Economic growth and job creation have been the main priority in the European Union for the past fifteen years. Globalization and technological change pose challenges to the structure of European economies, which need to be reformed to become more innovative and flexible. To this end, the European Union has introduced a ‘soft-law’ process titled the European Employment Strategy (EES). The aim of this is to promote employment levels by reducing Passive Labor Market Policies (primarily social welfare) while increasing Active Labor Market Policies (ALMPs).

Since social welfare and employment policies are still under the jurisdiction of member states, there has been intense interest among researchers regarding the impact of this ‘soft law’ on actual policy implementation. Have European Union member states adopted active labor market policies in line with the EES? Some scholars have found that the EES has contributed to shifts from Passive to Active Labour Market policies through mutual learning and peer review programs. However, in my project, the research for which was completed with support from the European Union Center of Excellence/European Studies Center, continued on page 4.
Chad Damro, who received his PhD in Political Science from the University of Pittsburgh in 2002, has been selected for a prestigious Fernand Braudel Senior Fellowship at the European University Institute in Florence for the 2013-14 school year. As a Braudel Fellow, he will expand upon his recent conceptualization of the European Union as a Market Power Europe, exploring the conditions under which the European Union attempts to externalize its market-related policies and regulations. In addition to being a Senior Lecturer of Politics and International Relations, Damro is the Jean Monnet Chair, Head of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, and Co-Director of the Europa Institute at the University of Edinburgh. He is a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe and has held visiting posts at numerous universities in Europe and the United States. He also is a research member of the FP7 MERCURY project on Multilateralism and the EU, as well as the TRANSWORLD project on Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship.

On Jan. 22, the EUCE/ESC continued its monthly virtual roundtable series, Conversations on Europe, with a video conference devoted to “The Next Member State: Croatia’s Path to European Union.” Dr. Andrew Konitzer (left), Associate Director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies (REES) at the University of Pittsburgh, moderated the Conversation. Robert M. Hayden (center), Professor of Anthropology and Director of REES, was one of four participating scholars. Other experts included Natasa Besirevic, Professor of Political Science at the University of Zagreb; Laura Hastings, Interim Director of the Global Studies degree major at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and Dominik Tolkisdorf, the Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellow for International Relations and Security at Johns Hopkins University. The Conversation also featured audience participation from students and faculty at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, University of Washington, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Pittsburgh.

On Dec. 3, the European Union Center of Excellence/European Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh hosted 135 students from 11 area high schools for the seventh annual High School Model EU Simulation. The all-day event took place in the Lower Lounge of the William Pitt Union. The High School Model EU Simulation had an agenda filled with issues that are being debated across Europe, including the European Union’s response to the Arab Spring, policies toward Roma, and the EU’s “Democratic Deficit.”
THE ORIGIN AND LEGACY
OF ZWARTÉ PIET

by Karina Goulordava
Fulbright Scholar

Editor’s note: The author graduated from the University of Pittsburgh in 2012, with degrees in Communications-Rhetoric and Spanish. Also fluent in Russian and Arabic, she is a Fulbright Scholar doing independent research on Zwarte Piet in the Netherlands.

The Sinterklaas holiday is celebrated from mid-November to early-December in the Netherlands. This Dutch tradition commemorates Saint Nicholas and Zwarte Piet (Black Peter), Sinterklaas’ African servant. Zwarte Piet originated in 1850, and today the figure is a source of controversy. It also is the focus of my Fulbright research at Utrecht University.

Zwarte Piet is most often played by white Dutch people in blackface makeup. The costume includes a black afro wig, red lipstick, gold earrings, burlap sack, and a 16th century styled hat, collar, shirt, pants and footwear. The holiday begins in mid-November when Sinterklaas and the Zwarte Pieten (plural for Piet) arrive by steamboat to the Netherlands and stay until December 5, Sinterklaas’ birthday. The history and present day celebration of this tradition bring about questions of Zwarte Piet’s connection to the legacy of slavery and the value of the racialized, Black body in the Netherlands.

In December 2010, “Stuff Dutch People Like,” a blog summarizing aspects of Dutch traditions, listed Zwarte Piet as its sixteenth most popular item. In a five paragraph summary on the website, the origin of Zwarte Piet is described as unclear. This is followed by 57 pages of reader comments arguing the figure’s origin. Theories include a devil figure tamed by Sinterklaas, a warrior of the Germanic gods Wodan and Odin, a Moorish sailor, and an enslaved boy saved by Sinterklaas. For the purpose of my research, the exact origins are not important but rather why the present day Zwarte Piet is a stereotyped caricature, and how this developed. In 1850, Zwarte Piet first appeared in Sint Nikolaas en Zijn Knecht (St. Nicholas and His Servant), a children’s book authored by Dutch schoolteacher Jan Schenkman. In my work, I analyze two areas of Zwarte Piet’s origin: first, the linkage between the significance of the color black, and his African heritage;

