KFG The Transformative Power of Europe

The European Commission in the 21st Century
Core Beliefs on EU Governance

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Abstract

What lives in the European Commission at the beginning of the 21st Century? This paper charts Commission officials' views on the governance, ideological direction, and policy scope of the European Union, employing data from a large survey conducted in Autumn 2008. First, the Commission is not a hothouse for supranationalism. True, supporters of a supranational Union with the College of Commissioners as the government of Europe and member states in the back seat are the largest minority, but they are outnumbered two-to-one by state-centric, pragmatist, and ambivalent officials. There are striking differences in distribution by nationality, gender, and department. Second, where do Commission officials stand on ideology? The answer is that the Commission is broadly representative of European societies, at least on traditional economic left/right issues, though decidedly more socio-liberal. Ideological views are not randomly distributed across services, with social DGs significantly more social-democratic than DGs handling market integration. Officials from new member states are more market-liberal than their 'western' colleagues. Finally, are Commission officials indeed bureau-maximizers? We find that, on the whole, Commission officials want more EU authority in the eleven policy areas that we asked them to evaluate, but their desire to centralize is selective and measured. It seems driven by functional imperatives – centralization where scale economies can be reaped – and by values and ideology rather than by a generalized preference for maximal Commission power. In short, the bureaucratic politics argument has been overstated.

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1.   Introduction[1]

Over the past few decades, the European Union has been transformed from a system for interstate collaboration to a polity (Hix 1994; Marks et al. 1996; Caporaso 1996; Börzel/Risse 2000; Hooghe/Marks 2009) in which Commission officials are active players. They initiate and implement EU decisions across a broad swath of policies, frame the European interest and represent the European Union in international fora. Their attitudes and beliefs help shape Europe's future. This paper describes their views on the governance, ideological direction and policy scope of the European Union.[2]

There is considerable variation among Commission officials in how the balance of power among Commission, member states and European Parliament should look like. Differences range from supranationalism and state-centrism to institutional pragmatism. We begin by outlining these conceptions, show their relative strength in the Commission, and then examine to what extent territorial and functional factors help us understand variation in EU governance beliefs. In the next sections, we document ideological diversity among Commission officials and explore whether DGs have indeed recognizable partisan make-ups. In the final section, we examine which policies, and with how much, Commission officials desire to centralize or decentralize, and we take up the question whether bureaucratic politics motivates Commission officials' beliefs on Europe's policy agenda.

2.   Commission Officials and EU Governance

What form of EU governance is favored by Commission officials? What, in their view, is the appropriate balance of power among Commission, member states and European Parliament? There are several viable EU governance options:

- An intergovernmental or state-centric Union which conceives the Commission as an agent under close member state supervision, i.e. member states steer the course of European integration (Moravcsik 1998).

- A proto-federal or supranational European Union in which the Commission is the primary authority. This vision was theorized by early neofunctionalists (Lindberg/Scheingold 1970). Later work refined the argument by highlighting the role of the European Court of Justice as engine of integration and downplaying teleology (Sandholz/Stone Sweet 1998).
- A multilevel polity in which the Commission and the member states are interlocking and complementary institutions (Marks et al. 1996). This option echoes Ernst Haas, who observed in *"The Uniting of Europe"* that the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) constituted "a hybrid in which neither the federal nor the intergovernmental tendency has clearly triumphed" (Haas 1958: 526-7). He described it as a fundamental departure from traditional conceptions of government.

State-centrism has broad support in Europe's publics and national elites, and since national loyalties and interests may influence Commission officials' beliefs, some of these views are likely to carry over into the Commission. The supranational and multilevel options are in line with the general expectation that Commission officials favor strong European Union institutions. This is consistent with utility maximization, according to which bureaucrats are bureau-maximizing (Pollack 2003). It also jibes well with an organizational understanding of the European Commission, which expects their views to be shaped by organizational location (Egeberg 2001). And it corresponds with the observation that, given a choice, few individuals pursue careers in an organization with antithetical values.

Supporters of a federal Union or a multilevel polity find common ground in their defense of the Treaty rules that invests the Commission with the monopoly of legislative initiative and the member states (or the Council of Ministers) with the power to pass legislation. Haas (1958) drew attention to this institutional innovation in the ECSC Treaty, which became later known as the Community method (Wallace 2000; Weiler 1991; Dehousse ed. forthcoming).

The Community method has ambiguous constitutional implications. Commission President Walter Hallstein believed that it requires federalism (Hallstein 1963: 168). But Haas thought that the Community method was a stable equilibrium and so does apparently the Commission: "The Community method (…) provides a means to arbitrate between different interests by passing them through two successive filters: the general interest at the level of the Commission; and democratic representation, European and national, at the level of the Council and European Parliament, together the Union's legislature" (Commission 2001: 8). When stripped of its federal ambition, the Community method side-steps institutional power struggles by regulating the separate roles of Commission and member states in policy making, and that is an attractive strategy for defenders of the Commission in a time of resurgent nationalism (Hooghe 2012). So the method has been linked with federalism and with multilevel governance. The Community method party is diverse indeed.

Where do officials stand on these three options? Table 1 provides the distribution of responses on two statements concerning power relations between Commission and member states. There is considerable ambivalence. The first statement expresses the supranational view that "the College of Commissioners should become the government of Europe." As many Commission officials disagree as agree with the statement and 16 per cent sit on the fence. The state-centric statement that "member states – not the Commission or European Parliament – should be the central players in the European Union" produces a more uniform picture: 75 per cent oppose, though 20 per cent would not object.

Table 1: EU Governance Views

	Some people want the College of Commissioners to become the government of Europe.	Some argue that member states not the Commission or European Parliament – should be the central players in the European Union.
Strongly agree	7.4	1.1
Agree	29.9	7.1
Neither agree nor disagree	16.1	11.8
Disagree	26.2	40.7
Strongly disagree	13.5	34.3
Not sure/missing	6.9	4.9

Note: Percentages; n=1846.

Figure 1: EU Governance Options and Types of Commission Officials
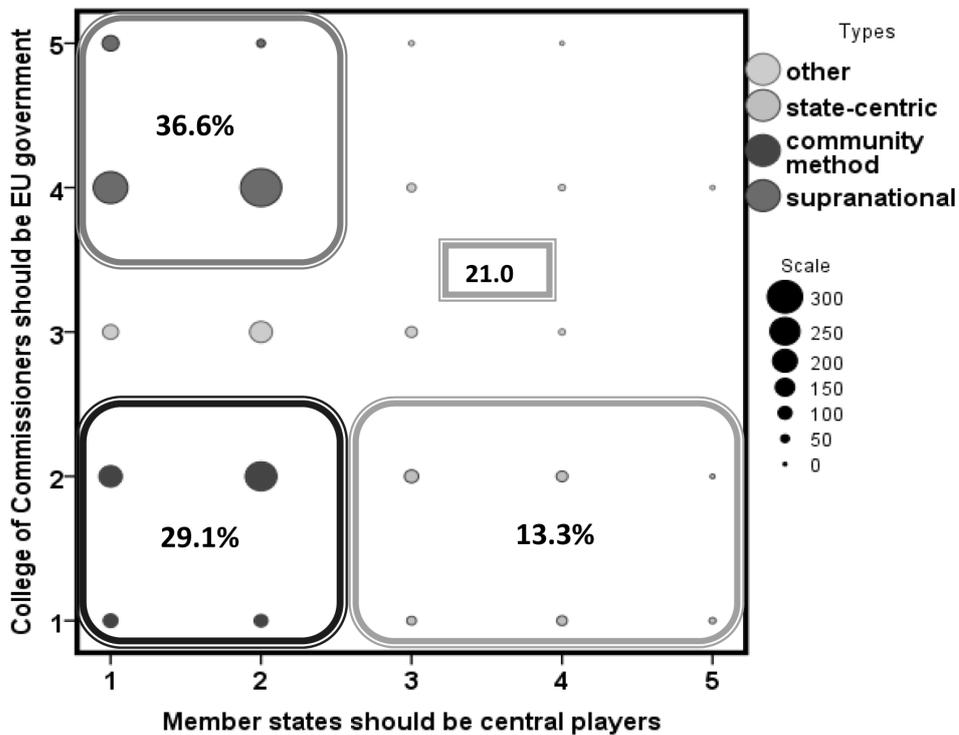
Note: N=1698. Five-point scales ranging from 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither disagree nor agree; 4=agree; 5= strongly agree.

