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Polity-Building and Policy-Making 1958–1992

Edited by
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Polity-Building and Policy-Making 1958–1992

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Portsmouth/Aarhus, July 2012

Abbreviations

ABA	The Danish Labour Movement's Library and Archives, Copenhagen, Denmark
AC	Archivio Confindustria, Rome, Italy
ACDP	Archiv für Christlich-Demokratischen Politik, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, St. Augustin, Germany
ACM	Archive of the Council of Ministers, Brussels, Belgium
ACNFP	Archives of the Conseil National du Patronat Français, Roubaix, France
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific states
AdsD	Archiv der sozialen Demokratie, Bonn, Germany
AJE	Association des juristes européens
ALS	Archive of the Legal Service of the Commission, Brussels, Belgium
AMAEF	Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris, France
AMG	Archive of Michel Gaudet, Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Lausanne, Switzerland
ANF	Archives nationales, Fontainebleau, France
ANMT	Archives nationales du monde du travail, Roubaix, France
ANVER	Archive of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Europees Recht, The Hague, Netherlands
AP	Alianza Popular, Spain
ASM	Archief Sicco Mansholt, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands
ASP	American Selling Price
AUME	Association pour l'union monétaire de l'Europe
AV	Auslandsvertretung
AWS	Archive of Walter Strauss, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich, Germany
BA	Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany
BBU	Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz
BDI	Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie

BDIA	Archive of the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie, Berlin, Germany
Benelux	Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg
BKA	Bruno Kreisky Archive, Vienna, Austria
BUND	Bund für Umwelt- und Naturschutz Deutschland
BVerfG	Bundesverfassungsgericht
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CARAN	Centre d'accueil et de recherche des Archives nationales, Paris, France
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CCP	Common Commercial Policy
CD	Christian Democratic
CDA	Christian Democratic Appeal, Netherlands
CDU	Christian Democratic Union, Germany
CEA	Confédération Européenne de l'Agriculture
CEEP	Centre européen de l'entreprise publique
CEIF	Council of European Industrial Federations
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CEP	Confederation Européenne de l'Industrie de Pâte, Papiers et Cartons
CET	Common External Tariff
CLONG	NGO–EU Liaison Committee
CM	Archive of the Council of Ministers, Brussels
CNPF	Conseil National du Patronat Français
COGECA	Comité général des cooperatives agricoles
COPA	Committee of Professional Agricultural Organisations/Comité des organisations professionnelles agricoles
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CRD	Conservative Research Department
CSO	Civil society organizations
CSU	Christian Social Union, Germany
DC	Democrazia Cristiana
DE/CE	Division économique et financière: service de coopération économique
DG	Directorate-General
DG IV	Directorate-General for Competition
DG V	Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs
DG VI	Directorate-General for Agriculture
DG VIII	Directorate-General for Development Aid
DG X	Directorate-General for Information

DG XI	Directorate-General for Environment
DG XVII	Directorate-General for Energy
DREE	Direction des Relations Economiques Extérieures
EADI	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
EC	European Communities
ECFTU	European Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EDC	Equipo Demócratico Cristiano, Spain
EDF	European Development Fund
EDU	European Democratic Union
EEB	European Environmental Bureau
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EP	European Parliament
EPP	European People's Party
ERT	European Round Table of Industrialists
ESC	Economic and Social Committee
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
EUCD	European Union of Christian Democrats
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
Eurelectric	Union of the Electricity Industry
EWC	European Works Councils
FAC	Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FES	Friedrich Ebert Foundation
FIB	Fédérations des Industries Belges
FIDE	Fédération internationale pour le droit européen
FoEE	Friends of the Earth Europe
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
G-77	Group of 77
HAC/HAEC	Historical Archives of the European Commission, Brussels, Belgium
HAEU	Historical Archives of the European Union, Florence, Italy
HSA	Helmut Schmidt Archive, Archiv der sozialen Demokratie, Bonn, Germany