Continued on Page 6
UPCOMING GRANT AND FELLOWSHIP DEADLINES

KLINZING GRANT COMPETITION
The EUCE/ESC is proud to announce competitions for the Klinzing Grant for Dissertation Research and the Klinzing Grant for Pre-Dissertation Research. Grants are meant to facilitate graduate study on topics related to post-World War II European Integration. Students can apply to one grant, but not both. Applications for both grants can be found at http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce. For more information, please contact EUCE/ESC Associate Director Allyson Delnore at adelnore@pitt.edu. Deadline: March 1, 2013.

EU STUDIES PROGRAM IN BRUSSELS
The EU Studies Summer Program in Brussels at the Institute for European Studies Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) offers U.S. and Canadian students the opportunity to study the emergence of a united Europe in its dynamic core. All upper-level undergraduate students with an interest in the European Union enrolled in degree programs at U.S. and Canadian universities are eligible. For more information on the program and application instructions please visit: jsis.washington.edu/euc/Brussels/. All University of Pittsburgh undergraduate students who apply for the program will also be considered for a partial scholarship (approximately $2,000.00). To apply for the scholarship, please contact EUCE/ESC Assistant Director Steve Lund (slund@pitt.edu). Deadline: March 1, 2013.

UCIS HEWLETT INTERNATIONAL GRANT PROGRAM, SPRING 2013
This program helps Pitt faculty in the development or completion of an international project, or helps to support presentations at international conferences or symposia. This deadline relates to projects that will occur in spring 2013 through summer 2013. For more information, visit http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/main/hewlett. Deadline: February 28, 2013.

Continued from Page 1
I fail to find any such effects. Instead, I discover that the best explanatory factor for understanding the adoption of ALMP policies in Europe is the professional background of cabinet ministers.

In my paper, which I presented with the help of the EUCE/ESC at two different international conferences in March and June of 2012, I proposed a novel theoretical argument that rests on the transformation of social democratic parties in Europe through the recruitment of cabinet ministers. Social democratic parties do not uniformly adopt employment policies espoused by the European Union and the EES. Instead, social democratic parties vary significantly in the pace at which they adjust to new policy paradigms. For example, while Danish and Dutch social democratic parties espoused ‘third-way’ policies in the mid- to late nineties, those in Spain, Italy and Greece did not. In my paper, I explain this lack of convergence on the basis of the ideological profile of social democrat cabinet ministers and the individual ministers’ propensity to adopt EES policy recommendations on the basis of their past professional experience.

The following example is illustrative. Oskar Lafontaine, Germany’s Finance Minister from 1998-99, was a traditional social democrat, positioned at the left of Germany’s Social Democratic Party (SPD). He was ideologically closer to the trade unions on issues of labor market reform than to his prime minister, Gerhard Schroeder. He clashed with Chancellor Schroeder and other cabinet ministers over economic policy and particularly over taxing the energy industry.

Continued on Page 7
This month, EUCE/ESC Newsletter Editor Gavin Jenkins had the opportunity to interview alumnus Matthew Keller (pictured above with the Vaduz Castle, home of the Princely Family of Liechtenstein, in the background). Keller is the Chief Political Advisor and Director of Communications for the Embassy of Liechtenstein in Washington, D.C. In 2002, Keller earned a master’s degree from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA) and a Certificate in Western European Studies from the EUCE/ESC. He has worked as a consultant for Fleishman-Hillard and PrintMedien Trading Corporation, and he was a fellow with the German Parliament. In 1996, he earned his bachelor’s degree in German Studies and International Affairs from Northern Arizona University.

Q: What did you like about the University of Pittsburgh, and how did it help you?

A: I found the classes on EU law fascinating. I also took advantage of GSPIA’s [Washington] D.C. semester. I took a light schedule and did a full-time internship, allowing me to gain great experience and get a head start on the job front.

Q: How did you become the Senior Political Advisor at the Embassy of Liechtenstein?

A: Prior to GSPIA, I had gained experience in Government Relations in Germany. I learned that many of the embassies in D.C. hire locals for things like congressional affairs, public diplomacy, and media relations. The Embassy of Liechtenstein had just opened after I had arrived in D.C. It was a bit of being at the right place at the right time, but with the right qualifications. My job entails building relations with Congress. I meet with Members and their staff to inform them of Liechtenstein’s interests. I work with the State, Treasury, and Justice Departments. My job also includes briefing the Ambassador on current U.S. affairs, speech writing, interacting with the press, and representing Liechtenstein at events in D.C. In the beginning, the biggest challenge was getting my foot in the door. Being fully aware that not many people knew much about Liechtenstein, nor is it on anyone’s top priority list, I had to be diligent in building relations. Nowadays we work to continue the positive momentum we have built up over the last 10 years.

