

New Course Proposal

La Follette Masters in International Public Affairs Elective

GOVERNING WORK AND WELFARE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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This course will examine the changing governance of work and welfare in the European Union (EU) as it responds to the twin challenges of globalization and the deepening economic and political integration. Although many commentators speak of a “European Social Model” in opposition to American laissez-faire capitalism, Europe in fact comprises a variety of distinct national employment systems and welfare regimes. In this course, we will map out the diversity of social organization within Europe, comparing governance mechanisms, policy arrangements, and performance across national systems, and contrasting them in turn to those of the United States. Layered upon this rich national variety, the EU has now become a complex, multi-level polity, with an increasingly important role in shaping social and employment policies, in which supranational, national and subnational institutions interact with, compete with and supplement one another. And this new Europe is filled with a wide range of actors, from national states, unions, and employers’ associations, to transnational advocacy networks, a supranational European Commission, and the European Court of Justice, all seeking to determine its evolution. This course will explore how these different institutions and actors fit together and are recasting employment, industrial relations, and social policy at both the European and the national level.

Particular emphasis will be placed on the development within the EU of new approaches to multi-level governance such as the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), which are being applied in areas where some degree of European-wide policy is desired, but where traditional top-down regulation seems inappropriate or unviable. The OMC – whose salient characteristics include use of guidelines and recommendations, integration of actors from multiple policy domains and levels of government, benchmarking and sharing of good practice, mutual agreement on policy goals and multilateral monitoring of implementation, and regular policy review and revision – has been touted as a major breakthrough in EU governance, adding a third option to the binary choice between imposing a single European rule or allowing multiple national rules and thus risking regulatory competition. We will look at the growing use of the OMC and related new governance arrangements in EU social and employment policy, asking why they have emerged, how they operate, what effect they have on national and local policy, and what they mean for European integration.

Class Format: The class will be taught as a seminar, with initial presentations by the instructor during the early weeks of the course, followed by student presentations later in the semester.

Requirements and Grading: All participants will be expected to: 1) take an active part in class discussions; 2) prepare weekly response papers on the required readings (1-2 pages each); 3) lead one seminar discussion; and 4) write a 20-page research paper (typed, double-spaced), on a topic agreed in advance with the instructor and due at the final meeting. Weekly memos, class participation, and the seminar presentations will count together for 50 percent of the final grade. The research paper will count for the remaining 50 percent of the final grade.

Weekly response papers: These are intended to prepare the ground for good discussions by requiring participants to set out their initial responses to the readings in written form. Memos need not summarize the readings as such, but may take up specific arguments, compare the positions of different authors, raise questions of evidence, or draw attention to particular strengths and weaknesses in the texts. We will arrange to share these memos through email, using the class list. In order for everyone to have time to read over others' comments, these will be due on email by 8 p.m. on the day before the class meets.

Reading: All books listed in this syllabus are on reserve in the Helen C. White College Library. A hard copy of all book chapters, journal articles, and unpublished manuscripts will be placed on reserve at the Somers Reference Library on the eighth floor of the Social Science Building. Most required readings will also be available online from the Somers Library's electronic reserves collection or from other websites listed in the syllabus. Students are also expected to monitor current developments in European social and employment policy by reading publications such as the *Financial Times* (searchable through LEXIS-NEXIS in the UW Electronic Library).

The following required books will be available for student purchase at the University Book Store and at the Underground Textbook Exchange (664 State St.):

Jonathan Zeitlin and David Trubek (eds.), *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Peter Auer, *Employment Revival in Europe: Labour Market Success in Austria, Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands*, Geneva: International Labour Office, 2000.

Robert R. Geyer, *Exploring European Social Policy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.

Online Resources: Students should also become familiar with some of the abundant resources available on the web for researching the topics covered in this course. Among the most useful:

The European Commission's Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/index_en.htm and http://europa.eu.int/comm/dgs/employment_social/index_en.htm

European Industrial Relations Observatory On-line, <http://www.eiro.eurofound.ie/>

The European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), <http://www.etuc.org/ETUI/>

The UW-Madison EU Center Online Research Forum on the Open Method of Coordination, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/index.htm> (password available from the instructor).

The European Research Papers Archive, <http://eiop.or.at/erpa/>

The European Policy Centre, <http://www.theepc.net/home.asp>.

