefit each other? With this report, we strive to sparka lively exchange on the ever-present question: Does Europe matter? Or in the words of Thomas Risse, "Let's argue!"

Dr. May-Britt U. Stumbaum & the NFG Research Group

Executive Summary

1. Despite a negative overall perception and an under-estimation of the EU as a security actor, examples of diffusion from the EU to China and India could be identified in the field of security.

2. European templates are adopted when they provide a "goodness of fit" and when there is an urgency for policy adoption.

3. Neither history nor the difference in political systems between the EU, China and India influences the quality of perceptions of the EU or the likelihood for diffusion to take place.

4. While the scholarly discussion on the EU in Indian and Chinese academic circles remains negative and even worsens, the European Union is sought after for its templates by policy makers.

5. Barriers to diffusion are mainly presented by capacity bottlenecks for interaction and absorption and culturally different openness to ideas from abroad.

The NFG Research Group

Introduction

Amitav Acharya, Professor of International Relations

This report provides a comprehensive overview of the research, empirical findings, and lessons learnt in applying the unique modus operandi of the NFG in three parts: the project synopsis, main findings, and outlook for research and policy. Within the synopsis part, the project description outlines the main research goals of the NFG and their operationalisation within an intercultural and interdisciplinary team. Core findings – part II – result in recommendations for future academic research, for decision-makers and the policy community (part III).

Project Synopsis

The NFG Research Group "Asia Perceptions of the EU"[1] gives new insights on the perceptions of the EU as a security actor in India and China, and to what extent these perceptions influence the effectiveness of the EU's foreign and security policies towards its Strategic Partner countries. The project was triggered by the gap between external perceptions of the EU and primarily European discussions of capabilities, and what the EU can actually achieve in an ever more interdependent and multipolar – interpolar – world. The project results address both academic research and policy audiences.

Concurrent with the global shift of power towards Asia and the (re-)emergence of China and India as global actors with huge populations, rapid economic and military growth, and an ever closer engagement with the United States, the European Union has been rediscovering Asia since the early 1990s (Mahbubani 2008; Gaens et al 2009). Effective multilateralism has always been a goal the EU has pursued by promoting its norms and paradigms in international relations. As the world becomes more interdependent and multipolar - what is characterised by Giovanni Grevi as 'interpolar' (Grevi 2009) - Asian powers are increasingly gaining significance. The EU has worked with China and India, two emerging key players and, with Japan and Korea, two of the four Asian Strategic Partners of the EU, with growing intensity. However, the often critical perceptions Asian elites have of the EU deviate significantly from more European internal debates and perceptions. Focusing on China and India, the NFG aims to identify, analyse and assess the factors and causes of these different perceptions by conducting in-depth case studies on export controls and international peacekeeping. Detecting diffusion despite the negative perceptions, the NFG analyses EU norms, policies and practices (as the "sender") and Asia foreign policy elites in these policy fields (as

1 *The NFG Research Group "Asian Perceptions of the EU" is based at the Freie Universität Berlin and is funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). The project has been running since October 2010 and will be completed in February 2015. Dr. May-Britt U. Stumbaum is the Director of the NFG, which is also an Associated Project of the KFG Research College „The Transformative Power of Europe" based at the Freie Universität. The NFG core members consist of the Director, Head of Office, and 4 Researchers - Anja Lutz, Garima Mohan (on India), Olivia Gippner and Jizhou Zhao (on China). The NFG is also supported by two student assistants - Johanna Günther and Aurélie Domisse*

> "Understanding the EU's global role from the perspective of the emerging countries China and India is an overdue addition to the often EU-centric research on the EU's actorness and reflects the rapid changes in the world order of the 21st century".
>
> Amitav Acharya, Professor of International Relations

the targeted "recipients")[2]. The NFG asks the questions which political, cultural or historical factors have influenced the perceptions of decision-makers in Asia's emerging powers? What role do these filter factors play in the diffusion of European norms and ideas, and is the influence of European norms being accepted, rejected or adapted?

Through this pioneering research, the NFG explains the gap between self-perceptions of the EU as a security actor and the perceptions of its target countries in Asia – particularly India and China. Based on new approaches within the research field of policy and norm diffusion and transfer in the social sciences referencing the humanities and other disciplines and combining this with research on perceptions, the NFG provides a new approach to understanding EU foreign and security policy in Asia. In this endeavor, the NFG received inspiring insights from its Visiting and Associate Fellows and invaluable support and excellent academic guidance from its Academic Council encompassing distinguished professors from Asia, Europe and the United States: With Freie Universität Prof. Dr. Tanja Börzel as its Principal Mentor, the NFG Academic Council includes Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse (FU Berlin), Prof. Dr. Karl Kaiser (Harvard University), Prof. Dr. Yu-Ru Lian (Beida, Beijing), and Prof. Dr. Umma Salma Bava (JNU, Delhi).

EU Foreign Policy and Asia - an Evolving Field of research until now, most debates on EU foreign policy and Asia have been single-issue focused and bilateral, for example those between the EU and China over energy issues, and between the EU and India on climate change. Only in recent years has systematic research been undertaken on how foreign-policy relevant elites in these countries – academics in universities and think tanks, influential journalists and practitioners – see the European Union as a foreign policy actor (Wang 2011; Holland and Chaban 2008; Jain 2004). What happens when we try to match the European debate around the EU as a global actor with the perception of those being 'targeted'? If the EU is 'sending' its foreign policy messages, how are they 'received' on the other end by the foreign policy elites in target countries and strategic partners, China and India? How is the intense debate within Europe and, in part, the United States on the EU's foreign policy as normative and the EU as a civilian power being discussed in those countries?

2 *For the sake of analysis, the EU is labelled as "sender" and the partner states as "recipient", which mostly applies in the case of traditional security and related international regimes, as the rules have been set before these actors emerged. However, the possibility of norms travelling backwards in a feedback loop also exists; particularly in the area of non-traditional security this can be observed.*

Olivia Gippner, NFG Researcher, China Cluster

What happens at the interface of policy analysis and policy making?

