

Sociology of Europeanization

Is there a European society emerging?

WSI Summer School 2014,
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Preview

- I. A Very Brief History
- II. Two Concepts of Europeanization
- III. Trends in Socio-Economic Inequality
- IV. Europeanization as the Creation of Fields
- V. Concluding Discussion

I. A Very Brief History of Sociology of Europeanization

- Europeanization as sociology's stepchild
- Economic, political and legal integration at the center of academic research
- ⇒ Economics, political science and law as the main disciplines dealing with European integration

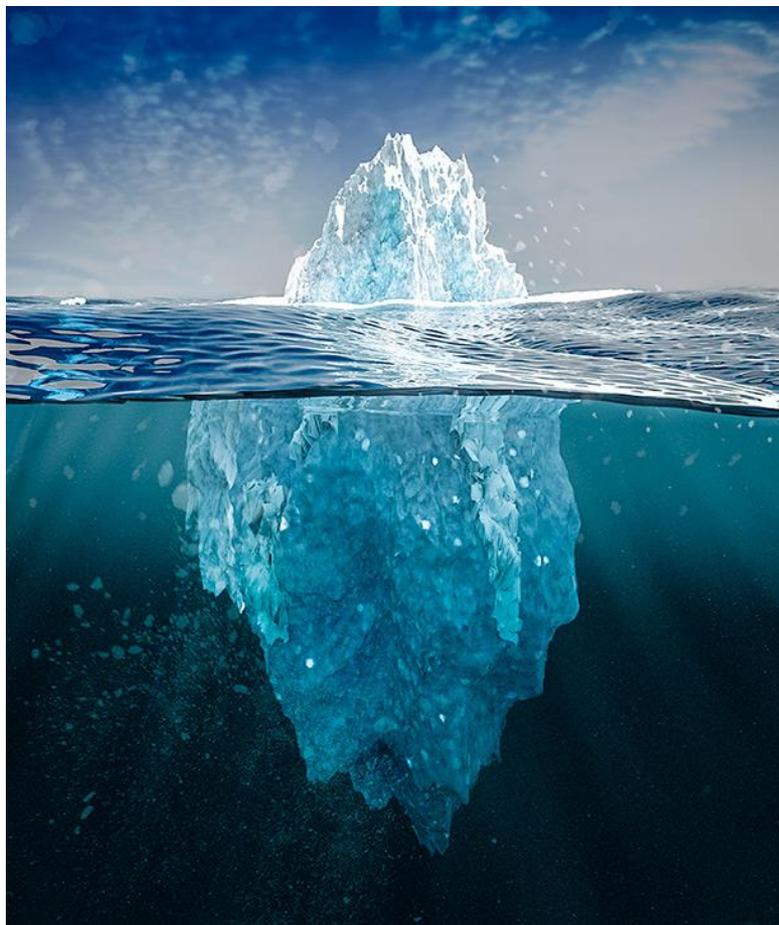
- Since 1990s: first attempts to analyze European integration and its ramifications from a sociological perspective (Lepsius 1991; Münch 1993; Therborn 1995; Crouch 1999)
- Consolidation in the 2000s (Beck und Grande 2004; Fligstein 2008, Mau/Verwiebe 2010, Vobruba 2008, Haller 2009)
- Eurocrisis and the growing visibility of an anti-European political movement have made sociology of Europeanization become more prominent

II. Two concepts of Europeanization

- **Vertical Europeanization:**
Supranationalization of regulatory arenas through political and legal integration („European Integration“)

- **Horizontal Europeanization:** Cross-border interactions between individual countries and their inhabitants

Europe as Iceberg



„Indeed, one could argue that the EU is like an iceberg: what goes on in Brussels is like the 10 per cent above the waterline. But the really interesting story is the 90 per cent that is harder to see, that is below the surface, and reflects how European citizens are interacting with one another in economic, social and political fields outside Brussels“ (Fligstein 2008: 9).

Discussion

- Q: How would you qualify the relationship between vertical and horizontal Europeanization?