EUobserver.com, <http://www.euobserver.com/index.phtml>.

Seminar Topics and Readings

A. Introduction to Social Europe

1. General Introduction to the Course

2. Social Europe: Challenges of Globalization and Integration

Streeck, Wolfgang, 1996: “Neo-Voluntarism: A New European Social Policy Regime?”, in: Gary Marks et al., *Governance in the European Union*, London: Sage, pp. 64-94.

Rhodes, Martin, 1998: “Defending the Social Contract: The EU between Global Constraints and Domestic Imperatives”, in: David Hine and Hussein Kassim (eds.), *Beyond the Market: The EU and National Social Policy*, London: Routledge, pp. 36-59.

Martin, Andrew, and George Ross, 1999: “Europe’s Monetary Union: Creating a Democratic Deficit?”, *Current History*, April: 171-5.

Ebbinghaus, Bernhard, 1999: “Does a European Social Model Exist and Can It Survive?”, in: Gerhard Huemer, Michael Mesch, and Franz Traxler (eds.), *The Role of Employer Associations and Labour Unions in the EMU: Institutional Requirements for European Economic Policies*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 1-30.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2003: “Introduction: Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments”, in: Jonathan Zeitlin and David Trubek (eds.), *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-30.

3. Governing Europe’s Multi-Level Polity

Wallace, Helen, and William Wallace (eds.) 2001: *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, chs. 1-3 (“The Institutional Setting”, “The Policy Process”, and “Analysing and Explaining Policies”), pp. 3-81.

Cram, Laura, 2001: “Integration Theory and the Study of the European Policy Process: Towards a Synthesis of Approaches”, in: Jeremy Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 2nd ed., London: Routledge, pp. 51-73.

Pierson, Paul, 1996: “The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis”, *Comparative Political Studies* 29(2): 123-63.

Scharpf, Fritz, 1996: “Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States”, in: Gary Marks et al., *Governance in the European Union*, London: Sage, pp. 15-39.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 2001: “Multi-Level Governance in Europe”, in Hooghe and Marks, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1-32.

B. Work and Welfare at the National Level

4. Varieties of National Industrial Relations Systems

Hyman, Richard and Anthony Ferner, 1998: “Introduction: Towards European Industrial Relations?”, in: Anthony Ferner and Richard Human (eds.), *Changing Industrial Relations in Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. xi-xxvi.

Visser, Jelle, 1996: “Traditions and Transitions in Industrial Relations: A European View”, in: Joris van Ruysseveldt and Jelle Visser (eds.), *Industrial Relations in Europe: Traditions and Transitions*, London: Sage, pp. 1-41.

Crouch, Colin, 1996: “Revised Diversity: From the Neo-Liberal Decade to Beyond Maastricht”, in van Ruyssefeldt and Visser, *Industrial Relations in Europe*, pp. 358-75.

5. Varieties of National Welfare Regimes

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta, 1996: *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies*, London: Sage, chs. 1-3 (Esping-Andersen, “After the Golden Age”; Stephens, “The Scandinavian Welfare States”; Esping-Andersen, “Welfare States without Work”, pp. 1-87.

Ferrera, Maurizio, 1997: “The Four ‘Social Europes’: Between Universalism and Selectivity”, in: Yves Mény and Martin Rhodes (eds.), *The Future of Welfare in Europe: A New Social Contract?*, New York: St. Martins, pp. 81-96.

Lewis, Jane, 1992: “Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 2(3): 159-73.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta, 1999: *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 5 (“Comparative Welfare Regimes Re-examined”), pp. 73-94.

C. Work and Welfare at the European Level

6. Social Policy

Leibfried, Stephan, and Paul Pierson, 2001: “Social Policy: Left to Courts and Markets?”, in Wallace and Wallace, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, pp. 267-292.

- Falkner, Gerda, 1999: “European Social Policy: Towards Multi-Level and Multi-Actor Governance”, in: Beate Kohler Koch and Rainer Eising (eds.), *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, London: Routledge, pp. xx-xx, online at <http://www.mpi-fg-koeln.mpg.de/people/gf/GFKohlerChap5.pdf>.
- Jensen, Carsten Strøby, 2000: “Neofunctionalist Theories and the Development of European Social and Labour Market Policy”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(1): 71-92.
- Ferrera, Maurizio, 2003: “European Integration and National Social Sovereignty: Changing Boundaries, New Structuring?”, *Comparative Political Studies* 36(6): 611-52.
- Geyer, Robert, 2000: *Exploring European Social Policy*, Cambridge: Polity, chs. 1-2, 6, pp. 11-57, 129-55.