Outside of Western academic circles, a vivid debate around the EU as a foreign policy actor is heating up, spurred by non-European experts from EU-funded 'EU Study Centres' promoting European Union studies in countries such as China and India[3]. Beyond these national communities, however, those debates are still hardly known. Debates around the EU as a global power have been focusing on 'identity' (the EU as an actor) as well as 'ability' (effectiveness of EU foreign and security policy). After an initial emphasis in Western debates on the 'identity' of the EU ('civilian power', normative power, etc.), there is a growing literature on the 'ability' of the EU to influence foreign policy and its 'actorness' in international relations with the focus remaining on the EU's neighbourhood, such as studies on the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) (see Bretherton and Vogler 2006; Jupille and Caporaso 1998, among others)[4].

Many Indian and Chinese scholars focus rather on the EU's ability as a global power. While acknowledging the economic might of the EU, they see it as a weak and inefficient actor, particularly in the fields the European Security Strategy (ESS) refers to as the EU's security policy. Debates in China and India seem to focus on the ability question, and even debates on the 'civilian power' concept assess it in terms of ability (Jain 2005; Bava 2005; Xiong 2004; Chen 2004). This

> "Opening the blackbox of Chinese decision-making in the stimulating environment of the NFG's Networked Think Tank has been a daunting and shaping experience".
>
> Olivia Gippner, NFG Researcher, China Cluster

leads to a very different picture on both sides of the strategic partnerships: Western scholars predominantly see the EU positively in its emerging identity as a global actor, while Asian scholars, particularly from China and India, are turning increasingly critical in their assessment of the EU's power and hence its ability to achieve results. The concept of 'civilian power' is often equated with weakness, the EU's normative approach even being viewed as soft imperialism (See Hettne and Söderbaum 2005; Sjursen 2006). Why do Chinese and Indian foreign policy elites' perceptions of the EU as a global actor differ from the primarily European discourse? Are these perceptions based on a real lack of effectiveness of the EU in security policy fields, or are there other factors that filter this perception? And do they differ between China, a one-party system, and India, a parliamentary democracy?

3 *The European Union supports EU Study Centres in India through the India-EU Study Centres Programme (http://www.iescp.org/); for a selection of EU Study Centres in China, see http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/china/more_info/eu_information_centres/index_en.html*

4 *For more details, see the NFG Working Paper #1 https://www.asianperceptions.eu/nfg-working-papers*

Core Messages

Over the course of four years, the NFG has developed a model of norm and policy diffusion between the European Union and third, distant countries such as India and China, along with gaining valuable insights into the modus operandi of intercultural research groups. Five core messages characterise the research of the NFG, its working mode and its main results:

First, as global power shifts towards Asia, there is a pressing need to question Eurocentric perspectives; interdisciplinary research approaches and international groups are the best way to capture the changing configurations of global politics. The NFG shows that research dealing with global issues gains tremendously from looking beyond its own ontological borders and using resources and insights from other disciplines to develop a holistic and comprehensive understanding of issues across time and space. The NFG also learnt that it is a conditio sine qua non to gain genuinely new insights with which to design the research group in a method of constant cross-checking and feedback loops in order to reveal, acknowledge and minimize personal biases and presuppositions.

Second, the group also highlights the importance of bridging the gap between academia and the policy making community. Contributing to this trend, the NFG publishes both an academic NFG Working Paper Series, as well as a policy-oriented NFG Policy Paper Series. The context of the NFG within the FU, associated with the KFG "Transformative Power of Europe" and embedded in research contexts such as the Center for Area Studies (CAS), the SFB 700 "Areas of Limited Statehood" and related research hubs, enabled us to establish an academic stage with international scholars from around the globe and a continuous exchange with other fellows. At the same time, regular cross-checks with the think-tank community and government agencies evolved as a crucial aspect of the NFG, emphasizing the applicability of its academic research.

Third, NFG work experience shows that international and interdisciplinary research groups are more prone to different kinds of challenges. However, through a common socialization process implemented at the beginning of a project with regular physical presence, collaborative projects, workshops and retreats, teams can develop a common language and a more intuitive understanding. This process of socialisation makes team members more invested, allows them to learn from different cultural and disciplinary backgrounds, and ultimately makes teams resilient. Through awareness and empathy based on continuous communication, the NFG shaped the setting that makes epistemic communities work.

"I am lucky and happy to have worked on the pioneering NFG research project on EU perception and norm diffusion research."

Jizhou Zhao, NFG Researcher, China Cluster

The research of the NFG led to some unexpected results; for example, the fact that personal background and education, rather than history or the political system, influence elites' perceptions of the EU and its policies and their openness to diffused ideas and norms. Personal relations and exchanges mattered most for how the EU was understood, seen and engaged. Exchanges across academia, policy-makers and opinion-shapers play a central role for furthering the overall understanding and cooperation between global power hubs to meet challenges that require global cohesion.

This pragmatic approach to policy-making was also seen in the focus countries: even in areas where the EU was perceived as negative and not very relevant, as it is in the sensitive area of security, European policies do get adopted and adapted, as in the case of antipiracy or the EU Dual Use List[5] . The need for effective concepts and an urgency to identify and implement successful policies overcome negative perception, a finding that can again help to bridge policy and academia. Moreover, perceptions are not constant and can change very quickly - which surprisingly doesn't affect the applicability of European policies to a large extent.

The following section outlines the operationalization of the NFG's research goals within an interdisciplinary, international and intercultural context. The NFG aims to investigate and explain the differences between Chinese and Indian perceptions of the EU, and outlines the conditions under which EU policies, norms, and ideas can diffuse to these countries. Accordingly, the NFG developed a pioneering model based on an interdisciplinary approach to chart this new field of research. Moreover, the group benefited immensely from the diverse backgrounds and specializations of its researchers, which provided a novel lens through which to look at EU-Asia relations.