HSS	Hanns Seidel Foundation
ICBP	International Council for Bird Preservation
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ID	Izquierda Democrática, Spain
IFO	Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Germany
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IISH	International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands
IIWG	Inter-Institutional Working Group
ILO	International Labour Organization
IUPN	International Union for the Protection of Nature
JEF	Young European Federalists
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Foundation, St. Augustin, Germany
KDC	Katholiek Dokumentatie Centrum, Nijmegen, Netherlands
LSA	Legal Service Archive, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium
MA	Master of Arts
MAEF	Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, France
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MNC	Multinational Companies
MP	Member of Parliament
MRC	Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, UK
MRP	Mouvement Républicain Populaire, France
NA	The National Archives, Kew, UK
NARA	United States National Archives, College Park, MD, US
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEI	Nouvelles Équipes Internationales
NFU	National Farmers Union, UK
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
NVER	Nederlandse Vereniging voor Europees Recht
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
PAAA	Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin, Germany
PP	Partido Popular, Spain
PS	Parti socialiste, France

PSI	Italian Socialist Party
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid, Netherlands
ROIR	Register of Interest Representatives
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, UK
SAP	Social Democratic Labour Party, Sweden
SATEC	Société d'aide technique et de coopération, France
SEA	Single European Act
SEPC	Service for the Environment and Consumer Protection
SGCI	Secrétariat général du Comité interministériel pour les questions de coopération économique européenne
SI	Socialist International
SIA	Socialist International Archives, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
SID	Society of International Development
SPD	Social Democratic Party, Germany
SPÖ	Socialist Party/Social Democratic Party, Austria
TR	Transparency Register
TUC	Trades Union Congress, UK
UIC	Union des Industries Chimiques
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNICE	Union des Industries de la Communauté européenne/Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe
US	United States
WBA	Willy Brandt Archive, Archiv der sozialen Demokratie Bonn, Germany
WEU	Western European Union
WGE	Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft für Europarecht
WIE	Wiener Institut für Entwicklungspolitik
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature (formerly World Wildlife Fund)

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1

Beyond Governments and Supranational Institutions: Societal Actors in European Integration

Wolfram Kaiser and Jan-Henrik Meyer

At first sight, the financial crisis, which began in 2008, thoroughly reshaped European Union (EU) politics. Starting with the Single European Act (SEA) of 1987, the present-day EU had moved away from a more intergovernmental structure, strengthening the role of supranational institutions, the European Commission and most importantly the European Parliament (EP). Now, however, the crisis seems to have halted, if not reversed, this trend. Given the formidable financial risks and commitments at stake, national leaders, notably those of big and wealthy member states, appear to be back in the driver's seat. In times of crisis, only national governments seem to have sufficient power to make credible commitments about resources.

Thus, the financial crisis could encourage another round in the debate over the more intergovernmental or more supranational character of European integration and EU politics. However, this perennial debate, which still underlies a fair share of writing about European integration, has increasingly become fruitless. It is based on the false assumption of a necessary trade-off in power between national governmental and supranational institutional actors. But EU politics is not a zero-sum game between opposed sets of institutional actors. Most importantly for our book, such a reductionist view overlooks the key role that a third type of actor namely, those who have variously been described as non-state actors or private actors, has played, and will continue to play, in EU politics and policy-making. By stressing their role as representatives of preferences of social groups in national societies and the emerging transnational European society, we prefer to characterize them as societal actors.

This book explores the emergence, organization and role in polity-building and policy-making of societal actors who are part of European integration, bringing together for the first time in a systematic manner what recent historical research based on a wide variety of original sources can tell us. We do not claim that societal actors were the real shapers and movers of European integration and Community politics and policy-making. Rather, we argue that various societal actors involved in network-type relations with national governmental and supranational institutional actors were often important for the formation of strategic political alliances, the definition of key political objectives and agendas as well as workable policy compromises. We hypothesize that societal actors provided the crucial glue for the EU's political fabric and its policy-making, even if they did not and still do not normally receive the same media attention as national governments after European Council meetings, for example.

We approach the role of societal actors in European integration from two interrelated perspectives. Firstly, we consider their own Europeanization,[1] defined here as the establishment of organizational and/or more informal cooperative structures at the level of the European Communities (EC) and the present-day EU. We seek to analyse when, why and how societal actors responded to European integration by setting up office in Brussels, by founding a European umbrella organization or agreeing to meet regularly in a formal or informal manner to discuss European political issues, for example. Secondly, we discuss the involvement of societal actors in and their impact on European polity-building and policy-making. All chapters in this book address these two core dimensions in this sequence by drawing on a variety of case studies.