7. Gender Equality

- Ostner, Ilona, and Jane Lewis, 1995: “Gender and the Evolution of European Social Policies”, in: Stephan Leibfried and Paul Pierson (eds.), *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration*, Washington, DC: Brookings, pp. 159-93.
- Mazey, Sonia, 1998: “The European Union and Women’s Rights: From the Europeanisation of National Agendas to the Nationalisation of a European Agenda?”, in: Hine and Kassim, *Beyond the Market*, pp. 134-55.
- Neilson, June, 1998: “Equal Opportunities for Women in the European Union: Success or Failure?”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 8(1): 64-79.
- Pollack, Mark A., and Emilie Hafner-Burton, 2000: “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(3): 432-56.
- Geyer, *Exploring European Social Policy*, ch. 5, pp. 104-28.
- European Commission, 2001: *Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union, Annual Report 2002*,. http://europa.eu.int/urlex/pri/en/dpi/rpt/doc/2003/com2003_0098en01.doc (selections).

8. Industrial Relations

- Streeck, Wolfgang, 1998: “The Internationalization of Industrial Relations in Europe: Prospects and Problems”, *Politics & Society* 26(4): 429-459.
- Falkner, Gerda, 2000: “The Council or the Social Partners? EC Social Policy Between Diplomacy and Collective Bargaining”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(5): 705-24.
- Jensen, Carsten Strøby et al., 1999: “Phases and Dynamics in the Development of EU Industrial Relations Regulation”, *Industrial Relations Journal* 30(2): 118-34.

Martin, Andrew and George Ross, 1999: "In the Line of Fire: The Europeanization of Labor Representation", in: Martin and Ross (eds.), *The Brave New World of European Labor: European Trade Unions at the Millennium*, New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 312-67.

Marginson, Paul and Keith Sisson, 2002: "European Industrial Relations: A Case of Convergence and Divergence?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 671-92.

Hoffmann, Jürgen et al., 2002: *The Europeanisation of Industrial Relations in a Global Perspective: A Literature Review*, Dublin/Luxembourg: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions/Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, ch. 3, pp. 45-87,
<http://www.eurofound.eu.int/publications/files/EF02102EN.pdf>.

D. Confronting the Challenges of Work and Welfare in 21st Century Europe

9. European Labor Markets in the American Mirror: Social Protection vs. Job Creation?

Siebert, Horst, 1997: "Labor Market Rigidities: At the Root of Unemployment in Europe", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11(3): 37-54.

Nickell, Stephen, 1997: "Unemployment and Labor Market Rigidities: Europe versus North America", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11(3): 55-74.

Iversen, Torben, and Anne Wren, 1998: "Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy", *World Politics* 50: 507-46.

Scharpf, Fritz, 2001: "Employment and the Welfare State: A Continental Dilemma", in: Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Philip Manow, eds., *Comparing Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy and Political Economy in Europe, Japan and the USA*, London: Routledge, pp. 270-83.

Ganssmann, Heiner, 2000: "Labor Market Flexibility, Social Protection and Unemployment", *European Societies* 2(3): 243-269.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta, and Marino Regini (eds.) 2000: *Why Deregulate Labour Markets?*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chs. 1 (Regini, "The Dilemmas of Labour Market Regulation"), 3 –4 (Esping-Andersen, "Who Is Harmed by Labour Market Regulations" and "Regulation and Context"), pp. 11-29, 66-112.

Freeman, Richard B., 2000: "Single-Peaked vs. Diversified Capitalism: The Relation Between Economic Institutions and Outcomes", National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 7556, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w7556>.

10. National Social Pacts and the Resurgence of Concertation

Rhodes, Martin, 2001: "The Political Economy of Social Pacts: 'Competitive Corporatism' and European Welfare Reform", in: Paul Pierson (ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 165-94.

Rhodes, Martin, 2003: "National 'Pacts' and EU Governance in Social Policy and the Labor Market", in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy*, pp. 129-57.