Jizhou Zhao, NFG Researcher, China Cluster

Anja Lutz, NFG Researcher, India Cluster

Research Agenda

The trigger for the project was the stark difference in the internal and external perceptions of the EU, such as those of its Strategic Partner countries China and India. Since establishing itself as a global actor in the early 2000s, the EU has promoted its main policy goals of effective multilateralism and international rule of law in an increasingly interdependent and multipolar world (ESS 2003:1, 9-10). It evaluates itself as a largely successful actor with effective policies and instruments that can make a lasting impact on world politics (ESS Report 2008). However, the view from its strategic partners India and China is far more critical of the EU: While acknowledging it as an economic actor, acceptance of the EU as a security actor is very low. It is seen instead as weak and inefficient, its partners questioning EU actorness in international relations and criticizing its concept of 'civilian power' [6].

Driven by this stark difference in perception, the NFG considers the question of why Chinese and Indian foreign policy elites have these perceptions of the EU as a global actor and whether they impact de facto cooperation in security matters and the transformative intention[7] of EU foreign policy. We identify, analyse and assess filter factors influencing perceptions ranging from the role of history, translation and linguistics,

"Joining a well-advanced research group with people who have been working together for several years was quite frightening to me at the beginning, but it quickly showed that the intercultural and interdisciplinary experiences of the NFG were a great asset for including me as "the newcomer". I soon felt like I could contribute to the work of the NFG and I'm very happy to have such supportive and welcoming colleagues!"

Anja Lutz, NFG Researcher, India Cluster

personal backgrounds of decision makers, and political systems. This is combined with an examination of the mechanisms of norm transfer and diffusion processes to conceptualise how China and India respond to EU policies and norms. The NFG has combined these analytical factors in an innovative new research model which cuts across disciplines and draws on recent research in history, linguistics and other concerned disciplines.

6 For reference, see NFG country dossiers at https://www.asianperceptions.eu/thematic-background

7 For recent research work on the potential of being a 'transformative power' of the European Union, please see the Working Paper Series of the KFG Research College "Transformative Power of Europe?" at www.transformeurope.eu.

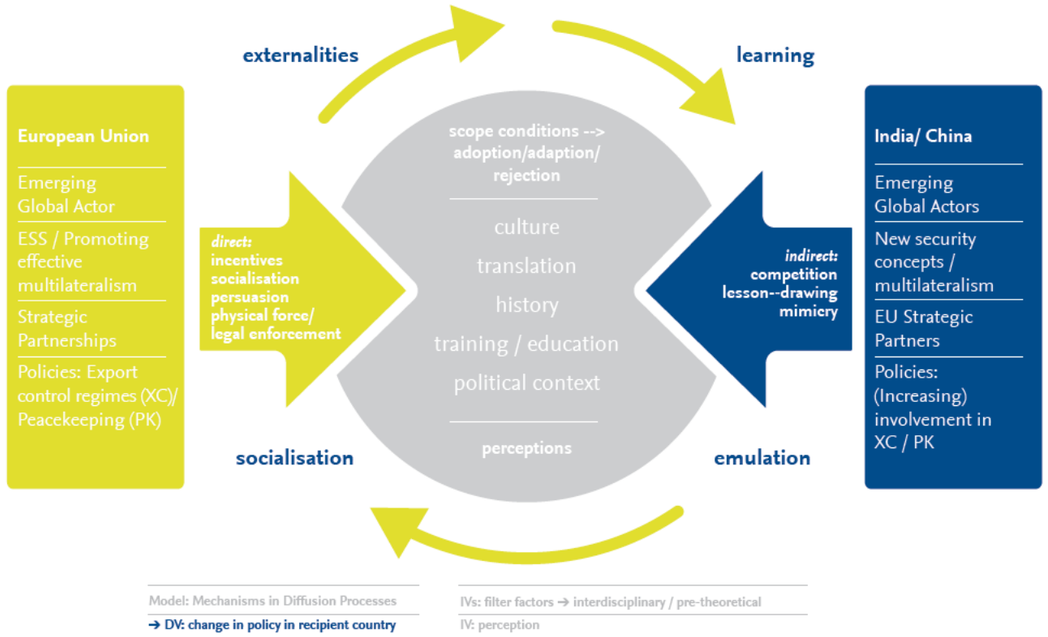

Figure 1: NFG Research Model

This research model bridges several analytical approaches derived from the humanities and political science, as well as historical and post-colonial studies, opening interesting avenues of research for the NFG. Ideas are not only diffused through time and space (or are actively sent by EU policies), but they also meet specific historical, cultural and social contexts that adapt and transform those ideas in China and India.

The NFG used different concepts, such as Werner and Zimmermann's "histoire croisée", which integrates the entanglement of the position of the researcher, the perspective and the object of research as part of the analytical framework. Following the concept of "double reflexivity", this framework and its criteria are constantly adjusted to continuous (self-)reflection and research findings, taking into account for the research not only the object, but also the analyst and the process of knowledge generation itself (Werner and Zimmermann 2002, 2006). Responding to this is the post-colonial studies' concept of "entangled history" focusing on reciprocity of transfer processes and entanglements between distant regions and countries due to direct and indirect transfers that demand a change of perspective away from Europe (Conrad and Randeria 2002). By drawing on different approaches, the NFG has continuously remained open to different experiences from various disciplines in order to facilitate an open-minded, self-reflective and holistic approach to its research.

This was supported by the successful completion of three PhD projects by NFG researchers which dealt with the diffusion of EU policies in India and China in different policy fields (security, environment, and climate change), creating a hub of knowledge across disciplines in the relations between EU and Asia.