Figure 1 typologizes Commission officials on EU governance based on their responses to these statements. Supranationalists agree that the College of Commissioners should be the government of Europe and disagree that member states should remain the central pillars, while state-centrists disagree with the former and agree with the latter. But some officials – institutional pragmatists – believe that *neither* the College of Commissioners *nor* the member states should be the kernel of European government. 13.3 per cent can be classified as state-centrists, 36.6 per cent as supranationalists and 29.1 per cent as institutional pragmatists. One out of five officials cannot be placed into any of these categories.

Table 2 breaks these per centages down by rank, gender, and EU-12 vs. EU-15. The strongest difference runs along gender lines. Women are much less likely to be supranationalists. Interestingly, this echoes the finding from public opinion studies that women are slightly more reluctant than men to embrace European integration (Gelleney & Anderson 2000; Nelsen/Guth 2000). Some have explained this in terms of economic interest: women are more vulnerable to economic competition and might be wary of the single market. Others emphasize cultural or biological differences: women are compassionate and less competitive and are more circumspect about power battles. This might explain why women are predisposed to institutional pragmatism. EU-12 officials are less likely to be supranationalist and more likely to not fall in any of these categories, although these differences wash out once we exert controls (see below). An official's nationality, DG location, self-selection, and gender tell a more convincing story.

Table 2: EU Governance Options by Seniority, Gender, and Enlargement

	Commission (all)	Top officials	Rank and file	Men	Women	EU-15 officials	EU-12 officials
Supranationalists	36.6	39.5*	36.1*	40.4**	29.8**	38.8**	30.4**
State-Centrists	13.3	9.2*	13.5*	12.0*	15.8*	12.8	14.7
Institutional Pragmatists	29.1	29.4	28.7	27.2*	32.6*	28.9	29.7
Other	21.0	21.8	21.7	20.4	21.8	19.5*	25.2*
N	1692	119	1498	1068	614	1278	401

<u>Note</u>: Percentages. * indicates that differences of means is significant at .05 level and ** at .01 level between subgroups, e.g. men are significantly more likely to be supranationalists than women, and EU-15 officials are more likely to be supranationalists than EU-12.

There is much that unites supranationalists, state-centrists, and institutional pragmatists. They tend to agree that a) the Commission should not focus on managing existing policies; b) posts in the Commission should not be distributed by c) officials should put loyalty to the Commission over DG loyalty. Table 3 shows that for each of the six statements, absolute majorities in three categories endorse the same direction. But three differences stand out.

First, state-centrists are less opposed than others to the Commission focusing more on management than on initiation (statement I). Second, while there is limited support across the Commission for sharing its initiative with the European Parliament, state-centrists are most skeptical and supranationalists least skeptical (statement III). The Commission's monopoly of initiative is the alpha and omega of the Commission's separate-but-equal role in the European Union's system of multilevel governance. Interestingly, it is not a breakpoint for a supranationalist/federalist who sets his eyes on the Commission governing Europe. Third, state-centrists and institutional pragmatists are much less concerned about accommodating national interests, be this through "geographical balancing" or by tolerating one Commissioner per member state, than supranationalists, who are strongly opposed (statement IV and V).

Table 3: Attitudes By EU Governance Type

Percentage who agree strongly or tend to agree			
	State centrists	Institutional pragmatists	Supra-nationalists
Commission as Manager vs. Commission as Initiator			
I. The Commission should primarily focus on managing existing policies rather than developing new ones.	24.8	12.0	10.0
II. The more member states the EU has, the more important is the Commission's role as policy initiator.	63.1	69.0	65.6
III. The Commission should share its sole right of initiative with the European Parliament.	29.8	32.1	37.6
Accommodate national interests vs. independent of national interest			
IV. Some argue that posts in the Commission should be distributed on the basis of geographical balance.	41.3	37.1	34.2
V. It is more important to have one Commissioner per member state than to have a smaller and more efficient College.	36.8	32.0	20.2
Loyalty to DG vs. Loyalty to Commission			
VI. Commission officials work for their DG first, then for the Commission.	42.0	29.8	29.2

Note: Percentage of respondents agreeing strongly or tending to agree with the statement (as opposed to disagreeing strongly or tending to disagree or neither agreeing nor disagreeing).

2.1   Explaining Beliefs on EU Governance

What makes someone a supranationalist, state-centrist, or institutional pragmatist? Past research suggests that territorial and functional (or professional) loyalties and interests shape EU governance views among European elites (Egeberg 2001; Hooghe 2002, 2005; Beyers 2005; Bauer 2008; Hooghe 2012). Our analysis provides strong support for these conjectures, but we also find that other factors, in particular the reason for joining the Commission (motivation) and gender, help explain EU governance views.

Figure 2 suggests there are considerable differences among nationalities in the distribution of supranationalists, institutional pragmatists and state-centrists. Belgians and Italians are heavily overrepresented among supranationalists; state-centrists come disproportionately from Britain, Slovakia, and Sweden, and institutional pragmatists from Portugal, Slovenia, and the Netherlands. Four national characteristics in particular predispose nationalities to state-centrism, supranationalism, or institutional pragmatism:

- *Multilevel governance.* Supranationalists and institutional pragmatists come disproportionately from countries with extensive decentralization and state-centrists come disproportionately from unitary countries.[3]

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3 Operationalized as the average score on the Regional Authority Index for each member state over ten years (1995-2006), a measure of the extent of self rule and shared rule for each intermediate tier of regional government. Source: RAI dataset by Hooghe et al. (2010), accessible on http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe. The difference is significant at 0.001 level between state-centrists and supranationalists; institutional pragmatists rank in between.

- *Religion and state building.* State-centrists come disproportionately from protestant countries; supranationalists and institutional pragmatists from catholic countries.[4] There is congruence here with the finding in European public opinion research that support for supranationalism tends to be strongest in Catholic societies (Nelsen et al. 2001; Madeley 2008; Boomgaarden/Freire 2009). Stein Rokkan emphasized how religious strife split Europe into territories that rejected Rome and those that embraced it. Protestant state churches became central instruments for nation builders in Northern and Central Europe, whereas the Catholic Church remained supranational (Rokkan/Urwin 1983).

- *Country size.* State-centrists come disproportionately from large countries; supranationalists from smaller countries. This is consistent with the expectation that the smaller the country, the greater the benefits of large-scale European government.

- *Governance efficacy.* State-centrists and institutional pragmatists come disproportionally from countries with effective governance; supranationalists from less effective governance countries. Substituting a federal European government for national government is attractive if the latter cannot produce the public goods.[5]

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4 Operationalized as the percentage of protestant respectively catholic population for each member state in 2008; standardized around the mean. Source: US State Department's International Religious Freedom Report 2008 (accessible from http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/). Difference of means between state-centrists on the one hand and institutional pragmatists and supranationalist on the other is significant at the 0.001 level.

5 Government effectiveness is a measure developed by the Worldwide Governance Indicators Program of the Worldbank. These aggregate indicators are based on hundreds of variables measuring various dimensions of governance, taken from 35 data sources provided by 33 different organizations. The data reflect the views on governance of public sector, private sector, and NGO experts, public opinion and firm surveys. Source: Kaufmann et al. (2009) (accessible from the Worldbank http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp). Differences between state-centrists and institutional pragmatists on the one hand and supranationalists on the other are significant at the 0.001 level.

