The Environment and the European Public Sphere

PERCEPTIONS, ACTORS, POLICIES

edited by

Christian Wenkel,
Eric Bussière,
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Sample excerpt from

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INTRODUCTION

Is it child's play to formulate environmental policies today? In any case, it seems that the young initiators of and participants in the 'Fridays for Future' movement have understood one of the main mechanisms of environmental policies in Europe for more than fifty years. The success of the green parties in the May 2019 European elections and resulting debates in some of the other parties currently in power in several EU member states correspond to a setting of the strike students' demands on the political agenda. This movement, which mobilises young people from all European countries, and even beyond,[1] around the Swedish girl Greta Thunberg on the issue of climate change, is part of a long-term evolution, marked by the emergence of a new environmental consciousness within the European public sphere, which is emerging at the same time. This evolution includes the gradual institutionalisation of environmental movements, the placing of their themes on the political agenda and, above all, the formulation of environmental policies, following a growing convergence of debates within this European public and political sphere.

The history of environmental policies since the 1970s enables us to better understand the transformations of the political field in Europe in general and illustrates most notably the entrance of new actors, who are investing the political and public sphere, as well as the growing importance of the European level. Both phenomena call for a renewal of historiography. The existence of a link between the formation of the environment as a political object and that of Europe as a political actor is reflected by a certain parallelism between the two trends, an overlap that became noticeable especially during the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979 – a key moment, both for the construction of Europe and for the institutionalisation of environmental movements.[2]

The transformation of political culture and of the political field took place in the aftermath of the 1968 upheavals. Previously clearly circumscribed to and shared between a limited number of political actors, the political field has since then become much more complex. This transformation, which concerns first and foremost the decision-making process at all levels, has

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1   It is a movement that is developing on a global level, but it originated in Europe and is more present there than anywhere else.

2   See the contributions to this volume of Emilie van Haute, Silke Mende and Giorgio Grimaldi.

been amplified by a new era of globalisation that began in the 1970s, as well as by the end of the Cold War in 1989–91.

But while the public sphere is becoming increasingly important in the decision-making process, research on the history of European integration, much influenced by the methods of the history of international relations and those of political history in general, continues to be based mainly on the study of the executive, considering the public sphere only as a secondary factor. However, it seems particularly worthwhile to reverse the perspective on the decision-making process by starting with a study of the public sphere and its long-term dynamics, particularly at the European level.

While the existence of national, regional or local public spheres and their importance for decision-making in European democracies is generally acknowledged, the question of the existence of a European public sphere is a matter for debate – a debate as old as European integration itself.[3] In fact, any public sphere exists only as a corollary to a political entity. Thus, the creation of a new political entity necessarily calls for the emergence of a new public sphere. As far as the European Community is concerned, the unfinished state of its public sphere corresponds clearly to the unfinished state of the Union itself, at least from a political point of view. However, linguistic diversity and different political cultures within the Community are significant impediments too. Indeed, the European public sphere does not have a clearly identifiable existence, but rather presents itself as a possibility whose future contours are perceptible through a multitude of public spheres, at different – especially cross-border – levels, or even of communication spheres, which together foster an increasing convergence of debates. On environmental issues, one of the first communication spheres was initiated on a European level towards the end of the nineteenth century thanks to a few individual actors and their simultaneous presence in several national

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3   On European public sphere, see R. Frank, H. Kaelble, M.-F. Lévy et al. (eds), *Building a European Public Sphere: from the 1950s to the Present* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2010); J. Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989); A. Mercier (ed.), *Vers un espace public européen? Recherches sur l'Europe en construction* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003); C. Doria and G. Raulet (eds), *Questioning the European Public Sphere. L'espace public européen en question* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2016); C. Doria, 'Espace public et projet européen', in *Encyclopédie pour une histoire nouvelle de l'Europe* (2015) https://ehne.fr/node/49 (accessed 11 Aug. 2019); J. Requate and M. Schulze-Wessel (eds), *Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2002); J.-H. Meyer, *The European Public Sphere. Media and Transnational Communication in European Integration 1969–1991* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010); more recently on the European citizen, see H. Kaelble, *Der verkannte Bürger. Eine andere Geschichte der europäischen Integration seit 1950* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2019).