Interdisciplinary research

To achieve this goal of overcoming Eurocentrism in International Studies research and to become aware of presuppositions and biases inherent in some approaches, the NFG has consciously opted for an interdisciplinary approach to research drawing from diverse disciplines. In borrowing analytical concepts and vocabulary from various disciplines such as history, linguistics and translation studies, public policy, and postcolonial studies as mentioned above, the NFG developed its own vocabulary of research through regular internal Reading Groups that also invited researchers from other research groups and disciplines to join and present. This rich interdisciplinary background provides a crucial tool with which to analyse India and China as case studies and understand their complex political systems and diverse histories which play into present day decision making. It also allows us to acknowledge and address some biases of traditional international relations research by factoring in domestic politics into the international perspective.

Intercultural teams

In order to strengthen this component of research further, the NFG is structured into two binational teams comprising of a German/Chinese team (the "China Cluster") and a German/Indian team (the "India Cluster"). The team members were chosen from diverse disciplinary backgrounds covering crucial areas such as history, development studies, linguistics, political science and public policy. The researchers also have experience working at universities and think tanks, further adding to the diversity of perspectives the team can provide. After a one-year initiation period to jointly set up the NFG Research Group and its processes and proceedings, each researcher spent six months in the target case country, which gave them a firm grasp of the political and cultural situation, along with developing an extensive network of interviewees. By this time, the Indian and Chinese researchers also returned to their initial home countries with an expanded 'external' perspective. The researchers could thereby combine the benefits of their German home research environment with the unique perspectives and understandings gained from their experiences in the case countries. Moreover, the team traced its own evolution and response to these experiences by using structured questionnaires and unstructured blogs to reflect on their expectations, identities, culturally critical incidents within the group and their research environment, and during their stays in the case countries.

"As we set out for the endeavour, I introduced the "SHOCK and AWE" principle – A for being Aware of differences, W for the Will to make it happen nevertheless, E for Empathy to understand what words couldn't explain – and SHOCK to be prepared that it could all be very different again."

Dr. May-Britt U. Stumbaum, Director of the NFG

Moreover, the NFG's research model provides cross-check mechanisms for how these work dynamics and individual features affect research findings. In order to identify these effects, we compared interview results across China and India to see whether they varied across gender and nationality. While nationality led to differences in access to interviewees, research findings were approximately as expected across the binational China and India clusters.

Field Trips and Data Collection

As mentioned above, each researcher spent six months in the case countries of China and India, and together conducted a total of more than 200 interviews with decision makers and elites in the two countries. These included members of government, think tanks and advisory bodies and academics, as well as the media and the business elite. Each researcher used the same pre-designed semi-structured questionnaire to keep the responses comparable. Having both a German and Chinese/Indian researcher also provided interesting contrasting perspectives from the interviewees in each country. Interviews in China and India were further supplemented by interviews in European capitals such as Brussels, Berlin, London and Paris and alongside conference occasions in the United States and Asia-Pacific countries such as Australia, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia. This data provided an excellent source for understanding not only Indian and Chinese perceptions of the EU, but also the avenues of policy exchange and cooperation between the three actors.

Dr. May-Britt U. Stumbaum, Director of the NFG

Visiting Fellows

Visiting Fellows from the region who came to Berlin for short research stays between one and four months further supplemented the research work of the NFG. These Fellows included senior researchers, professors and policy makers who provided expert advice to the NFG on academic issues as well as matters of policy by giving lectures and contributing to the NFG publication series. The Visiting Fellows programme is a platform to foster and deepen exchange ties between Europe and Asia and forms a bridge between the research being conducted in these two regions. So far, the NFG has brought 18 Visiting Fellows to Europe from China, India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, United States, and the United Kingdom. They expanded the group's research focus to East and Southeast Asia, as well as to matters of non-traditional security. The NFG partnered with universities and Associate Fellows in order to enrich each others' research while providing multiple opportunities to cooperate and grow together through the inspiring environment within the NFG network. This network created an exchange of ideas furthering common knowledge, the exploration of new ways of transboundary and transdisciplinary cooperation, and the constant translation and updating of knowledge across regions.

Networked Think Tank

All the work done by the NFG is mirrored on its web-based Networked Think Tank (NTT), a password-protected, virtual platform for collaboration, knowledge gathering and exchange (www.asianperceptions.eu). The portal serves as the key communication and collaboration tool for all members of the NFG Research Group, as well as the Visiting and Associate Fellows regardless of their location. Based on knowledge management theory, it is equipped with features that fit the particular needs of an interdisciplinary, intercultural research team and allows project management independent of the physical location of the NFG members. In concrete terms, it features a wide range of well-selected Web 2.0 tools for social interaction, discourse collaboration, knowledge collection and creation, as well as self-reflection. It made multi-stakeholder collaboration easier and facilitated cooperation between the project and its partners. The NTT also offers a public interface which has a comprehensive bibliography for those working on India and China, as well as quarterly reports from the two case countries, news updates and the NFG Publication Series, as well as information on public talks and other interesting information for academics and practitioners alike. Particularly the bibliography, which features selected literature on the NFG research topics with a special focus on writings from non-European, Asian scholars and is exportable to Endnote and other formats used by scholars, has met with great demand. Per month, www.asianperceptions.eu receives about 10,000 clicks on average.

Project Outreach: NFG Working Papers and Policy Papers

For active project outreach and timely dissemination of our research results and findings, the NFG has two thriving publication series. The NFG Working Paper Series publishes long-range academic papers which are double-blinded, peer-reviewed and provide cutting edge research on EU-Asia relations. The NFG has published 14 Working Papers so far which contribute to both the theoretical and empirical debates on EU-Asia research[8]. The NFG Policy Papers Series provides concise and time-relevant policy analysis by decision makers and practitioners on crucial issues of exchange between the EU and India. The series has published 10 policy analyses so far, which can all be accessed online and downloaded at the NFG's online portal[9].

8 https://www.asianperceptions.eu/nfg-working-papers
9 https://www.asianperceptions.eu/nfg-policy-papers

Main Findings

"The experience of working in an intercultural and interdisciplinary team like the NFG was both challenging and enriching at the same time. It was a great opportunity to collaborate with researchers from around the world, and it proved to be a unique and inspiring setting for my PhD as well."