Figure 2: EU Governance Types and Nationality
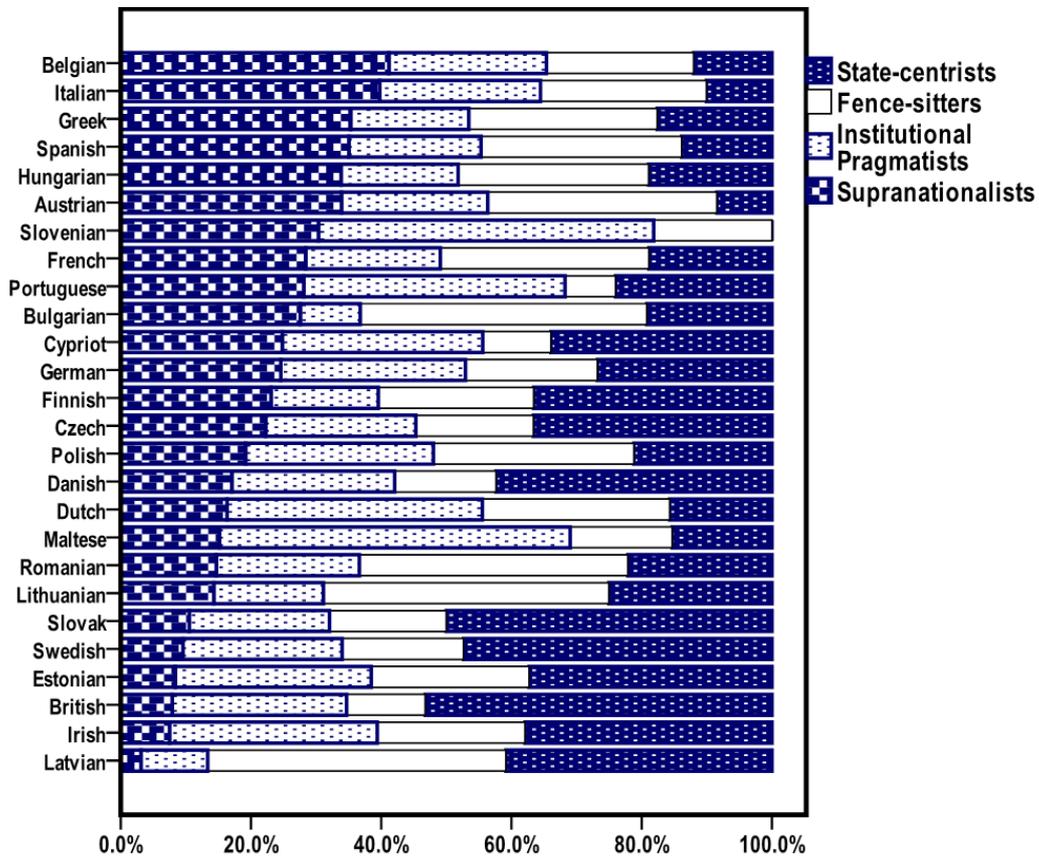
Attitudes differ also systematically across Directorate Generals (DGs), but the differences are not as pronounced as for nationality. One finding and one non-finding deserve highlighting:

- **Technical expertise DGs.** Institutional pragmatists work disproportionately in DGs with technical content; state-centrists and supranationalists in DGs with political content. Where shared technical know-how is a basis for effective policy making, institutional power battles are irrelevant. Institutional pragmatists are overrepresented in DGs such as Fisheries, Environment, Development, or Information Society. Our data do not enable us to tease out whether this is because institutional pragmatists self-select (or are recruited) for technical DGs, or because the policy environment socializes and incentivizes people who work there.

- **DGs with strong legal competence.** Officials in DGs that exercise monopoly of Commission initiative do *not* house a disproportionately large number of supranationalists, and DGs with extensive routinized member state involvement do *not* have more state-centrists. We tested this in terms of socialization as well as utility. To the extent that DG experience shapes attitudes, one might have expected otherwise. However, the data do not bear this out.

Territorial loyalty and DG experience explain the bulk of the variance in EU governance views, but three additional factors merit mention.

- **National administration**. Commission officials who worked in a national administration or as diplomat prior to joining the Commission are significantly more likely to be state-centrists and less likely

to be supranationalists. This is consistent with earlier work (Hooghe 2002), and it conforms to the expectation that former national bureaucrats export state-centered views acquired at home to their new job.

- **_Motivation for joining the Commission._** Respondents who joined because of a commitment to Europe are more likely to be supranationalists or institutional pragmatists and less likely to be state-centrists. Commitment to Europe is the most common motivation – 72 per cent mention it, but only 57 per cent of state-centrists do against 80 per cent of supranationalists and 69 per cent of institutional pragmatists. 23 per cent mention commitment to a policy, and supranationalists are underrepresented and institutional pragmatists overrepresented. Interestingly, institutional pragmatists are also over-represented among those who were asked to apply, and among those who say they joined because they like to work in an international environment, or because of personal or family reasons – reasons noticable for being non-committal on the institutional power balance between Commission and member states.[6]
- **_Gender._** As indicated above, women are significantly more likely to be institutional pragmatists or state-centrists, and less likely to be supranationalists. The EU governance gender gap is most pronounced in the EU-15.

These patterns are robust in multivariate analysis.[7] National background is powerful in distinguishing state-centrists from supranationalists, while DG location helps explain who are the institutional pragmatists. State-centrists are most likely to come from countries with limited multilevel governance, countries with larger populations, and from Protestant countries. Supranationalists come from countries with multilevel governance, smaller countries, countries with less governance effectiveness, and non-Protestant countries. State-centrists and supranationalists are thus mirror images. Institutional pragmatists stand apart from both groups – not so much in terms of where they come from, but on account of their professional profile: they tend to work in policy DGs with high technical content where shared technical knowledge reduces institutional power struggles.[8] Their motivational core is consistent. They came to Brussels for primarily a-political reasons: to work on a policy problem they care about, to be in an international environment, or because family or circumstance brought them there.

2.2   Beliefs about the Future

In separate interviews with senior managers and heads of unit, we presented respondents with three conceptions of the European Commission's role in EU governance.
- The Commission as policy initiator and guardian of the treaties
- The Commission as an administration serving the Council and the Parliament
- The Commission as the government of Europe

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6   These last three differences are not statistically significant because of the small number of officials involved.

7   See Hooghe (2012) for a detailed analysis.

8   Dichotomous variable taking on the value of 1 if a respondent works in a policy DG that demands above average technical expertise, i.e. agriculture, development, environment, EuropeAid, fisheries, information society and media, internal market, joint research centre, taxation, and customs union. Differences between institutional pragmatists and state-centrists are significant at 0.05 level and at 0.10 level with supranationalists.

These conceptions are not directly comparable to the governance types sketched above, but there are affinities. The first option describes the Community method, the second option is consistent with state-centrism or intergovernmentalism, and the third comes closest to Hallstein's federal conception.

Figure 3: Preferences and Expectations about the Commission's Role

Conceptions of the Commission (n=119)
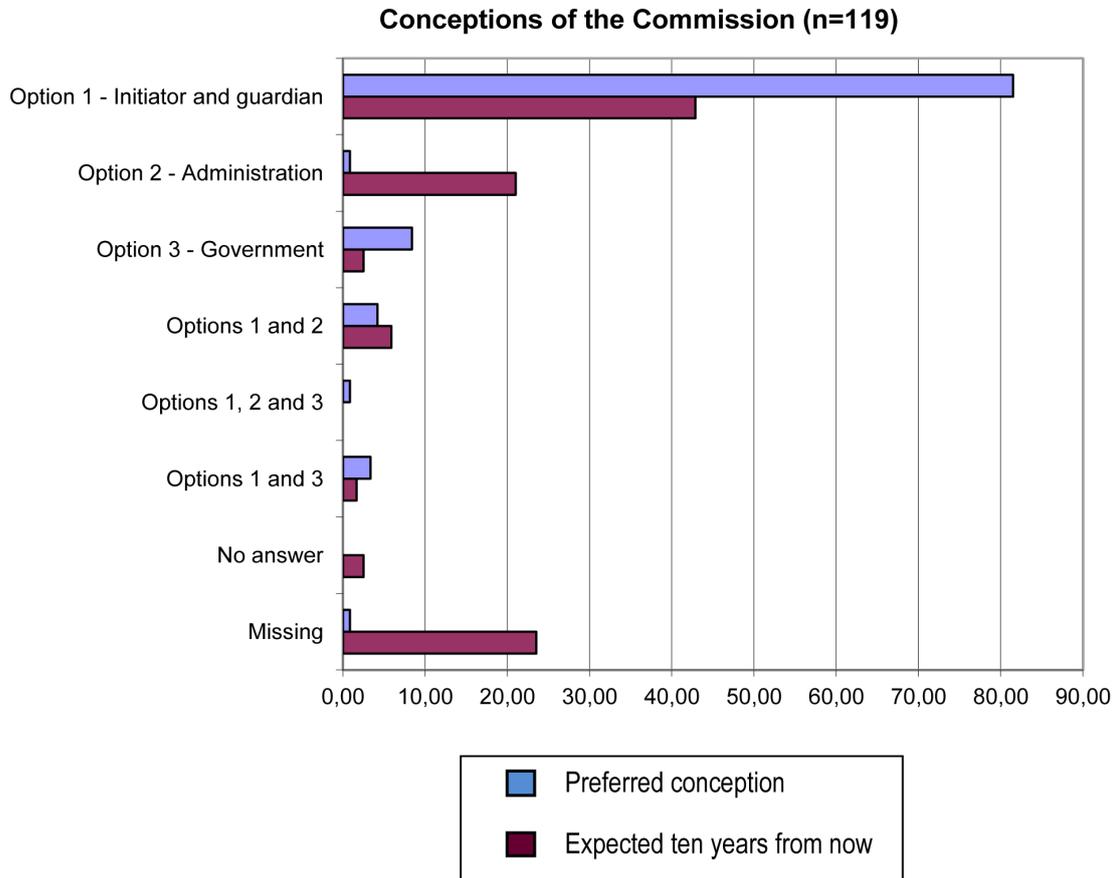
Source: Face-to-face interviews with heads of unit and senior managers (n=119).

