

The Politics of Justice in European Private Law

The Politics of Justice in European Private Law intends to highlight the differences between the Member States' concepts of social justice, which have developed historically, and the distinct European concept of access justice. Contrary to the emerging critique of Europe's justice deficit in the aftermath of the Eurozone crisis, this book argues that beneath the larger picture of the Monetary Union, a more positive and more promising European concept of justice is developing. European access justice is thinner than national social justice, but access justice represents a distinct conception of justice nevertheless. Member States or nation-states remain free to complement European access justice and bring to bear their own pattern of social justice.

Hans-W. Micklitz is Professor of Economic Law at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. He is Finland Distinguished Professor at the University of Helsinki, 2015–2020, and Head of the Institute of European and Consumer Law (VIEW) in Bamberg. He has also been a consultant for the OECD, UNEP and CI (Consumers International), a visiting professor at the University of Michigan–Ann Arbor and at Columbia University, and a Visiting Fellow at Somerville College, University of Oxford.



Hans Micklitz's new book explores and illuminates the social and economic transformations leading to the emergence of European private law. It furthermore elucidates the concept of access justice on which European private law relies, and provides a spirited defense of the legal order it constitutes. *The Politics of Justice in European Private Law* is a major contribution to private law theory, and an essential reading for anyone serious about private law beyond the nation state.

Hanoch Dagan, Stewart and Judy Colton Professor of Legal Theory and Innovation, Tel-Aviv University

Hans Micklitz's unerring pursuit of social justice through private law provides us here with an inspiring vision of societally responsible regulation in a post-State era. His reflections on the emergence of a specifically European legal consciousness are both a thoughtful response to the justice deficit critique frequently addressed to EU law in general, and a profound reflexion on the social values that lie somewhere beneath the surface of private law.

Horatia Muir Watt, Professor, Sciences-Po Law School, Paris

'This new book by one of the leading voices in the debate on European private law and its politics, invites us to understand a wide range of seemingly incoherent interventions by EU law into the private laws of the member states, in the light of one single, powerful idea: access justice. The argument is lucid, thoughprovoking and impassioned at times. A must-read for anyone interested in the justice of European private law.'

Martijn W Hesselink, Professor of Law, University of Amsterdam



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The Politics of Justice in European Private Law

Hans-W. Micklitz
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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025. India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108424127

DOI: 10.1017/9781108539777

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First published 2018

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Micklitz, Hans-W., author.

Title: The politics of justice in European private law / Hans-W Micklitz,

European University Institute, Florence.

Description: Cambridge [UK]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, [2018]

| Series: Cambridge studies in European law and policy Identifiers: LCCN 2018024668 | ISBN 9781108424127

Subjects: LCSH: Justice, Administration of – Political aspects – European Union countries. | Civil law – European Union countries. | Monetary unions – European Union countries. | Monetary policy – European Union countries. | European Union countries – Economic policy. | Financial crises – European

Union countries | Social justice – European Union countries. Classification: LCC KJE3655 .M53 2018 | DDC 346.4-dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018024668

ISBN 978-1-108-42412-7 Hardback

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Preface

The idea of the book has preoccupied me since I accepted Thomas Wilhelmsson's invitation to speak at the University of Helsinki in 1993 on the subject of social justice in European private law. It is there I developed the concept of 'legitimate expectations' as a European model of justice. The second trigger was an invitation by Horatia Muir Watt and Ruth Sefton-Green at the French Cour de Cassation in 2007 to speak about social justice. How does the European concept of legitimate expectations fit into the nation-state's understanding of social justice in private law? The French Revolution, the elaboration of the Code Civil and its transformation were the 'natural' starting points for such a research question, complemented by England/the United Kindom and Germany. However, Germany was 100 years behind in nation-state building and private law building. The comparative analysis encouraged me to dive into the intellectual history of the three countries. The book project took shape when I joined the European University Institute in 2007. It led, in a first step, to the edited volume The Many Concepts of Social Justice in Private Law, published in 2011. The different contributions combine three strands of discussions: the legal philosophical debate on social justice, the path dependence of social justice in nation-states, and the development of social justice beyond the nation-state through the European Union (EU) and through international institutions.