Garima Mohan, NFG Researcher, India Cluster

This section summarises the main empirical findings of the NFG and presents detailed cross-country and cross-case analyses. It concludes with the NFG's recommendations to policy makers for future research and for working in intercultural and interdisciplinary research environments based on the group's own experiences and lessons learnt. The NFG aims to analyse the factors influencing the perception held by Indian and Chinese foreign policy elites of the EU as a security actor by focusing – pars prototo – on two exemplifying case studies in the field of EU foreign and security policy and based on its interaction with the EU's Strategic Partners China and India. These case studies are the promotion of non-proliferation efforts by propagating EU export control systems and the transfer of know-how in common peacekeeping operations.

Garima Mohan, NFG Researcher, India Cluster

Filter factors determining Chinese and Indian perceptions and the diffusion of policies and norms

The first puzzle the NFG sought to analyse was how to determine the influence of filter factors like culture, history, political system on Chinese and Indian perceptions of the EU. After establishing this influence, we further analysed the conditions under which EU policies and norms can diffuse and travel to China and India in the field of security.

Country comparison

On the basis of more than 200 interviews carried out in China and India, the identified filter factors were tested in each case country. Based on the preceding literature review, the NFG initially expected a significant impact of factors such as political system, common values, EU actorness, history and linguistics on elites in the two countries. The findings suggested that none of these had a significant influence on these elites' perceptions of the EU or whether they would draw on European templates to inform their own policy-making. Instead, personal educational or work backgrounds in a European country, along with knowledge of and access to templates, showed to have a strong influence – that is, decision makers with work and study experience in Europe were more likely to draw from European templates and were more perceptive to European ideas.

Table 1: Findings on the two case countries' perceptions of the EU

Filter Factors	India	China
Political Context: Debt Crisis	limited negative impact	major negative impact
Common Values	Always emphasised: Democracy, multiculturalism, common threats (China, terrorism, nuclear security, Middle East, anti-piracy)	Not emphasised: Different political systems, understanding of human rights, democracy
EU Actorness	Perceived as a trading power, not a security actor; 'negative' image; civilian power; not a model	Positive expectations, arms embargo unfair; seen as a trading power; source of technology transfers; model of integration,
History	Does not play an important role	Does play an important role
Language and Linguistics	Not relevant, English as operating language in foreign policy; EU/ Europe interchangeable as categories.	EU/ Europe interchangeable; Different 'power' concepts; answer avoidance

Table 2: Perception and practice/diffusion in comparison

	India	China
Commonalities	• EU seen mainly as an economic power • EU not seen a unitary political actor and effective security actor: MS are more important • Colonial legacies, cultural proximity and political system do not determine actual cooperation practice	
Differences	Euro crisis not seen as relevant	More concern about Euro crisis
Diffusion	Expectation that the EU has to change its system according to Indian needs → pride and protectionism of national achievements	EU as a source of best practices (exchanges and trainings) in both cases. Openness to integrate external policies and ideas

China

In general, one can identify two main directions along which Chinese EU Scholars tend to argue: the EU as model and as negligible actor. On one end of the spectrum, Zhu interprets recently increased ties between China and EU as a strategic consequence. She asserts that China is looking at the EU "as a model and example for regional cooperation and regional integration" for East Asian community building (Zhu 2006: 9). She further claims that most Chinese scholars believe that "the EU enlargement is the victory of the European political ideas and its way of handling international affairs", and thus will assume a more significant role. The partners also agree on the increase of democracy in international relations and a strengthening of the UN. In terms of their stance on multilateralism, therefore, China and the EU share the same interests. Thirdly, China perceives their economic complementarities with the EU, and pays much attention to investment in the country and to the issue of technology transfer (Zhu 2006: 11). At the other end of the spectrum, more security-oriented scholars look at disputes between Europe and China surrounding China's market economy status, human rights, the arms embargo and trade, and identify the end of the "honeymoon period" after 2005 (Chen et al. 2011: 9). This clearly shows the very limited attention paid to the European Union as a security actor unless linked to other economic interests, which was confirmed by our interview data.

The findings on filter factors in China are based on about 100 interviews carried out between March 2012 and March 2013. Chinese interviewees mostly agreed that the difference in political systems between the EU Member States and China did not constitute a key problem for their relations. Recent events, such as the European Sovereign Debt Crisis and its negative impact on the EU's role in the world were frequently mentioned during the interviews conducted in China. Most interviewees believed that historical links have played an important role, and that particularly colonial experience does have an important impact on relations with Europe today. Interestingly, "the EU", "Europe" and "EU member states" are three interchangeable terms in the discourse of answers given by the interviewees. Few interviewees thought of the EU as a security actor, and these were the ones working in specific sensitive areas, such as export controls.

Personal background was found to be the most important determinant of perceptions of the EU. For instance, think tanks which were supported by EU funds held more positive views, and so did older interviewees who had benefited from EU-funded programs in the 1990s. A majority of the interviewees had experiences studying, travelling and even working in Europe, which correlated with their more positive views of Europe. All the Chinese interviewees had gathered experiences abroad.

India

Research on perceptions of the EU in India has revealed that understandings of the European Union are dichotomous and deeply ambivalent. Present Indian writings about the EU demonstrate this view that often sees the EU as possessing common values with India, on the one hand, but different logics of foreign policy on the other. Survey reports of news media show that the EU suffers from weak visibility and a low profile in India, with a predominant focus on economic and trade issues[10] . Policy makers and academics alike often cite cultural affinities and commonalities with Europe and a common vision of how international relations should be structured. This view is mainly rhetorical, as the interview data of the NFG indicates. Even though interviewees considered the EU to have normative power in some areas – in the case of export controls, as a model for enforcement and legal frameworks, for example – the different security environments India and the EU are facing seem to make it difficult to use EU security policies and models in India. Therefore, the influence of the EU in security policy in South Asia is perceived as rather minimal. Instead, the EU is seen as too weak and not unified enough to develop a coherent strategy in and for Asia, and as primarily "just a follower" of US security policy. Compared to that, relations with member states were emphasised as being far more extensive and influential than relations with the EU. Connected to this is the still limited amount of institutionalised interactions between India and the EU, especially on high levels, but also on working levels. Different explanations were put forward for this, namely the lack of EU expertise, the lack of India's interest in the EU, and the small capacities of India's 700 diplomatic staff. On the other hand, the EU is accepted and welcomed as a major trading power and partner.