We asked which of these three conceptions of the Commission do respondents prefer, and which of these will the Commission be closest to ten years from now? Figure 3 reveals a sharp distinction between desires and expectations. Eighty-one per cent prefer the Community method, but only 43 per cent believe it will survive beyond ten years. Eight per cent support the federal conception, but only 2.5 per cent see this as the Commission's future. The sharpest contrast is on the Commission as administration: just 1 per cent supports this, but 21 per cent expect this to be the Commission's future.[9] There is a grim realization among senior officials that the role of the Commission is changing in an undesirable direction and over which they have little control.

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9 A large number of interviewees did not respond to the second question. When these missing values are ex-cluded the numbers change to 56 per cent (Community method), 27.5 per cent (administration), and 3.3 per cent (government).

3.   Commission Officials and Politics

Scholars, politicians, and media pundits attribute ideological bias to Commission bureaucrats, though there is little agreement on the direction of this bias. A broad strand of the political economy literature understands the European Union as an agent of big capital (van Apeldoorn et al. 2009). This is consistent with the purported bias of the Treaty in favor of market integration (Scharpf 2010). Ironically, many politicians and political pundits blame the European Commission for exactly the reverse. In 1988, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher famously accused the Delors Commission of plotting socialism through the backdoor. Vaclav Klaus, the Czech president, contemptuously describes the Commission as socialist. We therefore venture into highly charged political terrain when we poll Commission officials on their economic and social-cultural philosophy:

- "People often think of themselves in terms of their personal philosophical stance on economic issues. Some favour an active role for government on economic policy questions. Others look primarily to markets. Where would you place yourself in terms of economic philosophy?" ranging from 0 (a greater role for government) over 5 (centrist) to 10 (greater role for markets).
- "People often think of themselves in terms of their personal philosophical stance on social and cultural issues. Many people who consider themselves to be liberal tend to favour expanded personal freedoms on (for example) abortion, same-sex marriage, and so on. People on the conservative side tend to favour more traditional notions of family, morality, and order. Where would you place yourself in terms of social-cultural philosophy?" ranging from 0 (more liberal) to 10 (more conservative).

Table 4 presents these dimensions on 0 (left) to 10 (right) scales. On the economic left/right, European Commission officials are centrist, leaning slightly to the right (mean=5.47). On the social liberal/conservative dimension, Commission officials are left of center (mean= 3.68). Variation on social values is greater than on economic values.

Table 4: Ideology by Seniority, Gender, and Enlargement

	Commission	Top officials	Rank and file	Men	Women	EU-15	EU-12	Political Parties EU-15	Political Parties EU-12
Economic left/right dimension									
Mean	5.47	5.45	5.47	5.48	5.44	5.19**	6.27**	5.10	4.99
Median	5.00	6.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	7.00	5.00	4.70
St.Dev.	1.98	2.13	1.97	2.02	1.92	1.93	1.91	2.07	2.10
N	1676	122	1555	1060	616	1248	428	114	73
Social-cultural dimension									
Mean	3.68	3.51	3.69	3.72	3.61	3.53**	4.13**	5.66	5.08
Median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	5.75	5.00
St.Dev.	2.49	2.45	2.50	2.45	2.57	2.37	2.77	2.00	2.15
N	1676	122	1555	1060	610	1248	428	114	73

Note: ** indicates that differences of means are significant between subgroups at p<.01. EU-12 political parties are to the economic left of EU-12 Commission officials and the difference is statistically significant; officials of either part of Europe are significantly more socially liberal than are political parties.

One of the most striking findings in the survey is evident from the last four columns in Table 4. EU-12 officials are considerably more rightwing and less social-liberal than their EU-15 colleagues.[10] Both differences are highly significant. Moreover, EU-12 officials are quite a bit more pro-market than political parties in their home countries. They are also more socially liberal. EU-12 officials are *not* representative of their societies. They are mobile, Western-educated, have tenuous ties to communist networks, tend to be outspoken critics of the former regime, and are usually successfully integrated in the "Western" world. As a result, they are motivated to embrace market values and cosmopolitanism, often with the zeal of recent converts. One might have expected differently. A compelling line of argument, developed by Kitschelt et al. (1999) and Vachudova (2005), is that the revolutions left a communist legacy – radical economic egalitarianism and anti-democratic authoritarianism – that continues to shape values and political preferences. EU-12 officials might have been to the economic left and more socially conservative than their EU-15 counterparts. We find signs of somewhat greater conservativism, but quite a bit more market liberalism than among their Western colleagues.

3.1   Understanding Ideological Variation in the Commission

Ideology is prior to Commission employment. Whether a person is a market liberal rather than a social democrat or liberal rather than conservative is determined earlier in life.[11] Explaining the origins of Commission officials' ideological beliefs is therefore beyond the scope of this study, but perhaps the data can shed light on ideological variation in the Commission. Let us examine three sources of variation: territory, DG location, and EU governance views.

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10 It is well documented that the ideological profile of parties in the older member states of Western Europe differs considerably from most recent member states (Marks et al. 2006). That is why we compare officials from the EU-15 with EU-15 political parties and officials from the EU-12 with EU-12 political parties. The political party positioning for a country is the average of political parties weighted for party vote in the national election in or prior to 2006. Source: 2006 Chapel Expert survey on political parties (Hooghe et al. 2010).

11 Though it is possible that ideological priors could be affected by experiences in the Commission. About potential genetic bases for ideological proclivities, see Alford et al. (2005).

