



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Boekbespreking van: Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change**

Vink, M.

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a missed opportunity in this book, which could have packed a heavier punch in front of a wider audience if more time and care had been spent on developing the central planks of the argument.

At a mundane but annoying level: either the manuscript was not copy-edited at all, or the publishers mistakenly printed a non copy-edited version. The text is disappointingly full of small errors that either a careful author or copy-editor should have picked up at some stage in the production process. Tables and figures often have obscure labels or column headings, essentially forcing the reader to guess what is going on in places. All of this needs correcting in any subsequent edition.

Notwithstanding this, however, the author is very much at ease with the material and clearly has the ambition to synthesize this into a broad overview. In this he is largely successful. Many readers will find the reviews of the main traditions in public sector governance a useful starting point for their own work, and those who are familiar with the field will engage with Lane's distinctive arguments about it. It thus provides an accessible first read in the field for someone who wants to find out quickly about new public management and locate this within the development of public sector governance over the course of the previous century. Since there is not a lot of competition, the idea of producing this book was a good one and it should find a ready market.

Michael Laver

Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso and Thomas Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, ISBN 0-8014-8671-8 (paperback), USD 19.95.

The concept of 'Europeanization' is increasingly employed to assess the impact of European integration on domestic politics. A new research agenda is evolving which focuses on those changes in national political systems that can be attributed to processes of European integration. Analogous to earlier debates on the entanglement of domestic politics and international relations, the concept of Europeanization has provided European integration studies with a 'Second Image Reversed' focusing on the European sources of domestic politics. By measuring how 'adaptational pressures' caused by European integration affect domestic politics, students of Europeanization consciously take a top-down perspective, which contrasts with the bottom-up intergovernmentalist approach and its stress on the domestic sources of European politics.

Although a number of collections have appeared on the adaptation of member states to EU membership, during the past couple of years the focus has shifted away from such country-by-country work to more comparative work on specific policy areas and

institutional structures. This shift has, on the one hand, respected the same highly empirical character of early Europeanization work, and on the other hand, allowed for more theorizing on cross-country variation in the way Europe impacts on national politics. The edited volume *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* is an excellent example of this combination of valuable empirical work driven by theoretical interests. Since 1997, when the contributors convened for the first time, there has been great anticipation regarding *Transforming Europe* and, because it was often referred to during preparatory stages, it became state of the art even before publication.

Besides introductory and concluding chapters, the book consists of ten empirical chapters on issues ranging from gender equality policy to telecommunications and nation-state identities. This wide variety of issues in itself makes the book a rich account of processes of political transformation (and stability) in contemporary Western Europe. The added value of bringing the studies together, however, derives from the framework of domestic adaptational change that each empirical chapter applies to its respective policy area. By pressing the contributors to work within the same framework, the editors have done a remarkable job in achieving a cohesive character in the book.

Characteristically for the research agenda of Europeanization, the framework set out by Risse, Cowles and Caporaso in the first chapter, centres around "the 'goodness of fit' between Europeanization processes, on the one hand, and national institutional settings, rules, and practices, on the other" (p. 6). When much domestic change is needed in order to comply with European rules and policies because of a strong 'misfit', the 'adaptational pressures' on domestic institutions are great, and strong Europeanization can be expected. The extent of domestic change – as dependent variable – and most importantly the variation in domestic change between countries, is explained from domestic variables which the editors term 'mediating factors': "In cases of high adaptational pressures, the presence or absence of mediating factors is crucial for the degree to which domestic change adjusting to Europeanization should be expected" (p. 9). Five such mediating factors are given: multiple veto points, mediating formal institutions, political and organizational cultures, differential empowerment of actors, and learning.

For example, in chapter three, Héritier argues that the Europe-induced liberalization of the transport sector has been successful in Germany and the Netherlands, but it has never gathered momentum in Italy because it was soon caught up in the multiple veto points of the Italian system where 'padroncini', or small hauliers, play an important role in regulation and administration, and often call for strikes in order to put the Ministry of Transport under pressure. The importance of mediating formal institutions, to proceed to another mediating factor, is pointed out by Caporaso and Jupille in chapter two. They argue that the British Equal Opportunities Commission was crucial in providing women's organizations with the means to use EU Equal Pay and Equal Treatment Directives in furthering gender equality, and the lack of a French counterpart

accounts for the fact that there has been less domestic change in France. In chapter eight, Börzel accounts the variation between the adjustments made by German and Spanish regional governments to the challenge of European integration, to the differences in decision-making culture. German 'cooperative federalism' enabled the Länder to regain some competencies with respect to European decision-making (since the Maastricht Treaty, Länder ministers have been allowed to represent Germany in the Council of Ministers when exclusive legal competencies of the Länder are concerned), whereas the 'confrontational' political culture in Spain for a long time prevented the regions from achieving a similar consensual solution.