In terms of filter factors, the research concluded that of all the anticipated factors - history, translation, the role of personal backgrounds and political system – personal background in regards to education and interactions with the EU was the main explanatory factor for how the EU is seen by the foreign policy elite in India. Compared to that, the history and experiences of colonialism do not play a role in the much more pragmatic foreign policy approach that India has been following since the end of the Cold War. Also, translation is not a visible factor in India: With English being one of two national languages of India, most foreign policy elites working on EU-related issues are well-versed in English. They have often been educated in top English-language institutions in India or have been trained abroad in Europe or the USA. Despite the fact that India and the EU share commonalities of certain affinities, such as democracy - especially compared to Pakistan and China - and multiculturalism, this does not necessarily seem to translate into a positive view of the EU. Hence, personal experiences and individual backgrounds have a greater influence and explanatory impact for the de facto diffusion of norms and ideas.

10 See Chaban N, Holland M, Ryan P (eds) (2009), 'The EU through the Eyes of Asia', Vol II, World Scientific, Singapore

Case comparison Peacekeeping

The case of peacekeeping sets out to map the diffusion of norms, paradigms and best practices between the EU and its strategic partners India and China in this field. The EU's self-perception as a normative actor and its claim to "spreading good governance" globally (ESS 2003) was not met with similar analysis from the outside. By examining the diffusion of norms, the NFG research model explores the role of diffusion mechanisms, filter factors and perceptions between the EU and its partners. In terms of perceptions, the EU was mainly seen as a model of regional integration and governance which might be of relevance at the global level, while there were strong reservations towards the model's application in the South Asian and East Asian context.

In the field of peacekeeping, the EU - in contrast to individual member states - lacks recognition as a security actor, the only notable exception being antipiracy where the EU has been seen taking the lead. Notably, the EU does engage in efforts to persuade and socialise the two countries through providing examples for lesson drawing. In the interactions between the EU and its partners, there are attempts to diffuse certain policy approaches; there are also strong differences within the various actors which impede policy transfer. One of the reasons is the different degree of engagement: while the EU and member states mainly contribute to peacekeeping budgets, India has for decades been one of the biggest troop contributing countries. China, on the other hand, has been increasing troops and budget contributions alike. Furthermore, while China seeks to learn more from external models as a new contributor to peacekeeping, there is strong reluctance from the Indian side to borrow from outside models given their long history of participation under UN peacekeeping.

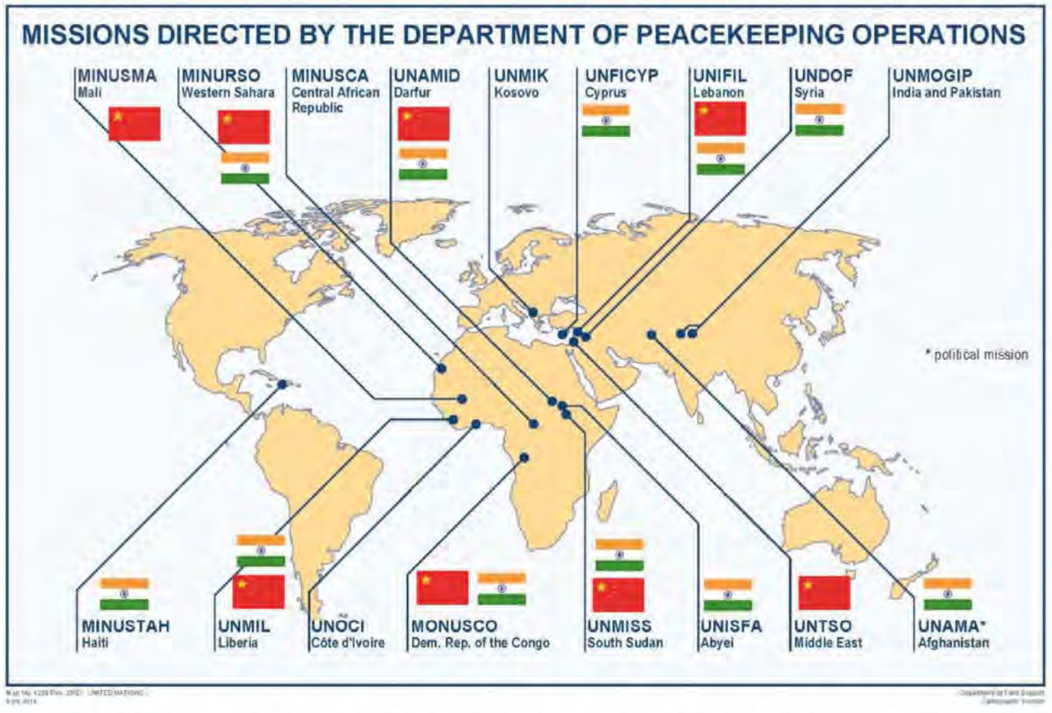

Figure 2: Participation in Peacekeeping Operations (Oct 2014): India (12 missions): biggest contributions to MONUSCO (4,035); UNMISS (2,073); UNAMA (1); China (9 missions): biggest contributions to UNMIL (723), UNMISS (363 +700 in May 2015);

Table 3 Cross-Country Comparison for Peacekeeping

	India	China
Examples of diffusion	• Antipiracy, limited cooperation • counter insurgency	• Antipiracy • Training of Peacekeepers • Evacuation of overseas citizens
Commonalities	• Peacekeeping as part of being an international actor • Principles: non-interference, host-party consent, changing policy on R2P • Wary of NATO and EU missions	
Differences	• Long experience of participating in UN missions ➔ lack of interest in learning from the outside • Combat troops, mixed contingents	• Contribution increasing since 1990s ➔ agenda and interest in exposure to foreign militaries/ access to know-how • Engineering and medical teams, national contingents