In this book we focus on polity-building that is the creation of institutions, procedures and institutional working patterns, and on policy-making. We find, however, that these two are easier to delineate conceptually than empirically. For instance, when the European Environmental Bureau (EEB) pleaded for more staff within the Commission's Service for the Environment and Consumer Protection (SEPC), it supported institutional and policy objectives at the same time. Despite the EEB's generally pro-European outlook, it was not primarily motivated by a desire to strengthen the European supranational institutions by reinforcing Commission staff levels. Rather, the EEB backed the expansion of this service, its main partner within the EC institutions, first and foremost because a larger SEPC meant a greater EC capacity in advancing environmental policy.[2]

In a similar way, the changing composition of all EC institutions as a consequence of the various enlargements, which were in part mediated by political parties, not only affected formal rules such as voting rights and informal practices – for example, bureaucratic traditions and modes of doing things imported into the EC by the newcomers – it also changed policy-making. British accession was central for the introduction of European bird protection in the 1970s, for example, not least because of the expertise, the lobbying and the transnational networking capacities of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds.[3]

Crucially, drawing upon their transnational connections societal actors facilitated the transfer of new ideas from national societies and international organizations to the EC, thus contributing to the rise of new policy ideas and agendas. At the same time, the link to European societies helped institutional actors in Brussels to keep in touch with societal interests and debates which still took place predominantly in national public spheres and which national governments frequently intended to keep within the national container for a variety of reasons.

The chapters in this book cover developments and cases from 1958 to 1992. The Treaties of Rome, which were signed in 1957, came into force in 1958, and complemented the older European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) of 1951–2 with the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the more important European Economic Community (EEC), marking the beginning of European integration in the present-day EU. The treaties established the familiar institutions and covered a broad and slowly expanding array of policies. The most important of these – agriculture, trade, competition and development – feature prominently in this book, as do environmental and social policy, areas of new Community ambition in the 1970s. The three Communities merged their institutions in 1967, operating from then onwards as the EC.

We conclude our empirical exploration of societal actors in European integration in 1992, for three reasons. Firstly, the period after the Maastricht Treaty has been extensively studied and analysed by political scientists. This research is conceptually sophisticated, with a key interest in theory-building, and empirically based on publicly accessible documents and interviews. Secondly, drawing upon the conceptual and empirical fruits of this research, our goal is to put the findings of social science research on EU polity-building and policy-making into a longer-term historical perspective. We want to trace more long-term developments and possible path dependencies. At the same time, we are interested in change during this period – with respect to the structures,

but also the focus of societal actors, which perhaps shifted somewhat towards engaging with policy-making. Thirdly, the chosen time frame also allows historians to make the most of their greatest advantages in transdisciplinary research on the EU by enabling a greater distance from their object of research, and consequently the ability to ask new questions. Such a distance frequently goes hand in hand with less excitement about allegedly novel phenomena. Thus, we seek to dispel the myth in contemporary social science research that the involvement of societal actors (especially so-called public interest groups) in EU polity-building and policy-making only really took off in the 1990s.[4] Finally, access to archival sources which are now available for all but the last few years before the Maastricht Treaty can shed new light on past events.

Despite this limited time frame of just over 30 years, we recommend that historians adopt a much broader temporal perspective. Many of the societal actors, their organizational structures and policy objectives have a much longer history, at times dating back to the late nineteenth century. At the same time, the phenomena the contributors study in their chapters created continuities leading up to the present day. This becomes apparent in outlines in the final empirical chapter on developments since the Maastricht Treaty.

In the next few sections, we briefly introduce our working definition of societal actors. Secondly, we present the topics of the individual empirical chapters, each covering a specific type of societal actor and challenge of polity-building and/or policy-making. Thirdly, we introduce the core questions we have developed, in order to strengthen the cohesion of this book and to be able to arrive at common conclusions. All of the chapters address these questions with regard to their specific actors and cases. These questions, fourthly, relate to a multidisciplinary debate in European Studies, which we briefly outline before finally raising more general concluding questions about change over time and normative dimensions. We come back to these questions in the final concluding chapter of this book.