As Cowles points out in chapter nine, Europeanization of business-government relations by way of the Commission-sponsored Transatlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) has led to the empowerment of the national industry association in France (and had somewhat mixed results in Germany), but to no substantial domestic change in the United Kingdom. Focusing on the differential empowerment of actors, Cowles explains this with the fact that French industry associations – traditionally weak vis-à-vis the state – were able to exploit the new European opportunities of the TABD, whereas British domestic political opportunity structures were less affected because there was no such 'misfit'. Finally, an example of Europeanization by learning is given in chapter ten, where Checkel argues that the views on citizenship of German political elites were influenced by exposure to, in particular, Council of Europe work on the question of double nationality (although he admits that the 1998 government changeover – and not Europeanization – accounts mostly for the dramatic changes in German citizenship law in 1999).

What can we conclude from all this? In principle the book allows for two conclusions. First, the empirical studies collected in *Transforming Europe* contribute to a wider debate on the homogenization of Europe by processes of convergence due to European integration. Apart from the broad conclusion that responses to Europeanization differ, depending on the country and policy issue, it is difficult to draw unequivocal conclusions from the seemingly arbitrarily selected policy issues. In one case there is clear convergence (telecommunications), in two cases there is clear divergence (equal pay/treatment, and legal structure) and in most cases the results are mixed (environment, industry associations, nation-state identity, railways, road haulage, territorial structure). What is more, in two cases (EMU and citizenship) no such conclusion can be drawn because they are single-case studies.

A second conclusion following from the book concerns the issue: what does Europeanization tell us about the nature of European integration? Here, the editors make an explicit argument against Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism as a theory of European integration, pointing out that

if Europeanization mostly results from 'grand bargains' among the three leading members and entails 'lowest common denominator solutions', we would not expect strong adaptational pressures when Europe hits home, at least not in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. Yet, our sample recorded serious cases of misfit for each of these countries and across a wide variety of issue areas (pp. 223-224).

As stated in the beginning of this review, when conceived as a 'Second Image Reversed', the top-down perspective of the Europeanization research agenda seems to imply such a stance almost a priori.

Notwithstanding the empirical evidence presented in the diverse chapters, convincingly underlining the historical institutionalist notion of gaps in member-state control of the process of European integration, the editors' alternative to Moravcsik – a 'thick' historical institutionalism based on a sociological understanding of institutions – is arguably less persuasive. In particular, their argument to go beyond Pierson's 'thin' or 'relatively narrow principal-agent' historical institutionalism (p. 14), does not seem to follow necessarily from the empirical evidence. For one, this is due to the fact that a more elaborate argumentation is missing to justify why some mediating factors support thin historical institutionalism (multiple veto points, mediating formal institutions, differential empowerment of actors) and others thick historical institutionalism (political and organizational cultures, elite learning). Moreover, when the editors consider which mediating factors are shown by the empirical evidence to be most important, they admit that insights from rationalist and sociological institutionalism should be combined (p. 230), and this contradicts their overall preference for the latter.

Finally, there is a minor conceptual issue that should be mentioned because it is strictly respected by all contributors to the book. With regards to the concept of Europeanization, the bulk of the literature speaks of Europeanization when something in the domestic arena is affected by something European. It is generally held that Europeanization is the result of European integration, it is what happens 'when Europe hits home'. The editors of this book, however, have chosen a different and slightly peculiar stance by defining Europeanization as "the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance" (p. 1). Not only does such a definition diverge from the literature on Europeanization, it also does not seem particularly clear as it does not relate necessarily to the domestic level, and *a fortiori* distinguishes hardly with the concept of European integration.

Apart from this peculiarity, *Transforming Europe* is a book containing rich empirical studies on a wide-ranging number of issues related to the general question of the transformation of the nation-state under pressure from European integration. The open-ended conclusions signify that the research agenda of Europeanization is still in its preliminary stages, and that much more work needs to be done. Most importantly, *Transforming Europe* is driven by an elaborate theoretical framework that will set the tone for such future work on Europeanization. It is sure to become a classic in the field of European integration studies.

