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In the Corridors and in the Streets: A Comparative Study of the Impacts of Social Movement Campaigns in the EU

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis aims to trace the impacts of campaigns carried out by coalitions of social movement organisations in the transnational arena of the EU. In order to accomplish this task, an original approach to process tracing is adopted using methods used in social movement studies. The internal aspects of campaigns are investigated using a dynamic, cross-time and multi-level, frame analysis, while the contexts of the campaigns are analysed through political and discursive opportunity approaches adapted to the peculiarities of the EU arena. Four case studies, including two campaigns concerned with environmental / public health policy (GMOs and coexistence, and the REACH legislation) and two concerned with broadly defined social policy (the mid-term review of the Lisbon agenda and the Services directive), make up the empirical part of the study.

Drawing on documentary evidence as well as semi-structured interviews with staff members from the core SMOs involved in each campaign at the Brussels level, the processes leading to access, agenda, or policy outcomes (or indeed non-outcomes) are traced using the analytical methods mentioned above. These processes provide the basis for preliminary conclusions on the nature of campaigning in the EU. Elite allies are found to be important in securing desired outcomes in campaigns, as are solid, previously agreed shared frames between coalition organisations. The cases also show that the EU is not an arena where conventional tactics (i.e. lobbying) are always enough – indeed the ability to campaign effectively at multiple levels using appropriate tactics is identified as a major factor in campaigns that saw positive outcomes. This finding challenges the idea that the EU arena is unsuitable to protest actions (e.g. Marks and McAdam 1996). Finally, the study uncovers the beginnings of a divide between ‘technical’ and ‘political’ campaigns in the EU. Stemming from the finding that national contexts still provided the opportunities or threats that appeared most important in campaign outcomes, the cases showed that where campaigns were more ‘political’ - in that they were more ideologically charged - groups were more likely to be able to mobilise grassroots members and secure their desired outcomes. In more ‘technical’ cases, where the European Commission played a greater role, mobilisation efforts were subdued as groups sunk their resources in long cycles of consultation and knowledge production geared to the needs of the Commission.

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Foreword

This project began with the broad idea of studying social movements in the transnational arena of the European Union. Social movements were important in the development of European nation states. Charles Tilly has shown how these groups gradually came to direct their claims to national governments as modern nation states emerged (e.g. Tilly 1975, 1984; Tarrow 1996:48-49; Marks and McAdam 1996: 98). This shift was critical in legitimising these governments' decisions, linking the emergence of the national social movement in western Europe to the advent of electoral democracy. If social movements were important to the nation state, it would logically follow that they would also be so to the European Union. In other words, the EU, like other intergovernmental organisations, has altered the landscape of opportunities available to social movements (Passy 1999:149, Smith 1999:177, Lahusen 1999:190). Yet the more closely I looked at campaigns at the European Union level the less they resembled social movements as defined in the literature.¹ The groups that campaign at the European level (EU) seem too organised, and their coalitions too short-term and instrumental to be termed social movements (for a similar assessment on EU coalitions see Warleigh 2000). Nevertheless, there were some similarities with social movements – the threat of protest and the involvement of networks of citizens to say the least. If these were not social movements as understood in their incarnation within national boundaries, these were at least cousins of those movements. Indeed, if changes in the power structure provided the impetus for the emergence of movements as they are now understood from earlier, parochial forms, then a similar situation could reasonably be expected to accompany the transfer of power to the EU (Tarrow 1995, Marks and McAdam 1999, Imig and Tarrow 2001, Bandy and Smith 2005). As they changed to better challenge new structures within the nation state, so they will adapt to the peculiarities of the European arena. There is evidence of a change in associational life to fit this theory. In particular, after the extension of the EU's competences that came with the Single European Act in 1986, the number of European public interest groups greatly increased (Mazey and Richardson 1993, Lahusen 2004).

The focus of the project was thus narrowed down to looking at how social movements had metamorphosed in order to deal with the unique arena of the EU. The reasons for this

¹ See section 1.1 for a definition of the social movement.

choice are twofold. The first and original reason for my interest in social movements and the EU was the simple fact that “Few social movement theorists do research that looks inside of international institutions to understand how social movements work there and what kinds of impact they have had” (Sikkink 2005:152). Those few studies approaching social movements in their European level guise have tended to use the tools and theories developed specifically for their study at the national level (see, for example, the chapters by Imig and Tarrow in Imig and Tarrow 2001). At the same time, studies dealing with interest representation in the EU see social movements organisations merely as another category of lobby group (see, for example, Greenwood 2003). These studies all tend to conclude that social movement activity at the EU level is weak, either because they are so outnumbered by interest groups representing industry and other interests, or because they have not yet managed to achieve truly transnational protests.² Such conclusions are a result, I believe, of assuming that movements *should* act mainly via protest actions at the transnational level, even if this is not the case anymore even at the national level, and despite the many problems surrounding transnational protest in terms of practical, psychological, and political barriers, and the fact that few transnational protests actually take place (Bédoyan, Van Aelst and Walgrave 2004). It would seem to make more sense to assume that since the member states of the EU are (arguably the most) important actors in that system, the ‘domesticated’ protests that tackle EU issues from the national level may also be considered just as relevant as more strictly defined transnational protests. In other words, these assessments may not be wrong in their conclusions, but to arrive at such a judgement on the state of movement activity at the EU level a different approach may be needed. The EU is still, today, made up of nation states that call the shots on most of the Union’s business. In this sense, actions by social movements at the national or local level can indeed be ‘European’ whilst still interacting with the work carried out at the supranational institutions by Brussels-based groups. The latter must, however, play by the rules of the different institutional, political, and social contexts found in this space. The study thus attempts to fill a gap by paying attention to the ways in which EU social movement campaigns ‘join up’ these different levels, mirroring the structure of the Union itself.

On a more normative level, social movements in the EU are also interesting because of the historical role movements fulfilled in the development of the nation state – a role which

² For a summary of the work uncovering the lack of ‘truly’ transnational protest, see Bédoyan, Van Aelst and Walgrave (2004:39-41).

could be reprised to contribute to the EU's legitimacy problems. This is certainly a possibility according to the EU institutions themselves, as exemplified in the European Commission's 2001 White Paper on Governance. Drafted in the wake of the Irish rejection of the Treaty of Nice, this document admits a widespread distrust in institutions and politics, the over-complexity of the EU system and its remoteness from many citizens, along with the fact that perceptions of the EU as run by technocrats does not help in matters of trust, especially in the light of then very recent public health scares (BSE and foot and mouth disease). These various weaknesses in the visibility and legitimacy of the EU have been described extensively by political scientists, and are often placed under the label of the 'democratic deficit'.³ This is a wide-ranging and often very contentious debate, and to do it justice here is near impossible. For the purposes of this study, it is simply interesting to note that the White Paper on Governance (Commission, 2001) sees the increased inclusion and structured consultation of civil society⁴ as key in improving weaknesses in EU legitimacy in the eyes of citizens⁵, as do more recent offerings (Commission 2005b, 2006). Consultation is hoped to have the dual effect of increasing participation while simultaneously strengthening channels for the dissemination of information about the EU, thereby contributing to the solution of the problem of opacity and bringing the EU 'closer' to its citizens.⁶

³ Of course, many analysts disagree about this 'democratic deficit', arguing that in comparison to other national institutions, the European institutions are actually highly democratic. The existence or otherwise of problems in democratic accountability in the EU are not fully discussed here, as the important point for the subject at hand is the fact that the European institutions *themselves* have recognised such a debate, and see civil society, including social movements, as important in resolving this situation. Whether the problem actually exists or not becomes irrelevant since many people *perceive* it to exist.

⁴ Civil society is understood by the Commission "to refer to a range of organisations which include: the labour-market players (i.e. trade unions and employers federations – the "social partners"); organisations representing social and economic players, which are not social partners in the strict sense of the term (for instance, consumer organisations); NGOs (non-governmental organisations), which bring people together in a common cause, such as environmental organisations, human rights organisations, charitable organisations, educational and training organisations, etc.; CBOs (community-based organisations), i.e. organisations set up within society at grassroots level which pursue member-oriented objectives, e.g. youth organisations, family associations and all organisations through which citizens participate in local and municipal life; and religious communities." (Commission 2002: 6). As will be demonstrated at a later point in this paper, this definition fits with my definition of a European Social Movement Organisation where the various civil society groups are joined in a network of common cause.

⁵ In addition to and in conjunction with other measures such as more dialogue with regional and local authorities, the increased availability of on-line information, a platform for the direct participation of citizens on the europa site and many others.

⁶ The White Paper did not escape criticism – see in particular papers from the symposium 'Mountain or Molehill? A critical appraisal of the Commission White Paper on Governance' available at <http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/01/010601.html>.

The aim of this study is not, however, to evaluate the role of social movements in resolving the EU's democratic deficit, but rather to look at how the groups connected to movements operate in the EU arena and what factors are present when they achieve some outcome.⁷ In other words, I am interested in whether the actions taken by these groups have any effects. In order to investigate this theme of the effects of EU level campaigns I use tools provided by social movements studies adjusted to fit the EU arena, in an attempt to fill the gap in research in this area mentioned above. Although there are, of course, many different theoretical approaches to the study of social movements, more recent works recognise that these are in fact complementary, and that the present task for movement scholars is to integrate the different strands into a unitary approach (McAdam et al 2001). This thesis provides one such attempt at this by incorporating different theoretical approaches into a single framework used to examine the process of social movement campaigns at the European level. Following from the definition of social movements now commonly accepted in the literature, these include collective identity and political process approaches.