Defining societal actors in European integration

In this book, we use the term 'actor' as shorthand for a group of individuals or collective bodies representing certain collective preferences that can arise from their normative commitments and/or material or other interests. Collective preferences refer to shared interests that are meaningful to a sufficient number of people or collective bodies for them to be able to overcome collective action problems and organize around

these interests.[5] Collective actors can be established in a variety of legal and organizational ways. They are routinely represented by individuals acting on their behalf as authorized agents, who are often able to interpret their mandate quite freely. We argue that as a result the individual qualities of such agents frequently matter for policy processes and outcomes. Moreover, individuals may have multiple memberships of different collective bodies or actors, with overlapping but sometimes also contradictory interests. Given that multiple memberships tend to strengthen these individuals' resources in terms of access to information, for example, such individuals are frequently core players, building bridges between collective actors.

We characterize the collective actors that feature in this book as societal actors, as they all claim to represent collective interests emerging from national societies and an emerging transnational European society. Most of these collective actors develop from the bottom up, organizing around certain interests shared by their members. Groups representing special, frequently business interests, relating to tangible economic benefits, are usually called interest or lobby groups. These are often viewed more critically from a normative perspective. In social science research, those groups representing general interests are routinely viewed more positively, since general interests relate to collective public goods, the benefits of which are more widely shared throughout society. Following the practice established by the United Nations, these groups have either been called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or have been described as voluntary associations or civil society organizations, for example.[6] Since the end of the Cold War, the Enlightenment concept of civil society, with its strong normative implications, has gone through a veritable renaissance.[7] The European Commission has used the notion to beef up the legitimacy of its consultation procedures, and its own institutional legitimacy.[8] By contrast, we want to steer clear of the strong and often misleading normative implications of all of these terms. Instead, the term 'societal actors' includes those who represent special and general interests. These are frequently much more difficult to distinguish empirically than conceptually, as some of the chapters in this book demonstrate. Moreover, the term also covers political parties as societal actors of a specific kind, organized from the bottom up, but acting within both the public sphere and representative institutions, with important bridge-building functions.

The term 'societal actors' helps us to avoid the rigid dichotomies between public and private or state and non-state actors, which are

pervasive in political science research.[9] The distinction between public and private actors carries the same problematic normative connotations as the juxtaposition of general and special interests. The second distinction in turn assumes an opposition of some kind between the state and the non-state actors. This terminology obscures the fact that most societal actors are linked to and implicated with the state in various ways, just as state institutions frequently rely on societal actors. The state is often an important source of funding for societal actors, and the key target of lobbying. Furthermore, as some of the chapters in this book make clear, state institutions frequently assist the creation of organized societal groups. Moreover, societal actors are often granted privileged access to information sources, consultation and decision-making circles in neo- or quasi-corporatist arrangements. In fact, the structures and nature of societal actors' relations with the member states and the EU institutions are important questions for all the contributors to this book.

Societal actors in polity-building and policy-making

This book comprises nine historical chapters covering different societal actors engaged in polity-building and policy-making. The first two chapters address the contributions of the two major party groups in the Community in the 1970s, when the parties regrouped with a view to direct elections to the EP, which eventually took place in June 1979. Wolfram Kaiser's chapter on the Christian Democrats focuses on different dimensions of the Europeanization of the emerging European People's Party and its member parties. This includes their response to the challenges of southern enlargement, the controversial debate over the concept of the social market economy uploaded from German political discourse as well as issues of cross-border cooperation and allegiance. In his chapter, Christian Salm analyses the role of various transnational socialist actors and networks in the downloading of policy objectives into a European development policy which combined national aid policies with EC-level competences, for example for trade, which were crucial to the Lomé conventions.[10]

