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Abstract:

Most literature on the interaction between European institutions and NGOs focuses on interest representation and lobbying. This article tackles a neglected aspect of this interaction: the effects of European funding opportunities on NGO's organizational structures and on their values and identity. EU influence on national political systems is usually analyzed as a process of Europeanization. Some analytical tools as the "misfit" model can indeed throw some light at the dynamics at work.

European funds alter the redistribution of resources among national NGOs, enabling in some cases a dynamics of growth and altering NGOs national landscapes. Specific requirements to obtain European funds can also modify norms about what is to be considered as "appropriate behaviour" launching a process of socialization. Empirical evidence is drawn from Humanitarian NGOs, which are those receiving more amounts of money from the EU. In order to grasp Europe's differential impact in different national contexts, we have analyzed NGOs from the United Kingdom, France and Spain.

Résumé :

La majorité des études sur les rapports entre les institutions européennes et les ONG portent sur la représentation des intérêts ou sur les actions de lobbying. Cet article se concentre sur un aspect méconnu de ces interactions: les effets des financements européens sur les structures organisationnelles et sur les valeurs et l'identité des ONG. L'impact de l'UE est souvent analysé en tant que processus d'eupéanisation. En effet, des outils analytiques liés à cette notion comme le modèle du "misfit" peuvent être utilisés pour appréhender les dynamiques à l'oeuvre. Les fonds européens sont à l'origine d'une redistribution de ressources parmi les ONG nationales, ce qui conduit dans certains cas à une dynamique de croissance et à la transformation des secteurs associatifs nationaux. Les conditions liées à l'obtention de financements européens sont également à l'origine d'une transformation de ce qui est perçu comme "comportement approprié", ce qui conduit à un processus de socialisation. Notre évidence empirique provient de l'analyse des ONG humanitaires qui sont celles recevant le plus des fonds de l'UE. Afin de appréhender l'impact différencié de l'Europe dans des contextes nationaux différents, il a été question de l'analyse d'ONG appartenant à la France, à l'Espagne et au Royaume Uni.

Are Humanitarian NGOs more European or national? Humanitarian NGOs have alternatively been considered as national or global actors. However, European funds have been more significant in the structuring of these voluntary organizations' landscape than could be expected. What do we actually know about the effects of European funding opportunities for NGOs? Humanitarian NGOs, and more generally voluntary organizations, have since the 1980s roused academic and public authority interest (Harris and Rochester, 2001). Not only have they become increasingly significant for welfare provision, but also for granting public bodies transparency and accountability. Voluntary organizations are also currently considered as an important factor to bring citizens closer to political institutions.

The increasing interest for voluntary organisations is also visible in European studies. Within the context of traditional European studies, one of the over-present questions is to know whether the European supra-national system will lead to a European political community and in this case, which particular form would it take (Haas, 1968). According to neo-functionalism, European interest groups are not to be opposed to the European political system, but they would be the result (or the motor) of further political integration (Stone Sweet *et al.*, 2001; Kohler-Koch, 1997; Sidjanski, 1997). More recently, the attention has shift from debates on political integration to the specificity of European governance and its effects on member states. Within this new framework, civil society (pointing more often than not to voluntary organizations) is being conceptualised as a necessary factor for the legitimization of the European political system, as it could bring the Union closer to its citizens (Kohler-Koch, 2004; Grossman and Saurugger, 2006). Indeed, the need to get Europe closer to its citizens, as stated in the White paper on European Governance (European Commission, 2001), explains the shift in vocabulary from interest groups to civil society. This new approach to societal actors has lead to a new interest in voluntary organisations or NGOs.

Most research considering the European level as a unit of analysis investigates the evolution of interest groups and collective action (Aspinwall and Greenwood, 1998; Richardson and Mazey, 2001) or the democratic potential of civil society organizations (Smismans, 2006; Kohler-Koch and Finke, 2007). The focus on concepts as interest groups, social movements or civil society –whose interest is not to be questioned- has withdrawn the attention from significant aspects of the relationships between the EU and societal actors and particularly their role in welfare provision. The impact of European economic opportunities such as funds for Humanitarian Aid has indeed not been sufficiently taken into account. This article will draw the attention to this unexplored field of research: the use of funding opportunities by “national” voluntary organisations, which is a necessary step to grasp the democratic potential or the relative influence of these actors.

Our main purpose is therefore to examine adjustments of Humanitarian NGOs as a result of European economic opportunities. After presenting our way of using Europeanization studies and Humanitarian NGOs specific traits, this article will give a first overview of the multiple effects of the use of European funds for Humanitarian NGOs. First, the way in which European funding opportunities are being used by Humanitarian NGOs in different national contexts will be presented. Only after this necessary step it will be possible to analyse EU funding opportunities effects on specific Humanitarian organisations. This original account may apply for other societal actors submitted to the same kind of European pressures.