⁷ It is not only social movement and interest representation scholars who conclude that there exists some impact from European level activism. Following Marks' multi-level governance approach, for example, Fairbrass and Jordan conclude that some political outcomes are partly due to activism (2001:501). The multi-level governance approach also deems that states are not entirely in control of the integration process, leaving spaces for civil society.

1. What's in a name? Social movements in the EU arena

This introductory chapter will present and discuss theoretical approaches to the study of social movements, with a particular emphasis on how they may or may not be suited to transnational arenas. Below, I begin with a discussion of the concepts used in the study of social movements, pinning down the label of 'transnational social movement organisation' as the most suited to the phenomenon under examination here. The remainder of the chapter is then dedicated to the critical discussion of the theoretical approach, divided into sections concerning collective identities, political and finally discursive opportunities.

Different authors have emphasised different aspects of social movements in their work. Taking account of all of these, della Porta and Diani have formed a synthetic definition of a social movement (della Porta and Diani 1999:14-16) comprising of four different aspects. 1) Social movements are made up of informal interaction networks; 2) they are based on shared beliefs, or imply the existence of a collective identity; 3) they focus on conflicts; and 4) engage in protest (in its various forms). These four defining aspects of social movements are linked together in a mutually reinforcing manner. Thus, networks permit both mobilisation and the building of collective identities: collective identities allow collective action through solidarity between members; protest and conflict allow networks to be widened and consolidated, and identities to be strengthened, and so forth. When looking at the European Union arena, however, some more work on conceptualisation is necessary to specify the components of movements that interact across borders. Concepts developed to study *transnational* social movements may therefore prove fruitful.

Tarrow (2001), for example, makes a clear conceptual cut between the often confused terms of social movement, international non-governmental organisation (INGO), and the transnational social movement. The latter is quite simply a social movement with bases outside its target state or society. Transnational social movements are defined as "socially mobilized groups with constituents in at least two states, engaged in sustained contentious interaction with power holders in a least one state other than their own, or against an international institution, or a multinational economic actor" (Tarrow 2001:11). INGOs are engaged in routine transactions rather than contentious interaction, and their main purpose is seen in terms of service provision. This definition betrays Tarrow's position as one of the leading exponents of the political process approach, since his definition strongly

emphasises ‘contentious interaction’ without including any descriptions of organisation or identity links. Another concept linked to the transnational social movement is Keck and Sikkink’s (1998) transnational advocacy or activist network. These authors theorise in greater detail the organisational networks employed at the transnational level. Whilst national level social movements are more likely to be based on interpersonal contacts at the individual level,⁸ transnational networks are based on contacts made at the organisational level. They are ‘networks of activists, distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas or values in motivating their formation’, that serve to build new links and channels between various groups and the international system, for the exchange of knowledge, services, funds and the like. They aim to change the shape of debate, to bring new issues and ways of approaching those issues into the public sphere, and to maximise their influence over their targets. They may include entire social movements, NGOs, or even governments. This concept does not challenge the definition of a social movement given above, it merely locates movement within a broader perspective. Movements are seen as forming only one possible node of the network, rather than as constituting the network itself.⁹

This concept brings organisation and identity to the fore, since another important function of the transnational advocacy network is its role as a channel for the diffusion of common frames of understanding. This can be understood as essential in the business of persuading other parties (especially important political actors) of the relevance and importance of the advocates’ point of view (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 6). As transnational advocacy networks function centrally around the exchange of information between groups, the common understandings of problems that emerge from such exchanges are the main form of ‘currency’ employed in their dealings with those in power. The networks thus rely on “leverage politics” (*ibid*: 202) more than protest. They engage the media, attempt to create dramatic framings of situations, and exploit the adherence of prestigious partners in order to enhance their credibility in the quest to effect change. These networks are then a long way from the understanding of the ‘traditional’ social movement with its marches and meetings. Indeed, social movement theorists have criticised Keck and Sikkink’s concept for lacking an explanation of the relationship between the network and international

⁸ A view strongly held by the theorists of the ‘New social movement’ school. See, for example, Melucci (1989).

⁹ Linking this concept more specifically to the EU arena, Klotz (2002) likens the transnational advocacy network to an epistemic community transferred to the social sphere.

organisations, a link whose explanation is essential in explaining the existence of social movements (Tarrow 2001). However, the concept of the network is indispensable for understanding the organisation of transnational level movements.

However, since the unit of analysis dealt with in this study is the campaign rather than the movement itself (see below), it is necessary to pay more attention to the concepts used to look at the constituent parts of social movements. McCarthy and Zald's concept of the social movement organisation (SMO) (McCarthy and Zald 1977) combines the direct participation of constituents in actions with an organisational orientation to making claims on authorities. Smith (1997) moves the concept to the transnational level by describing transnational social movement organisations (TSMOs) as a subset of SMOs operating in more than two States whose "transnational structures [...] provide them with the resources essential for addressing interdependent global problems and allow them greater access to intergovernmental institutions" (*ibid* 1997:42). TSMOs have developed around new international arenas requiring new skills of movement activists, and TSMOs can help them to become familiar with these arenas, facilitate the division of labour between different organisations and eventually become focal points for movements. From this central point they may not only disseminate information downwards, but also aggregate opinions to feed upwards. However, authors have claimed that TSMOs are likely to become co-opted, adapting to the rules of the game as imposed by the international organisation in order to receive funding (della Porta and Kriesi 1999, 19). Thus, the conflictual and protest components of the social movement may be theoretically lost.

However, Smith et al (1997) 'bring protest back in' to the concept of the TSMO by specifying that because these organisations work with groups at multiple levels, each of these individual groups will function in separate (although interlinked) political opportunity structures. Following from this, TSMOs will see a division of labour with national level groups, as well as an equivalent variation in tactics at various levels according to what is deemed appropriate within each political opportunity structure. This idea seems perfectly suited to the movements working in the EU, whose structure as a group of nation states that have instituted some supranational institutions has also seen supranational branches of social movement organisations spring up in its vicinity. This 'division of labour' thus leads to the adoption of varying tactics depending on the target of the organisation. International institutions are seen to foster tactics of a more 'institutional' nature, such as lobbying and

monitoring activities, whereas the national level entails more direct tactics like protest and petitions – a function of the increased normalisation of such action in these political opportunity spheres.

This idea of the importance of solidarity created through common understandings, or frames, in social movements held together through networks at the transnational level is also taken up in the concept of the TSMO (Smith et al 1997). As the concept is rooted in a theoretical approach which considers that the “impact of social movements on the political process is conditioned by their mobilizing structures; by the political opportunities inherent in national, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental contexts, and by strategies to mobilize resources to act” (Smith et al 1997:60), the authors conclude that achieving structures capable of arriving at common frames with wide cultural resonance is essential for these often resource-poor groups, for whom solidarity is a primary asset in allowing engagement with international governmental organisations. The TSMO is just such a structure, a vehicle for the dissemination of values, frames, tactics, and practices (*ibid*: 72), as has been empirically proved in further work on the particular subject of collective identity in TSMOs by Smith (2002)¹⁰.

This concept thus contributes much in terms of organisational factors and their functions to the literature on TSMs. The idea of the TSMO fills out Tarrow’s definition of the TSM in terms of their target with some organisational assumptions, namely the form of a network stemming from a centre situated close to the target international organisation which gathers the expertise necessary for engaging with that particular institution, and serving as a centre point through which framing and dialogue may take place between the various components of the movement in order to (hopefully) achieve some degree of solidarity. Accordingly, it is this concept that best fits the majority of the groups involved in each of the campaigns presented here – groups that are organised and given to engaging for the most part in non-contentious forms of campaigning, but who are also closely linked to national and local level counterparts and a common history of more contentious approaches. This concept is also useful in that it takes the study a step away from ideas more strictly connected to social movements as understood in their form at the national level. As already mentioned, and as becomes clear in the case studies, the coalitions of what we may term ‘European Union

¹⁰ Smith’s method for measuring the density of transnational networks will be seen in more detail in section 4.2.1.

social movement organisations' (EUSMOs) are different from the more strictly defined national social movements, as indeed all transnational movement coalitions are.

This concept is also chosen because of its fit with the theoretical approaches adopted, and because it is an established concept that can be adapted to the level of analysis tackled in this study, thus avoiding the creation of new but unhelpful concepts that cannot 'travel' (della Porta 2002:294). Flowing from the aim to approach these groups with tools provided from social movement studies with the idea that such approaches may bring to light new evidence on how they work in the EU arena, I draw on two schools of social movement research in outlining the approach to measuring EUSMOs' effects: collective identity and political process approaches – from which also flows the idea of discursive opportunities. The remainder of this chapter will, preceded by a typology of the effects the study seeks to uncover, outline these theories and how they will be applied more practically to the case studies, always bearing in mind recent calls for social movement research to focus on *dynamic* processes (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001). Chapter two will present the analytical model describing the approach to tracing the processes leading to campaign outcomes, and briefly present the cases, why they were selected, and the sources employed for their study.

1.1 EUSMO effects – a typology

Studies that systematically measure the effects of campaigns on institutions identify numerous problems that to be overcome, and are relatively scarce. Nevertheless, work dealing instead with issues of movement 'success' are more numerous than many think (Giugni 1998). One of the first, and arguably the most thorough, studies of movement success was Gamson's 'The Strategy of Social Protest'. Although highly debated, and often criticised,¹¹ this work remains the starting point for the majority of later work on the various effects of social movements on the societies in which they are embedded. Gamson splits the types of effects that movements may have into two broad categories: 'new advantages' (the achievement of specific aims) and 'acceptance' (where an actor is recognised to be representative of a specific group's claims) (Gamson 1990). Whilst this dichotomy indeed provided fruitful and useful results, many scholars later criticised its simplicity, and added or changed categories of consequences.

¹¹ For a resume of these debates see Giugni 1998, the original articles are re-printed in the 1990 edition of Gamson's 'Strategy of Social Protest'.