The next two chapters provide insights into the relationship between polity-building and emerging policy-making. Werner Bührer and Laurent Warlouzet study the emergence of the new supranational policy field of competition policy, and how national- and Community-level business associations sought to influence its development. In her chapter, Lucia Coppolaro analyses how a variety of business interest

groups tried to influence trade negotiations during the Kennedy Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Producer interests are equally central to the two subsequent chapters. Carine Germond discusses the privileged role of the European agricultural lobby and national-level farm organizations in the larger agricultural policy community and how this role enabled them to prevent any substantial reform of the EC's most extensive and expensive policy until 1992. Martin Rempe then looks at the role of business actors in the post-colonial European development policy in the 1960s, showing how problematic the distinction between business actors and development NGOs is and how close but also how fragile their links with the member states and the Commission were. His case study focuses on the issue of water supply for Dakar, the capital city of Senegal, a former French colony, and how different societal actors competed for the best use of Community funding.

The final three historical chapters explore how societal actors negotiated the boundaries of Europe's polity and the scope, framing and substance of policies. Francesco Petrini analyses the struggle for effective EC-level regulation of multinational companies in the 1970s. He shows how and why the labour unions and an initially sympathetic European Commission lost out to the delaying tactics of business, in the face of an increasingly business-friendly neo-liberal climate for economic policy-making within the European Commission. In his chapter Morten Rasmussen analyses the role of legal elites organized within the Fédération internationale pour le droit européen and how they sought to co-shape a constitutional order for the Community in league with the Legal Service of the Commission and the Court of Justice, but also how they encountered strong resistance by national legal elites opposed to their preferences. Finally, Jan-Henrik Meyer explores the Europeanization of environmentalist groups in the wake of the First Environmental Action Programme of 1973, analysing how the environmentalists tried to extend the boundaries of environmental policy by seeking to reframe energy policy as an environmental concern. Here, too, policy debates went hand in hand with institutional issues, namely, the established division into distinct policy areas.

In order to provide a stronger link with social science perspectives on societal actors in European integration and EU politics and policy-making, the final chapter by Karen Heard-Lauréote discusses developments in the presence of societal actors in Brussels and their role in policy-making since the Maastricht Treaty.

Societal actors in European integration: the key issues

For a long time, historical research on European integration was very state-centric. But, as the chapters in this book testify, research on a much greater variety of actors which competently links its findings to social science perspectives and the role of member state governments and supranational institutions in politics and policy-making is now mushrooming. This book includes a broad range of societal actors, such as political parties, business actors, trade unions and organizations, that developed out of the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Given that we insisted on empirically grounded chapters, the coverage of actors in this book is not representative of EC polity-building and policy-making. Due to the dominance of economic issues in European integration, special business interests are better covered than organizations derived from the new social movements, on which much more research is necessary.

In order to ensure the greatest possible cohesion, all authors address the same issues in their respective chapters. A first set of questions relates to the organizational Europeanization of societal actors at the European level. How and why did these actors get involved at the European level? What were their motivations? Were they 'pulled in'[11] by specific incentives provided by the EC institutions or the specific opportunities the institutional framework provided? Or, alternatively, did they 'push' towards the EC level because they realized that they needed to be present, or because they themselves deemed this the best framework for attaining their policy objectives? The second aspect of Europeanization relates to the organizational structures that the societal actors established. How was their membership composed, that is, did they manage to get all relevant groups on board? What did their European representation look like, in terms of staff and funding? What, finally, were the internal organizational problems the EC-level actors faced when they set up shop in Brussels, in terms of preference formation, for example?

A second set of questions relates to societal actors' involvement in polity-building and policy-making: in what areas did the societal actors try to intervene? Did they focus on influencing polity-building and shaping the Community's institutional order or did they limit themselves to policy content, without trying to move the goalposts in their field? The second aspect relates to how societal actors intervened. Which methods did they use? Did they prefer internal lobbying or public protest? Were they embedded in privileged consultation arrangements?

How professionalized were these attempts? Did they amount to cohesive strategies, or were they limited to haphazard intervention? Furthermore, how and to what extent did they cooperate with other actors, building networks? Notably, which European institutions and member state institutions did they collaborate with? Did they team up with other societal actors in what has more recently been called 'transversal lobbying'?[12]

The answers to these questions provide new insights into the multidisciplinary academic debate about the role of societal actors in European integration and EU politics and policy-making from a historical perspective. This debate has chiefly been conducted by historians, political scientists and sociologists.