Figure 4: Ideology by Nationality

Error bars: 95% CI

Error bars: 95% CI
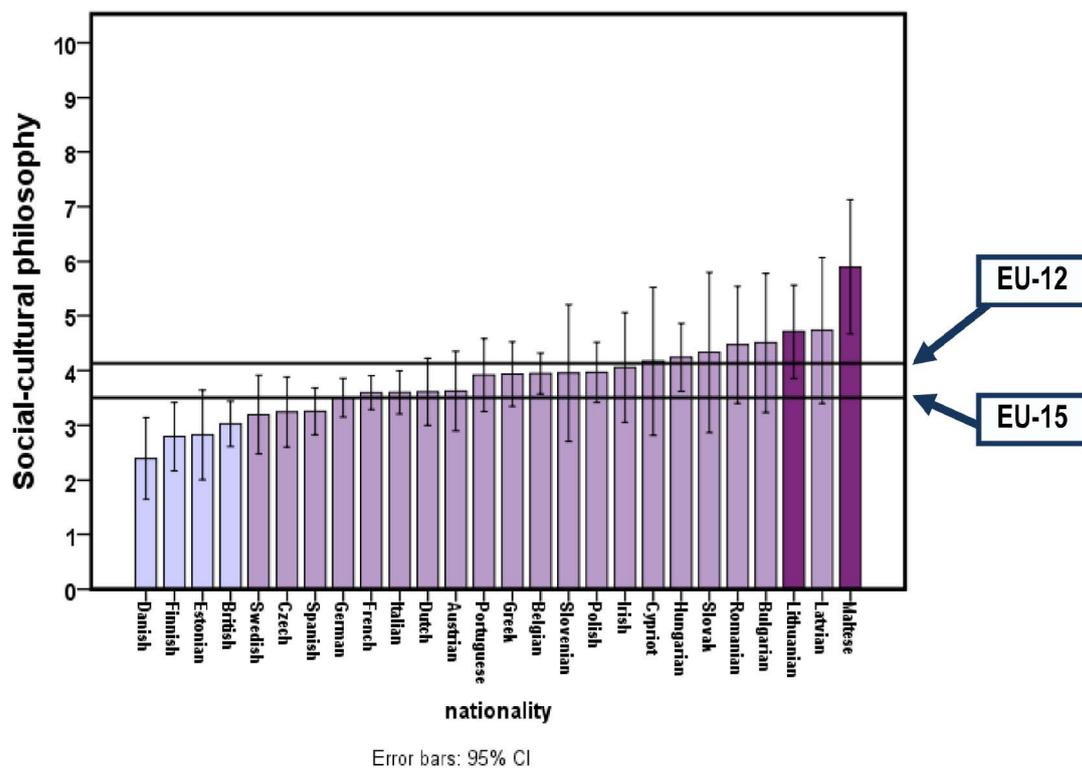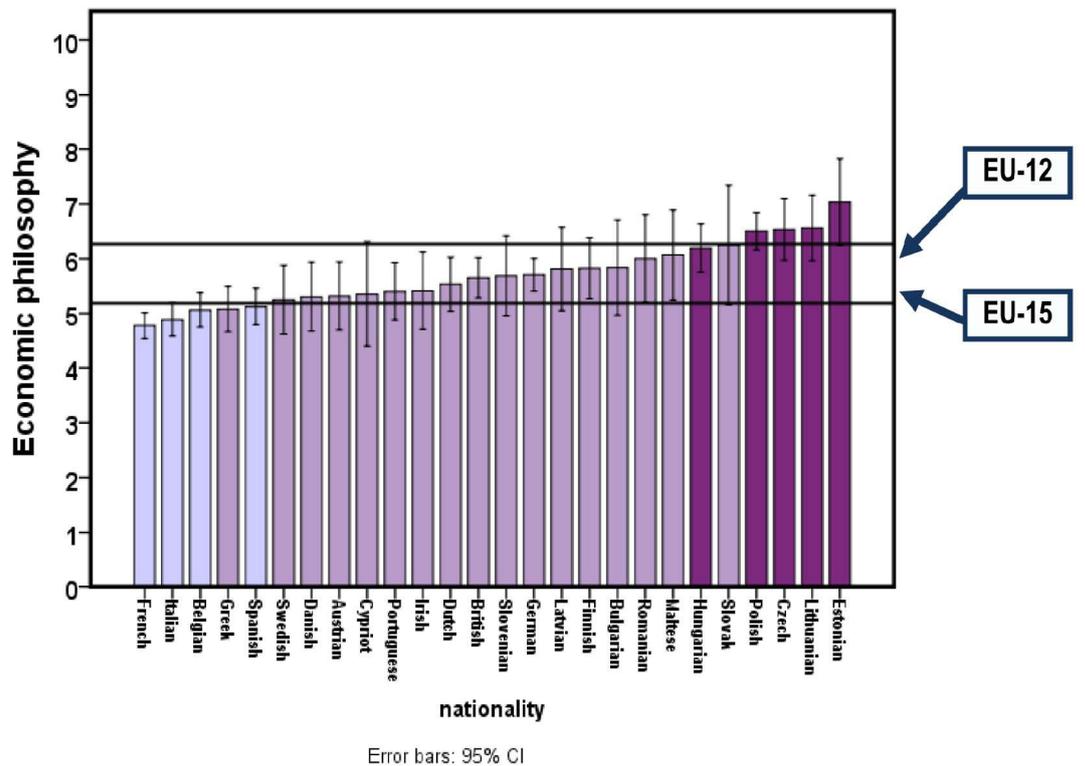
<u>Note</u>: N=1676, with N=>18 or higher for each nationality (Luxembourg excluded). The bars represent the mean value by nationality, and the whiskers the 95 per cent confidence intervals. Darker- and lighter colored bars at either end highlight which nationalities have ideologies that differ significantly from the overall average (one-tailed t-tests at p<0.05).

National political economy and economic ideology. Figure 4 illustrates average positioning on the economic left/right by nationality. There is a left-oriented Southern cluster and an economically liberal Central and Eastern European cluster. However, there is no Scandinavian cluster and, interestingly, officials from "market-liberal" Britain stand shoulder to shoulder with "Rhine-capitalist" Germans and Dutch. Hence our findings only partly confirm the expectation that nationalities upload their country's political-economic model: that Brits make the case for market liberalism, Germans and French for Rhine capitalism, Scandinavians for social democracy, and Southerners for a Mediterranean model oriented around the family (Brinegar/Jolly 2005; Callaghan 2010). As noted above, the difference between EU-12 officials and EU-15 officials trumps that between any smaller country groupings, but that difference cannot be attributed to divergent national socialization. The reasons why EU-12 officials are more market-liberal than their EU-15 colleagues appear to be personal rather than national.

Policy families and economic ideology. Officials in market-correcting DGs, such as regional policy, social policy, or environment, are less pro-market than those in market-enhancing DGs, such as trade or competition (Table 5). This corresponds with scholarly accounts that highlight how key Commission services are dominated by particular ideological factions. Wilks (2005) shows that neoliberalism among DG Competition officials provided a major impetus for enhanced EU authority in competition policy (see also Wigger/Nölke 2007). Ross (1995), Hooghe (1996), and Falkner (1998) have documented how particular Commission services have been motivated by social-democratic ideas regarding EU cohesion and social policy. Students of EU gender and anti-discrimination policy describe how the Commission services have pushed a progressive agenda (Chicowski 2007; Caporaso/Tarrow 2009).

DG core activity and ideology. A more general pattern of ideological sorting emerges when one coalesces DGs according to their core activity.[12] Economically left officials are overrepresented in spending DGs, while economically rightwing officials are found disproportionately in regulatory DGs. Regulatory DGs are also distinctly more conservative, while officials in external relations – and surprisingly, also internal DGs such as the Secretary General, Administration or the Legal Services – are more socially liberal.

EU governance views. State-centrists are to the economic right of supranationalists, and institutional pragmatists.[13] This is consistent with the notion that the right favors intergovernmentalism to create regime competition, while the left favors supranationalism to increase the EU's capacity to regulate markets (Hooghe/Marks 1999). One might also expect officials with socially liberal views to be more supportive of European authority and conservative individuals to be less supportive (Inglehart 1970; Marks et al. 2006; Risse 2010). But Table 5 shows that the difference is not statistically significant.

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12 A DG is allocated to one of five categories (regulatory, legislative, spending, internal, external) if it is primarily or secondarily involved in this activity. DG activity is assessed on the basis of the Commission's Annual Management Reports, in which each DG explains its functions and activities and sets out its budget.

13 Difference of means tests for economic philosophy between state-centrists on the one hand and institutional pragmatists and supranationalists on the other hand are significant at the 0.001 level; on socio-cultural philosophy means are different at the 0.05 level. Institutional pragmatists and supranationalists are not significantly different in their ideology.

Table 5: DG Location and Ideology

	Economic left/right		Social liberal/conservative	
All DGs	Mean = 5.47		Mean = 3.68	
Market-enhancing DGs	Strongly more to the right	6.02 (.000)	—	3.76 (.411)
Market-correcting DGs	Strongly more to the left	5.02 (.000)	—	3.55 (.215)
Spending DGs	Strongly more to the left	5.08 (.000)	—	3.62 (.789)
Regulatory DGs	Strongly more to the right	5.83 (.000)	Strongly more conservative	3.96 (.005)
Legislative DGs	—	5.35 (.404)	—	3.55 (.586)
Internal DGs	—	5.35 (.221)	More liberal	3.40 (.049)
External DGs	—	5.44 (.786)	More liberal	3.28 (.041)

Note: Figures in brackets report p-values of t-tests on whether the mean for officials in a DG group is significantly different from the mean for officials outside the DG group.

Policy making concerns the allocation of values. The values that the Commission allocates vary from policy to policy, and – strikingly – the values that the employees in those policy fields behold vary in tandem. Market-correcting DGs attract officials sympathetic to an active, equilibrating role for government on economic questions, and market-enhancing DGs appeal to market liberals. Services that disburse money appeal more to social-democrats, and regulatory services are more economically conservative. On economic ideology, DG location is a surer predictor than nationality. There is only one exception: the ideological difference between EU-12 and the EU-15 officials.