Q: What are some misconceptions about Liechtenstein?

A: Probably the biggest is that Liechtenstein’s economy is entirely comprised of banking. Though Liechtenstein has a vibrant financial sector, the largest contributor to its economy is industry and manufacturing at about 40% of its GDP. Liechtenstein’s financial sector makes up just under 30%. Products from Liechtenstein can be found worldwide. Neutrik is a Liechtenstein company producing audio and video connectors for the entertainment industry. If you are familiar with the construction industry you will know Hilti, a manufacturer of high-end drills and fasteners. Many automobiles made in the U.S. have steering components from ThyssenKrupp Presta. Liechtenstein is also a global leader in the production of dental...
and secondly, the link between the legacy of slavery and Zwarte Piet’s position as a Black servant.

In many cultures that had slavery, the color black signifies evil, death, mystery, and often an overall negative connotation. During European colonization, Africans were portrayed as savages, heathens, devil worshipers, and as lesser beings than their white colonizers and enslavers. These portrayals were necessary to justify mission work, colonization, and enslavement, claiming that colonial work was in the name of God and for the benefit of the colonized. The linkage between Africans and the devil, along with the negative connotations of the color black, may have been additional justification for Schenkman to create the figure of Zwarte Piet with African origins. It is interesting to note that readers of “Stuff Dutch People Like” also saw this connection and further justified that the development of Zwarte Piet from an evil, black or devilish figure through a linear progression that holds no racist origins.

Schenkman’s book was published 13 years prior to the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. The enslavement of Africans created the paradigm of white master/Black servant and placed the Black body in a subordinate position within a larger system of white supremacy. In his book “Black Power,” Richard Wright states, “Slavery was not put into practice because of racial theories; racial theories sprang up in the wake of slavery, to justify it.” Schenkman was reproducing this paradigm. I believe it is fair to speculate that when Schenkman was writing his story and contemplating its characters, it seemed “normal” to place the white man as the master and the Black body as the servant.

The tradition states that Sinterklaas is the Bishop of Turkey who currently lives in Madrid, Spain, with Zwarte Piet. Every year, the arrival of Sinterklaas and the Zwarte Pieten to Amsterdam features several aspects tied to the legacy of slavery. Like Black bodies in 1850, the Zwarte Pieten arrive by boat. Dutch row homes serve as the backdrop as hundreds of onlookers cheer their arrival. The steamboat docks and the Zwarte Pieten parade through the streets of Amsterdam, delivering treats to children and performing acrobatic tricks.

The Netherlands is a country that was thrust into modernity as a result of the riches it acquired through colonization and the enslavement of Africans. Millions of Black bodies perished for the sake of this enrichment.

Amsterdam purchased 1/3 of Suriname, which during slavery had a 95% African population, from the West India Company before the entire Netherlands acquired the colony. Sinterklaas holds a saintly position in the procession through Amsterdam, and this is another continuation of the legacy of slavery. Dressed elegantly, Sinterklaas proudly rides a white horse through the streets, while the Zwarte Pieten entertain the crowd. The crowd is mostly white, and often, a Zwarte Piet comically hurts himself. This act is not met with empathy but with laughter. Thus, the visible splendor of Amsterdam is the result of the coercive and corrupt system of slavery.

A long history of the objectification of racialized Black bodies for the purpose of entertainment exists in both their enslavement and abolition. During enslavement, Black bodies were displayed in zoos and exhibitions for Europeans to analyze and gawk. In the parade, it is considered an honor to play the lead Zwarte Piet, who is constantly at the service of Sinterklaas. Thus, the tradition of Zwarte Piet exists to reproduce the devaluation of the Black body.

Protest actions against the image of Zwarte Piet have existed since the 1960s. However, it is only in the last couple years that a permanent debate has taken shape. This holiday season, a documentary discussing Zwarte Piet was aired on national Dutch television and the debate even took place on the front pages of a major Dutch newspaper. With the ever growing debate, as well as a negative international spotlight, many are starting to believe that Zwarte Piet must undergo a necessary transformation.
At the other end of the ideological spectrum within the SPD stands Schroeder, who was Chancellor from 1998-2005 and one of the architects of ‘third-way’ social democracy. Schroeder was a lawyer by training, and has been attacked for his neoliberal policies regarding taxation and the labor market reforms known as Agenda 2010. Schroeder’s interpretation of best practices for fighting unemployment was closer to the views of economic liberals and the business associations than those of the unions. In his second cabinet, he appointed Wolfgang Clement and Ulla Schmidt, both advocates of ‘third-way’ reforms, as ministers of Economics and Labor and Health and Social Affairs, respectively, to push forward the reforms of Agenda 2010. These reforms, which included the reduction in the level and duration of unemployment insurance payments, especially to older recipients and labor market liberalization, were highly unpopular within the SPD and eventually led to Schroeder’s withdrawal from the party chairmanship.