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communication spheres.[4] The existence of shared communication spheres or axes such as the continent's major rivers, facilitates this evolution, as do shared memories of a common history.[5]

The emergence of such transnational communication spheres in Europe, no longer limited to elites as in previous centuries and preceding the European integration process, was not called into question by the two world wars. By contrast, the wars and the economic or demographic crises of the first half of the twentieth century produced European experiences, especially through the phenomenon of a more or less forced migration of millions of Europeans, thus facilitating the development of networks and social ties at a transnational level.[6] However, the emergence of a genuine European communication sphere, as described by Hartmut Kaelble, started only after the reconstruction of Europe following World War II, the first steps in European integration and the establishment of a climate of détente in East-West relations.[7] This decisive transformation during the 1970s can also be seen as a first stage on the road to a genuine European public sphere.

The 1970s are characterised by numerous changes in terms of perceptions, political practices and institutions and were indeed a decisive decade, not only for the emergence of this European public sphere and the construction of the European Community, but also for the constitution of the environment as a political object.[8] This decade can be considered as a bridge between,

4   See the contribution to this volume of Charles-François Mathis.

5   On European memories, see E. François and Th. Serrier (eds), *Europa notre histoire* (Paris: Les Arènes, 2017); P. den Boer, H. Duchhardt, G. Kreis and W. Schmale (eds), *Europäische Erinnerungsorte. Mythen und Grundbegriffe des europäischen Selbstverständnisses* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011).

6   On transnational communication spheres in Europe during the first half of the 20th century, see B. Lambauer and Ch. Wenkel (eds), 'Entstehung und Entwicklung transnationaler Kommunikationsräume in Europa zu Kriegszeiten, 1914–1945'. Special issue of *Comparativ* **28** (1) (2018).

7   H. Kaelble, 'Das europäische Selbstverständnis und die europäische Öffentlichkeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in H. Kaelble, M. Kirsch and A. Schmidt-Gernig (eds), *Transnationale Öffentlichkeiten und Identitäten im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2002), pp. 85–109; see also H. Kaelble, *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft? Eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas 1889–1980* (München: Beck, 1987); H. Kaelble, 'Die gelebte und gedachte europäische Gesellschaft', in H. Kaelble and J. Schriewer (eds), *Gesellschaften im Vergleich. Forschungen aus Sozial-und Geschichtswissenschaften* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 343–351; H. Kaelble (ed.) 'European public sphere and European identity in 20th century history'. Special issue of *Journal of European Integration History* **8** (2) (2002).

8   The literature on the 1970s is quite abundant. See, for instance, G. Migani and A. Varsori (eds), *Europe in the International Arena during the 1970s. L'Europe sur la scène internationale dans les années 1970* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011); F. Bösch, *Zeitenwende 1979. Als die Welt von heute began* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2019); D. Hellema, *The Global 1970s. Radicalism, Reform, and Crisis* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

on the one hand, the beginnings of a movement for a return to nature, for the reform of life ('*Lebensreformbewegung*') and for the protection of nature – a movement that was Europeanised following a major industrialisation and technological wave at the end of the nineteenth century – and today's European environmental policies on the other hand. The density of changes in environmental issues during the 1970s, described by Joachim Radkau in terms of a 'great chain reaction',[9] is of crucial importance to further evolution in this field during the following decades. The present book therefore takes this period into particular consideration.