The first problem with Gamson's dichotomy is of course that it tends to equate movement consequences with the term 'success' and thus only *positive* consequences. Although the term success may be more appropriate when measuring the achievement of clearly stated movement goals, it automatically excludes all of those consequences that were unintended by movement actors. This preoccupation with intended movement effects has indeed been noted in the field as a whole (Giugni 1998, Giugni, McAdam and Tilly 1999), and as a result many important outcomes may remain undetected. Amenta and Young (1999) also argue that the category of 'new advantages' is too restrictive on the basis of the observation that movements in general tend to receive concessions, but not the full satisfaction of their demands. They also highlight the fact that the consequences of movement actions may also be very negative, as in the case of violent repression. They therefore suggest a broadening of the category to encompass all collective goods (defined as goods from which it is difficult to exclude group members) – whether explicitly aimed for or not. In addition to this, the category of new advantages, or success, also carries the problem of subjectivity. That is, since social movements must be considered as loosely connected networks, rather than well-established organisations or single units of analysis (Melucci 1996), it is often impossible for the researcher, or for that matter movement leaders, to define success in any way that is shared by all members. Although goals may be definable in the sense of publicly stated movement goals, these still present the problems of restriction to intended consequences as outlined above. Gamson's category of 'acceptance' has also been criticised by, amongst others, Amenta and Young (1998), as acceptance in itself does not imply any concrete consequence of the movement on wider society.

Various new typologies of movement consequences have since been developed. Schumaker (1975) provides one useful fivefold typology, classified according to the points in policy making process in which a movement may have an effect. These categories are: access (the improved ability or position of a movement to communicate with those in power, corresponding to Gamson's 'acceptance'); agenda (a movement has been able to spark a debate on a previously ignored subject); policy (changes in policy concurrent with a movement's goals), output (the effective implementation of legislation relating to a movement's goals), and finally impact (the actual consequences of a policy change – e.g. where an agency is established, does the latter have any real power?). Some of these consequences may entail one another – for example a policy change may also imply

recognition and thus access responsiveness. Other typologies on similar bases distinguish between consequences according to broader levels. For example, Meyer (1998) examines movement effects on three different 'planes': policy, culture (these are wider, agenda changes, effects that stretch into potential future policy changes such as the general acceptance of the importance of protecting the environment), and participants.¹²

Other typologies make dichotomies according to the paths movement effects have followed, thus concentrating on resolving the issue of the exclusion of unintended consequences. Giugni, McAdam and Tilly (1999), in the introduction to their collection of essays on the subject, provide one such typology. This is divided according to direct links between movement claims and effects, combined paths between movements claims and the effects of outside events and actions, direct consequences concerning movement claims but stemming from outside events and actions, and finally any combination of the above causing outcomes unintended by any of the parties. In particular, this typology highlights the importance of taking the likelihood of complex paths into account when investigating issues of movement consequences. More specifically, it demonstrates the importance (widely observed in the literature, for example Giugni 1998, Meyer 1999, Kriesi and Wisler 1999) of context in determining the paths of movement consequences. Or, in the language of this piece of research, political opportunities, structures, and discursive opportunities. These may be described as the filter between a movement's claims and eventual outcomes (Kriesi and Wisler 1998), a filter which may let claims through more or less easily. This idea will be explored further when the model for analysing the effects of EUSMO campaigns is elaborated.

Having outlined some typologies that have been used to describe the kinds of effects that social movements may have, we come once again to the problem of adapting such schemes to the context of the EU. In terms of the decision between a typology concentrating on the complexity of the paths, sources, and combinations of movement effects and one concentrating on the area where an effect is seen, the latter of these two is, at least in the case of the EU, the clearer. Whilst taking the complexity of paths into account is extremely important, in theory any path may lead to any kind of outcome, and thus typologies which

¹² These may be described in a similar manner to McAdam's concept of 'biographical impact', including effects such as the participation of a person in one action will increase the likelihood that they participate in another.

inform the researcher of the path taken but nothing of the actual nature of the effect miss an equally important aspect of the equation.

Therefore, the approach to the consequences of EUSMOs in the European Union adopted here will be based on Schumaker's typology, which distinguishes between access, agenda, policy, output, and impact responsiveness. Such a scheme captures all of the types of different effects described in the literature on the subject, from the more obvious effects regarding specific policies, to previous effects that may have been exerted in agenda-setting, to follow-up effects regarding implementation, and broader effects concerning issues of access to relevant powerful actors. However, describing effects in terms of 'responsiveness' does carry the problem of implying the positive outcomes of movement actions. Disregarding negative effects by judging a movement as not having achieved any 'responsiveness' risks losing valuable descriptive information as to why a movement did *not* achieve this. A label inclusive of negative outcomes will overcome this problem. Therefore the more generic label of 'outcome' will be used, and non-outcomes investigated just as thoroughly as outcomes in the analyses.

Not all of Schumaker's categories are useful for this study however. As this work is mainly concerned with the EU, an organisation that relies mostly on national structures for enforcing rules and policies when adopted, the thorough and complete assessment of output and impact outcomes lie outside the scope of research. Intended EUSMO goals, as well as unintended outcomes, will most likely be more concerned with access, agenda and policy outcomes. The analysis of movement consequences will thus concentrate on these three types of outcomes, and will be based on an approach that draws on theories of collective identity and political and discursive opportunities, which, as I shall show in the next sections, are the most important factors to be considered when thinking about EUSMO campaign outcomes.

1.2 Tolerant collective identities and building shared frames

Collective identities in social movements have long been considered necessary to collective action – without the commitment entailed by a sense of common identity and beliefs, movements would be unable to mobilise members to act, and thus be unable to cause any effects. The following brief literature review of the concept in relation to social

movements is by no means exhaustive, but aims to investigate what kind of collective identity may be present and necessary to allow common actions among EUSMOs. Beginning with concepts developed for the older, national-based movements, this investigation will conclude with an overview of concepts of tolerant collective identities developed in studies of transnational movements, and of the ideas connected with frames and framing processes, understood as the building blocks of such identities.

The study of the role of collective identity in relation to social movements has a long history. Broadly speaking, approaches to the subject may be split into three schools: social psychological, constructionist (mostly in Europe), and rational (mostly in North America). However, more recent versions tend to see these schools overlapping and drawing upon one another, as will be seen below. Early social psychological perspectives that sought to explain not only social movements but all types of collective behaviour saw collective action as a pathological, irrational reaction akin to panic (Le Bon summarised in Oberschall 1993: 4-6), or as the alienated individual's search for some sense of belonging (Hoffer 1951 in Gamson 1992). Later contributions from the Chicago school of collective behaviour saw this as a source of new ideas, a 'seedbed of new institutions' (Gusfield 1994). Neither of these approaches theorises the deliberate or conscious building of a collective identity however – obviously important when looking at networks of groups spread out over a continent. More recent work based on identity theory do account for this possibility. For example, Stryker (2000 - but starting from 1980) has adopted a version of identity theory in order to account for and explain variations in levels of participation in and commitment to movements, and also provides a useful contribution in terms of stressing the complexity and multiplicity of identities. Traditional identity theory or social identity theory based on the work of Tajfel (see Stryker 2000; Gusfield 1994) rests on a symbolic interactionist frame. Interactions between people in various situations allow them to develop shared meanings and definitions of situations, as well as self-conceptions. In turn, interactions are shaped by self-conceptions and definitions of situations.

Stryker then develops his theory to account for current understandings of society as complex yet likely to reproduce structures. These structures are recognised as providing opportunities and constraints on action therefore making some choices more probable than others in various situations. Structural symbolic interactionism then sees social behaviour as role-related choices, affected by identity salience, which is in turn affected by

commitment - which specifies society. In this approach, people are seen to hold multiple, ranked identities. With relation to social movements, this theory accounts for competing identity claims (rooted in social groups) on movement members from, for example, family or work. When competing identities overlap, that is include similar interests, more commitment to the movement is likely. The repetition of identity choices also increases identity salience - so that once a movement member has participated in one action they are more likely to participate in another¹³. Identity is thus a condition for engagement in a movement.

The constructionist school consists of those scholars who see collective identity as the *goal* of a social movement. This view stems from the study of 'new social movements', such as the women's, gay rights and civil liberties movements, seen as removed from the 'old' movements' attachment to ideology and rooted instead in the quest for the definition and acceptance of specific identities. Perhaps the most prolific and detailed of the new social movement theorists was Alberto Melucci. According to Melucci neither structural nor rational models of collective identity are adequate, as collective identity is not found at the macro or micro levels, but at the intermediate or meso level where "individuals recognise that they share certain orientations in common and on that basis decide to act together" (Melucci 1989, 30). Another of Melucci's main criticisms of other approaches, important in understanding the reasoning behind his extensive work on the concept of collective identity, is that these tend to consider the movement as a unit of analysis, as an entity to be discovered. For Melucci the essence of the problem of social movements is not what they do so much as how they come to be: how they are constructed. Collective identity is the process that shows how this actor is built. Therefore collective identity¹⁴ is a process of constructing social movements or some kind of action system. It is built through definitions of the group and the group's location: its sense, means, and relationships to the environment: "collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action takes place."

¹³ The perceived success or failure of the action participated in is not, however, mentioned as an element in the subsequent identity salience ranking of the movement's collective identity. This point indeed highlights the fact that identity theory intends to explain all facets of identity rather than that specific to social movements and collective action.

¹⁴ Comprising solidarity defined by Melucci (1996) as referring not only to the recognition and identification of a group, but also to identify with that group. This entails recognising those outside the group, thus closing the system, or making it self-reflexive.

(Melucci 1989:34). The concept is both self-reflexive and aware of environmental constraints, and changes along with developing situations.

