

### Summaries

*Christoph Boyer*, Long Trends of Twentieth Century Social Politics in Europe. An Approach

The article examines long trends of the welfare state development in Europe from the late nineteenth century until today. Social policy is part of the answer to the challenges of a developing mass industrial society within the context of a growing intensity of planning, regulating and scientizing the social. Also with regard to previous developments, premises and basic conditions, the article compares two variations of social politics: the democratic, neo-corporate, Keynesian welfare state of Western industrial societies on the one hand and the social politics of state-socialist systems on the other. After 1989, the ›Eastern‹ way opened out into the ›Western‹ way. The Western model of the welfare state, allegedly history's winner, is heading towards a serious crisis within the context of the change from a Fordist industrial society to a society based on ›electronic services‹ and amidst ongoing globalisation.

*Jost Dülffer/Anja Kruke*, From the History of European Integration to the Social History of Europe after 1945

The article analyses the difficulties historians face in writing a European Social History. It starts with the observation that the history of institutions of European integration has been studied intensively only in the last thirty years. But in doing so, many studies have, on the one hand, been focussed mainly on political history which has been expanding just recently. On the other hand, the narratives of success about the process of integration as being permanently expanding, consolidating or accelerating have become questionable. This article attempts to outline the different configurations of the historical space of Western and Eastern Europe and to define the different historiographical narratives and their underlying structures. At the same time, it raises the question if and to what extent a European Social History might already be starting to develop, and how it is or could be shaped. For that purpose, findings from different social fields and sectors are examined. Finally, systematic approaches from the political and social sciences are included and tested for their compatibility with a historical approach. The result is a broad panorama of the Social History of Europe after 1945 building on the existing fragments which still have to be elaborated further.

*Thomas Fetzer*, Europeanization and ›Nationalisation‹. Trade Union Policy at Ford (1967–1989)

The article contributes to research into European trade unions. It builds on modern approaches to conceptualize a ›Europe in the making‹ and analyses German trade union politics at Ford between 1967 and 1989 based on these approaches. Since 1967, Europe has emerged as a space of experiences for trade union working at the Ford motor company, just as the corporate structures and strategies were Europeanized by setting up the holding company ›Ford of Europe‹. However, this process was accompanied by the ›nationalisation‹ of patterns of perception and procedure. On the one hand, Europe was seen as an area of competition where German factories had to compete against other European Ford companies. On the other hand, Europeanization seemed to threaten German traditions of industrial relations. The article observes the parallel process of Europeanization and ›nationalisation‹ and its changes between the late 1960s and the late 1980s. Its final part gives a brief outlook on the 1990s and discusses some further questions which the study

has raised regarding the trade union research and, more generally, regarding European contemporary history.

*Andreas Fickers*, *Eventing Europe. European Television and Media History as Contemporary History*

The article aims at presenting television as a subject of study which is not only methodologically sophisticated but also highly relevant, in terms of its impact on society, for a European contemporary history. First, television is theoretically conceptualised as »flow« and »dispositif«. Then different perspectives for a comparative and transnational media history in Europe are elaborated and examined in terms of their relevance for a European contemporary history in general. The development of the infrastructure of European television during the 1950s, which is described in detail, exemplifies the complex mesh of technical, institutional and symbolic factors in the process of a developing communication space in Europe. Beside infrastructural and institutional aspects, which played a significant role in integrating and fragmenting European television, the process of circulation and acquisition will be analysed from the perspective of a transnational cultural transfer. Finally, the article suggests a closer look at the spatial dimension of trans- and inter-media processes within the development of spaces of experience and participation conveyed by the media.