Interpersonal variation on the socio-cultural dimension – though greater – is less easily understood. This study confirms that officials are considerably more socially liberal than citizens, but that is to be expected given their advanced education, public sector profession, person-oriented work with a high degree of control over pace and content, international life style, and high income (Kitschelt 1994; Oesch 2006). Social-cultural values cluster only in a very minor way by DG group: external DGs draw more social liberals, and regulatory DGs attract more conservatives. Nor do they differ significantly between top and rank, between individuals with a lot or a little multinational experience, or by EU governance type. What appears to explain variation on socio-cultural values is the same set of factors at work in the general population: social conservatives are overrepresented among EU-12 officials, older officials, officials from non-protestant countries, and among right-of-center officials. There are very few indications that the European Commission or the EU political context influence ideological positioning on socio-cultural values.

3.2   The Meaning of the "Political"

Commission officials did not feel constrained in conveying their ideological beliefs. Fewer than two per cent (N=34) refused to answer one or both questions, which is the same number as those who did not disclose their year of birth and twice as many than those not confessing their gender (N=17). It is possible that we helped respondents along by describing the ideological dimensions as "philosophical views or stances". A more plausible explanation is that Commission officials are quite capable of distinguishing between philosophical core values and party politics. The former is accepted and valued as input in the job; the latter's influence is much rarer and much more contested.

We received a taste of the former in face-to-face interviews with senior managers. We asked 40 directors and director-generals how much they enjoy the political side of their work. Twenty-eight (i.e. 70 percent) say they like it very much, six "like it but have some reservations", one person accepts it as "part of the job", against just two people who do "not like it that much" and three people for whom "there is no political side". Moreover, despite being reluctant to share the monopoly of legislative initiative with the European Parliament (68 per cent disagree, 24 per cent agree),[14] middle and senior managers are generally respectful of the role played by Council and European Parliament. Of 116 individuals in face-to-face interviews, 86 per cent disagree with the statement that the "European Parliament and/or the Council of Ministers too often interfere with the work of the European Commission" while 11 per cent agree. As Bauer and Ege (2011: 25) summarize, "Commission officials perfectly fall into the conceptual category of "image II" bureaucrats, i.e. demonstrating a clear ability to distinguish between a power-based and a policy-based understanding of political work" (see also Aberbach et al. 1981).

Engagement in party politics is a different matter. While we did not ask officials which party they voted for in the last elections or whether they are members of a party, we asked them whether party affiliation was an important basis of informal networking in the Commission. Party affiliation was flagged in fourth place among six options. Eighteen per cent ticked it as first or second-most important base; it was preceded by personal connections in the workplace (83 per cent), same nationality (49 per cent), and same language group (20 per cent), but beat shared educational background (13 per cent), and shared regional identity such as Nordic or Mediterranean (10 per cent).[15]

The minor role of partisanship is corroborated in face-to-face interviews with 116 senior and middle managers. When asked directly about party membership, 85 per cent claim they have never been member of a party and only nine per cent say to be active or passive members.[16] This appears to be much lower than in many national administrations (Bauer/Ege 2011).[17] Table 6 reports on two questions about the relative role of party affiliation in Commission work. Party politics is presumed to be more important for cabinet members than for other officials, but the overall perception is that party affiliation does not matter a great deal.

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14 Middle management and senior officials from the online survey. Among junior officials, there is a somewhat greater willingness to share the legislative monopoly with the European Parliament (52 per cent disagree, and 37 per cent agree).

15 Middle and senior management in the online survey (n=228).

16 The question reads: "If you don't mind us asking, do you belong to a political party?" with the following response options:

No, never.	
In the past, not anymore.	
Yes, but I am not active.	
Yes, and I am still active.	

Our team argued long about the wisdom of including a question that was perceived to be very sensitive, but of randomly selected interviewees only two people (1.7 per cent) chose not to respond. Perhaps the perceived sensitivity of partisanship for bureaucrats is more in the minds of political scientists than of bureaucrats.

17 Hard comparative evidence is sketchy. Bauer and Ege refer to a 2005 study of German top officials, where 48.5 per cent of interviewed German top officials reported to be a member of a political party.

Table 6: The Role of Partisanship

	How important is the party affiliation or party sympathy of officials in the Commission?	How important is party affiliation for cabinet members?
Party affiliation is very important	0.9	4.3
It is important	3.4	15.5
Sometimes it plays a role, sometimes not	20.7	38.8
It is not very important	46.6	20.7
It does not play any role at all	25.0	8.6
Don't know/ refuse to say	3.5	20.2

<u>Note</u>: Percentages. 116 respondents of middle and senior management (92 per cent are from EU-15).

Since the association between the two items is quite high,[18] they can be combined in a factor "perception of party politicization". Four factors are significant predictors of perceived party politicization. First, heads of unit are more likely than directors or director-generals to believe party affiliation is important. Second, people on the economic right are more likely to report politicization. This is consistent with the view that the pro-market-bias in the treaties requires center-left partisan mobilization to push through a market-correcting agenda; market liberals enjoy the structural advantage of having their preferences built into the rules (Scharpf 2010). Third, officials from countries with a tradition of politicized administrations are more likely to find politicization in the Commission.[19] Our evidence does not enable us to settle whether they simply project experience from their home country onto the Commission, or whether officials from countries with politicized civil services are more exposed to politicization in the Commission. The first would suggest that perceptions rule experience, and the second that experience in the Commission could be nationally specific.

Fourth, the longer ago officials joined the Commission, the more likely they perceive party politicization. Disaggregating our sample in three groups – officials recruited during or before the Delors presidency (before 1995); officials recruited in the interregnum between Delors and Barroso (1995-2004); officials who entered during the Barroso presidency (2005 onwards) – sheds sharp light on this: the first group is three times more likely to perceive politicization than the third group, with the second group in the middle. This may reflect a tension between rapidly declining politicization in the Commission and people's capacity to update their views. Delors recruits entered a highly politicized institution, but this context was altered by subsequent reforms. The current Commission bureaucracy is not free of party (and national) politics, but its daily operation and personnel policy are much less affected by it than before (Bauer/Ege 2011). However, updating political beliefs with new experiences happens slowly.

18 Pearson correlation is 0.34 (n=100).

19 Politicization scores developed by Balint et al. (2008) for the fifteen EU countries. The additive index uses existing formal organizational rules, adding up seven dichotomous items. Each item is coded as "1" (i.e. politicized) if the condition in the brackets is satisfied. 1. Senior staff is usually recruited from the administration itself (no); 2. Senior staff is recruited through formal procedures prior to the appointment (no); 3. Senior staff can be dismissed by the minister without cause (yes); 4. Senior staff can be replaced when the government changes (yes); 5. The incumbent minister can appoint senior staff (yes); 6. A formalized cabinet system exists (yes); 7. The appointment of cabinet staff is formalized (no). Greece is most politicized and Britain least (Bauer/Ege 2011).

4.   Commission Officials and Policy Scope

The theory of bureaucratic politics predicts that bureaucrats prefer to expand policy competences or budgets to enhance their status and power, and support expansion of their particular policy field more than others (Calvert et al. 1989; Niskanen 1994; Pollack 2003; Franchino 2007). We examine this argument in two steps, first by asking whether there is a general tendency to shift policy authority to the European Union, and second by investigating whether there is a specific tendency to fight for their policy corner. The evidence supporting these two bureaucratic arguments is weak. Commission officials' attitudes on policy scope in general, and on the kind of policies that should be centralized are guided by ideology and EU governance views rather than by career interests.

Commission officials were asked to evaluate both the actual and desirable distribution of authority between member states and the EU on eleven policies:

> *"We are interested in your views on the distribution of authority between member states and the EU on a range of policies.*
> * *Please start by giving us your assessment of the actual distribution in 2008. Where is each policy decided?*
> * *Where should this policy be decided?"*

Respondents were prompted to select a position on an eleven-point scale from 0 (exclusively national/sub-national) to 10 (exclusively EU). By subtracting actual from desirable policy we get a read on Commission officials' attitude towards the status quo. Positive values indicate a desire for centralization and negative values for decentralization. Foreign & security policy and asylum & immigration policies lead the list. The smallest shifts are desired for competition, trade and regional policy. Interestingly, officials want to roll back centralization in agriculture.