Ebbinghaus, Bernhard, 2001: "Reforming the Welfare State through 'Old' or 'New' Social Partnerships?", in: Carsten Kjaergaard and Sven-Åge Westphalen (eds.), *From Collective Bargaining to Social Partnerships: New Roles of the Social Partners in Europe*. Copenhagen: The Copenhagen Centre, pp. 103-120.

Fajertag, Giuseppe, and Philippe Pochet (eds.), 2000: *Social Pacts in Europe: New Dynamics*, Brussels: European Trade Union Institute/European Social Observatory, pp. 9-112, 365-417.

11. Recalibrating European Welfare States and Labor Markets

Ferrera, Maurizio and Anton Hemerijck, 2003: "Recalibrating Europe's Welfare Regimes", in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy*, pp. 88-128.

Samek Lodovici, Manuela, 2000: "The Dynamics of Labor Market Reform in European Countries", in: Esping-Andersen and Regini, *Why Deregulate Labour Markets?*, pp. 30-65.

Auer, Peter, 2000: *Employment Revival in Europe: Labour Market Success in Austria, Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands*, Geneva: International Labour Office, chs. 1-4 ("Introduction", "Employment, Unemployment, Inactivity", "Reasons for Success", and "General Conclusions"), pp. 1-101.

Levy, Jonah, 1999: "Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe", *Politics and Society* 27(2): 239-273.

Streeck, Wolfgang, 2001: "High Equality, Low Activity: The Contribution of the Social Welfare System to the Stability of the German Collective Bargaining Regime", EUI Working Papers, RSC No. 2001/06, http://www.iue.it/RSC/WP-Texts/01_06.pdf.

Hemerijck, Anton, and Visser, Jelle, 2003: "Policy Learning in European Welfare States", unpublished paper.

12. The European Employment Strategy: A Governance Breakthrough?

- Trubek, David, and James Mosher, 2003: “New Governance, EU Employment Policy, and the European Social Model”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare*, pp. 33-58.
- Goetschy, Janine, 2003: “The European Employment Strategy, Multi-level Governance, and Policy Coordination”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare*, pp. 59-87.
- Jacobsson, Kerstin, 2002: “Soft Regulation and the Subtle Transformation of States: The Case of EU Employment Policy”, SCORE (Stockholm Center for Organizational Research) Working Paper no. 2002-4, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EES/Jacobsson2002-4.pdf>.
- Rubery, Jill, 2002: “Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality in the EU: The Impact of the EU Employment Strategy”, *Industrial Relations Journal* 33(5).
- Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2002: “The Open Method of Coordination and the Future of the European Employment Strategy”, presentation prepared for the mini-hearing of the Employment and Social Affairs Committee of the European Parliament on the first five-year evaluation of the Employment Guidelines. Brussels, 8 July, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EUC/ZeitlinEESpresentation.pdf>.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2002: *Joint Employment Report 2002*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_strategy/report_2002/jer2002_final_en.pdf, esp. pp. 5-57, 104-23.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2002: *Taking Stock of Five Years of the European Employment Strategy*, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2002/com2002_0416en01.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2003: *The Future of the European Employment Strategy*, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/pdf/2003/com2003_0006en01.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2003: *Proposal for a Council Decision on Guidelines for the Employment Policies of the Member States*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_strategy/prop_2003/gl_en.pdf.
- Council of the European Union, 2003: *Guidelines for the Employment Policies of the Member States*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_strategy/report_2002/jer2002_final_en.pdf.

13. Open Coordination and Social Inclusion

Ferrera, Maurizio, Manos Matsaganis, and Stefano Sacchi, 2002: “Open Coordination Against Poverty: The New EU ‘Social Inclusion Process’”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(3): 226-39.

Begg, Iain, and Berghman, Jos, 2002: “EU Social (Exclusion) Policy Revisited?”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(3): 179-94.

Atkinson, Tony, 2002: “Social Inclusion and the European Union”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 625-43.

Armstrong, Kenneth, 2003: “Tackling Social Exclusion through OMC: Reshaping the Boundaries of European Governance”, in: Tanja Börzel and Rachel Cichowski (eds.), *The State of the European Union, vol. 6: Law, Politics, and Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 170-94.

Commission of the European Communities, 2000: *Social Policy Agenda*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/general/com00-379/com379_en.pdf.