1. ACCOUNTING FOR TRANSFORMATION OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE

The existence of a supra-national system of governance in Europe has contributed to the adjustment of voluntary organizations. Analytical tools developed by studies on Europeanization can be useful to grasp this process. This section will also deal with the specific features of our object of study: Humanitarian NGOs.

Transformation through money as Europeanization

In the absence of a European statute for voluntary organizations (Kendall and Fraisse, 2005) the transformation of actors under analysis is not motivated by binding legal constraints of direct application, as directives or other European norms. The transformation of voluntary organizations is the result of funding opportunities created at the European level which voluntary organizations are authorised to seize if they will. Consequently, we do not expect transformation to be a straightforward and automatic process and there is a lot of space for manoeuvre for voluntary organizations¹. It is then necessary to account both for the structuring effects of European non-binding rules and for the reactions of voluntary organizations to these rules. Putting emphasis on the consequences of these non binding measures is essential for a better comprehension of the interaction (EPPIE, 2007).

The transformation of Humanitarian NGOs as a result of the use of European funding opportunities can be measured with analytical tools related to Europeanization as the “misfit” model developed by Cowles *et al.* (2001) as well as other efforts to measure the magnitude of transformations and explaining change (Börzel, 2002; Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003; Dyson and Goetz, 2004; Radaelli, 2004). Indeed, the existence of a misfit is a necessary condition for the transformation of voluntary organisations. Europeanization through money may be, at first sight, best understood as creating new opportunities and therefore as a redistribution of resources, but as it will be clear in this article, there is also a socialization process taking place. We expect European funds to make a difference but variation depends on national context and Humanitarian NGOs' specific features (size, organizational capacity, values, etc.). Humanitarian NGOs receiving more European funds will be transformed more than NGOs receiving less funds (or not at all).

Against our main argument, we could point out that voluntary organisations, in particular those focusing on global issues such as Humanitarian NGOs, should logically be more influenced by international pressures. As an example, Delay and Rumford claim that: “[...] there are more compelling reasons to see European civil society as part of global civil society rather than an outcome of supra-national governance in the EU (2005: 181)”. This argument raises the question of alternative explanations, and in particular the specificity of the European Union regarding other international organizations and national pressures. An alternative view would consider that both global and European pressures are not incompatible. As Caporaso and Stone Sweet point out “it is not a question of which level of governance is more powerful, or who would win in a showdown over national sovereignty (2001: 230)”.

Before going further, it is important to be accurate about what is *transformed* or *adjusted*. How can money transform Humanitarian NGOs ? Most literature on the effects of

¹ EU opportunities and norms matter but obviously they are not the only significant factor. In order to grasp the impact of the EU in all its complexity, as an interactive process, the transformation of Humanitarian NGOs is to be explained by multiple conjunctural causation. As we see it, a specific cause, as for example, European funding opportunities, may have opposite effects depending on time and context. Our purpose is then the analysis of a single independent variable: European funding opportunities, in several historical and national contexts. As a comparative case-study analysis, our empirical generalisation will be established by examining differences and similarities within different contexts (Ragin, 1989).

funding relationships on voluntary organisations have been carried out at the national level (Harris and Rochester, 2001; Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Queinnec and Ingalens, 2004). Most of this research considers that public funds lead to a “professionalization process” without being very accurate about what this professionalization process entails. We consider that public funds have a significant impact on the growing dynamics of specific organisations, on their organizational structures and on management techniques. In the EU context, funding opportunities are also being used to foster European identity acquisition (Sanchez Salgado, 2007).

Our focus of analysis: nationally based Humanitarian NGOs

Most European studies restrict their analysis to interest groups or civil society organisations working in the Brussels complex, mainly transnational organisations or Euro-groups. Research on “national” societal actors from a European perspective is dramatically lacking and inconclusive, which is also the consequence of the focus of existing literature on collective action and lobbying. Quantitative research on social movements in member states shows little evidence of Europeanization (Doug and Tarrow, 1999). The few qualitative findings taking into account national voluntary organisations point to an extreme diversity in results across Europe² and do not deal with the question of funding opportunities.

This article will examine “national” Humanitarian NGOs or national sections of transnational Humanitarian NGOs. Even if we consider many Humanitarian NGOs, there will be only three case-studies: Humanitarian NGOs in France, in the United Kingdom and in Spain. Empirical data is drawn from the systematic analysis of around 400 voluntary organization websites in these three countries, as well as from 45 qualitative interviews.

Humanitarian NGOs are voluntary organisations working in the field of Humanitarian Aid³. As general rule, voluntary organizations are viewed as groups not to be included in the public sector, the informal sector and the market sector. They are also considered as an expression of voluntary action, which implies voluntary adhesion, voluntary work and some kind of common or “public interest”.