The new conception of nature in the long nineteenth century serves as a starting point for a patrimonialisation of nature as an integral part of the construction of national identities, in analogy with the patrimonialisation of culture.[10] The link with the nation promotes the transformation of nature protection into a political object throughout Europe. International meetings and publications, such as Hugo Conwentz's book *The Care of Natural Monuments with Special Reference to Great Britain and Germany* (1909), both contributed to the emergence of a first transnational communication sphere around these issues, and led to a first wave of legislation in this field and the creation of national parks.[11] These developments are fostered in particular by the spread of a life reform movement ('*Lebensreformbewegung*') with roots in Germany and Switzerland. If this movement evolved on the ground of a new conception of nature, widespread in Europe during the nineteenth century, it served itself as an ideological basis for the emergence of a new environmental consciousness from the 1960s and 1970s onwards.

The environmental movement was interrupted by the two world wars and their respective post-war periods. It regained momentum when growth began to decline in the Western world during the 1960s. With the increasing difficulties of the United States in winning the war in Vietnam and the battle for the Great Society within its own borders, both accelerating its economic crisis, the decline was looming not only of American power but above all of an American socio-economic model, with significant repercussions for

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9   J. Radkau, 'The great chain reaction. The "ecological revolution" in and around 1970', in J. Radkau. *The Age of Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), pp. 79–113.

10   On the conceptualising of heritage, see A. Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage. Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

11   H. Conwentz, *The Care of Natural Monuments with Special Reference to Great Britain and Germany* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1909); see also the contribution of Charles-François Mathis in this volume.

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Western Europe.[12] Crises on various levels, whether political, economic, financial, oil, environmental or even cultural, overlapped during the 1970s and caused a major change in mentalities within European societies. In particular, the two oil crises of the 1970s contributed to raising awareness among Europeans of a new environmental reality. Simultaneously, energy security became a major challenge for Western European states in the same way as military or monetary security. This challenge was even more important because the United States' protection in these three security domains was no longer as unconditional as before. While the European NATO member states were called upon to participate in the United States' military protection of Western Europe (i.e. burden sharing), they were mainly confronted with the needs to organise their own monetary protection (resulting in the creation of the European Monetary System in the 1970s) and to find alternative energy suppliers (as shown by the construction of a gas pipeline to transport Soviet gas from the early 1980s onwards).

The new environmental consciousness results first of all from an awareness of the finiteness of natural resources, put at the centre of the debate by the reports of the Club of Rome, and of a new vulnerability to environmental disasters, which have become more visible through the latest mass-media developments. But this consciousness also emerges against the backdrop of the questioning of a model of almost eternal growth and constant technological progress, a questioning that goes hand in hand with the questioning of the political system by new social movements. In the specific Cold War context that fed the fear of a nuclear apocalypse, a generalised feeling of crisis thus gradually developed, generating fears of all kinds about the future.[13] The environmental issue, however, seems to have been at the core of this widespread concern.

In the same way, the development of this new environmental consciousness was fostered by the emergence of the whole set of new social movements in the 1960s and 1970s, as they provided the environmental movements, initially rather limited, with a much broader base. A new attitude towards the environment was a constitutive element of almost all these new social

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12   P. Melandri, *Le siècle américain. Une histoire* (Paris: Perrin, 2016); Edward D. Berkowitz, *Something Happened. A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

13   On how to deal with the future, see L. Hölscher, *Die Entdeckung der Zukunft* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2106); M. Giraudeau and F. Graber (eds), *Les projets. Une histoire politique (16e–21e siècles)* (Paris: Presses des Mines, 2018).

movements, thus contributing to a generalisation of various convictions and patterns of perception. And beyond the regional or national framework, the transnational links available to these different movements also facilitated the establishment of transnational networks between environmental movements across Western Europe.[14]