My European Research Council (ERC) project on European Regulatory Private Law (2011–2016)¹ enabled me to give shape to the European

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¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement no. [269722].



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regulatory private law and its patterns of justice. The present book bears a comparative dimension on the path dependency of national private law orders, on the rise and decline of social justice in private law during the twentieth century and on the genuinely European dimension that started by and large with the adoption of the Single European Act in 1986, which paved the way for the EU to engage in social regulation. In the aftermath of the now uncertain future of the EU, it is a book on risks and opportunities, on if and how social justice in European private law appears and how it may look in the post-nation-state area. In that sense, it will not lose its importance even if the EU collapses. It informs about the opportunities and the limits of transnational justice and the remaining responsibility of the nation-state.

Ten years of thinking and writing were also ten years of discussion, of feedback, and of rewriting. I presented earlier versions of the argument at the universities of Amsterdam, Bigli Istanbul, Helsinki, Oxford and Tel Aviv. I would like to thank G. Alpa, O. Ben Shahar, R. Brownsword, F. Cafaggi, H. Collins, G. Comandé, H. Dagan, M. Freedland, F. Gomez, R. van Gestel, L. Gormley, S. Grundmann, A. Hartkamp, A. Héritier, M. Hesselink, C. Hodges, A. Höland, E. Hondius, G. Howells, P. Letto-Vanamo, M. Loos, C. Mak, G. Miller, M.-A. Moreau, F. Möslein, H. Muir Watt, L. Niglia, K. Nuoti, A. Potocki, K. Riesenhuber, T. Roethe, P. Rott, C. Sabel, M. Safjan, R. Sefton-Green, C. Sieburg, J. Smits, A. Somma, J. Stuyck, K. Tonner, C. Torp, Tuori, S. Weatherill, T. Wilhelmsson, C. Willett and B. de Witte for their critique and their enduring scepticism over so many years. Three of my colleagues deserve more than just a general expression of gratitude. N. Reich, my mentor, colleague and friend, accompanied me through the early years of formation and thinking. He could not share the final version with me, but his written comments allowed me to engage into a spiritual dialogue. The German words of my colleague and friend Dennis Patterson spoken in his wonderful American accent will ring in my ears forever: Hans, Du musst Dein Buch schreiben ('Hans, you must write your book'), as did his lasting challenge 'What is your argument? I do not see your argument'. Thomas Roethe and I have conducted an endless number of projects. We discussed the deeper questions behind the book in all variations without coming even close to agreement. He does not share my optimism:

Nothing, neither access justice nor the experimental character of the EU, will ever work. The municipal reality in the Land of Lower Saxony [where he lives] is



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identical. The EU has erroneously safeguarded universal instead of particular (EU fortress) rights. The EU leaves alone all those citizens who are the true Europeans between Niebüll (Northern Germany) and Salzburg (Austria) and who still know how everything fits together.

Over the last ten years, I have continuously asked young researchers for their input, critique and advice. My wholehearted thanks go to L. de Almeida, M. Cantero Gamito, K. Carr, G. Comparato, R. Condon, E. Deutscher, L. Diez-Sanchez, I. Domurath, J. Habib, B. Kas, B. v. Leeuwen, H. Marjosola, F. della Negra, P. Palka, K. Purnhagen, H. Schebesta, B. Schüller, Y. Svetiev, R. Vallejo, R. Xenidis and J. Zglinski. You raised endless questions that challenged my argument and allowed me to sharpen my ideas. Rónán Condon became my interlocutor on the theoretical dimension of access justice; Yane Svetiev on the implications of the turn to experimentalist governance and its theoretical implications for European private law; and Guido Comparato sharpened my awareness on nationalism in private law and on financialisation. Rónán Condon brought the book written in my best 'Germish' into better English, giving it hopefully an Irish flavor. Dawn Wade offered additional editing help. Betül Kas supported me patiently in formatting footnotes and producing a bibliography. Without you this book would not exist and certainly not in the current form! I owe you more than you might think. Last but certainly not least, I bow to my wife, Alexandra, for her patience, for her encouragement over so many years and for the uncountable hours she saw me sitting at my computer and supplied me with tea, juice, fruits and vegetables. And not only this: my wife, as well as my daughter Maxie, were so empathic with my research that, though both are non-lawyers, they discovered two foundational books that influenced the overall argument.