Three levels of horizontal Europeanization

■ **Micro level**

- Transnational social networks (family, friendship)
- Intra-European migration
- Student exchanges (ERASMUS programme)
- Tourism
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■ Meso level

- Firm behavior: cross-border trade, joint-ventures, mergers, sub-contracting
- legal form: Societas Europae
- Europe-Professions (e.g. Euro-Lawyer, Accountants, Medical Professions)
- Europe-Wide Civic Associations (professional, scientific, NGOs, organization related to hobbies etc.)

- Interest Organizations (European Trade Union Confederation, Federation of European Employers, European political parties)
- European town twinning
- TV: Arte, Eurosport
- Sports: UEFA etc.

Macro level

- Bilateral and multilateral associations between European countries (e.g. Council of Europe)
- ...

Brief Exercise

1. What can be said about the type of persons who participate in horizontal Europeanization?
2. What can be said about the others?

Ad 1: Who are the Europeans?

10 % exclusively defining themselves as European)

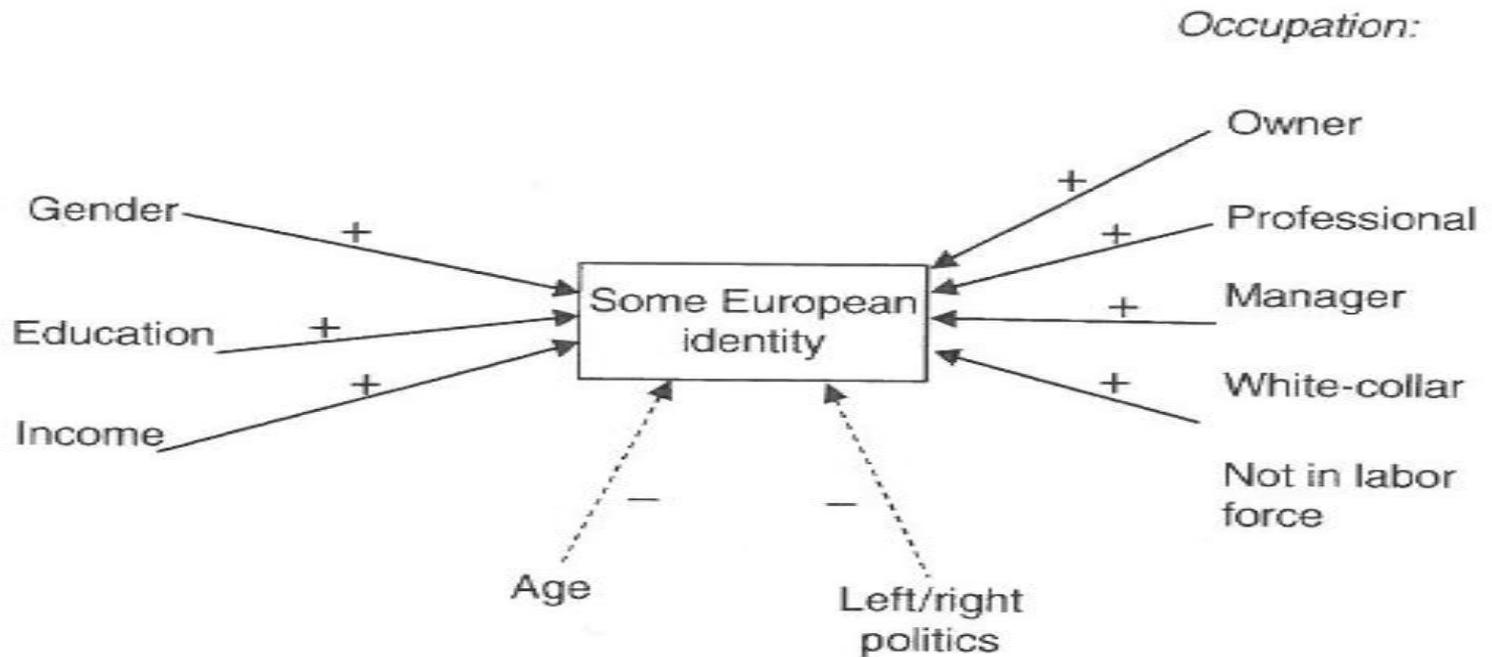


Figure 5.2. Significant predictors of self-perception as 'European.'