The growth of environmental consciousness across territorial and linguistic borders has also resulted from several environmental disasters and ensuing media coverage, which have left particularly strong images in the collective imaginary over the past few decades. Thus, the images of the shipwrecks of the *Torrey Canyon* in 1969 and the *Amoco Cadiz* in 1979, causing oil spills respectively in the United Kingdom and France, played a particularly strong role. So did technological accidents such as that of Seveso in 1976, polluting Northern Italy with dioxin; or that of Chernobyl in 1986, irradiating large regions in the Soviet Union – and sending a radioactive cloud to the Western part of the continent as a threat all the more treacherous because it was invisible. While there have always been technological accidents and failures, their impact on the environment as well as the perception of this impact has changed considerably since the 1960s for technological, demographic and also media reasons, further reinforcing the feeling of a worsening state of the environment and that of growing vulnerability to such accidents.[15] But not only do environmental disasters demonstrate the vulnerability of the environment in concrete terms, as well as the limits of a widespread belief in technological progress at the time; they also reduce space because environmental damage no longer stops at territorial or linguistic borders, and neither do fears of a possible proliferation of the danger. These disasters are indeed increasingly perceived as phenomena involving the European sphere as a whole, which creates a certain congruence between geographical space and communication sphere.

The democratisation of colour television and the use of colour photographs in the tabloid press[16] during these years encouraged a spatial concentration of communication spheres revolving around these environmental disasters.

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14 On the transnational connections of the new social movements, see for instance M. Klimke, *The Other Alliance Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds), *1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

15 See, in particular, F. Walter, *Catastrophes: une histoire culturelle XVIe–XXIe siècle* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 2008); U. Beck, *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity* (New York: SAGE Publications, 1992); see also the contributions of François Walter and Karena Kalmbach in this volume.

16 Colour television was gradually introduced in Western Europe from 1967. The first colour photo appeared in the West German *BILD* newspaper on 21 July 1969.

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The public had a front row seat to watch them, as well as the horrors of the war in Vietnam. Distant accidents turned into disasters for an environment which is potentially the same as that of each spectator, even those far from the affected places. The end of the Cold War and the development of new communication technologies accelerated this spatial concentration of communication spheres from the 1990s onwards.

If one of the obstacles to the emergence of a European public sphere is the linguistic, and consequently cultural, diversity in Europe, images of environmental disasters helped to build a communication sphere on a European level, by linking those at lower levels, separated in principle by the use of different languages. These images thus served as a focal point for environmental debates across Europe. The circulation of images facilitates the circulation of certain concepts, such as 'peak of oil', '*marée noire*' or '*Waldsterben*', which structured the debates through their omnipresence. A common vocabulary, necessary for the emergence of a Europe-wide communication sphere, found its origins in some key publications, such as *Silent Spring* (1962) by the American biologist Rachel Carson, translated into many languages and selling more than two million copies all over the world. Another type of transnational, and more apocalyptic, vocabulary was provided by the Club of Rome, a think-tank created in 1968 by scientists, economists and national and international officials, but also entrepreneurs, whose reports resonate in a semantic context that reflects Cold War patterns of perception.[17]

The circulation of ideas and concepts between different communication spheres and therefore the increasing convergence of debates may be particularly facilitated by the heritage of a centuries-long common history. One of the best examples is the Franco-German one, characterised by particularly dense and deep links, which played a twofold role in the emergence of the European public sphere as well as in the emergence of environmental movements in Europe.[18] These links were, for instance, at the origin of the formation of a green list for the European elections in 1979 and facilitated the formation of a cross-border

17   See, for instance, B. Greiner, Ch. Th. Müller and D. Walter (eds), *Angst im Kalten Krieg* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2009).

18   On the Franco-German example, see M. Espagne and M. Werner (eds), *Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe–XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988); or the Franco-German History, especially the last volume: H. Miard-Delacroix, *Le défi européen. Histoire franco-allemande de 1963 à nos jours* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses du Septentrion, 2011); the relevance of Franco-German history for the development of transnational networks is also confirmed by numerous articles in this volume.

anti-nuclear movement in the Rhine Valley.[19] It is therefore not surprising that the perceptions, debates, movements and environmental policies within this Franco-German area have been particularly well researched. For this volume, it served as a starting point while a firmly European perspective is adopted.