Humanitarian Aid principles have first been defined by the Red Cross, founded in 1863 by Henri Dunant as well as by the successive Geneva Conventions on Humanitarian Aid. These principles are urgency, non discrimination and neutrality. The first Humanitarian NGOs were created during or little after the World Wars as it is the case for the biggest American Humanitarian NGOs (International Rescue Committee, 1940; Cooperative for American Relief in Europe-CARE, 1945) or the British (Save the Children, 1919 or Oxfam, 1942). During the 1960s, the interest for emergency relief was progressively supplemented by development assistance and Development NGOs, which focused more on self-help⁴. However, at the beginning of the 1970s, in the wake of a new kind of conflict such as the one opposing Nigeria and Biafra, a new conception of Humanitarian Aid emerges in France, first mirrored by organisations such as *Médecins Sans Frontières* (1971) and *Médecins du Monde* (1980). The “French Doctors” put emphasis on the transgression of rules and

² See research produced within the framework of the Third Sector European Policy (TSEP) network. Papers are available on: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/TSEP/publicdocfind.htm>, consulted on the 27th June 2006.

³ As general rule, scholars use diverse concepts to refer to voluntary organizations in their empirical analysis. Concepts as interest groups, social movements and civil society—whose definition have not proven to be an easy task—are frequently pointing to very similar actors (if not the same). Specific voluntary organizations such as for example, Greenpeace, are actually considered at some times as interest groups, created to influence public policy and at other times as a part of a broader environmental social movement.

⁴ Unlike Humanitarian NGOs, active in crisis situations as wars, accidents or natural disasters, Development NGOs do not intervene in emergency situations. They focus on small participatory self-help projects oriented to reduce poverty and enable long term economic and social improvements for local populations. In spite of the clear conceptual distinction between Development cooperation and Humanitarian Aid, in practice, a significant number of NGOs carry out many different projects, including emergency relief, Development Aid and actions to promote gender equity, global justice and human rights, as well as many other topics.

borders, which lead more recently to the conceptualization of the “right of intervention” (Klingberg, 1998).

As France and the United Kingdom have developed opposite conceptions of Humanitarian Aid, the study of these two dissimilar cases will improve the internal validity of our analysis. As a counterpoint to these two strong opposite positions on Humanitarian Aid, we will also consider the case of Spain, which has not developed any particular conception on Humanitarian Aid. Obviously, as our generalisation takes into consideration historical time and context, our conclusions have to be applied with a lot of caution to different case-studies as neo-corporatist nation states, or Eastern-European countries. Moreover, our conclusions are not necessarily to be applied to other sectors, particularly if we take into account the fact that Humanitarian NGOs are expected to be subjected to stronger European pressures.

2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EUROPEAN FUNDS

According to our main hypothesis, European funds have a significant impact on the shaping of voluntary organizations in Europe. Some authors have already highlighted the importance of European funds for general interest groups in the Brussels complex (Aspinwall and Greenwood, 1998; Furtak, 2001; Ruzza, 2004). However, the effects of these funding opportunities for voluntary organizations based in EU member states have been neglected. NGOs at the national level are not identical to European networks and euro-groups, because they are more focused on service-provision. The use of European funding opportunities is obviously not compulsory, but it can still contribute significantly to the transformation of the European voluntary organization landscape.

Funding opportunities: expanding competencies

Contrary to common assumptions, the EU (and previously the European Economic Community) has taken a prominent position in the development of relationships with voluntary organizations, and in particular in the Humanitarian field. The European Commission was one of the first administrative bodies in Europe to set up a co-financing system for Development NGOs in 1975, within the context of the crisis of the “developpementalist” state. This innovation inspired similar procedures in many European countries such as the United Kingdom, France and Belgium (OCDE, 1988). Spain has adopted an equivalent co-financing system at the time of its entry in the European Economic Community (ECC).

Once the co-financing system was settled, the European Commission was able to expand its competencies through societal actors' involvement as service providers (Cram, 1997). The Commission's right of initiative and the European Parliament's budgetary powers enabled this expansion during the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s. Contrary to the EU, most international organizations such as the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) or the World Trade Organization (WTO) do not offer any kind of funds for Humanitarian assistance or Development Aid. In the absence of sufficient discretionary powers and resources, opportunities offered by the United Nations bodies and the World Bank have never been as generous as those from the EU⁵.

The European Union channels around one billion Euro through voluntary organizations today. Humanitarian NGOs are those receiving the most funds from the EU. However, as it may be expected, the availability of funds depends much on conflicts and natural crises (for example 652 million Euro in 2005 and 570 in 2004). Around half of these funds are channelled through European Humanitarian NGOs. As a comparative example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN body most related to

⁵ More information available at:

http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20094255~menuPK:220440~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html#Small_Grants. Consultation date: 16th mars 2006.