Note: Results control for home country.

Source: See Appendix, below.

Source: Fligstein (2008: 146)

Ad. 2. Who are the others?

- 50 percent inconclusive nationalists
- 40 percent of European citizens exclusively identify with their national states (Risse 2010: 49).
- They are usually older, less well educated than „the Europeans“ with lower social status and blue-collar jobs
- => sleeping giant of „anti-EU“ political mobilization

Follow-up question

- How does the socio-economic bias of horizontal Europeanization might affect vertical integration?

Ad 3: Possible consequences for vertical integration?

- Lacking mass support (e.g. constantly declining voter turnout with regard to European elections)
- Large majority of European citizens not represented in Brussels
- Democratic deficit
- Anti-European movement (e.g. nationalistic right wing populism)
- Systematic policy bias towards liberalization
- Growing socio-economic divisions

- Horizontal Europeanization does not necessarily support or accelerate vertical integration.
- By undermining mass support for the European project it might also create a nationalistic countermovement and thereby undermine European integration

II. Income Inequality within Europe

Between-Nation Inequality



Population-Weighted Gini Coefficient in Between-Nation Inequality in GDP per capita, 15 EU nations, 1950–2007

Source: Beckfield (2013: 98)

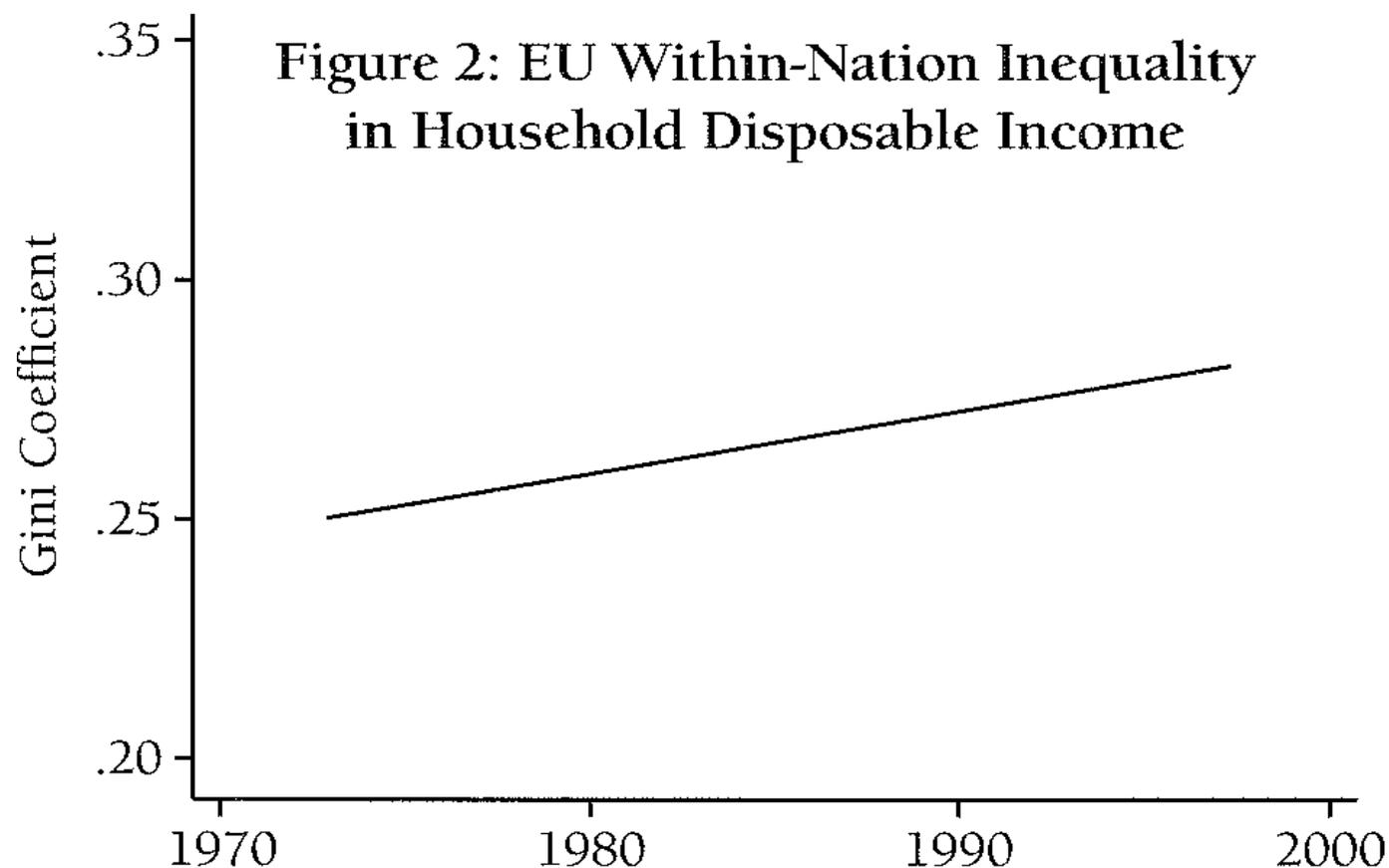
Consequences of between-country convergence