In any case, the environment is a challenge and a political object that in most cases cannot be dealt with at the national level and is addressed either at the local or regional level or most likely at a supranational or global level. And, for some aspects of the environment, only the global level really matters. Climate is thus an archetype of a global public good. The research conducted so far reflects this situation by examining environmental issues mainly on a global or a regional level. Yet very few studies are interested at the European level or adopt a European perspective to study the formation of the environment as a political object. However, such a shift of perspective seems to be justified precisely by the emergence of a new communication sphere at the European level since the 1970s.

As far as the European Community is concerned, the environmental policy framework has been developing in a discreet but effective way since the 1970s. While some European countries set up the first Environment Ministries in the early 1970s, the European Commission only created a unit for environmental issues within the Directorate-General for Industry in 1973. Transformed into an independent Directorate-General in 1981, it was constantly increasing in importance and number of staff.[20] The influence of the European Economic Community was twofold during the last five decades: firstly, in instigating environmental policies of the Member States; and secondly and mainly by developing ecological and environmental standards whose application even goes far beyond the Community's framework itself. One of the best examples of this second kind of action is the famous Seveso Directives in response to the technological accident in the ICMESA chemical plant on 10 July 1976, causing a toxic cloud that impacted several municipalities in the Lombardy plain, including Seveso. Since 1982, the successive so-called Seveso Directives have required Member States to classify all industrial sites that are potentially dangerous for the environment and to put in place preventive policies to anticipate any possible risks.[21]

19   See the contributions of Andrew Tompkins and Giorgio Grimaldi in this volume.

20   M. Dumoulin et al. (eds), *The European Commission 1973–86. History and Memories of an Institution* (Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union, 2014).

21   See the contribution of Sophie Baziadoly in this volume.

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The European level in this field seems in fact much more important than it appears at first sight. It even seems possible to invoke the emergence of Europe through the perception of environmental problems and the suggested solutions. The methodological challenge is therefore to grasp this level against a global issue on the one hand and the predominance of the national perspective in the political debate and its influences on political history on the other. The aim of this research is to reveal European characteristics of the way the environment is perceived, in order to identify the parameters of a specific European environmental consciousness and those of distinct European policies in this field.

By focusing on the simultaneous emergence of the European public sphere and the environment as a political object across Europe, this volume aims to contribute to a renewal of European history, which too often remains compartmentalised by a national prism. The theme provides an opportunity to contribute to a history of the Europeanisation of the continent beyond political turning points and limits. The aim is a European history of Europe that is not confined to any division, as for example that of the Cold War, but is rather based on long-term dynamics, transcending any project of integration or disintegration of the European continent, and shaped by the global challenges of our times.

While the concept of Europeanisation offers a broader vision of the history of Europe in the twentieth century,[22] the theme of the volume makes it possible to study Europeanisation as a phenomenon at three levels: first of all, institutional Europeanisation, namely at the political, economic and legal levels, through the process of European integration; then, structural Europeanisation, resulting from intra-European transport, communication or migration flows and producing convergences of perceptions, representations, discourses and also values; and finally the interdependencies between these two forms of Europeanisation. Supra-national issues, such as the environment or the vision of the future, seems particularly suitable for this. In contrast to other topics, such as social issues, this suitability for the study of Europeanisation dynamics seems to depend not least on the relative novelty of the environment as a political object.

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22   On the use of the concept of Europeanisation for portraying European history in the 20th century, see H. Kaelble, 'Europäisierung', in M. Middell (ed.) *Dimensionen der Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007); M. Conway and K.K. Patel (eds), *Europeanization in the Twentieth Century. Historical Approaches* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010); M. Osmont, E. Robin-Hivert, K. Seidel, M. Spoerer and Ch. Wenkel (eds), *Européanisation au 20e siècle: un regard historique. Europeanisation in the 20th century: the historical lens* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2012).