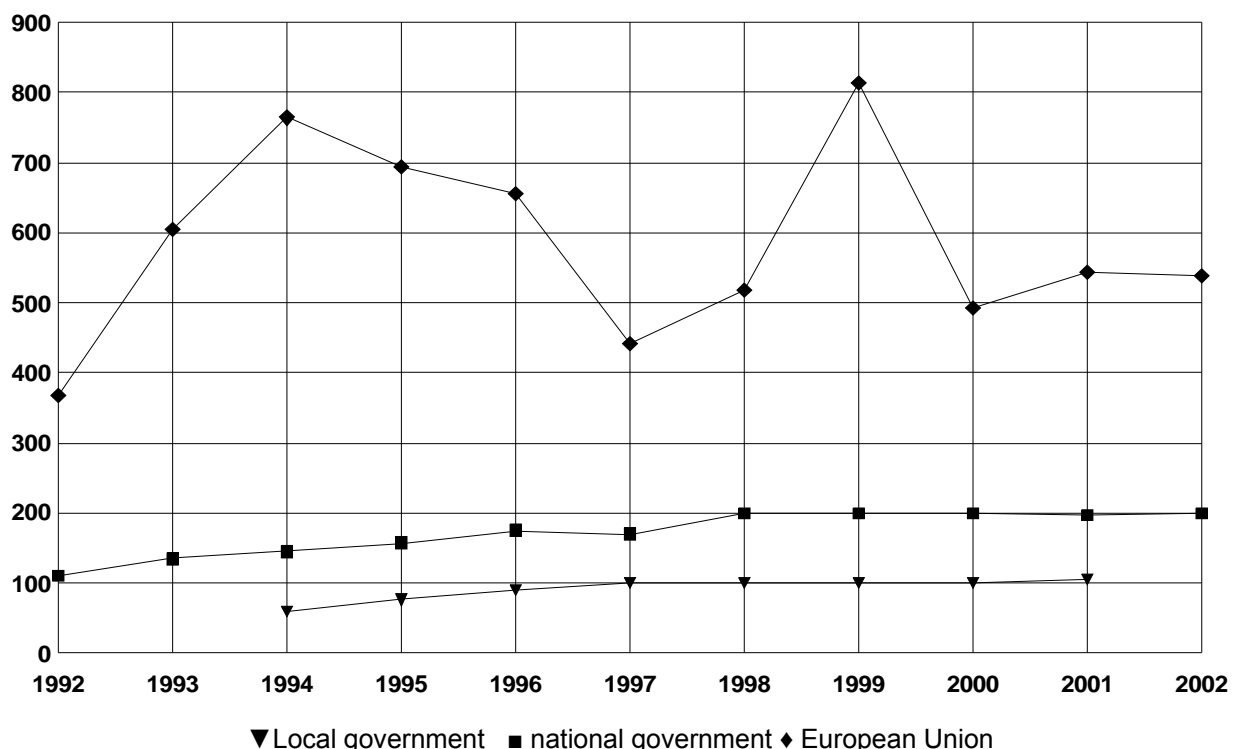
Humanitarian NGOs, channels around 20% of its budget of 1 billion Euro among 500 Humanitarian NGOs all around the world⁶. Consequently, for European Humanitarian NGOs European economic pressures are much more important than global pressures.

The significance of Humanitarian Aid in the EU is also manifested in the creation of a specific administrative body for its implementation. Since 1993, European Humanitarian Aid has been channelled through the European Commission Humanitarian Office (ECHO), which is frequently considered as more flexible and autonomous than the traditional directorate generals. ECHO's partnership with Humanitarian NGOs is indeed different from usual Commission procedures as it is based on the signature of a Framework Partnership Agreement (FPA) between ECHO and the contracting entity.

Voluntary organizations in Europe: national or European?

European funds have gained widespread currency among voluntary organizations based in the EU, in particular among Humanitarian NGOs. It is quite striking that in some member states, such as France, Humanitarian and Development NGOs receive more funds from the European Commission than from their national government (*Commission Coopération Développement*, 2003). Indeed, 45% of French NGO's total public resources come from the EU while national and local funds are considerably less important (see graphic 1). The position of other international organizations is even more marginal as only 14% and 1% of French NGOs' total public income comes from the United Nations and the World Bank respectively. If we take public funds as the only indicator, such NGOs should be considered more "European" than "French", let alone "international".

Graphic 1: Funds used by French NGOs from 1991 to 1999 (in MFF)⁷



⁶ Information available on <http://www.unhcr.org/basics/BASICS/420cc0432.html#contributors>, consulted on the 2 August 2007.

⁷ This graphic has been elaborated by the author. The figures come from the study carried out by the *Commission Coopération Développement* (2003).

In the other countries under analysis the situation is much more nuanced. While European funds were quite important in Spain at the beginning of the 1990s (and more important than national resources in some specific years such as 1994) national funding (in particular funds from local government) has considerably increased since then. In 1999, 14% of the development and Humanitarian NGOs incomes (including public and private funds) came from European institutions (CONGDE, 2005)⁸.