The rational approach to collective identity is in many ways a reaction to the early view of collective action as irrational. Writers of the resource mobilisation school thus sought to bring rationality back to the business of explaining social movements, basing their research on approaches concentrating on the mobilisation of resources, political opportunities, issue framing processes and organisational forms. However, these were made at the expense of any consideration of the importance of shared ideas and beliefs, of collective identity, in mobilisation processes (Gamson 1992). Collective identity was often swept under the carpet through the assumption that those who joined a movement would automatically share understandings and identities through the mere act of adherence (Oberschall 1993:13). Since further research showed that this was not always the case, with levels of commitment varying among movement adherents, collective identities were slowly brought back, first as another necessary movement resource, and then more specifically via the literature on framing, which may be understood as the *mechanism* of collective identity building. The practical approaches of the resource mobilisation school thus provided another method for studying collective identity.

The idea of 'framing', as originally theorised by Snow and Benford (see Hunt, Benford and Snow 1994) is specifically connected to collective identities in the assertion that identity constructions are inherent in all framing activities. Frames attach characteristics and definitions to people and issues in space and time - they attribute blame, outline alternative paths and means of achieving goals. They perform the role of interpreting the significance of a person, event or symbol - each frame is an attempt to align individual and collective identities, thus highlighting the role of social movements as constant builders and interpreters of situations rather than as carriers of fixed identities (Snow 2004). The attributes assigned by frames correspond to three frames of identity: protagonist identities derived from attributes assigned to movement members and leaders; antagonist identities derived from attributes assigned to movement opponents; and audience identities related to uncommitted or neutral observers of the movement (in so doing they also define the relevance of each to the situation). Identity assignments coming from outside the group feed back into the framing process in various ways depending on how they are treated by the movement - with acceptance, as reinforcements, denial or admittance. Therefore

framing and identity building processes are inextricably linked. In fact based on this image of collective identity the definition of a frame can equally be read as one of identity, “an interpretative schemata that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environments” (Snow and Benford 1992:137 cited in Hunt, Benford and Snow 1994:190).

Last but not least, we must of course consider how these approaches to collective identity have been dealt with in relation to transnational movements. Here, theorists have stressed the point that the views of collective movement identities as described in much of the nationally based literature are too all-consuming and exclusive. At the transnational level identities that are more connected to individuals and more tolerant of differences and multiple organisational alliances are important. Only such tolerant, or ‘multi-layered’ (Hunt and Benford 2004) identities will allow many organisations to come together in one transnational movement. In forging new, loose identities based on individual or organisational contributions and collectively constructed meanings, transnational ‘movements of movements’ may be bound together (della Porta 2003b). Thus, Rucht (1999:207) has asserted that “Transnational movements hardly exhibit a distinct collective identity as opposed to national movements. It is best to conceptualize different layers of identities which are not mutually exclusive. Thus a single group can be at the same time part of a local, national and international movement.”. In campaigns in particular such identities need not resemble strong and coherent structures: “Concrete common campaigns are ... built upon a minimal common denominator” (Tarrow and della Porta 2005:240).

This description of collective identity complements the ideas explored above. A less rigid understanding of a collective identity built through the construction of shared meanings and goals *between* various organizations is therefore the one employed in this study. This view allows for many different identities, built from information and negotiations with many different sources and constantly revised as new information arrives, to be held at once. As seen in the description of Stryker’s work, such a view does not render an explanation of the presence and creation of structures impossible. Yet neither does it subscribe to the structuralist approach, where structure is seen to dictate interpretations – this is likely true to some extent, but cannot be considered a useful view when the object of investigation is so clearly ‘unstructured’, and even their target (the European Union) can be described as a

particularly young and evolving structure. In accordance with the view of collective identity ascribed to here, the constructionist view of meaning as produced in dialogue, as between rather than within people, will be given precedence over the De Saussurian structuralist view of meaning as located in the differences between words embedded in a structure, and therefore arbitrary (Mohr 1998: 351).

That said, it should be stressed once more that it is *not* collective identity in the sense in which it is understood for national level movements that is of interest for this study, but the presence of shared meanings and goals which allow different EUSMOs to work with one another (Balme and Chabanet 2002:85-6) – and therefore to potentially cause some effects. While these obviously have a lot to do with collective identity, I will refer to the search for evidence of shared problem definitions and aims in order to distance the study from those approaches, in line with the fact that the objects of analysis (campaigns carried out by coalitions of EUSMOs) is not a social movement of the classical definition. In order to operationalise this concept, I draw on the literature on framing, described above as the ‘mechanism’ of identity building – as have other scholars of transnational campaigns in a perspective of tolerant identities (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

In order to further clarify this position that common frames or, put otherwise, shared problem definitions, can be understood as indicators for the presence of some level of tolerant collective identity, it is useful to refer to the different logics of collective action described by Diani (2005:51). Diani refers to three such logics – social movement dynamics, coalitional dynamics, and organisational dynamics. Where groups are not involved in dense collaborations they are involved in “organizational processes... Collaborations with other groups will be relatively rare and, most importantly, scattered across a broad range of different organizations. There will be no ... strong feelings of collective identity” (*ibid*:51). Coalitional processes refer to situations where dense collaborative exchanges addressing specific issues take place, and, finally, social movement processes are observed where “groups identify each other as part of a broader collective actor, whose goals and existence cannot be constrained within the boundaries of any specific protest event or campaign.” (*ibid*:51). Taking these terms of reference, I believe that the coalitions seen in the case studies here fall somewhere between what Diani terms coalitional processes and social movement processes. While social movement ties may indeed be present between some groups involved in a particular campaign, they may

not apply to all coalition members. However, the ties that are shown to spring up between the campaigning groups examined in the case studies here do show that the groups are capable of a “sustained series of collective actions”, something impossible in coalitional process according to Diani (*ibid*:51). While Diani seeks out identity bonds between actors in terms of groups’ previous participation in the same public events and the sharing of core activists (through network analysis), the alternative employed here is to seek for common framing strategies between coalition groups, where shared frames are understood as indicative of the basic level of tolerant collective identity necessary for those groups to campaign and work together. Therefore, I equate the presence of shared problem definitions contained in common frames as an indicator for the presence of an ‘in-between’ level of collective identity that allows these campaign coalitions to carry out a joint campaign together on a specific issue.

Not only is this approach useful in that it provides the researcher with measurable units – frames – which may be singled out and tracked through the words and actions of different groups at different points in time, it is also underpinned by the constructionist view of identity. Other methods used for exploring similar issues, for example surveys, “...assume the task is to array relevant publics on a pro-con dimension” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989:36). This entails the assumption that the meaning of the problem in question is shared by the ‘relevant publics’, who may then declare themselves either for or against it. As many have since argued, presenting a problem in such a fixed manner obliges people to answer questions they may never have considered, and as such creates rather than reflects opinion. A constructionist model, on the other hand, results in a methodical choice that “begins by calling this assumption into question and examining it.” (*ibid*: 36)

Constructionism is the explicit foundation of framing processes. Since social movements are not, as mentioned above, the carriers of fixed identities (Snow 2004), framing processes or the work undertaken to forge collective definitions is questioned from the outset by social movement scholars. “The framing perspective is rooted in the symbolic interactionist [re. Stryker 2000] and constructionist principle that meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events, or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead, through interactively based interpretive processes”. (Snow 2004: 384) Frame analyses should thus pay attention to processes of social construction (Oliver and Johnston 2000), which are conflictual and dynamic (Steinberg

1998).

Frame analysis is rooted in the method of content analysis. Content analysis began as a quantitative method, in its simplest form as counting words. As scholars realised that meaning was more likely to be devolved from at least sentences rather than single words, the method graduated to a more qualitative output using grammars or syntax as the analytical unit. The latter were then usually coded to obtain standardised information, and convert the words to numbers (Franzosi 2004). Other versions that have grown from this more general category include thematic analysis, story grammars or semantics, and of course frame analysis, which has been described as focusing on the broad images conjured up in a text (Franzosi 2004). However, the concept of the frame was originally developed by Erving Goffman. Goffman began from the unit of an interpersonal ‘encounter’ bringing different tasks and issues into focus via the frame activated on that occasion – “We must start with the idea, that a particular definition *is in charge* of a situation” (Gamson 1985:616). The concept found its way into social movement studies with Snow and Benford, who sought to correct the aforementioned lapse in attention to issues of identity and ideas in social movement studies.

A brief review of the use of frames in studies on social movements is also instructive for developing a method of frame analysis for European level campaigns. Following the introduction of the frame to social movement research, scholars were divided into those who examined frames in a fixed perspective and those who examined them in a dynamic perspective. Although the literature invariably describes frames as the outcome of dynamic and ongoing framing *processes* and therefore as fleeting and emergent, much literature fixes the frame of a social movement and then proceeds to analyse it. This has been attributed to theories concentrating on the organisational elements of social movements, strategic content thus taking analytical first place over interactive negotiation (Oliver and Johnston 2000: 42). Accusations of concept-stretching may also be applied to some uses of the frame concept in the literature, where the latter is raised wherever an idea comes into play but without properly specifying the processes that led to this (ibid: 42). Therefore, the first lesson to be learned when dealing with frames, framing processes, and frame analysis,

then, is that care must be taken to distinguish process and product.¹⁵ Although selecting some ‘snap shot’ of a frame during its continual negotiation is necessary for analytical purposes, several images are necessary to track the development of frames. It is these processes that give the frame its meaning in the first place, if we follow the idea of meaning being created in interaction. Frames are problem solving schemata stored in memory for making sense of presenting situations. Frame analysis then, is about working out how information is processed in order to arrive at an interpretation (Johnston 1995).