*Wolfram Kaiser/Christian Salm*, *Transition and Europeanization in Spain and Portugal. Social Democratic and Christian Democratic Networks in the Transition from Dictatorship to Parliamentary Democracy*

Whereas the historiography on the current European Union still focuses on the state, the societal history of Europe since 1945 has scarcely dealt with transnational dimensions or shown much interest in the process of integration. Influenced by modern social science approaches to study the EU Eastern enlargement as a process of a comprehensive »Europeanization« of Europe, this article addresses transnational political networks and their importance in terms of the socialisation of the elites in Spain and Portugal in the transition from dictatorship to parliamentary democracy, a process which finally facilitated the EEC accession of both states in 1986. In this context, networks by Social Democratic and Christian Democratic political parties and foundations are compared. Such an approach enables to develop some preliminary hypotheses regarding the conditions for the formation of transnational networks as well as regarding a successful socialisation and »Europeanization« within the integration process not only as a political and institutional but also as a social phenomenon. This result is shown by comparing the two types of parties on the one hand and the EEC Southern enlargement and the EU Eastern enlargement in a diachronic perspective on the other.

*Christopher Kopper*, *A Comparative History of Mass Tourism in Europe from the 1930s to the 1980s. Germany, France and the United Kingdom in Comparison*

Although West German, French and British societies have emerged as societies with a touristic mass consumption since 1945, the paths of this development and influencing factors differed substantially. Unlike the market-driven societies in the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic, the starting impetus in France was the introduction of a statutory minimum vacation period which was followed by the public funding of social tourism. Also the emerging key destinations and types of holidays differed significantly between the three countries. Unlike in Great Britain and in Germany, the French preferred to spend their holidays with relatives and friends and in their home country, even until today. The

national rural-urban gap in terms of touristic consumption has been for a long time more important than the international differences of the intensity of travelling.

*Thomas Mergel*, *The Longing for Similarity and the Experience of Diversity. Perspectives for a European Societal History of the Twentieth Century*

The article evaluates the possibilities of writing a European Societal History of the twentieth century which transcends the bloc frontiers and regional differences. The longing for societies which are homogenous and characterised by unambiguous affiliations was a characteristic feature for both dictatorial and democratic systems, although their means to achieve this goal differed substantially. The standardisation of the working environment and of life-courses in terms of education and employment as well as social welfare benefits led towards societies of similar individuals. The manifold exclusions such as, for instance, the processes of ethnic segregation which took place in all European societies of the twentieth century, pointed in a similar direction. The comparison with America shows that the concept of similarity is very much a European specific. But this ideal of homogeneity came to an end during the last third of the twentieth century. Policies targeting these similarities seemed to be less and less promising due to the processes of individualisation, the dynamics of capitalism and large migration movements. In addition, perceptions of what constitutes a ›good society‹ changed. The communist societies in Eastern Europe were not able to keep up with these changes in the Western societies. The dictatorial regimes in Eastern Europe finally failed due to the ideal of similarity, which was inherent to communism. Yet it is important to recognise that the policy of homogeneity has not become obsolete on other levels. Particularly at the level of the EU, some attempts of standardisation are recognisable which perpetuate in some respects the older national state policies.

*Patrick Pasture*, *Religion in Contemporary Europe. Contrasting Perceptions and Dynamics*

Firstly, this article critically reviews Europe's self-perception as a secular continent that has been able to overcome its innate diversity by developing tolerance. It identifies this self-perception as a secularist myth which not only ignores the impact Christian churches had on modern European societies, but also disregards the totalitarian tendencies within European modernity. However, postwar Europe transformed fundamentally, as the social and religious structures inherited from the late nineteenth century disintegrated. A new socio-religious landscape arose, which appears fundamentally fluid as individuals become masters of their own religious identity and blur the traditional boundaries not only between denominations, but also between the sacred and the secular. This situation, paradoxically, may generate new forms of stability, incidentally not only fundamentalistic ones.

Secondly, the article briefly discusses the significance of European integration for the religious identity of Europe, raising the question of convergence. In addition, it argues to discuss European contemporary history in a more global perspective which should include Europe's colonial past.