Table 4: China and India in International Regimes of Non-proliferation and Export Controls

International Treaties and Regimes	India				China			
	S	R	M	SoA	S	R	M	SoA
IAEA Additional Protocol (AP)	2009	2014			1998	2002		
Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT)	X	X		Status quo	1992	1992		
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)	X	X		Status quo	1994	X		
Chemical Weapon Convention (CWC)	1993	1996			1993	1997		
Biological Weapon Convention (BWC)	1973	1974			1984	1984		
Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)			X	M aspired,			2004	
Zangger Committee (ZC)			X	Waiver 2008			1997	
Australia Group (AG)			X	M aspired			X	M not aspired
Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)			X	M aspired			X	Status quo / dialogue
Wassenaar Agreement (WA)			X	M aspired			X	Status quo / dialogue

S: Signed, R: Ratified; M: Membership; SoA: Status of Accession

Export Controls

"Proliferation by both states and terrorists was identified in the ESS as 'potentially the greatest threat to EU security'. That risk has increased [...], bringing the multilateral framework under pressure" (ESS Report 2008: 3). A particular challenge is posed by dual-use high technology, such as that used in aerospace and information technology, because it can be used for both military (providing the key to military superiority) and civilian purposes (crucial to economic growth and development). With European countries having the cutting edge in developing and exporting high technology (for example, the EU is the biggest exporter of high technology to China), interests are high to promote non-proliferation efforts while preventing obstacles to export. The success of EU ambitions in this field rests on the cooperation and conviction of the new global powers. Both India and China started to introduce export control schemes in the mid-2000s and have been the target of EU as well as US (training) initiatives in this field.

The NFG research group offered a glimpse of China's participation in current international non-proliferation regimes, such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Zangger Committee (ZAC), the Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG), and developments of its national export control (see table below). As the EU and China are included by only part of the global multilateral framework and hold different and unequal status in these regimes, China often turns to seek dialogues and negotiations with individual EU member states either in the UN Security Council or in the regimes. This is only one example of the many disconnects between the EU's policy to promote its norms and the actual limited scope of its influence.

As for the case of India, its unique relationship with Multilateral Export Control Regimes has gone through a change since the Modi government took office in 2014. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 15403, the US-India Civil Nuclear Initiative 20054, India's NSG waiver status in the NSG 20085 and the US-Indo joint statement 20106 defines India's new standing in the global export control system. India seeks closer ties with all four multilateral Export Control Regimes. The major challenge, India's status as a nuclear weapons state outside the NPT, remains the main obstacle to joining.

Table 5: Major Findings of Case Study Export Controls

	India	China
Examples of Diffusion	Acceptance of EU models (eg. EU Dual-use goods list used as model for SCOMET)	Translation of the EU-China Arms Control Handbook
Commonalities	• Development of a national system of export controls • Seeking access to high technology • Aiming for international recognition as a responsible global player • Training of Custom Officers (Georgia Tech India & China, BAFA/EU-Outreach for China – not enacted in India)	
Differences	• Net importer of arms (world's largest in 2013), but aspires to build up own defence industry	• Net exporter of arms (5th largest exporter globally in 2013)
	• Not a member to multilateral export control regimes, but increasing harmonisation	• Member of NSG and ZC
	• Less exchange	• Different levels of cooperation with Europe

Note: BAFA in the table refers to the Bundesamt für Wirtschaft und Ausfuhrkontrolle, which is a superior federal authority subordinate to the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy (BMWi).

Recommendations

In sum, both fields require international collaboration and promote 'effective multilateralism'. With ongoing engagements in Afghanistan, the Indian Ocean and other places and the high volume of dual-use technology trade (which affects export control regimes) with Asian countries, they prove test cases for the European Union's foreign policy approach and its perception by Asian policy elites, particularly in India and China.

Contribution to diffusion literature

This research provides a large empirical contribution in the form of an extensive data set on how domestic factors in the "recipient country" determine the de facto process and mechanisms of diffusion. The cases of China and India shed particular light on the limited instruments the EU has at its disposal in much of its foreign relations, which, in the cases at hand, are only persuasion and socialisation. The NFG research model systematically relates mechanisms to filter factors and perceptions, and concludes that only a few limited filters really affect the likelihood for China and India to adopt European templates. Of the hypotheses tested, only personal background showed a consistent effect. In addition, the empirical research highlighted two other determinants and barriers to diffusion on the Chinese and Indian side: bureaucratic hurdles and a limited "absorptive capacity". Concerning the EU's efforts to increase multilateral involvement, the issue of trust and the principle of non-interference in internal matters remained broader themes affecting the likelihood of diffusion.

Despite the negative perception of the European Union as a global actor in security policy fields, the research results of the NFG show that diffusion of norms, paradigms and good practices does take place between the European Union and its Strategic Partners India and China, if only to a very limited extent. The research results thereby provide a first, pioneering step into this new research field that calls for further analysis: Which factors actually influence the diffusion of security policy norms of the European Union the most, and to what extent? History and the "colonial baggage" to which US President Obama referred in his 2014 Brisbane speech when referring to Australia and the United States as potent partners for the Asia region as "we don't have to carry with us all the baggage from the past" (Obama 2014) surprisingly do not have a significant impact on the likeliness of diffusion, nor does similarity between political systems – democracy or authoritarian system – seems to matter much. Personal experiences and exposure to the European Union, the awareness of and access to useful templates and an urgency to find a suitable practice, on the other hand, seem to matter much more. Some interviewees emphasised that the European Union is an interesting partner from which to draw norms, ideas and best practices precisely because it is not perceived as a unitary, purposeful actor while concurrently offering – with its 28 Member States displaying different levels of development in military affairs – a broad range of tested templates, resources and expertise. Factors like absorptive capacity and bureaucratic hurdles, on the other hand, seem to be more of a barrier than initially assumed. Culture seems to matter, not in a sense of similarity of culture between 'sender' and 'recipient', but in a more general sense to determine to what

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extent a country's culture harbours anxiety or anticipation towards external ideas. Combined with the finding that perceptions do not seem to matter to the extent expected, and that scholarly debates and scholars' perceptions seem to be impacted by different factors than policy-makers' ones, this opens a series of paths for future research as well as policy.