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This volume also aims to contribute to a renewal of the historiography, especially in the field of international relations, but also beyond, by providing an analytical framework for the decision-making process that corresponds to long-term transformations in the political field since the 1970s and the arrival of new actors within that field. Based on a study of the convergences of debates within a European communication sphere, the volume examines the influence of such convergences on the formation of political objects and their setting on the agenda. The influence of converging public opinion on the formulation of internal or external policies is certainly not a new phenomenon in Europe, but the dimensions have changed with each new media development and especially since the emergence of a European public sphere. Decision-making and the formulation of policies in the environmental field seems particularly suitable for such an analytical framework. Further research is needed to determine whether this approach is also suitable to historical analysis of decision-making within other policy fields.

Taking the environment as its object and example, the volume offers to retrace the different stages of this very process, starting with the convergence of perceptions and debates that are gradually taking root at a European level between various regional or national communication spheres as a result of this global challenge, and ending with the setting of regional, national or European policies on the agenda in reaction to these converging debates at all levels. While the contributions in this book examine each step separately, taken together they provide a general understanding of the conditions and timelines of this process. Thus, the temporal dimension of the process is at the very centre of the overall analysis, although it is a subject at the crossroads of history, sociology, law and political science. The importance of long-term phenomena, such as the *Lebensreformbewegung*, and of connections with other long-term processes, such as industrialisation, globalisation of trade or technologisation, in order to understand the basis for possible convergences, make the historical dimension of the approach predominant.

The volume, with its four parts, follows the process of the emergence of a European public sphere and its impact on decision-making through environmental issues, focusing first on perceptions, then on actors before dealing with the policies themselves.

At the centre of the first part is the question of the convergence of perceptions and debates about the environment. These convergences occur in principle on a global level, but they are more substantial at a Western level, given that environmental consciousness nowadays is mainly formed in re-

sponse to a high degree of industrialisation and technological development. But within this Western area, these convergences are even more clearly established on a European level, which can be related to the formation of a European public sphere and to the common heritage of this sphere. The differences between the European and North American regions in this field appeared as early as in the nineteenth century, visible for example through the different modalities at stake in the protection of nature on either side of the Atlantic. While American influences, particularly those of American discourses, should not be neglected, as shown by the history of the diffusion of Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* in Europe and its influence in the emergence of a new environmental consciousness since the late 1960s, it is much more the cultural heritage that constitutes a favourable terrain for convergence in Europe.

In his chapter, Charles-François Mathis reveals the very first convergences on environmental issues at a European level at the beginning of the twentieth century. At a series of international conferences, leading experts from all over Europe met and formulated initial standards for the protection of nature, which were soon adopted by the legislation of various European countries. Mathis illustrates some form of Europeanisation of environmental issues prior to the beginning of World War I and we can thus state that a European communication sphere for landscape preservation was in the making at this very moment. François Walter's chapter goes back much further in time, exploring the historical origins of a specifically European way of dealing with environmental disasters. To investigate this question, he is interested in the perception and memory of such disasters from the seventeenth century, especially in the long-term relevance of a religious conditioning of these perceptions and memories, but also in the development of disaster research in Europe since the late twentieth century. More specifically, he argues for an examination of European 'risk culture(s)', based on specific historical experience, and explains the transition from a 'prevention society' to a 'risk society' as a result of changes during the 1970s, in particular the first oil crisis, and of the end of the Cold War. The formation of a 'risk society', as described by Ulrich Beck,[23] is also the subject of Karena Kalmbach's contribution, which describes the characteristics of a specific European risk culture, taking the example of the Chernobyl accident of 1986, its perceptions, experiences and memories. Although this environmental disaster did not immediately

23   Beck, *Risk Society.*

trigger the emergence of a specific European public sphere, as Kalmbach shows, it was, in the long run, a decisive moment for the emergence of a communication sphere not only on radioactivity or on nuclear risks, but on modern risks in general throughout Europe, even beyond East-West divisions. The emergence of a pan-European communication sphere that was not limited by the Iron Curtain and in which environmental issues were tackled is also the theme of Michel Dupuy's contribution. He examines the Western European perception of environmental degradation in Eastern Europe, in particular when it affected the environment on the other side. The emergence of this pan-European communication sphere, which can be considered as a prelude to a European public sphere, is particularly evident if German history is taken as an example: Dupuy shows how East German dissidents could use West German media in the 1980s to draw the attention of the West as well as the East German public to environmental pollution in the GDR, which was largely concealed by East German officials.