*Kiran Klaus Patel*, *Integration as Transnationalisation or Europeanization? The Federal Republic in the Agrarian Integration of the EEC until the mid-1970s*

Using the example of the agrarian integration in the EEC, the article applies the recent debates about transnational history to the European unification process during the second half of the twentieth century. More precisely, it analyses the specific transnational inte-

grations which developed in the field of agrarian policies for the Federal Republic within the process of the European integration. Secondly, it discusses if and to what extent these policies can be considered as a process of Europeanization. Analysing governmental and non-governmental players, in particular the German Farmers' Association, the article points out numerous forms of opposition in the Federal Republic against supranational integration. It also shows how the term of Europeanization can be used within research into contemporary history.

*Helke Rausch*, Prescribed Knowledge? American Research Funding in Germany and France after 1945. An Example of a Transnational Comparative History of Science (and Knowledge)

The comparative analysis of transnational scientific contacts and transfers is a promising possibility to study European Societal History as Contemporary History. Europe appears here as a dynamic, heterogeneous and open knowledge space, which is at the same time also dominated by power relations. This central aspect is shown in two transfer situations which are selected for comparison. They resulted from the intensive engagement of larger American foundations, particularly the Rockefeller foundation in Germany and France during the first years after the Second World War. First, the constellation of a double network is methodologically reflected in brief. After that, it will be related to a broader transatlantic and inner-European history of exchange. Here, the transnational circulation of (social) scientific knowledge emerges as a tense counterpoint to mainly national infrastructures and nationally designed scientific cultures. Finally, the article highlights the contact between US-philanthropists and German and French scientists within their direct general framework which was decidedly national. Hence, both cases of transatlantic contacts after the war were not just social scientific knowledge models subscribed across the Atlantic by the philanthropists. Despite of their extreme advantage of resources, they had to engage in the general framework of different science policies and intellectual patterns as well as in self-interests and intentions of German and French social scientists. In combining the comparative and the transfer perspective including the long period of previous, parallel and opposed dynamics of exchange as well as the impact of the asymmetric distribution of power, new possibilities emerge to establish the concept of a European Social History as a history of the circulation of scientific knowledge relevant to society.

*Friederike Sattler*, European Business Elites? Corporate Structures, Social Profiles, and Mission Statements during a Period of Accelerating Change since the 1970s

Since the 1970s, the amount of companies which are based in Europe and operate at an inter- and transnational level has increased substantially. Hence, one can assume that transnational business elites, either European or global, have also evolved in the meantime. Are these European business elites then just about to extricate themselves from the context of their national societies? To answer this question the article starts from the assumption that the third – the electronic-digital – industrial revolution caused a change not only within the corporate and Keynesian organised welfare states of Western Europe, but also within the centrally controlled state-socialist economies of East Central Europe. This change had a strong impact on corporate structures, social profiles and mission statements of the business elites. The article looks at the basic differences, but also at similarities which until now have hardly been taken into account and which are to be observed beyond the political threshold of the year 1989. Finally, it discusses if indeed a new type of transnational business elites in Europe has emerged and which concepts of functional, position or power elites are qualified to characterise and analyse them.

*Imke Sturm-Martin*, Convergence within Diversity. European Societies and New Forms of Immigration since the Second World War

Migration has substantially altered European societies during the twentieth century. During this period of time, Europe has changed from a continent characterised by emigration to one characterised by immigration. The article examines to which extent a European perspective regarding the process of migration since the period of growth during the last half of the century is possible altogether, where national characteristics are to be located and how a European chronology of migration could be defined. Whereas the situation of immigrated minorities as well as the reactions of the receiving societies are at present very similar in numerous European countries, substantial national differences were dominating when Europe began to evolve into a target region of global migration. France and Great Britain were the first countries to be confronted with non-European immigration. They charted a different course regarding their immigration and minority policies. At the same time, most of the other European countries were involved in a system of employing migrant workers which lasted more than two decades, either as sending or as receiving countries. It was not until the 1970s, that the imperial inheritance became less important, when the Europeanization of the migration process started to accelerate significantly at the same time as the Europeanization of European societies.