This information that passes between movements and their various audiences (for example counter movements, institutions, the public, individual members) during framing *processes* can be broken down into three categories. These are 1) diagnostic – information identifying a problem; 2) prognostic – information on how this problem should best be solved;¹⁶ and 3) motivational – encouraging action to draw attention to and thus contribute to solving this problem. According to Benford and Snow, “Collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change.” (2000:615).

Benford and Snow are also explicit about the many different techniques that social movements may employ in framing (as summarised in Benford and Snow 2000). “[F]rames are developed, generated, and elaborated on not only via attending to the three core framing tasks discussed above, but also by way of three sets of overlapping processes that can be conceptualized as discursive, strategic, and contested” (ibid: 623). Discursive processes are described as utterances, that is speech acts and written communications. In framing processes, such utterances contribute by articulation – “the connection and alignment of events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion” (ibid: 623), and amplification – stressing the importance of certain issues, events, or beliefs in order to make them more salient. Logically, a coherent

¹⁵ For comments on this problem with particular regard to the differences between framing and ideology, see Oliver and Johnston (2000).

¹⁶ Although it should be noted that some scholars have found that this framing action is less important for social movements, as their role is often not so much to propose solutions as to point out problems (Gerhards and Rucht 2002:582; della Porta et al: 2006). This, as will be seen later, may not be so much the case for EUSMs as these are hypothesised according to the sketched political opportunity structure of the EU to be moulded as information and thus solution suppliers in this sphere.

argument will produce a frame that is more acceptable and therefore more likely to be acted upon (Gerhards and Rucht 1992). Strategic processes are therefore aimed at building frames to achieve a specific purpose. Here the authors identify four tactics, frame alignment or bridging¹⁷, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation.

Frame bridging is of particular importance to the analyses to be carried out in this study, as it is well suited to the problem of frame analysis and shared problem definitions in transnational settings (see for example Ruzza 2004). Recalling the understanding of identity within transnational movements as *multiple* and *tolerant*, as constructed in *interaction*, the concept of frame bridging is useful for describing how different identities may hang together around a frame that may be interpreted in different ways by different groups. Benford and Snow (2000) believe that frame bridging is indeed the most used strategic framing action employed by movements. The authors define the action as follows: “frame bridging refers to the linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (ibid: 624). Since the EUSMO campaigns to be studied involve different groups, the building of such ‘bridges’ should allow for shared problem definitions.¹⁸

One further concept that is useful when studying shared frames in transnational movements in particular is the concept of diffusion. While frame bridging deals with the fusion of two or more frames, diffusion looks at how a frame travels among different groups or the same groups at different levels. Indeed, diffusion is most often used with reference to frames moving across national borders. On this subject, Snow and Benford (1999) are again at the forefront of the field. They have detailed how frames elaborated at the national level can be transferred over national boundaries by drawing on the concept of diffusion – meaning the “flow of social practices among actors within some larger system” (Strang and Meyer 1993 cited in Soule 2004). Frame diffusion, which may occur both actively through the deliberate efforts of movement actors, or more passively through external channels such as the media, who may diffuse movement frames of their own accord (della Porta and Kriesi 1999), takes place when a frame (the ‘innovation’ in the language of diffusion) is useful to

¹⁷ The two words are used interchangeably, both indicate the same process.

¹⁸ In some cases such frames have become so widely ascribed to as to be taken on by movement opponents. Ruzza (2004) details the example of the very extensive frame of ‘sustainable development’ and its eventual absorption by the industries it first targeted. By invoking the EU-friendly term of ‘development’ – since the EU’s roots are in economic alliance – the movement succeeded in bridging their frame of environmental protection with that of economic progress.

both parties involved ('transmitter' and 'adopter' respectively), when both share some basic cultural or structural characteristics, and when they are linked together either directly through relational contacts or indirectly through, for example, the mass media (Snow and Benford 1999, 24). There are two main models for diffusion: the hierarchical model and the proximal model, within which diffusion may take place either through direct or indirect links (Soule 2004). In the former, diffusion takes a trickle-down form, with a leading individual or organisation diffusing frames downwards to lower organisations or actors. In the latter, organisations or individuals "mimic others who are spatially or culturally relevant to them" (Soule 2004:295).

Concerning the conscious and deliberate use of diffusion, Snow and Benford (1999) see the important factor in the process not in this mechanical act of diffusion but in the manipulation and interpretation of a frame in order to fit it to a new societal context. They develop a typology of diffusion in order to specify this point. Reciprocation occurs where both the transmitter and the adopter actively take an interest in the process. Where only the adopter takes an active interest, adaptation takes place, whilst accommodation describes the opposite situation. Finally, 'contagion' describes diffusion between two passive actors, although there is little empirical evidence of such processes.¹⁹ In the framework introduced here, reciprocation would then be so close to the concept of frame bridging as to be one and the same. In that case, the group targeted by frame diffusion becomes active in the reinterpretation and thus the re-elaboration of the frame – part of the ongoing framing process. In the analyses carried out here, passive instances of a frame being transferred from one group to another will be referred to as diffusion, and more dialogic accounts as bridging.

There are three main aims that must therefore be borne in mind when investigating campaign frames: 1) to discover if a campaign has adopted or developed a strong frame or group of frames throughout its duration; 2) whether there has been dialogue with the national and / or local level, enabling a multi-level campaign and; 3) if framing work has taken place (i.e. evidence of dialogue and meaning creation between groups, through bridging or diffusion). The hypothesis behind these aims is that a campaign fulfilling these

¹⁹ A similar idea on the transfer of ideas among social movements has been elaborated by Tarrow and McAdam (2005). Although they speak of 'scale shift' and 'brokerage', the essential ideas for the purposes of this study are the same (McAdam et al 2008:322).

requirements will be more likely to see the outcomes aimed for, as together they indicate the construction of shared meanings between separate groups.²⁰ Framing work in particular may be theorised as the closest to providing some evidence of the creation of meaning through dialogue, and therefore some basic level of collective identity that will allow for greater mobilisation (following the definition of a social movement at the national level). The relative importance of these three factors will also be discussed in the concluding chapter.

1.3 The importance of contexts: the political process approach

Another tried and tested approach to the study of social movements and, of course, their consequences, is political process. If we think of collective identity as an important factor in influencing movement effects in terms of the *internal* processes of social movements, then political process is important to effects in that it denotes the factors *external* to the movement that may either hinder or aid its actions and eventual outcomes. The following will provide a brief review of the approach, alongside useful delimitations of its scope that will be employed in this study, and finally describe a political opportunity structure of the EU detailing the fixed factors that may help or hinder EUSMO campaigns' trajectories and therefore their consequences.

The political process, or political opportunity, approach aims to explain social movements' actions as rational courses followed in the light of perceived options, possibilities, and barriers present in political contexts. In this sense, the approach can be tied to the 'rational' or 'resource mobilisation' school of social movement scholarship (Kitschelt 1986:59). The approach is useful for this study for reasons that have become clear in the introductory sections of this chapter – the uniqueness of the EU as an arena for social movements, and their need to adapt to it. To put it plain and simply, the context in which a campaign takes place will effect its outcome. The political process approach leads the researcher to explain social movement actions in the light of the contexts in which they are embedded – social movements are influenced by events in their surroundings. Not only does the approach enable the interpretation of various actions, it also forces the scholar to note in detail and

²⁰ This hypothesis recalls Haas' work on epistemic communities, where "only organizations that share similar views on the origins of the conflict, common ideological frameworks and common goals can have a significant impact on the elaboration of international norms" (Passy 1999:162).

pay attention to other actors and circumstances outside the actions forming the central focus of study. In this way outcomes are seen in a complex universe, and the construction of overly simplistic causal chains is averted. In view of this, I explore the trajectory of the political process approach below with an eye to its application to my own study.

The seed of the approach was sown by Lipsky (1970 cited in McAdam 1996:23), who called for the taking into account of institutional particularities when explaining collective action, as previous work had mostly concentrated on explanations based on characteristics internal to movements. This challenge was first taken up by Eisinger (1973 cited in McAdam 1996:23) whose study of the variations in behaviour during riots in different American states represents the first practical enunciation of the approach. Following this, the political process approach to the study of social movements developed apace, with the approach being expanded and refined by authors such as Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow, and Doug McAdam. These studies tended to focus on what may be termed dynamic political opportunities, such as shifts within ruling elites, wars, or electoral instability, to explain sudden rushes of collective action (see Tarrow 1994). McAdam saw as relevant to this particular brand of political opportunities “*any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured*” (McAdam 1982 cited in della Porta and Diani 1999: 207). Other studies concentrated on more stable and fixed political opportunities, or political opportunity structures. The most thorough example of this is Kitschelt’s (1986) comparative study of mobilisations concerning nuclear power in four countries. For him, relatively unchanging factors such as the number of parties competing in the electoral system, the effectiveness of the state in implementing policy, the degree of the separation of powers in a system, and historical precedence explain social movements’ actions as these facts act “as ‘filters’ between the mobilization of the movement and its choice of strategies and its capacity to change the social environment” (Kitschelt 1986:59).

However, the relevance of other factors in explaining the actions of social movements led some authors to include a host of other kinds of opportunities in the approach, resulting in the criticism that the approach was becoming a catch-all approach - too wide, with too many variables and too little consensus on its actual meaning or on what it could explain

(for example McAdam 1996; della Porta and Diani 1999; Koopmans 1999).²¹ The criticisms are well summed up by the following accusation formulated by Gamson and Meyer (1996): “The concept of political opportunity structure is in trouble, in danger of becoming a sponge that soaks up virtually every aspect of the social movement environment – political institutions and culture, crises of various sorts, political alliances, and policy shifts...Used to explain so much, it may ultimately explain nothing at all” (cited in McAdam 1996: 24). Reacting to these criticisms, Koopmans (1999) has clarified and separated the different concepts of the political process approach:

Opportunities are “options for collective action, with chances and risks attached to them that depend on factors outside the mobilizing group.” (*ibid*: 97)

Political Opportunities are options for collective action, with chances and risks attached to them that depend on political actors and institutions outside the mobilising group. (Following Koopmans 1999: 97-98)

And finally, a *Political Opportunity Structure* is a constellation of opportunities “that cannot be influenced – at least not in the foreseeable future – by collective action.”