In the United Kingdom, national funds are concentrated in a very small number of organizations. Most funds (around 66% of the total) from the Department for International Development (DFID) are channelled through the “top-ten” entities which have signed a Partnership Programme Agreement (PPA), including for example Oxfam and Christian Aid (White, 2003). However, it is possible that European funds are more important for some medium British NGOs. In 1999, 87 small development organizations only received £0.5 million from DFID, which is not much compared to 167 € millions that these same voluntary organizations received from the European Communities from 1994 to 1999 (South Research *et al.*, 2000). It is important to note that since the late 1990s, European funding opportunities tend to stagnate, while national and local funds in countries such as Spain and the United Kingdom continue to grow steadily. Consequently, in relative terms, European funds for these countries are progressively becoming less significant.

It seems clear from these figures that a considerable amount of European funds is channelled through Humanitarian NGOs and that consequently, there may be a significant effect on their evolution, in particular during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s in member states such as France, where national funding opportunities are limited.

3. EUROPEAN FUNDS AS RE-DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

In this section, European funds are going to be conceived as opportunities offering some actors additional economic resources (Börzel, 2002). Indeed, during the 1980s and 1990s, a significant number of Humanitarian NGOs have been operating with a majority of their funds coming from the EU. Most Humanitarian NGOs out of the 400 under analysis obtain funds from the EU (more than 80% in France and the UK and around half in Spain)⁹. The distribution of funds among Humanitarian NGOs has also enabled a growth process for many of them, improving their ability to exert influence in the public space. A comparable amount of funds has not been made available for other kind of voluntary organisations, and therefore their relative influence has been constrained.

⁸ At the beginning of the 1990s, EU funds were much more important for Spanish NGOs. As an example, in 1995, they represented 19 % of total NGO income. However, at the end of the 1990s, there is a clear trend in favour of subnational public funds.

⁹ These figures come from the analysis of the websites of Humanitarian NGOs involved in relevant national networks in France, Spain and the United Kingdom (CONGDE in Spain, BOND in the UK and all French NGOs participating in the governmental *Commission Cooperation Développement*). Data from Spain comes from a report published by CONGDE (2001).

Table 1: Examples of the relationships between the EU and Humanitarian NGOs

	NGOs in sample	NGOs with data	NGOs obtaining EU funds	Examples of NGOs with EU funds	Examples of NGOs without EU funds
France	36	25	25 (69% considering all NGOs)	Médecins du Monde Aide médicale internationale Inter Aide Enfants réfugiés du Monde	<i>Likely without EU funds:</i> Enfants du Monde Association Hot Lua La Gerbe
United Kingdom	50	36	31 (86,1%) (72% considering all NGOs)	Action against Hunger UK Aid International Care-International CAFOD	Doctors Worldwide Muslim Aid The Mothers Union Christians abroad
Spain (1997) (1999)	21 43	21 43	13 (61.9%) 21 (48,84%)	MPDL Paz y tercer mundo Accion contra el hambre Asociacio Nous Camins	Alternativa solidaria Plenty Ayuda en Accion SOTERMUN PROYDE

The dynamics of growth

The use of European funding opportunities brings out important transformations for these organisations, in quantitative terms. NGOs in different member States have launched a process of expansion and growth thanks to European funds. Many French and Spanish Humanitarian NGOs were willing to accept European funds. Some of them, such as the French NGO *Equilibre* or *Aide Médicale d'Urgence* have even been created in the wake of these new European funding opportunities. Others as *Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad*-MPDL were originally peace and Human rights groups who shifted their priorities to benefit from European funds for Humanitarian activities.

Even if European funds enabled the growth dynamics, specific Humanitarian NGOs have followed different paths. Some NGOs are almost exclusively funded by the EU: *Equilibre* (up to 93% of the budget in 1994-1995); *Aide Médicale d'Urgence-AMI* (up to 75% of the budget in 2004); Action against Hunger UK (up to 90% of public funds in 2003) and *Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad*-MPDL (up to 76 % of the budget in 1999)¹⁰. In this case, it is quite easy to attribute their dynamics of growth to European funding opportunities. As an example, MPDL, created in 1983, had a budget of around 0.6 million Euro until 1990. After the signature of a first FPA with ECHO in 1992, MPDL reached a budget of 7.53 million Euro in 1996 (MPDL, 1997).

Other Humanitarian NGOs as *Médecins Sans Frontières* and *Médecins du Monde* have also launched a growth process thanks to the EU. However, as they have also invested in marketing techniques, the amount of public funds in their total budget was completed by an equivalent amount of private funds. Even if, considering the budget, private incomes seem as important as public funds, it is much more difficult to launch a process of growth by private incomes alone. Contrary to public funds, marketing techniques require an investment. MSF history (Vallaey, 2004) gives some illustration of the possibilities open by the use of European funds. During the 1980s, the EU has been the main donor of this Humanitarian

¹⁰ This information is available in NGO's Activities reports. Most of them are available in their websites, except for *Equilibre*, which no longer exists. The data for this NGO comes from press articles in the French newspapers *Le Monde* on the 19 June 1998 and *Tribune* on the 10 November 1998.