*Guido Thiemeyer*, The Integration of the Danube Shipping as an Issue of European Contemporary History

The article deals with the political, economic and social integration of inland navigation on the Danube which has hardly been taken into account by historians. Using this example, it develops three core points. Firstly, European contemporary history remains incomplete when limited to the period after 1945. The economic and social integration of Europe in terms of the alignment and interrelation of European societies started in the middle of the nineteenth century and was interrupted by the two world wars (1914–1945). Secondly, the strict separation between a political, a social-economic and a cultural sphere which is common in historiography can not be sustained. Only in observing the interrelations between these three dimensions, one can approach the very core of European history. Thirdly, European contemporary history is well advised to take into account that there was indeed a process of integration taking place between the two blocs between 1945 and 1990 despite of the separation of Europe during the East-West conflict. Research on this matter is still in its infancy.

*Frank Trentmann*, The Long History of Contemporary Consumer Society. Chronologies, Practices, and Politics in Modern Europe

This article challenges conventional histories which present »consumer society« as a recent break with modern class society in the age of affluence after the Second World War. Such stage theories are problematic. Drawing on a mix of empirical and interdisciplinary studies, the article explores the longer history of consumption, transnational flows, and internal diversification. Alongside choice and commodities, it emphasizes the role of routines and everyday practices for the development of consumption, East and West. Consumer cultures have been and remain diverse. Older theories, from Veblen to Adorno and Bourdieu, no longer offer satisfactory approaches. For historians, there is much to gain from giving greater attention to differences within as well as between societies, to generational change and temporal dynamics, and to the use of things.

*Kerstin von Lingen*, Experience and Remembrance. Founding Myth and Self-Concept of Societies in Europe after 1945

National identity is based on dealing with historical experiences and their interpretation. The article shows that political decisions are highly legitimised and ramified by the constructions of identity. For that purpose, it describes how the European countries dealt with the experiences and legacies of the Second World War, with the political processes of transformation in the context of the beginning Cold War as well as with the internal discussions within national societies about guilt and atonement and about the reorientation of the state after the war.

First of all, it offers an introduction to the theory of remembrance. Using a variety of examples, it then demonstrates how different European countries dealt with the war experiences after 1945. In doing so, it refers to the formation of a founding myth in the post-war European states and how this myth became firmly established in the experience of war and occupation. Particularly in the countries of the Eastern Bloc, specific distortions are to be observed, because the two periods of state transformation – one after 1945, the other one after 1990 – allowed different views of the Second World War. A few years ago, the social debates about how to deal with national founding myths and their modifications due to the discussions about still suppressed war experiences have shifted to an international level, especially since the conference in Stockholm in 2000. The concept of ›remembrance‹ has more and more become a reference to a mandatory and global canon of values. In particular, the reference to Nazism as ›the evil‹ par excellence has become the driving point for future joint action as well as for a reconciliatory gesture across the graves and towards the surviving victims.

*Benjamin Ziemann*, A Quantum of Solace? European Peace Movements during the Cold War and their Elective Affinities

The article discusses the European dimension of antinuclear protests in Europe during the Cold War. In conceptual terms, explanations of peace movement mobilisation during the early 1980s as result of a value change to post-materialist values are criticised. Contrary to this interpretation, peace activists, in particular women's peace protests, stressed the material shortcomings they faced as a result of expenditure on nuclear armaments. In terms of their European character, antinuclear activists during the first mobilisation wave until 1963 developed substantial transnational contacts, but kept an orientation towards their nation as an identity space. During the campaign against the Euromissiles in the early 1980s, an increasingly dense network of elective affinities according to – for instance – denomination or professional expertise emerged. Attempts to connect peace activists on both sides of the Iron Curtain in a ›détente from below‹, however, were hampered by practical problems and divergent perceptions of the political situation. Even while movement activists interacted and coordinated their efforts across national borders, they did not simply merge into a European civil society. Antinuclear peace movement activists, the article argues, did not constitute a European subject.