In the context of an increasing convergence of perceptions and debates at a European level, environmental movements, which initially arose mostly on national, regional or local levels, are becoming more and more transnationalised, transcending national, linguistic and sometimes even ideological boundaries throughout Europe. The essential role of environmental movements in the formulation of environmental consciousness on a European level is the subject of the second part of the book. The plurality of social forms and action repertoires related to the environment, as developed on the continent, creates a complex picture of engagement and reveals different aspects of Europe, broadening the contours of an institutional Europe.

This Europeanisation of environmental consciousness and ecological action by social movements is taking shape in quite different ways. Astrid Mignon Kirchof's work reveals a cultural and social history of environmental protection in the East that has hitherto been poorly documented. Based on an in-depth study of the biographies of two East German environmentalists, her contribution tells us about the importance of individuals acting as mediators of currents and repertoires of action between different times and places; i.e. between different periods of the twentieth century, thus linking the *Lebensreformbewegung* to the new social movements of the 1970s; between East and West, especially between the two Germanies; but also within the countries of Eastern Europe. The Europe that emerges from this portrayal is far more geographical and cultural than institutional and political. It is a Europe made up of individual convictions and exemplary action, from one

border to another. This history of environmentalism in socialist Central Europe is also described by Daniela Neubacher in her chapter 'Wetlands of Protest'. She finely demonstrates how militant mobilisation around the Danube is creating new links between Hungary and Austria, beyond the Iron Curtain and official contacts, thus contributing to the emergence of a Europe at grassroots level. In the West, the political system was in favour of the emergence of social movements with solid foundations, allowing even cross-border organisation to become sustainable. Andrew Tompkins describes this type of organisation in the chapter 'Towards a Europe of Struggles?' about the taking shape of anti-nuclear mobilisation in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. This type of transnational movement undergoing an evolutionary institutionalisation is also at the very centre of the study conducted by Liesbeth van de Grift, Hans Rodenburg and Guus Wieman on Greenpeace. Although the story of an NGO working at an international level and having to adapt to the European public sphere is a radical and militant one, the degree of organisation of this structure, created in 1971 in Canada, and the power of its action at the international level, have conferred on it a quasi-institutional standing within Europe, albeit not without difficulties of adjustment.

The beginnings of institutionalisation of environmental movements and the establishment of green parties in many Western European states took place in parallel with a major push for the institutionalisation of the European Community following the 1969 Hague Summit. Subsequently, this process of institutionalising environmental movements took great advantage of the European framework and in particular of the institutional one provided by the European Parliament since it was directly elected in 1979. Thus, green MEPs entered the European Parliament even before green parties were represented in most of the national parliaments in Western Europe. The third part of this book is therefore focused on the emergence of political parties dealing mainly with environmental issues in Europe and the introduction of such issues in parliamentary debates, a crucial link between public sphere and political decision-making. The perspective is a multi-level one, including a focus on the national level, a comparative case study and an approach that encompasses all EU countries.