Research recommendations
As for research, future research projects could focus on comparative studies, particularly cross-country and cross-case studies, with the following goals:

- Analysing the impact of absorptive capacity in 'recipient' states
- Assessing access and awareness of templates in different partner countries
- Assessing the relative weight of the identified impact factors by applying the research model to further case studies
- Identifying the impact factors on perceptions comparing scholars and decision-makers in target countries, such as the impact of closeness to government, funding structures, etc.
- Identifying the impact factors on knowledge creation by looking at funding structures, the set-up of knowledge generating bodies, etc.
- Analysing national cultures with regard to openness to external innovations
- Applying the research model to areas of non-traditional security, as these are fields where the rules are not as established and as seemingly set in the traditional security fields
- Assessing the incentives/disincentives to opt for European templates as compared to templates offered by other actors such as the United States or international organisations

Policy recommendations
Bridging academic research and policy-making, several policy recommendations can be drawn from the research findings:

- The EU should more strategically utilise its ability and capacity to provide general strategy templates and frameworks for the harmonisation of various policies in order to pursue its overall policy goals.
- The EU should act, also on behalf of its member states, as a pool of resources, especially in times when resources are bound by ad hoc crises in the neighborhood. This could be a way forward especially in the case of export controls, as the success of the EU dual-use list has already shown that EU models are used and accepted. In the case of peacekeeping, the EU should continue to offer peacekeeping trainings. Using the advantages of a supranational body, the EU could also circumvent the challenge of the still remaining mistrust and predominance of the non-interference paradigm in internal politics, both in India and China.
- The EU should also draw from its expertise in non-traditional security (NTS) challenges that are linked to internal security problems in both India and China, such as disaster response or anti-terrorism strategies. The NFG results suggest that NTS is an area in which EU knowledge and expertise is much better acknowledged than in a traditional security setting, so the EU should develop this grant of trust into a platform for discussion and exchange on how to develop strategies towards global challenges.
- Both the EU and India and, to a lesser extent, China need to develop sufficient expertise and employ the required amount of staff to meet the challenges and opportunities envisaged in the strategic partnerships and hence enlarge the capacity for interactions and further the institutionalisation of relations.
- Regarding a potential revision of the European Security Strategy, the European Union and its Member States should focus on thematic areas of policy goals and instruments and use regional foci only in a subordinated matter to emphasize its strengths and avoid falling victim to Member States' different regional preferences.

Long term engagements are the key for policy-makers to build up lasting and trusting connections with diplomatic forces in India and China and open up channels of communication with Indian and Chinese counterparts, which requires a certain level of specialisation and in-depth knowledge of current events and policy trends in both India and China in order to attain a share of the diplomatic services on the EU and Member States' levels – the same being true for the remaining parts of Asia. As both India and China are looking to acquire investments in the defence industry and dual-use high technology in sectors in which the EU is strong, the EU should use its unique points of leverage and access to build up deeper and mutually beneficial relations.

One of the key challenges for the European Union will be the adaptation of EU templates, on the one hand, as it will open up the question of which level of localisation and adaptation of EU templates to local conditions the European side will deem acceptable in an increasingly interpolar world. On the other hand, those successes might be difficult to assign to the European Union or a specific actor or Member State, and hence will pose a challenge in making the EU foreign policy more acceptable to the national Member States' constituencies, raising the question: What is an effective and successful EU security actor?

Recommendations for Research in Intercultural Teams

The NFG has learnt valuable lessons in intercultural and interdisciplinary research teams over the last four years, especially take-aways on how to make these teams resilient and efficient in their functioning. The NFG included researchers and team members not only from different national backgrounds, but also with differences in age, gender, disciplinary groundings and work experiences, as well as experiences working or studying outside of their home countries. While these differences can be real assets in providing a multi-perspective analysis in research, they often also create hurdles which need to be overcome to make sure that research work runs smoothly and efficiently. Below are the recommendations the NFG offers to other teams working in an intercultural and interdisciplinary context and research environments:

- Install structures to make groups resilient. These structures can take the form of having regular meetings and forums for interaction between everyone, as well as creating a common understanding of the end products and end goals of research.
- Forge a common language of research: For those teams where team members have different disciplinary backgrounds, it is crucial to create a common language of research and a common research vocabulary. The NFG implemented this in the first year with shared reading groups which surveyed the literature from different disciplines and then created a common glossary of terms.
- Include better structures to deal with international students: especially in the European university context, it is important to have translation facilities and administrative staff that is bilingual so that everyday research is not hampered by administrative hurdles.
- Communicate, communicate, communicate: It is very important that team members have enough opportunities for interaction so that they understand each other and get better at communicating their needs and problems. The NFG held a Monday meeting where each team member presented the task in which they were engaged that week, and what input they would need from the other team members. This created an atmosphere of openness and transparency and gave each member an opportunity to learn what others in the team were working on.
- Hold regular meetings in person and also via Skype while team members are on field trips. This further created cohesiveness among the NFG team and also became an important way to receive feedback. Events such as team retreats also helped to create a channel of communication among the team members. Each member also wrote a blog entry each month which provided a positive outlet to share the challenges and frustrations of working in a different environment.

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Federal Ministry
of Education
and Research

NFG
Asian
Perceptions
of the EU

The NFG Research Group

"Asian Perceptions of the EU" is funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF).
The NFG is an associated project of the **KFG** research college **"The Transformative Power of Europe"** www.transformeurope.eu

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