The variables employed in studies using the political opportunity approach thus concern political constraints, possibilities and threats (in that they depend on political actors and institutions), but the latter do not add up to opportunities in and of themselves. Opportunities exist only insofar as they are perceived and acted upon by social movement actors (Tarrow 1994). An unexploited opportunity will not help a campaign, and a threat reacted to imaginatively may be overcome, and even, as the cases presented here will show, be transformed into an opportunity. This answers the criticism that the approach leaves the link between political opportunities and movement actions unspecified (Kriesi et al 1995; Koopmans 1999). When classifying opportunities, I follow the definition applied above by Koopmans (1999:97-98) between dynamic and static political opportunities. A political opportunity structure refers to relatively fixed or structural opportunities, or in other words

²¹ The theory has also been criticised in that it assumes political opportunities to be paramount in explaining various actions of social movements, and thus implicitly assumes social movements’ inherently political nature. This leads theorists of this school to concentrate only on political social movements. Although true to some extent, some applications of the theory to New Social Movements, such as the European environmental movement, have been fruitful and robust (Koopmans 1999).

to political institutions (Kriesi 2004), while dynamic opportunities are the results of unstable characteristics of those institutions – actions by individuals, elections and the like. Other authors studying impact in transnational campaigns have also used similar approaches, distinguishing between opportunities related to structural features, and those more related to the process of policymaking (Keck and Sikkink 1998, Hellferich and Kolb 2001:145). The dual result of these clarifications is to place the approach in a bounded space and to *admit the relevance of other factors*. When using these terms, which have often been used in an interchangeable manner, and to describe different things, it must be remembered that “Opportunity is not always political opportunity, and political opportunity is not always structural (...) Structural opportunities, moreover, do not have to be political in origin.” (*ibid*: 101).²²

Once again it must be said that the political process approach was developed with the national level in mind. Some discussion of the approach’s relevance outside of the national arena is then necessary. That the international arena more generally requires a reworking of the approach has been posited (Lahusen 1999:202), and respecifications in order to study movements and the EU have been underlined by several authors, for example in the volume edited by della Porta and Kriesi (1999). However, the variation most suited to this research is the variable political opportunity approach, which has been recommended (in essence) by authors both from outside the discipline of social movement studies (Peterson 1997; Marks and McAdam 1996; Bieler 2005) and from within the discipline (della Porta et al 1999, della Porta and Caiani 2007). Della Porta et al (1999) take globalisation as their starting point, understanding the latter as relevant to the study of TSMs in its incarnation within three types of transnational interactions: transnational interactions between movements; transgovernmental interactions; and cross-level interactions between movements and governments.²³ Globalisation for social movements is then seen as the diffusion of various resources between movements tied together informally in networks, with proof of this being found in the increasing similarity of, for instance, repertoires of contention across national borders (*ibid*: 8-9). Interactions should be analysed through the lens of their surrounding political opportunity structures, both in the international and the appropriate national arenas. The latter’s continued importance despite processes of globalisation and the creation of veritable supranational spheres of action such as the EU is

²² Hence the addition of discursive opportunities, which will be detailed below.

²³ This typology is developed in more detail in the specific European context in della Porta (2003a).

underlined, since national actors are still the major players in world politics. TSMs thus juggle their perceptions of multiple opportunity structures, which are themselves in dialogue with one another. Several of the contributors to the volume by della Porta et al (1999) use this theoretical framework to approach the study of social movements in the EU, and a similar approach is also called for by Sikkink (2005). For example, Imig and Tarrow (*ibid*) find that the relatively low level of protest at the actual European level can be explained by the various barriers posed by the EU, as well as groups' more extensive knowledge and feeling for the national opportunity structures. Protest at the national level thus indirectly targets the European via national governments.

This 'variable opportunity structure' approach is thus particularly suited to the study of European level campaigns, as it accounts not only for interaction between actors on multiple levels, but also for the interactions between *opportunity structures* on multiple levels, as well as admitting the continued importance, but not the exclusivity, of national governments on the international stage in line with the EU's multi-level organisational form.²⁴ Interactions between different opportunities and threats are particularly relevant when examining effects: in a complex arena like the EU opportunities and threats take on different levels of importance, and may cancel one another out in some cases. As Marks and McAdam observe:

“Whereas the classic nation-state tended to define the ‘structure of political opportunities’ for *all* challenging groups, the emergence of a multi-level polity means that movements are increasingly likely to confront highly idiosyncratic opportunity structures defined by that unique combination of governmental bodies (at all levels) which share decision-making authority over the issues of interest to the movement.” (Marks and McAdam 1996: 119)

In the EU then, they conclude, social movements must adapt to the new political opportunity structures that this arena constitutes (*ibid*). Following the model of variable opportunity structures, this will likely lead to the relegation of some parts of their repertoire of contention to the national or local level (i.e. protest), and the adoption or more extensive use of others more suited to the European opportunity structure (i.e. lobbying), as the EU can be said to provide more opportunities for the latter, whilst presenting barriers to the

²⁴ A similar approach has recently been applied by Lahusen (2004:57): “particularly in the case of the EU, we cannot speak of a uniform and formalised assimilation but of an undeclared and elastic accommodation”.

former (della Porta and Kriesi 1999). This claim can be tested through the case studies that will be presented here, and will be further discussed in the conclusions in chapter seven.

One task that none of the studies that use political process approaches to examine social movements in the EU carry out is a systematic evaluation of the variables that may fruitfully be employed for determining political opportunities in that arena. Because the approach was developed for national spheres, this is an important exercise for adapting the approach to the EU level. To facilitate this, the following table synthesises the variables that have been used by the major political process authors according to the broad dichotomy of ‘dynamic’ and ‘fixed’ opportunities. Following McAdam (1996), each of these two broad categories can then be further divided, so that variables concerning ‘dynamic’ political opportunities may be grouped under the headings of : “the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity” and “the presence or absence of elite allies” (McAdam 1996: 27), whilst variables concerning ‘fixed’ opportunities may be grouped under the headings of: “the relative openness or closure of the institutionalised political system” (i.e. its receptiveness or otherwise to claims-making by social movements) and “The state’s capacity and propensity for repression” (McAdam 1996: 27).

Table 1 - Synthesis of elements relevant in determining political opportunities

<u>Fixed – political opportunity structure</u>		<u>Dynamic political opportunities</u>	
Openness / Closure	Prevailing Culture	(In)stability of elites	Elite allies / 'enemies'
No. of parties	Government: unitary or coalition	Intra-elite conflict	Position held by ally
Effectiveness in implementation	Extent of polarisation of opposition	Electoral instability	Ability of ally to fulfil promises
Rules on dialogue with 3 rd parties	Attitude to opposition opinions: exclusive or integrative	Proximity of elections	Hostile elites
Professionalism and resources of administration	Style of police protesting	Contingent events: war, coup d'état, natural disaster (...)	Presence of counter movements
Centralisation			
Separation of powers			
Institutionalisation of direct democracy			

Sources: Kitschelt 1986; Kriesi et al 1995; McAdam 1996; Tarrow 1994, 1996; della Porta and Diani 1999)

Beginning with those variables that determine the degree of openness or closure of a state, the first is the number of parties, groups or factions vying for power in the system. The institutional domain of relevance here is the European Parliament (EP), which is directly elected by the citizens of each member state of the EU according to varying national systems. European political parties do exist, and members of the EP sit in session according to their European party affiliation rather than by nationality. However, European parties are still broad coalitions of national parties rather than fully fledged political parties with individual membership bases (Nugent 2006:261), and European elections attract ever lower voter turnouts (Balme and Chabanet 2008, Nugent 2006:258). Campaigns' focuses tend towards national issues, and many voters and parties alike consider them merely an opportunity for a mid-term endorsement or rejection of the government. Quite apart from this, the EP is not a parliament in the sense of those of the member states of the EU. Since the EU has no 'government' in the sense of the nation-state, this is not drawn from the ranks of the European Parliament, and sovereignty is not invested in it. Thus, it does not constitute a familiar focal point for the expression of citizens' concerns, as reflected in the

non-European nature of European elections, often regarded as ‘second order’ national elections (Nugent 2006: 260). This would seem to rule out the importance of the number of European political parties.

On the other hand, the European Parliament actually wields more power in terms of amending legislation than many national parliaments. Especially since the introduction of the co-decision procedure, under which the European Parliament is co-legislator along with the Council of Ministers, the EP’s power to amend is considerable, making it an increasingly popular target for interest groups (Greenwood 2003). When it comes to voting legislative amendments in full plenary session however, no one European party currently holds the majority necessary to pass an amendment.²⁵ The number of parties is important then in terms of the constraints this places on the number of groups which must be convinced of the worthiness of a group’s claims in order to gain a result. This, however, falls into the ‘dynamic’ category of political opportunities since voting coalitions in the EP vary not only according to policy area, but sometimes split along national fault-lines, and habitually shift from amendment (or paragraph of amendment!) to amendment. This variable is therefore retained as a dynamic political opportunity.