NGO. The stability guaranteed by institutional funds has permitted MSF to hire staff and to invest in marketing techniques, which explains MSF's dynamics of growth.

Consequently, European economic opportunities for Humanitarian activities were at the origin of the growth dynamics (and in some case of the establishment) of many Humanitarian NGOs. However, this transformation is not only to be perceived in quantitative terms. European funds do not only allow carrying out *more* Humanitarian activities. Funding opportunities have contributed to the "professionalization" of these NGOs, which implies important qualitative changes, as a shift of power from volunteers to staff and from advocacy to service provision (Harris and Rochester, 2001; Smith and Lipsky, 1993). Accordingly, these organisations, as a result of European incentives and the subsequent dynamics of growth, have substituted efficient activities to symbolic actions (Vedelago *et al.*, 1996). The outcome of this Europeanization process has to be understood as a *real* transformation or a cognitive development (Radaelli, 2003). Voluntary organizations focusing on other issues, which were not willing to shift their priorities, could not experience a similar dynamism and growth or a process of professionalization.

Differential impact

The EU did not have the same kind of impact on every Humanitarian NGO, which can be explained by several factors, such as national and historical context as well as organizational capacity and values of specific NGOs. First, the use of European funds seems to depend on the availability of national funding opportunities (South Research *et al.*, 2000; Attanasio, 1994). In countries such as France, where funding opportunities are less significant, NGOs turn more often to European opportunities. However, the amount of national funding opportunities is not a relevant factor in the absence of facilitating factors, such as political entrepreneurs, familiarity with European requirements and information flows. Indeed, political and administrative actors have played an important role in the diffusion of funding opportunities. During the 1980s, many European officers contacted Humanitarian and Development NGOs directly (by telephone or personally) in order to foster the use of funds. As an example, former ECHO director, Santiago Gomez Reino, organised a meeting in 1993 in order to promote European funds among Spanish Humanitarian NGOs. This same year, the amount of European funds received by such NGOs increased tenfold (Gomez Gil, 2005). Representatives from Humanitarian NGOs report that during the 1980s they received visits or phone calls from European civil servants in order to promote the use of such funds¹¹.

Organizational capacity is also to be taken into account. Some organizations, particularly in the UK, such as Oxfam, Christian Aid and Save the Children, already had a significant budget when confronted to European funding pressures. The effects of European funding opportunities have been considerably less important. Such NGOs have also accepted European funds –and more often than not, they are the ones receiving the greatest amount of money from the EU- but EU funds do not imply a relevant transformation in terms of growth or organizational structure. Our findings are consistent with the schema developed by Cowles *et al.* (2001). For many British Humanitarian NGOs, but also for the national sections of other big structures in France and Spain such as CARITAS, ADRA or the Red Cross, European pressures were not so important because these organisations had previously launched a dynamics of growth. Consequently, they could absorb European opportunities without substantial changes in their own dynamics of growth. The outcome of the Europeanization process is to be understood as an adaptation. The dynamic of growth of these Humanitarian NGOs is to be explained by other factors, as an early use of marketing

¹¹ Some interviewed affirmed that these efforts to contact directly NGOs during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s were frequent. See also Vallaey (2004) for the case of *Médécins Sans Frontières*.

techniques, as it is the case of Oxfam or by the support of other “patrons” (Walker, 1991) such as the nation state or churches.

As it is stated in table 1, some Humanitarian NGOs do not receive European funds at all. Most of them, such as for example the French *Hôt Lua* or *Action Partage Humanitaire*, the British Muslim Aid, the Spanish *Alternative Solidaria Plenty* or *Asociacion cultural personas* have not experienced a dynamics of growth comparable to the Humanitarian NGOs already mentioned.

Finally, the EU does not have the same influence regardless of historical context. EU opportunities also have a history. European pressures have been significant for Humanitarian NGOs but they are not necessarily everlasting. EU funding opportunities (and consequently EU pressures) were quite significant during the 1980s and the early 1990s. However, since the late 1990s, they are becoming less relevant as other public donors are entering the Humanitarian scene. Consequently, some Humanitarian NGOs, such as several sections of MSF, MDM and MPDL, are experiencing a process of disentanglement from the EU or of des-Europeanization. The percentage of European funds is becoming smaller as these Humanitarian NGOs have started to complement them with the funds of other donors. As an example, according to MSF Spain's annual reports, while in 1993, 68.5% of their public income came from the EU, in 2003 European funds only represented 26%. While in the early 1990s MSF was almost exclusively funded by the EU and the Spanish Development agency; in 2003, MSF Spain also obtains a considerable amount of funds from autonomous and local governments as well as other international bodies as DFID, Norway and Jersey Overseas Aid¹².