Emilie van Haute emphasises the obstacles and opportunities specific to green parties in various European countries from the 1970s to the present, enabling us to understand the potential for affirming a new organisational model but also the reasons for its limitations. Giorgio Grimaldi traces the

development of the various European green parties throughout the federalist turning point of the 1990s. Silke Mende then sheds light on how the West German Greens dealt with European issues during their formative phase in the 1970s and 1980s, and thus shows how the European level has been adopted by one of the parties at the forefront of environmental presence at the Community level. Through a comparative approach, involving France, the United Kingdom and Federal Germany, Eva Oberloskamp examines how environmental issues were established in parliamentary debates between the 1970s and 1990s. This case study reflects the comparable importance of energy issues in the emergence of the environment as a topic for parliamentary debate within all three countries, a phenomenon that can be regarded as a characteristic of the emergence of a European public sphere. However, the highly contrasting picture reveals the limits of the phenomenon, as national specificities continue to dominate both in terms of energy security and of national representation in parliaments. All in all, this section underlines the extent to which nation states and their specific ways of organisation have hampered citizens' representation and political decision-making in the emergence of this common European sphere of communication and action.

Starting from reflections on the growing convergence of perceptions and debates as well as on the environmental movements emerging in this context since the 1970s and their institutionalisation at the parliamentary level, the fourth and final part of the book deals with the question of how these convergences determine the political agenda, both at the national level throughout Europe and at the supranational level in Brussels.

According to Jan-Henrik Meyer, the contribution of the European institutions in shaping European environmental policy has long been underestimated. Yet, this role has emerged from internal movements within Europe that are both interconnected and influenced by the internationalisation of debates in frameworks such as that provided by the Stockholm conference in 1972. The development of internal EU legislation is leading to a set of regulatory tools that will for example pave the way for major reforms in Central Europe in the context of the enlargement during the 2000s. Meyer analyses the origins of the construction of a public sphere through a series of very different case studies – Rhine pollution, the nuclear issue and the protection of birds – and explores the different ways in which public spheres function and are influenced by environmental movements. By presenting the various stages and the constitution of a European environmental law from the very first communication and the first action plan on the subject up to

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the Lisbon Treaty and the last milestones of this policy, Sophie Baziadoly shows how much the environmental question has become one of the central issues in European policies, especially from the decisive stage of the Single Act onwards. She highlights two main driving forces: internally, the role of civil society through the central place given to the citizens in environmental policies in Europe; externally, the global nature of the issue, which is also an element of policy impetus. She thus demonstrates the effectiveness of citizen action at several levels as well as the central position of the European regional level in the way a global issue is dealt with politically. Marjolein van Eerd and Duncan Liefferink point out the role of the management of large river basins in the rise of a European environmental policy, referring to the Rhine and the International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine River (ICPR). They show that we are thus moving from a functionalist approach based on de facto interdependencies and their necessary common management, to the convergence of experiences and thence to an active contribution in defining the EU's common policies. The presence of the European Commission within the ICPR and the adoption of directives of general interest that are of interest to the Union as a whole is a fundamental step in this politicisation.

The key element of the environmental challenge for European policies is the energy constraint, in particular through greenhouse gas emissions. The EU energy and climate change package implemented from 2008 onwards reflects the convergence of European energy and environmental policies. Drawing on the German and French cases, Christopher Fabre analyses how this convergence has developed by highlighting first the importance of the economic dimension (price) in reducing energy consumption and second the gradual empowerment of the environmental dimension of energy policies even beyond the oil counter-shock of the 1980s. He shows that Franco-German structural convergence is in fact part of the growing importance of a European policy that affects the entire EU. The analyses proposed by Antony R. Zito make it possible to examine the ways in which environmental policies are implemented and to identify some of the specific features of the European Union. Beyond the common guidelines that pass through the global level (UN) or the Western level (OECD), the European Union has long been distinguished by the regulatory dimension of its policies and by a political culture that is conducive to building consensus, as in the Netherlands or in Germany. The trend towards the use of economic instruments such as taxes is mainly due to the implementation of the Single Act. The example of

the United Kingdom clearly shows to what extent the evolution of British environmental policies is determined by its accession to the EU, thereby demonstrating the effects of integration on the country and indirectly how difficult it might be to undo them.

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24.   Chapters 1, 2, 4, 14 and 16.