Next is the variable ‘effectiveness in implementation’. Here, the lack of relevance for the EU is clear-cut. The EU relies on national governments and bureaucracies to implement legislation in the member states. This is most definitely not the case for the next element on the list however: rules on dialogue with third parties. For the sake of avoiding repetition, I will also include the next element – professionalism of the administration – in the following discussion, as the reasons for the importance of these two elements in an EU political opportunity structure are mutually reinforcing. The Commission is certainly professional in the sense that its staff members are highly trained and competent bureaucrats,²⁶ but the institution lacks other resources. Both as a result of the small size of its staff in comparison with the size of its tasks, and as a result of the often highly technical nature of the legislation it drafts, the Commission is reliant on information from outside sources. For these reasons the Commission consults widely and extensively with many

²⁵ This was also the case prior to the 2004 elections.

²⁶ At least within the various directorates general – the Commission having been described as notorious for the low levels of policy coordination between these (Greenwood 2003).

different interest groups, national civil services and experts. The more ‘informal’ consultations²⁷ carried out with interest groups are subject to specific rules²⁸.

The general principles of these rules (which take the form of a non-binding code of conduct) are defined by the European Commission as openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence (see Commission 2002). These principles should be adhered to by the Commission, other EU institutions and, crucially, those that groups that the EU institutions consult when drafting legislation. Steps taken to achieve these principles included the setting up of an internet database of civil society groups,²⁹ CONNECS,³⁰ and the setting out of minimum standards to be followed in consultations. These minimum standards mostly apply to the Commission itself, who must (for example) make sure that its communications on consultations are clear and precise, circulated a reasonable amount of time before the deadline for contributions, ensure a wide and balanced consultation of interested parties, and provide feedback on contributions. However, apart from the fact that these minimum requirements are not (according to many interviewees) always respected, the information requirements of the rules, along with the type of information (highly detailed and technical) often required by the Commission form a constraint to the participation of less organised or institutionalised EUSMOs,³¹ leading to the perception that organised business interests often hold sway in the EU.

Other EU institutions are also open to the representations of various interested groups. The EP especially, as a result of its increased legislative power, has seen an increase in lobbying in recent years, leading to calls for rules on the lobbying of members. As the only directly

²⁷ The Commission defines ‘consultation’ as follows: “those processes through which the Commission wishes to trigger input from outside interested parties for the shaping of policy prior to a decision by the Commission” (2002: 15-16).

²⁸ These rules form one part of the Commission’s effort to secure increased legitimacy through transparency. On this subject as concerns dialogue with interested parties, see Commission 2001, where dialogue with ‘civil society’ is also explicitly recognised as an alternative path to active participation in the EU by its citizens. The rules themselves are detailed in Commission 2002.

²⁹ “Civil society includes the following: trade unions and employers’ organisations (“social partners”); non-governmental organisations; professional associations; charities; grass-roots organisations; organisations that involve citizens in local and municipal life with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities” (Commission 2001: 14).

³⁰ This database no longer exists. As a result of the Communication on the follow up to the Green Paper ‘European Transparency Initiative’ (COM (2007)127), the Commission launched a voluntary register for interest representatives in Spring 2008, which may be found at <http://webgate.ec.europa.eu/transparency/reg/in/welcome.do?locale=en>. Nevertheless, registering here entails adhering to the principles of “openness, transparency, honesty and integrity”.

³¹ Although the rules also mention that the participation of unorganised interests should also be encouraged (Commission 2002).

representative institution of EU citizens, the EP is the natural ally for many ‘public interest groups’, including social movement organisations (Greenwood 2003). The Council of Ministers also engages in dialogue with third parties, although to a much lesser degree (Greenwood 2003). The elements concerning dialogue with third parties and the professionalism of the administration may thus be deemed relevant in building the EU’s political opportunity structure. This is explicit in the Commission’s own view on consultation procedure: “It is a chance to get citizens more actively involved in achieving the Union’s objectives and to offer them a structured channel for feedback, criticism and protest” (Commission 2001: 15).

The next pair of elements, which may also be discussed fruitfully in function of one another, are centralisation and the separation of powers. These are included because of their importance in terms of the number of access points they open to campaigning groups. Regarding centralisation, the EU is a decentralised system – the implementation of European policies is entrusted to member states. In decision-making processes, the roles of the different institutions exist in a delicate balance which differs according to the subject matter in hand. The prolonged and inconclusive debates between proponents of the intergovernmental and supranational explanations of the EU highlight the fact that in the day to day reality of the EU no one institution, actor, or logic holds sway. Perhaps the only consensual description of the EU is that it is a multi-level system. Decentralisation is also enshrined in the Treaties in the form of the subsidiarity principle. Thus, the EU as a decentralised system provides plenty of access points for EUSMOs to present their cases. The EU institutions may also be described as well separated. The Commission, EP, and Council of Ministers may work together in a delicate balancing act, but each institution has a well-defined and separate role and culture – as demonstrated in frequent disputes over the detail and persuasion of legislation. The separation of the EU’s institutions thus combines with its decentralised (or, perhaps more accurately, dispersed) system of decision-making to provide effectively different and multiple points of access for social movements³². The final variable in this group, from the work of Kriesi et al (1995), is the institutionalisation of direct democracy. This is not relevant for the task at hand, as although the EU is often the subject of referenda, it cannot call its own.

³² For a useful figure depicting the multitude of European level points of access, see the figure in Greenwood 2003: 31.

Which takes us to the next grouping of elements in the table. These concern prevailing culture in a system, which may be best indicated by the composition of government (unitary or coalition), the extent of the polarisation of the opposition, exclusive or integrative attitudes to opposition opinions, and styles of protest policing³³. The latter can immediately be ruled out, as the EU is not a state and has no police force. Of the remaining three, two turn out to be useful if slightly adapted, as all three are couched in very national terms.

Concerning the composition of government as unitary or coalition, this variable cannot be transferred to the EU level without alteration, as the system has no government as such. However, the term coalition is useful for describing the prevailing culture of consensus in the EU. Thus, if we ask if the EU institutions involved in legislative work are made up of coalitions, we can explain the constant effort for consensus demanded by the task of creating legislation that may be effectively implemented and meaningful in 27 different countries. Commissioners, for example, are nominated from all the member states, and are obliged to form multinational *cabinets*. When working as a college, they can certainly be described as a coalition, as despite giving up any national preferences, the interests of their particular DG pit them against one another (Peterson 1997). The Council of Ministers too is necessarily a coalition, as ministers of different ideological persuasion find themselves obliged to work together in order to achieve progress, and the Council as a general rule seeks consensus even where a qualified majority will suffice. The EP too can be described as a coalition, despite the presence of a leading party. As mentioned earlier, the European parties are themselves broad coalitions of national parties. In addition to this, when it comes to the crunch in legislative votes, even the largest group must form coalitions in order to achieve the necessary absolute majority.

Very much linked to this is the element of the extent of polarisation of opposition. Since the EU is by definition a coalition, as mentioned above, no ‘opposition’ in the sense meant by the original authors of this element exists. The more general element of the extent of

³³ Other views on the prevailing culture of a system are more connected with “the political-cultural or symbolic opportunities” (Kriesi 2004:72, see also Tarrow 1994). Variables here would concern the cultural resonance of certain symbols given discourses of national identity, citizenship and the like. However, since the main focus in this section is the political opportunity structure of the EU which - as numerous authors have pointed out - has no ‘culture’ of its own (there being no one single European demos) this view is left aside as property of the national political opportunity structures. It may also be argued that under the distinctions made here, such opportunities are not strictly ‘political’.

polarisation of opinions was considered for inclusion in the model as a dynamic opportunity, following the reasoning that polarised opinions may block legislation, and thwart efforts for consensus. However, in the actual analyses it became clear that the variable of hostile elites already covered these points. This variable was therefore discarded. The very final element for consideration is attitudes to opposition opinions. An 'opposition' as understood in national politics does not exist in the EU. Yet the inclusive nature of the EU as seen in the overall culture of consensus is important. This element may be useful if adapted to read attitude to differing opinions – which is definitely inclusive in the terms of Kriesi et al (1995). Within the Council of Ministers, consensus is sought in order to achieve progress, as detailed above. In the EP, coalition, if not overall consensus is sought – yet attitudes to differing opinions tend to remain respectful as coalitions shift so quickly, and very often today's enemy must be tomorrow's ally. The Commission's attitude to differing opinions is most important in terms of its consulting procedures when drafting legislation for the purpose of political opportunity structures for social movements. Its inclusive attitude is in fact a duty: "the Commission should [...] consult widely before proposing legislation and, wherever appropriate, publish consultation documents". (Protocol (N° 7) on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, annexed to the Amsterdam Treaty cited in Commission 2002: 4). These attitudes may spell important opportunities for EUSMOs.

The elements that are relevant in building the EU's political opportunity structure, along with the EU's 'score' on each of these - that is its political opportunity structure, are summarised in the following table.³⁴

³⁴ Obviously, this structure will only apply where the European Union as a supranational body has the competence to act, rather than the clearly intergovernmental areas contained within the Union's structure.

Table 2- Political Opportunity Structure of the EU

		Characteristics of EU
Elements determining Openness / Closure	Rules on dialogue with 3 rd parties	Where institutionalised formal and binding, extensive non-binding rules for non-institutionalised dialogue. Inclusive for organised interests when addressing their 'natural' partners.
	Professionalism and resources of the administration.	Commission lacking in resources – reliant for information on national civil services and third parties.
	Degree of centralisation	Multi-level system with decision-making shared between institutions at the EU and national levels.
	Extent of separation of powers	Separate roles, although much mutual dependency in many legislative matters. Judiciary highly independent of all other institutions.
Elements determining prevailing culture	Institutions unitary or coalition	Coalition in all institutions.
	Attitudes to differing opinions	Highly inclusive.