In my project, I code politicians like Schroeder and Clement as “New Guard Social Democrats”: politicians who have no attachment to the union movement or to traditional social democratic principles, and are ready to experiment with ‘third-way’ proposals that promote individual responsibility over state cushioning in the fight against unemployment. In reality, most ministers do not fit either of these two prototypes, but the idea here is to be able to distinguish between ministers who are committed to the traditional social democracy as it has developed since WWII and those who are open to more ‘technocratic’ ideas and have a more ‘pragmatic’ approach to economic issues.

To test my theoretical proposition empirically, I coded ministers of Social Affairs and of Employment from Europe on the basis of their educational and professional background. I assumed that ministers who had a history in the trade-union movement are more likely to be Old Guard Social Democrats, while ministers with a legal background and a professional career as lawyers are more likely to be New Guard Social Democrats.

Trade unions have traditionally been in favor of more generous welfare states, higher employment protection and investment in vocational training, but not necessarily in favor of subsidized employment in the private or public sector, an important component of ALMPs. A minister with trade union background should be biased in favor of old style social democracy and the policies promoted by trade unions. I expect an Old Guard Social Democrat minister to be a defender of the welfare state and of employment protection and to be less eager to propose ALMPs, especially those that require individual initiative such as subsidies to the private sector. Ministers with a legal background, on the other hand, are more likely to be professional politicians. These Social-democrats should be more open to ‘third-way’ policy prescriptions, since they have no commitment to the trade-union movement and they are also more capable of clashing with the unions.

My sample included 18 parliamentary democracies, 15 of which are in West Europe. Controlling for a number of variables that capture the institutional variation among those countries, I show that Old Guard Social Democrat ministers of Employment have a clear preference for passive labor market policies, such as generous unemployment insurance, over activation-based employment policies, like start-up grants to the unemployed. In contrast, New Guard Social Democrats tend to favor more entrepreneurial active labor market policies over unemployment insurance or employment protection.

I fail to find any statistical evidence that the European Employment Strategy is the main driving force for the adoption of Active Labor Market Policies in Europe. In other words, the minister’s characteristics, whether he is an Old or New Guard Social Democrat, explains the increase in different types of ALMPs, as well as the decrease in passive labor market policies.

The implications of this paper are significant. There is evidence that cabinet ministers’ backgrounds explain variable policy choices across EU countries more than EU level initiatives do. In other words, this project shows that people matter, something that European Union officials already seem to acknowledge, as current events indicate with the Commission’s preference for technocratic finance and prime ministers in Italy and Greece. This finding, in turn, forces us to consider the extent to which ministerial appointments are partly determined by events at the European level. If this was true, then the EU has an indirect effect on policy change through ministerial appointments. It is worth investigating to what extent party leaders are more likely to choose certain types of ministers over others due to policy pressures at the European level. The project in its current state cannot answer this question, but this is research in progress.
products. In all, Liechtenstein provides twice as many jobs as it has inhabitants – over 30,000 within the country and over 30,000 worldwide. That might not seem like much but for a country of only 36,000 people, that's quite significant. With regard to Liechtenstein's financial center, it has gone through extensive reforms over the last 10 years, at times being at the forefront in increasing its transparency having concluded numerous bilateral agreements as well as fulfilling international standards on exchange of information. I would urge your readers to visit www.liechtensteinusa.org to learn more.

**Q:** Tell me about Liechtenstein’s relationship with the European Union, and how do you see it progressing?

**A:** Liechtenstein is a member of the European Economic Area (EEA) which is made up of all EU members plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Simply stated, this gives Liechtenstein member-like status in that it can participate in the common market and free movement of goods but must also abide by many of the EU standards and regulations. Liechtenstein enjoys its relationship with the EU via the EEA. It allows it to be an active member of the European economy but gives it the freedom to be independent of the EU in areas such as fiscal management, tax policy, foreign policy, justice, and home affairs.

**Q:** As a graduate of Pitt’s program, what advice would you give a student who wants to follow a similar career path to yours?

**A:** D.C. offers many unique jobs from a variety of specialized organizations and businesses. Many are not widely advertised, entailing a more hands-on job search. A great resource is dc.linktank.com, which lists nearly every panel discussion and conference. It can be a great way to come into contact with the people and organizations that play a role in the issues you are interested in.

**Q:** What are your career goals?

**A:** I very much enjoy the field of Government Relations. I’m very happy at my current job. Should the time come to move on, I intend on staying in this field.

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