Maarten Vink

Wolfgang Beck, Laurent J.G. van der Maesen, Fleur Thomése and Alan Walker (eds.), *Social Quality: A Vision for Europe*, The Hague/London/Boston: Kluwer Law International, 2000, 390 pages, ISBN 90-411-1523-4, EUR 81.50

This is the second product from the European Foundation on Social Quality, which drafted the *Amsterdam Declaration of Social Quality of Europe*: a broad platform that was signed by more than 800 scientists. It may be seen as a symposium in which some of those scientists reflect on comments that an overwhelming majority of them suggested after the first volume was published in 1997. It should deepen the theoretical basis for the topic of social quality and provide new steps towards its operationalization. The book consists of three Parts, encompassed by Forewords, an Introduction and an Epilogue. In the Introduction the editors reflect on the question 'For whom and for what is the European Union?' In Part One, 'The Social Quality of Europe: Assessing the Concept', Göran Therborn, Antonio Ojeda-Avilés, Denis Bouget, Marina Calloni, Kees van Kersbergen, David Phillips, Yitzhak Berman and the editors represent an international palette of thinkers that reflect on the definition of social quality. Part Two, 'Tendencies in Europe: Developing the Concept', contains contributions from Jan Berting, Christiane Villain-Gandossi, Ota de Leonardis, Adalbert Evers, Guy Standing, Georg Voruba, Svein Andersen, Kjell Eliassen and the editors about processes that challenge the concept of social quality. In Part Three, 'Creating the New Perspective. Theorizing Social Quality', the editors discuss the concept's validity and its empirical and political applicability. Gyorgy Konrad wrote the Epilogue, 'The Social Quality of Europe is Culture'. The *Amsterdam Declaration on Social Quality* is inserted in the volume as an Appendix.

The scientists who subscribed to the Amsterdam Declaration were brought together in the nineties by the scientific and political conviction that traditional approaches to policy making were inadequate. These subordinate social policy to economic policy and reflect a top-down form of governance. They thus "cannot provide a secure basis on which to build a socially just Europe or one that reflects the needs and preferences of citizens" (p.7). Instead they sought "a rationale of social policy *per se*". That independent rationale should be social quality, which is defined as "the extent to which citizens are able to participate in the social and economic life of their communities under conditions that enhance their well-being and individual potential." The level of this social quality depends upon four characteristics: the degree of socio-economic security, the level of social inclusion, the extent of social cohesion, and the level of empowerment.

Enriching is the chapter written by Van Kersbergen. He gives an overview of the critique on the functionalist hypothesis of convergence between national welfare states causing quasi-welfare state development at the EU-level. Empirically, there is no such development. However, he argues that, on a theoretical level, rejection of the functional reasoning and spillovers may stretch too far. Rather than discarding functionalism, he opts for an 'open functional theory' of the logic of adjustment of national welfare states in the context of European integration. An open functional theory claims that functional explanations may be hazardous, but not worthless. This

theoretical position is, in my opinion, a very fruitful one. It shows that politics can make a difference by dealing with practical market pressures in such a way that the strategic ideal of social quality may be attained.

Important is also the contribution by Georg Voruba, who compares the European and the US-models under the subtitle 'The globalisation dilemma'. He convincingly shows that social quality is not only the result of Europe's economic prosperity, but also its indispensable precondition. At the same time this means that the costs of European welfare states generally lead to relatively high labour costs, especially in wage-centred systems of social security, financed by contributions. In the United States social policy in terms of labour costs is much less relevant. In a global market the United States might thus compete more successfully and Europe could be compelled to lower its standards of social quality. Voruba, however, points to the fact that it is not the absolute level of labour and non-wage labour cost that counts, but the cost/productivity ratio. In this respect the European model with its institutions can still compete, while the US-model has deficits in the educational system and vocational training that hinder the improvement of productivity. Voruba predicts that the American model is much less capable of coping with the challenges of the globalization dilemma than the European model.

Both chapters set the framework within which social quality might remain a characteristic of European culture. That is what the authors are striving for. The editors are aware of the normative character of this goal: "The initiative is not a neutral one" (p. 9). Their objective is "to subject the values of the Enlightenment to new circumstances." And "The initiative encourages participatory and consensus-based societies." This is why many chapters deal with 'the third sector', 'social capital', a non-utilitarian but rather personalistic view on human beings, human dignity, solidarity, etc. I do not think that we can expect to find the adherents of Friedrich Hayek among those 800 scientists who signed the Amsterdam Declaration, nor the advisors of President Bush. Such libertarians believe that economic growth is the best thing for the poor, produced by as much freedom as possible for the strongest part of society. In their view, any social arrangement by government is a blockade for such growth.

This clear normative position does not reduce the scientific qualities of the book. In fact, by stating their normative paradigm the authors open up their work for critique in a better way than those who conceal their position behind a veil of neutrality and use their norms much more implicitly or as pretended common sense. The book gives an honest overview of the critique on the concept of social quality, as it was defined in the first volume. It sums up ways to overcome this critique and defines the domains where solutions must be found. It offers descriptions; it discerns aspects of the problem; and it points to relations between the aspects and to further ways of deploying the concept as a scientific and a political theme. It outlines the framework within which this should be done. Especially the two closing chapters of the book, written by the editors, give a convincing scientific description of, or lay a normative claim on, the social quality concept as a 'rationale for policy *per se*'. The concept is clearly distinguishable from the alternative