Table 2: Examples of Europeanization as transformation

	Before EU pressures	During 1980-1990	After 2000
MPDL Spain (1983)	Budget : 0.6 ME (1990) First contract with ECHO in 1993.	Budget: 12,7 ME (1998) In 1998, 64% of total funds come from the EU.	Budget: 12.6 ME (2006) In 2006, 94,5% of public funds come from the EU but only 12,17% of total funds.
Médecins frontières- France (1971)	Budget: 1,1 ME (1979) First contract with the EU in 1979	Budget: 34,3 ME (1990) In 1990, 68,76% of public funds come from the EU (28% of total funds).	Budget: 146 ME (2006) In 2006, 43,88% of public funds come from the EU but only 0,47% of total funds (3,5% in 2005).
Médecins du Monde France (1980)	Budget: 15,24 ME (1990)	Budget: 45,73 ME (1999) In 1997, 69% of public funds come from the EU.	Budget: 53,2 ME (2006), 29% of public funds come from the EU (9% of total budget)
Médicos sin Fronteras- Spain (1986)	Budget: 0,16 ME (1988)	Budget: 8,6 ME (1993) In 1993, 68,5% of public grants comes from the EU.	Budget: 45 ME (2005) In 2005, 22,47% of public funds comes from the EU (3% of total budget)

To sum up, European funding opportunities *really* mattered when used by small NGOs, willing to launch a growth and professionalization process, and particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s. The real transformation requires the conjunction of several factors: significant European funding opportunities in absolute as well as in relative terms, a misfit and the willingness of the Humanitarian NGOs to launch a growth dynamics.

¹² This information comes from the analysis of MSF Spain Activities Reports from 1993 to 2003.

4. EUROPEAN FUNDS AS A SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

European funds are not only to be considered as an amount of money transferred to NGOs, producing transformations of their organizational structure and capabilities and, on national voluntary landscapes. European funds can also launch a process of socialization, since funding conditions can be conceived as rule structures diffusing understandings of what constitutes “proper behaviour”. Indeed, the EU has transferred management techniques by requiring them before the submission of funding applications.

The transfer of NPM techniques

At first, EU requirements reflected the bureaucratic structure of the administrative body in charge of the distribution of funds, the Development DG in the European Commission. During the 1980s, the lack of effective controls supposed a very irregular implementation of the Commission’s conditions and rules (Court of Auditors of the European Communities, 1991). However, during the 1990s, the European Commission’s norms on funding opportunities became more demanding and explicit. Presently, Humanitarian NGOs have no alternative but to adopt New Public Management (NPM) techniques because their implementation is required at the application stage, and not only at the reporting stage. Indeed, in order to apply for a FPA, Humanitarian NGOs are required to use strategic planning and the project cycle approach.

Accordingly, some Humanitarian NGOs have adopted in the late 1990s NPM techniques for their activities. This is the case of Spanish and French MDM sections (1999), all CARITAS sections (2001), Oxfam (2001) and MPDL (1998). The transfer of these management techniques can be easily attributed to the EU in the case of organisations as MDM or MPDL, as they have no contact with other donors sharing the same requirements. Again, contrary to French and Spanish NGOs, British NGOs confront other kind of pressures (DFID or their American counterparts did already use NPM techniques before the EU) and consequently the degree of misfit is not specifically *European* for British Humanitarian NGOs.

The management techniques transfer has been promoted by European networks such as EuronAid¹³, which organises training sessions on those matters. Many Humanitarian NGOs, such as MPDL and CARITAS have also created working groups or workshops on NPM to foster a learning process among their staff and volunteers. Training sessions on these techniques have even become a profitable service offered by consultancy firms. However, the way Humanitarian NGOs apply NPM principles also depend on their size, capabilities and specific values. When NGOs are smaller or are not much oriented to emergency relief, the socialization process may be long or not happen at all. Many voluntary organisations temporarily sustain an appearance of transformation. In this case, NPM principles are only implemented formally (in the official reporting), but not in the daily activities of the organization. In these cases, there is a contradiction between NPM principles and the NGO’s capacity or willingness to apply them. However, it is expected that these organisations will tend towards a new equilibrium in the long run.

The management techniques transferred may have major consequences for Humanitarian NGOs. Management techniques are not neutral (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2004). Strategic planning and the project cycle approach put emphasis on the *quality* and *efficiency* of Humanitarian NGO’s actions instead of on their ethical dimension. This shift in emphasis has originated some criticism from several sources, particularly in France

¹³ EuronAid has been dissolved in 2008 after a withdrawal of support from the European Commission. More information on <http://www.euronaid.net/speech%20PietBukman%202007-8.pdf>. Consulted on 15 september 2008.

(Vedelago *et al.*, 1996, Marraine, 1996; Castellanet, 2003). According to these critics, strategic planning techniques and emphasis on measurable indicators usually lead to rigidity and goal displacement. The priority is given to the fulfilment of measurable goals, at the expense of the ethical mandate of the organization and symbolic action. Some Humanitarian workers have reported that logisticians would rather follow their strategic plan than save a life (Marraine, 1996). Lack of peasant participation in community planning sessions is solved by giving money to those participating in the meetings (Castellanet, 2003). Peasants are indeed participating –at least physically- in the meetings but there is no evidence they are acquiring social capital.