Table 7: Desired Shifts in EU Authority in Eleven Policy Fields

		Actual policy scope	Desired policy scope	Desired shift in central-ization	Desired rank-ing of policies	Senior officials	Other	Men	Women	EU-15	EU-12
EU Authority	*Mean*	5.42	7.00			**6.8**	**7.0**	7.01	7.00	7.0	6.9
	St. Dev.	(1.22)	(1.30)			(1.37)	(1.30)	(1.27)	(1.38)	(1.30)	(1.34)
1.Competition		8.0	8.3	+0.3	2						
2. Trade		8.0	8.4	+0.4	1						
3. Agriculture		7.7	6.9	−0.8	7			6.8*	7.1*		
4. Environment		6.2	7.7	+1.5	3	7.4*	7.8*				
5. Regional development		5.2	5.7	+0.5	10					5.6**	6.0**
6. Development		5.1	6.7	+1.6	8						
7. Energy		4.9	7.6	+2.7	4						
8. Asylum & immigration		4.1	7.1	+3.0	5					7.1*	6.8*
9. Police & judicial cooperation		4.0	6.5	+2.5	9						
10. Foreign & security		3.4	7.0	+3.6	6	6.4**	7.1**	7.1*	6.8*	7.1**	6.7**
11. Social policy		3.2	5.0	+1.8	11	4.6*	5.1*				

Note: differences of means tests, and t-tests reported whereby *significant at .05 level; ** significant at 0.01 level. Only differences that are significant are reported.

4.1   Centralization Across the Board?

European Commission officials want more EU authority by an average of 1.58 on an eleven-point scale, which is a shift of 14 per cent. That is consistent with the most basic prediction of bureaucratic politics.

However, there is no blanket desire for more Europe. Desired change appears highest for policies that are least centralized, though this is not a consistent trend. Social policy – perceived to be the most decentral-ized – is not on the Commission officials' top centralization list, and the three most centralized policies (competition, trade, agriculture) are assessed very differently. At the individual level, there is even greater variation. Correlations between actual and desired scope range between -0.36 and -0.51 (depending on the subcategory). These are negative, suggesting that officials generally want greater shifts for the most decentralized policies, but they are also moderate, suggesting that officials have divergent views and use more discriminating criteria than an across-board "power-maximization" frame.

Men are not more inclined to shift authority to the EU than women, and junior not more than senior of-ficials. However, junior officials are keener on centralizing environment, foreign & security, or social policy, and men are more inclined to roll back EU agricultural policy, and more enthusiastic about centralizing foreign & security. In bivariate analysis, EU-12 officials appear no more or less inclined to shift EU authority than their EU-15 colleagues. However, they are less likely to centralize asylum & immigration or foreign & security, the top two policies in demand for centralization. This is balanced by the fact that they are more

in favor of EU regional policy than their EU-15 colleagues. What emerges is a qualified picture, which suggests that the utilitarian argument that bureaucrats support bureau-maximizing strategies needs more scrutiny.

In a multivariate analysis of variation in overall desired policy scope, beliefs and ideology are more powerful than nationality and DG location (see appendix).

- **EU governance views.** By far the most powerful predictor of how much centralization officials want is whether they are state-centrist or supranationalist. All other things equal, a state-centrist's optimal level of centralization is 0.69 points lower than that of an institutional pragmatist and 1.24 points lower than a supranationalist's ideal point on a scale of 11.

- **Ideology.** Socially liberal officials are more in favor of centralization than conservatives, and left-wing officials also tend to be more in favor than those on the economic right. These effects are robust even when we control for EU governance type. In other words, the fact that state-centrists tend to be market-liberal and supranationalists tend to be on the left does not swallow the *independent* effect of economic philosophy on desired policy centralization.

- **Religion and state building.** Officials from protestant countries are less likely to support centralization. This echoes a deeply engrained suspicion against supranational authority, anchored in the intertwined history of protestantism and state building in Northern and Central Europe (Rokkan/Urwin 1983).

- **Country size.** Officials from smaller countries are more in favor of centralizing authority, which is consistent with a public good argument. More targeted national utility factors are weak: officials from trading nations are not more in favor of centralization, nor are net beneficiaries of the EU budget or its structural funds, or countries with lower governance efficacy.

- **East vs. West.** EU-12 officials are less likely to support centralization – an effect that cannot be reduced to ideology, EU governance, gender, or country characteristics.

- **Core activity.** External DGs (trade, Relex, development, enlargement) are more likely to support centralization than the average official. They are the only functional group standing out: there are no systematic differences for the other four types of DGs. Nor are there significant differences across technical and non-technical DGs, power DGs and others, or market-correcting and market-enhancing DGs.

In explaining variation on the general desire for EU policy scope, DG location is weak. However, disaggregating policy scope into meaningful policy families reveals a more differentiated picture. Table 8 compares average desired scope for market-enhancing policies (competition, trade), market-correcting policies (environment, development, regional development, social policy), and security policies (asylum & immigration, police & justice, foreign & security) across types of DGs.

Table 8: Desired Policy Scope Disaggregated by Policy Family

		All policies		Market-enhancing policies		Market-correcting policies		Security policies
Commission		7.00		8.39		6.30		6.83
[St.Dev.]		[1.30]		[1.48]		[1.53]		[1.94]
Market-enhancing DGs	↔	6.9	↑	8.5	↓↓	6.0	↔	6.8
Market-correcting DGs	↔	7.0	↔	8.3	↔	6.3	↔	6.8
Spending DGs	↔	7.0	↓	8.3	↔	6.3	↔	6.9
Regulatory DGs	↔	6.9	↔	8.4	↓↓↓	6.1	↔	6.8
Legislative DGs	↔	7.0	↔	8.3	↔	6.3	↓↓	6.6
Internal DGs	↔	7.1	↔	8.4	↔	6.4	↔	6.9
External DGs	↑↑↑	7.4	↑↑↑	8.9	↑↑	6.6	↑↑↑	7.3
State-centrists	↓↓↓	6.2	↓↓↓	7.9	↓↓↓	5.5	↓↓↓	5.8
Institutional pragmatists	↓↓	6.9	↔	8.3	↓	6.2	↓↓	6.6
Supranationalists	↑↑↑	7.4	↑↑↑	8.7	↑↑↑	6.7	↑↑↑	7.4

Note: Averages for each subgroup. ↑↑↑ or ↓↓↓ indicate significance levels of t-tests on whether the mean for officials in a group is significantly different from the average for officials outside that group. ↑↑↑ or ↓↓↓ = <.001; ↑↑ or ↓↓ = <.01; ↑ or ↓ = <.05; and ↔ = no significant difference.
Legend: All policies = all eleven policies (scope); Market-Enhancing policies = competition, trade; Market-correcting policies = environment, regional development, development, social policy; Security policies = asylum & immigration, police & justice cooperation, foreign & security policy.

Commission officials' wish for EU authority is selective and explicable in terms of DG location. Grouping DGs by their policy principles produces intelligible differences: officials in market-enhancing DGs want to bolster EU authority in competition and trade much more than their colleagues in other DGs, and are less keen on EU authority in market-correcting policies. Officials in market-correcting DGs lean in the other direction, though they are less distinctive as a group than their colleagues in market-enhancing DGs. Selective centralization (or decentralization) is also apparent when DGs are grouped by core activity, with regulatory DGs harboring the most reluctant supporters of EU authority in market-correcting policies and spending DGs the most reluctant supporters of market-enhancing EU policies. As expected, officials in internal and legislative DGs do not have distinctive preferences on these ideological policy groupings.

There is one exception to the measured and selective preferences of Commission officials: external DGs favor EU centralization across the board, and as we have seen above, this preference cannot be explained away in terms of their EU governance views, ideology or nationality.

4.2 Bureau-maximization?

The evidence above casts doubt on the assumption that Commission officials have a general desire for greater EU authority. They are measured and explicable in their preferences. However, is it not possible that officials promote their policy corner rather than Commission authority in general? Would this not

be consistent with the fact that the Commission is a deeply compartmentalized institution? Do they? The short answer is: partially. Table 9 reports independent means t-tests comparing desired EU authority between the DG "owning" the policy and all others. One-tailed tests are reported here because the expectation is that officials from the DG that owns the policy should be more enthusiastic about EU authority than officials from other DGs.

Table 9: Does Bureaucratic Politics Work?