- Southern and northern Member Countries experienced rapid economic growth during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.
- Some of this growth can be attributed to European integration and the increasing trade
- Between-nation differences have become less important.
- Individual-level factors (education, age, sex, occupation) have become more important in explaining socioeconomic inequalities between households than the country households live in.

Brief question

- How would you speculate about the development of total income inequality since 2008 on?

Within-nation-inequality



Source: Beckfield (2013: 96)

More recent trends

- Increasing GINI-index for 15 of 28 member countries between 2008 and 2015.

III. European Fields

- Pierre Bourdieu as intellectual founder of field theory
- A field can be defined as „an arena of social interaction where organized individuals or groups such as interest groups, states, firms, and non-governmental organizations routinely interact under a set of shared understandings about the nature of the goals of the field, the rules governing social interaction, who has power and how actors make sense of one another’s actions“ (Fligstein 2008: 8).
- “a complex and dynamic configuration (...) that consists of actors, institutions, and ideas” (Bernhard 2011)

What do European fields include?

- new social linkages resulting from border-crossing social interactions => distinctive collective actors
- Structured relation between field actors (incumbents and challengers with varying amount of power)
- Field specific type of capital. Distribution of capital constitutes field structure
- Incumbents define hegemonial worldviews and interpretive frameworks
- => Field specific habitus
- Distinctive set of European rules (regulatory structures) governing border crossing action within Europe

=> social practices within the field are (primarily) structured by hegemonial worldview and regulatory structures

Key insights from Field Analysis

- Great deal of contestation involve in processes of horizontal Europeanization
- Not one Europeanization as such, but multiple processes of Europeanization with varying degrees.
- Degree of Europeanisation varies across fields (compare the military field with the financial sector)
- No single European culture but a plurality of different „field cultures“
- European society“ as an ensemble of heterogenous fields which expands hitherto nationally organized arenas and regulatory structures and adds new actors, interests, regulatory structures, and ideas.

- Constant struggle over distribution of (legitimate) power, hegemonial worldview, resources and prestige (“symbolic capital”)
- Coexistence of national fields and (emerging) European field (multiple spatial references)

Typical questions field analysts ask:

- How can the field structure be characterised, both materially and symbolically
- Who are the incumbents and challengers and the actor constellation more broadly?
- What kind of ideas do they promote („conceptions of control“)?
- How has the regulatory structure been changing?
- Into which direction have the prevailing worldview and the meaning actors attach to their action shifted?
- How do vertical and horizontal Europeanization interact with each other?

More questions for advanced field analysts

- Can a fieldspecific habitus be observed?
- How does the creation of a European social field impact national fields?
- What view do the challengers hold (Alternative regulatory ideas?)
- How does the formation of European fields influence vertical integration?
- How do European fields influence each other?

V. Concluding Discussion

■ The dynamics of Europeanization