Commission of the European Communities and Council of the European Union, 2001: *Joint Report on Social Inclusion*, esp. part I, pp. 1-72, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2001/oct/socincl_report_en.pdf.

Council of the European Union, 2002: *Fight Against Poverty and Social Exclusion: Common Objectives for the Second Round of National Action Plans*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/soc-incl/counciltext_en.pdf.

European Anti-Poverty Network and EURO CITIES, 2003: *The EU Strategy for Social Inclusion: Making It Work at the Local Level*, http://www.eapn.org/docs/reports/Athensreport_en.pdf.

14. Open Coordination and Social Protection

Chassard, Yves, 2002: “European Integration and Social Protection: From the Spaak Report to the Open Method of Co-ordination”, in: David Mayes, Jos Berghman, and Robert Salais (eds.), *Social Exclusion and European Policy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 277-305.

Vandenboucke, Frank, 2002: “Sustainable Social Justice and ‘Open Coordination’ in Europe”, Foreword to Gøsta Esping-Andersen et al. *Why We Need a New Welfare State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. x-xxiv.

Pochet, Philippe, forthcoming: “Pensions: The European Debate”, in: Gordon L. Clark and Noel Whiteside (eds.), *Pension Security in the 21st Century: Redrawing the Public-Private Debate*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/Protection/pochet_ch2.pdf.

- Schludi, Martin, 2003: “Chances and Limitations of ‘Benchmarking’ in the Reform of Welfare State Structures – The Case of Pension Policy”, unpublished paper, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/Protection/schludi.pdf>.
- Baeten, Rita, 2003: “Health Care on the European Political Agenda”, in Chrystophe Degryse and Philippe Pochet (ed.), *Social Developments in the European Union 2002*, Brussels: European Trade Union Institute, European Social Observatory, SALTSA.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2001: *Supporting National Strategies for Safe and Sustainable Pensions through an Integrated Approach*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2002/jan/com2001_723_en.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities and Council of the European Union, 2003: *Joint Report on Adequate and Sustainable Pensions*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/pensions/2003jpr_en.pdf, pp. 1-105.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2001: *The Future of Health Care and Care for the Elderly: Guaranteeing Accessibility, Quality, and Financial Viability*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2002/jan/com2001_723_en.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities and Council of the European Union, 2003: *Joint Report on Supporting National Strategies for the Future of Health Care and Care for the Elderly*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/healthcare/elderly_en.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2003: *Strengthening the Social Dimension of the Lisbon Strategy: Streamlining Open Coordination in the Field of Social Protection*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2003/may/lisbonstratIP280503_en.pdf.
- Social Protection Committee of the European Union, 2003: “Opinion of the Social Protection Committee on the Commission's Communication, *Strengthening the Social Dimension of the Lisbon Strategy: Streamlining Open Coordination in the Field of Social Protection*”.

15. Experimental Governance and the Future of Social Europe

- De la Porte, Caroline, and Pochet, Philippe, 2003: “The OMC Intertwined with the Debates on Governance, Democracy and Social Europe”, report prepared for Frank Vandembroucke, Minister for Social Affairs and Pensions, Belgium, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/delaportePochet.pdf>.
- Sabel, Charles, and Joshua Cohen, 2003: “Sovereignty and Solidarity: EU and US”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare*, pp. 345-75.
- Scharpf, Fritz, 2002: “The European Social Model: Coping with the Challenges of Diversity”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 645-70.

- Héritier, Adrienne, 2003: “New Modes of Governance in Europe: Increasing Political Capacity and Policy Effectiveness?”, in: Börzel and Cichowski, *State of the European Union*, vol. 6, pp. 105-26.
- de Búrca, Gráinne, 2003: “The Constitutional Challenge of New Governance in the European Union”, *European Law Review* 28, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/deburca.pdf>.
- de Búrca, Gráinne, and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2003: “Constitutionalizing the Open Method of Coordination: What Should the Convention Propose?” *CEPS Policy Brief* 31 (March), <http://shop.ceps.be/free/1010.pdf>.
- Sabel, Charles, and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2003: “Active Welfare, Experimental Governance, Pragmatic Constitutionalism: The New Transformation of Europe”, unpublished paper, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EUC/zeitlinSabel3.pdf>.