Contracting a European identity?

Voluntary organisations are not only considered as service providers. As part of civil society, they are often supposed to contribute to fill the gap between European institutions and EU citizens. In this sense, European funding requirements are also being used to foster a European identity among civil society organisations. ECHO is a clear expression of this willingness. First set up to increase emergency aid efficiency and to solve the lack of European Humanitarian Aid visibility (European Commission, 1991), ECHO has always put a lot of emphasis on the idea of delivering Humanitarian Aid with a specific identity.

At first, ECHO directly funded awareness activities, intended to spread information about the role of the EU in the world. More recently, the European Commission has been explicitly promoting the use of marketing techniques. Each Humanitarian NGO implementing a FPA is expected to include a 'visibility plan' in the framework of operational proposals. In a visibility manual, ECHO explicitly proposes "essential messages" and encourages NGOs to use a "European terminology" (ECHO, 2004). According to this manual "the DG encourages its partners to develop a 'Commission reflex' when devising information activities (ECHO, 2004: 9)". ECHO also fosters the use of display panels, of the EU logo in supplies and equipment, posters, stickers and promotional items. The 'Commission reflex' is also supposed to apply to communication tools usually employed by the contracting Humanitarian NGO.

Contrary to the growth dynamics or the management techniques transfer, the insistence on EU visibility is *specifically* European. It is then possible to assume that there is always a "misfit". As it may be predicted, Humanitarian NGO reaction to these European pressures depends on their interpretation of what is being required. As a general rule, the transfer of this European dimension is more successful when the relationship between the Commission and NGOs is perceived as a partnership to organise joint activities such as exhibitions, media projects or seminars. The establishment of regular interactions between NGOs staff and Commission officials enables a socialization process leading to the integration of an EU dimension, which can then be perceived in the NGOs communicational activities. Plenty of examples of these successful communicational activities are available on the ECHO web site¹⁴. In this case, NGOs are in good terms with the Commission officials and do not perceive political advertising as a zero-sum game.

However, quite often Humanitarian NGOs do not implement the Commission requirements because they perceive a contradiction between EU visibility and their own. They interpret European requirements as an interference with their own independence and autonomy and fear to be regarded as EU agents in the field. It is then not surprising that more often than not European norms are not being implemented. As an example, most NGOs websites do not display the information required by the EU.

¹⁴More information on: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/information/events/index_en.htm, consulted on the 1st august 2007.

In this case, instead of trying to create a new understanding of what is “appropriate behaviour”, the Commission imposes specific rules. This is a difficult way to achieve its aim taking into account the difficulty to control voluntary organisations. Indeed, it is quite difficult to assess the implementation of most requirements as the Commission has no means to put a European civil servant after each Humanitarian worker in the field. At present, the new European communication strategy puts emphasis on “partnerships for communication” and compulsory visibility plans. The Commission is still interested in presenting its visibility requirements as a form of “partnership” but at the same time, there is also more emphasis on compulsory measures. It is then still up to each particular NGO to interpret these contradictory messages in the way they fit them most.

CONCLUSION: HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE, NATIONAL OR EUROPEAN?

Each level of governance is relevant and in the case of Humanitarian NGOs, the EU seems to have been particularly significant through the 1980s and 1990s. Even if the EU effects may be more relevant for Humanitarian NGOs because they receive more money, EU influence may exist also in other fields, such as social organisations working against discriminations or Women’s groups. As well as other important donors, the EU has contributed to the transfer of NPM principles among NGOs, which has significant consequences for the role of voluntary organizations. Even if this evolution can be interpreted as a progress -it is undeniable that this evolution leads to effective and complete action- more attention should be drawn to what may be lost in terms of ethical principles and symbolic actions.

Contrary to other donors, some EU efforts may be interpreted as specifically addressed to European identity building. NGOs are often used as a means for political advertising. The insistence on marketing techniques and on concepts such as European Humanitarian identity clearly point to the fact the EU is experimenting new ways to contribute to the emergence of a European identity. However, it is still not very clear whether these efforts will lead to a European civil society or a European identity as they are traditionally defined. The existence of EU structuring effects is a necessary condition for a European civil society to emerge but not a sufficient one. In European studies, the most frequent conception of civil society is inspired by the traditional one within Nation States (Delanty and Rumford, 2005). However, EU identity-building techniques are more similar to those used by private actors, such as businesses, NGOs or political parties. Instead of founding an eventual European identity on a “demos” or a “nation” which requires a specific language and culture and a shared destiny, the EU tries to spread its identity through marketing techniques, such as logos, promotional items and advertising. There is no reason to assume *a priori* that the Commission efforts are not going to be successful.

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