Series Editors' Preface

The European Union's aim, expressed in Article 3(1) TEU, is 'to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples'. Unsurprisingly, it is to work for, inter alia, 'a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress (Article 3(3) TEU), and is to promote, inter alia, 'social justice and protection'. The values on which the Union is founded include the rule of law, and Article 47 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union emphasizes the right to an effective remedy and a fair trial. Access to justice becomes an element of access justice, which is at the heart of the various rights guaranteed to European citizens and market participants. It is also at the heart of the duties to ensure those rights imposed by the TEU and the TFEU on the Member States and on the Union institutions.

Access justice moves beyond national social justice, becoming transformed into societal justice through participation in the development of the Union and the achievement of its objectives. In this European transnational context, in which European citizens and market participants perceive familiar private law rights and duties balanced and rebalanced in the light of wider objectives, the wider horizons afforded by European societal private law are not always welcomed by those concerned with protecting their cosy cartels or their local petty protectionist practices. Yet the European Union Treaties, like the American Constitution, are founded on the basis that we all sink or swim together, and that European society is broader than life in the local hamlet. The European Union project makes an appeal to greatness of soul, not pettiness of mind: the village next door is not the limit of the neighbourhood, and my neighbour may well be a European market participant, not

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necessarily a European citizen. While the European vision does not displace national conceptions, it complements and at the same time challenges them by affording new dimensions. It seeks to enrich minds rather than to close them.

This book seeks to counter the arguments about a perceived justice deficit, which are frequently raised in the literature. Micklitz rightly observes that 'What is missing in the debate is the post-nation-state dimension that is enshrined in the European integration project. Most of the time, more implicitly than explicitly, the benchmark for measuring the EU is an idealised version of the old national welfare state. In the transnational society beyond the nation-state, the responsible consumer-citizen has more freedom but also more responsibilities towards society' (p. 363).

This work is a remarkable and thought-provoking contribution to the literature on European law and policy, and it forces its readers to look at the dimensions of the European project, in particular its private law aspects, through wider, yet more clearly focused eyes. Micklitz recognises that 'Access and societal justice are the result of a dynamic interactive process where the Member States, the EU and private parties are involved' (p. 391). Normatively, he sees access justice as requiring the breaking down of barriers limiting participation and access, strengthening the position of workers and consumers in enforcing their rights in a multi-governance legal order, and establishing an institutional design capable of coping with the move from social protection laws to laws on the consumer and labour market. Societal justice requires in his vision a further step, an overarching element opening up private law relationships to take account of third parties affected by interpersonal agreements. It embraces the people, the workers, the consumers, the employers, and suppliers in a European society. This society is market-biased, but is not limited to the market, as Micklitz well demonstrates. Moving away from the focus on classical legal categories into a new understanding or a new perception is fundamental to the understanding of the challenges and perspectives opened up by the European societal order.

Micklitz's book challenges established ideas and confronts them with their limitations. It presents a vision and understanding that sees a clear path. There is clearly a way to go, and Micklitz does not shy away from the problems, but this important work will broaden the horizons of scholars, policymakers, and the judiciary, and



SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

stimulate researchers to plough new furrows and broaden their horizons. This impressive work is the product of mature reflection by a distinguished scholar, and we are very pleased indeed to welcome it in the *Cambridge Studies in Law and Policy* series.

Laurence Gormley Jo Shaw

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Cambridge University Press

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