Policy	Desired EU authority in policy field			
	Sample size	Owner-DG	Others	Significance (one-tailed)
Trade	47	9.5	8.4	**.000**
Competition*	53	8.1	8.3	.279
Agriculture	93	7.7	6.9	**.000**
Social policy	70	5.3	5.0	.158
Regional development	59	6.0	5.7	.064
Environment	81	7.8	7.7	.414
Foreign & security policy	65	7.6	6.9	**.000**
Asylum & immigration	50	7.5	7.0	.057
Police & judicial cooperation	50	6.5	6.5	.426

Note: desired EU authority on a 0-10 scale with 0 (exclusively national/ subnational) to 10 (exclusively EU). Differences of means significant at .001 level are bolded.
* With respect to competition policy, officials in the owner-DG tend to be less in favor of centralization than officials outside the DG. The reported t-test parameter is two-tailed.

We test nine policies that are commonly identified with one DG and for which we have statistically meaningful samples: competition, trade, agriculture, social policy, regional policy, environment, justice & police cooperation, asylum policy, and foreign & defense policy.[20] Three of the nine policies conform to the expectation (trade, agriculture, foreign & security). None other reaches significance at the 0.05 level.[21] One policy goes in the opposite direction: officials in DG competition lean towards *less* EU authority for their policy field than officials outside their DG. The difference is not significant, but it lends added credence to the conclusion that our evidence provides hardly a ringing endorsement of bureaucratic politics!

20 Testing is constrained by the limited sample size of DGs, by the fact that policies may be fragmented across several DGs (or parts of DGs), or that policies are diverse with respect to the appropriate balance of national/ EU authority.

21 On July 1, 2010, the former DG for Justice, Freedom and Security was partitioned into two DGs, one for home affairs (DG Home), which deals with immigration and asylum, and one for justice and fundamental rights (DG Justice), which deals with citizenship and judicial cooperation. Our survey was conducted before the split and so we use the same home DG for asylum & immigration policy and for police & judicial cooperation.

5. Conclusion

This paper surveys core beliefs of Commission officials: their basic conceptions of EU governance, and their political ideology. It then examines how these shape their views on politics and the allocation of authority in EU policy making. We find considerable variation and substantial structure, and stake out positions on some intense debates involving the institution.

The European Commission has sometimes been portrayed as hungry for a supranational Europe with the Commission in the driver's seat. We find limited evidence of this. The party of the willing is a minority of 36 per cent. They want the College of Commissioners to be the government of Europe and do not want member states to be the central pillars. They co-habitate with 13.3 per cent state-centrists, who want the opposite, and with nearly 30 per cent institutional pragmatists who believe that *neither* the College of Commissioners *nor* the member states should be the kernel of EU government. Some 20 per cent avoid taking position.

National background is powerful in distinguishing state-centrists from supranationalists, while DG location helps explain who the institutional pragmatists are. State-centrists are most likely to hail from countries with limited multilevel governance, larger populations, and Protestant state churches, and they are more likely to be former national civil servants. Supranationalists come from countries with multilevel governance, smaller countries, countries with less governance effectiveness, and non-Protestant countries. The types are not distinctive in age, seniority, length of service, or transnational experience, but they are different in gender (supranationalism is disproportionately male) and ideology (supranationalists are more leftwing and more socially liberal than state-centrists). State-centrists and supranationalists are in many ways each other's alter ego. Institutional pragmatists stand apart from both groups – not so much in terms of national background, but on account of their professional profile: they work in policy DGs where shared technical knowledge reduces institutional power struggles. Their motivational core is consistent with this. They came to Brussels for primarily a-political reasons: to work on a policy problem, to be in an international environment, or for family reasons.

While these three types have their differences on the future balance among Commission, member states and Parliament, their disagreement is bounded. Europe is desirable and a source of motivation for all. They tend to agree that a) the Commission should have power of initiative; b) Commission officials should be watchful of national influence; and c) officials should be loyal to the political positions of the College. However, state-centrists are pro-management and others are much less; institutional pragmatists do not want to choose between Commission and member states as sources of authority; supranationalists are worried about geographical balancing and others are much less. Supranationalists may be followers of Monnet, Hallstein, or Delors, and institutional pragmatists may appreciate Haas' hybrid form of governance, but state-centrists in the Commission are not disciples of de Gaulle, Thatcher, or Klaus.

The European Commission has been accused of being neoliberal, and it has been charged of plotting socialism. Neither is true. European Commission officials are distinctly centrist on the economic left/right, albeit leaning slightly to the right. They are a fair echo of European societies, at least in the EU-15. Officials from the EU-12 are more market-liberal than their societies, but that does not make them *neo*-liberal. The

Commission is more distinctive on the social liberal/conservative dimension, where officials display the liberal bend to be expected of highly educated, internationally inclined, mobile, and prosperous public sector professionals.

The distribution of ideology is far from random across services. Policy making is about the allocation of values, and the values that the Commission allocates vary from policy to policy. It is striking that the values of the employees vary in tandem. Market-correcting DGs attract officials sympathetic to an active role for government, and market-enhancing DGs appeal to market liberals. Services that disburse money appeal more to social-democrats, and regulatory services are economically conservative. On economic ideology, DG location is a surer predictor than nationality. There is only one exception: EU-12 officials are more market-liberal than EU-15 officials. On social ideology, the differences are more a matter of personal demographics and less of institutional context. There is again one exception: EU-12 officials are more conservative than EU-15 officials.

The European Commission is a test case for bureaucratic politics theory which predicts that bureaucrats seek to maximize power. The evidence supporting the thesis is mixed. European Commission officials do want, in the aggregate, more EU authority in the eleven policy areas that we asked them to evaluate. The desired shift is significant but hardly radical: an average of 1.6 on an 11-point scale (from 5.4 to 7). There is significant variation both across officials and across policies. EU governance views and ideology provide strong cues for Commission officials in steering their *general* preference on whether policy authority should be centralized at EU level or decentralized to national and subnational government. National interest (small countries want more EU authority) and national socialization (Protestant countries want less) help too, but only secondarily. DG location explains *which* policies Commission officials would like to centralize, and which ones not. The desire to centralize is selective and measured; it seems to be driven by reason and values rather than some gut reaction to maximize Commission power. But if DG location explains variation on particular policies, does this conceal a tendency for officials to defend their policy corner – over and above that of their colleagues? The answer is: only partially. On the basis of our data, we conclude that the pertinence of the bureaucratic politics argument has been overrated.

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Appendix: Multivariate Analyses

Table A: Explaining Perceptions of Politicization in the Commission

	B	std.error	p-value
Party membership	0.274	0.297	0.358
Left/right ideology	0.110	0.050	0.030
Current position	-0.367	0.204	0.076
Delors recruit	0.567	0.310	0.071
Intermezzo recruit	0.237	0.365	0.517
National politicization	0.099	0.055	0.077
Constant	-1.000	0.589	0.093
R2	.164		
Adj. R2	.107		

Note: n=100; party membership: a value of 1 when the official has been a member of a political party (self-reporting); current position: 1 if a director or director-general, and 0 if a head of unit; national politicization: see note 18 for details on operationalization.

Table B: Explaining Variation in General Desire for EU Policy Scope

	B	std.error	p-value
Current position	-0.209	0.127	0.101
Gender	0.003	0.072	0.972
EU-12	-0.279	0.128	0.030
Supranationalists	1.157	0.109	0.000
Institutional pragmatists	0.674	0.111	0.000
Others (fence-sitters)	0.819	0.118	0.000
Left/right ideology	-0.033	0.018	0.058
Liberal/conservative ideology	-0.031	0.014	0.025
Country size	-0.003	0.000	0.007
Protestantism	-0.435	0.175	0.013
Governance efficacy	-0.153	0.103	0.137
Multilevel governance	0.001	0.005	0.809
Spending DGs	0.039	0.086	0.648
Regulatory DGs	-0.038	0.098	0.701
Legislative DGs	-0.108	0.104	0.296
Internal DGs	0.041	0.129	0.750
External DGs	0.300	0.122	0.014
Constant	6.955	.237	0.000
R2	*.137*		
Adj. R2	*.126*		

Note: n=1678; current position: same operationalization as in table A; gender, EU-12, supranationalist, institutional pragmatist, others, left/right, liberal/conservative, country size, governance efficacy, multilevel governance: see Hooghe (2012) for operationalization; Protestantism: see note 3 for detailed operationalization. DGs: see note 11 for details on operationalization.

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• Identity and the Public Sphere
• Compliance, Conditionality and Beyond
• Comparative Regionalism and Europe's External Relations