Societal actors in European integration: disciplinary perspectives

In the first instance, we seek to contribute to the historiography of European integration. At the same time, our findings are relevant to the research on the emergence of a European society by social historians.[13] More generally, this book intends to speak to those interested in the history of post-war (Western) Europe, which has all too often neglected the increasingly pervasive influence of European integration and the present-day EU.[14]

Highlighting the role of societal actors in European integration can play a crucial role in modernizing research on European integration history, moving it further away from the traditional state-centric focus of diplomatic and economic historians on grand bargains among the member states.[15] At the same time, we also seek to move beyond a supranational history, which mainly focuses on the role of the supranational European institutions.[16] This research tends to treat these institutions as largely autonomous relative to societal factors and forces and often focuses exclusively on bargaining with the member states in the Council as well as traditional EC policy areas such as competition and agriculture.[17] Of course, societal actors have occasionally been treated in research on European integration. However, they have mostly been attributed an auxiliary role, subordinate to the more important national and supranational state actors.[18] By taking societal actors seriously as a third type of relevant players in their own right, who cooperate with state actors in a number of ways, we seek to contribute to the ongoing research and debate about the role of various forms of transnational cooperation and informal networks in shaping European integration.[19] We thus enable the viewing of the societal context of

European integration, which has also been stressed in research on a European public sphere.[20]

In contrast to historical research, which for a long time relied on archival sources from state archives, in political science, the role of societal actors in European integration was at the core of the neo-functionalist research agenda. In the late 1950s and 1960s, neo-functionalist students of international relations sought to explain the apparent success of early European integration.[21] They predicted that societal actors would play a key role in driving this process further. In the wake of growing EC competences, interest groups would shift their focus to the Community level, where more and more decision-making would take place. Neo-functionalists also predicted a shift in allegiance to the Community.[22] Evidence for such a shift in allegiance has been hard to find, however. Given the sudden end of integration dynamics with the so-called Empty Chair crisis of 1965,[23] it was only in the context of the Single Market Programme that neo-functionalism was rejuvenated in a new guise in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with a renewed emphasis on societal actors and their role in policy-making, notably market-building, which subsequently led to further polity-building with the SEA and the Maastricht Treaty.[24]

By contrast, comparative politics only began to study European integration from the mid-1980s and mainly from the 1990s onwards.[25] Accordingly, empirical findings here mostly relate to the period since the 1990s. However, comparativists arrived with a large conceptual toolbox for the analysis of European public policy and the role of societal actors as lobbyists. Students of comparative politics and policy studies have highlighted the organizational problems of umbrella organizations compared to the strength of specialist organizations with a narrower range of preferences. In specific case studies, researchers have pointed to consultation circles involving a diversity of groups interested in a certain policy problem, which the Commission deliberately set up to force groups to arrive at a compromise. Hence, the Commission externalized the painful path to reaching an agreement. Effectively, the Commission thus laid the basis for what is now called transversal lobbying.[26] Moreover, research has emphasized how societal actors are embedded in expert groups, networks and quasi-corporatist arrangements.[27] All of these phenomena raise a number of normative issues: in particular, societal groups are specifically at risk of falling prey to the 'iron law of oligarchy'.[28] Their officers, who need to act professionally and accumulate important resources, notably information, inevitably become increasingly disconnected from the grass-roots rank and file.[29] This is

all the more problematic as it is an important function of societal actors to represent societal concerns to policy-makers, contributing to the input legitimacy[30] of policy-making and to its effectiveness.[31] The Commission's official discourse on civil society, mentioned above, raises questions about how well societal actors are actually capable of fulfilling these great expectations, as Karen Heard-Lauréote also stresses in her chapter in this book.[32]

In contrast to political science, sociology has only recently started to focus on the societal impact of European integration. The key question here is whether and to what extent this leads to the emergence of a European society and what this society looks like.[33] While initially sociologists were only interested in European elites, the scope of their research has broadened to include mobilization of interests and the public sphere, as well as studies on European policy areas understood, following Pierre Bourdieu, as fields of contention.[34] Studies on the sociology of groups have occasionally focused on specific cases of European societal actors since the 1990s. These studies tend to use different sociological approaches, such as interest group theory, including notions of resource mobilization and the pluralist versus corporatist divide; organizational theory including neo-institutionalist ideas; and normative ideas of civil society that they share with political science studies.[35]

Societal actors in European integration: what have we learned?

Given that research on societal actors has so far been largely limited to the past two decades, the contribution of a longer-term view on their role in European integration in this book addresses an important lacuna. In order to fill this gap, in our concluding chapter we seek to establish some more general findings from the research presented in this book. Four issues are central to this book. Firstly, we analyse the conditions for the (partial) Europeanization of societal actors and the emergence of institutional and policy-making path dependencies. Secondly, we discuss the contributions by societal actors to polity-building and policy-making. Thirdly, we address the question of change over time. Our guiding hypothesis is that there has been a slow shift from contributions to polity-building to a greater focus on policy-making, as well as a growth in numbers and diversity among the societal actors engaged in European integration. Increasingly, a comprehensive cross section of society has come to be represented in the European institutions in response to the broadening range of policy-making. Fourthly,

we briefly sketch the extent to which societal actors have lived up to the normative expectations of societal representation. Finally, we outline challenges for future historical research on societal actors and their role in polity-building and policy-making.

Notes

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8. European Commission, European Governance. A White Paper. Brussels, 25 July 2001, COM (2001) 428 final, 2001, available from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf> (accessed: 10 July 2012).
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10. The terminology 'uploading' and 'downloading' draws on Börzel and Panke, Europeanization, 410–12.
11. This dichotomic metaphor of push versus pull was originally used in migration research, but has now been more widely applied. Everett S. Lee, A Theory of Migration, in: *Demography*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1966), 47–57.
12. Daniel Guéguen, *European Lobbying*, Brussels: Europolitics, 2007, 135–8.
13. Arnd Bauerkämper and Hartmut Kaelble (eds.), *Gesellschaft in der europäischen Integration seit den 1950er Jahren. Migration – Konsum – Sozialpolitik – Repräsentationen*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012.

14. For example, Jeremy Black, *Europe since the Seventies*, London: Reaktion Books, 2009; Harold James, *Europe Reborn. A History 1914–2000*, Harlow: Longman, 2003. Even Judt only devotes brief sections to European integration, without, however, engaging with the debate in European integration history. See Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, London: Penguin, 2005, 153–9, 302–9, 526–34, 723–36.
15. For example, Alan S. Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, London: Routledge, 1992; Jan van der Harst (ed.), *Beyond the Customs Union: The European Community's Quest for Completion, Deepening and Enlargement, 1969–1975*, Brussels: Bruylant, 2007. For an overview of this line of research see Michael Gehler, At the Heart of Integration. Understanding National European Policy, in: Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010, 85–108.
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20. For example, Jan-Henrik Meyer, *The European Public Sphere. Media and Transnational Communication in European Integration 1969–1991*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010.
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2

Europeanization of Christian Democracy? Negotiating Organization, Enlargement, Policy and Allegiance in the European People's Party

Wolfram Kaiser

Are the European Communities (EC) transforming into 'a Europe of the parties'? Against the background of the British debate about the nature of integration and (continued) membership in the EC, the political scientist David Marquand posed this question in an influential article published in 1978.[1] Marquand, a former Labour Party MP until 1977, had just taken up an academic post after returning from a one-year stint in Brussels, where he had worked as special advisor to the new Commission President Roy Jenkins. He anticipated (and supported) a much greater politicization of Community politics and an increased role of political parties in the wake of the first direct elections to the European Parliament (EP) scheduled for the following year. This expectation was widely shared among political scientists engaged in research on the formation of the new transnational European party organizations such as the European People's Party (EPP), which was created in 1976. In fact, this first phase of research on European party cooperation had been sparked in the mid-1970s by the debate about direct elections already foreseen in the Rome Treaties. This research petered out in the early 1980s. It turned out that without additional legislative powers for the EP, the direct elections alone did not change significantly either the role of the EP or that of political parties in the Community's public policy-making.[2]

This early political science research on European party cooperation is characterized by four main deficiencies. These are closely linked to the