Overall then, the EU institutions represent an accessible arena, which is tolerant of the opinions of other groups. Such an assessment does however require some qualification – how should we theorise each of these variables in terms of whether they denote opportunities or threats for EUSMOs? Some degree of access may be relatively easy to achieve, but at what price does this access become effective? In fact, the various criteria that must be fulfilled by those wishing to exploit these qualities of the EU's political opportunity structure also represent a variety of constraints. Firstly, although the Commission is often described as an institution very open and in fact actively seeking consultation with third groups (Balme and Chabanet 2002:24), the rules governing informal consultation by the Commission³⁵ with third parties oblige groups to acquire a certain organisational form and culture, as is clearly demonstrated in the criteria allowing registration in the CONNECS database, which run as follows:

“In order to be eligible, an organisation must be a non-profit representative body organised at European level, i.e. with members in two or more European Union or Candidate

³⁵ Although the Commission makes clear in the White Paper on Governance (Commission 2001) that the 'principles of good governance' should also be applied by other EU institutions both in general and in consultations with outside groups.

countries; be active and have expertise in one or more of the policy areas of the Commission, have some degree of formal or institutional existence; and be prepared to provide any reasonable information about itself required by the Commission, either for insertion in the database or in support of its request for inclusion” (Commission 2002)³⁶

Since the Commission is often the logical primary target for many campaigns (Greenwood 2003:33) as an institution involved in all stages of policy making (Balme and Chabanet 2002:53), these requirements can be seen as a constraint on the organisational form of EUSMOs (della Porta and Caiani 2007:8). However, avoiding the Commission as a campaign target makes little sense. Although many other access points exist, the Commission is logically the primary target of campaigns as the initiator of legislation (Greenwood 2003:33). This is not only because ‘the devil is in the detail’, but also because of the simple statistical fact that in general a large share of the text of draft legislation remains intact at adoption. The Commission also represents a major source of funding for EUSMOs. Obtaining funding from the Commission also imposes constraints in terms of “Europeanness”, transparency, and formal organisation, not to mention the fact that funding is provided for carrying out projects for the Commission,³⁷ meaning that EUSMOs may be obliged to carry out work tailored to meeting the institution’s need for information (see below) instead of the work they would choose to carry out – a circumstance which may distance them from grassroots membership (see Guiraudon 2001:171).³⁸

Where an EUSMO has complied to these requirements, however, what rewards may be expected? Michalowitz (2002), in her study of the pluralist and corporatist qualities of interest representation in the EU, has found that the Commission displays both, but at different stages of their consultation procedures. In a first, more pluralist step, a wide variety of parties is consulted for their opinions on a particular legislative initiative. In a second step however, where the drafting of the legislation proper is undertaken, consultation is cut down to privileged partners who have secured seats in the Commission’s

³⁶ As noted previously, this database no longer exists. Its closure came *after* the end of all the campaigns included in case studies here however, and its rules therefore applied to these. In any case, it may be argued that these rules continue to be relevant for groups today, since they may have already made difficult to reverse changes in their organisational cultures in order to fulfil them and become partners for dialogue with the Commission.

³⁷ Budget lines for funding civil society groups have been ruled to be illegal by the ECJ (Cullen 2005).

³⁸ Interestingly, a fairly similar description of the opportunities presented by the United Nations to social movements is provided by Passy (1999), suggesting that international governmental organisations may have some similarities in how they deal with their information needs in particular.

labyrinthine network of expert, technical and other committees. When it comes to ensuring a say, this is where an EUSMO must secure a place. Yet such places are secured exactly by the ability to produce fresh information on demand (Balme and Chabanet 2002:54)³⁹ – very difficult considering the relative lack of resources of most EUSMOs as compared to industry groups. Whilst the latter may often rely on substantial resources in terms of membership fees, industry-funded research and expertise, EUSMOs often rely, as already mentioned, on short-term Commission project funding, and thus a small amount of paid staff or the occasional voluntary services of their member organisations. Once the proposal is drafted, opportunities for consultation were found to be very much closed.

In addition to all this, the Commission represents further constraints as a result of its highly fragmented nature, where the cultures and interests of each separate DG may often be played off against one another in internal power struggles. Following Ruzza's (2004) idea of the 'institutional activist', I therefore include the caveat of the 'natural partner' as a condition for more fruitful dialogue with the Commission. In many DGs, Ruzza asserts, staff tend to share a certain ideology, or at least a sense of the importance of their particular policy area. This was previously the case in DG Environment, where many of the original staff members came from the Nordic countries where environmental policies were already considered as a priority – thus supplying a ready-made expert group, but one with a fairly homogeneous conception of the environmental problem. This means that some institutional actors are 'naturally' sympathetic to the ideas of a specific movement, although they may not be directly connected to the latter. This can be theorised as a helping hand for a campaign, or, vice versa, a hindrance when not dealing with the natural partner DG. It should be noted, however, that those DGs that are more friendly to movements are not usually those that pack the punches within the Commission. As Bieler puts it, "The DG for Competition and the DG for Economic and Financial Affairs are more decisive within the EU. Together with the DG Internal Market and DG Trade they are the hard core of the Commission" (2005:469). The more general theoretical point from these considerations is that it is crucial that we do not consider the Commission as a unified, single institution, but as yet another group of smaller organisations jostling for power and influence amongst themselves.

³⁹ Michalowitz (2002) in fact cites a case study of BEUC (Bureau Europeen des Union des Consommateurs – the European consumer groups' union), who affirm that they strategically release information to the Commission over time in order to be able to provide fresh information as required to remain a player in the consultation process.

However, it may be argued that other institutions do not represent so many constraints. Significant opportunities to amend are to be had via the European Parliament under the co-decision procedure, and with the exception of the European Court of Justice, which obviously requires the construction of formal legal cases, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers provide not only institutional channels of access but also invite more unconventional forms of action. Summits of European ministers are often targets for mass protests. The European Parliament, although not a magnet for protest on the scale of the Council of Ministers or the European Council (Lahusen 2004), certainly attracts more unconventional actions such as letter writing and e-mail actions, as well as lobbying. Yet the fact remains that in running an effective campaign all opportunities must be exploited, and all methods and points of access exhausted (e.g. Hellferich and Kolb 2001). And inclusion of a group's position from the first legislative step can be the surest route to inclusion in final legislation.

Thus concerning the first two boxes in the previous summary table, we can say that the EU imposes formal organisation, or institutionalisation⁴⁰, at the European level, and certain modes of information production on EUSMOs that wish to become trusted and regularly consulted partners of the Commission. While this may be considered an opportunity for more formally organised and resource-rich groups, it may be considered a disadvantage to more traditional, nationally-based EUSMOs and their networks. Therefore both opportunities and threats may be theorised. Those groups that do not institutionalise and become partners of the Commission face disadvantages in that they will find it harder to bring their message to the EU institutions at an early stage⁴¹. However, they will conserve opportunities in that they are more likely to be able to maintain close contact with grass roots members, who may see institutionalised groups as having 'sold out' to the EU system. This brings a certain 'moral' authority to the organisation, and may hold more sway over processes in the Parliament and Council, both of whom are ultimately subject to re-election and thus more likely to be concerned about public opinion (Burstein 1999). The mirror-image of these opportunities and disadvantages are repeated for those groups that do

⁴⁰ "Civil society must itself follow the principles of good governance, which include accountability and openness. The Commission intends to establish, before the end of this year, a comprehensive on-line database with details of civil society organisations active at European level, which should act as a *catalyst to improve their internal organisation*." (Commission of the European Communities 2001:15, emphasis added.)

⁴¹ Although, as mentioned above, the presence of institutional activists may be a powerful opportunity that may cancel out these threats. See Ruzza (2004)

institutionalise at the European level. Of course, this does certainly not rule out the possibility of an alliance within a campaign network of each kind of group. Such an alliance would theoretically allow for the most effective mounting of a campaign – although the ‘sell out’ threat still exists for ‘grass-roots’ groups entering into these agreements.

The assessment of the EU as highly decentralised, with a fairly clear cut separation of powers, brings the other institutions into the explanation of European political opportunities. While different cultures may be said to reign in each of the institutions in a general sense, it must be remembered that within each institution different powers are still at play. In the European Parliament, the different committees may be thought of in a similar way as the different DGs in the Commission – different cultures and interests apply in each one.⁴² The European Parliament also illustrates the expertise constraints implied by coalition institutions: traditional differences along ideological lines also need to be borne in mind when carrying out actions in this institution. The affiliations of the rapporteur (and shadow rapporteurs), the committees, the presidency, and the parliament as a whole must be considered at different stages of a legislative proposal’s journey through the institution.⁴³ The Council of Ministers, on the other hand, is formed along sectoral lines according to the subject in hand, and requires a drastically different strategy again. Since lobbying opportunities at this stage are all but closed to EUSMOs because the Council must work to strict national mandates (Michalowitz 2002), it make sense to theorise that groups must anticipate this stage and work to get their message across at the national levels where negotiation mandates are elaborated. The same logic applies to the European Council.⁴⁴

The upshot of all of this in terms of political opportunities is that multiple access points, as well as complex legislative procedures and the relatively distinct separation of powers (Balme and Chabanet 2002:44), place a heavy burden of knowledge and expertise on EUSMOs. Although the existence of multiple access points is certainly an advantage to

⁴² This may be said to depend greatly on the committee chair’s personal style. For example, whilst a committee with relatively little legislative power due to its competence’s position in the pillar structure, such as the Culture and Education Committee, longer and more normative contributions may be the norm. In committees with a heavy legislative workload, such as the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety Committee, the pressure to ‘get through work’ will be higher, and stricter Chairs more likely.

⁴³ Especially where the co-decision procedure applies.

⁴⁴ Although both Councils are also, as mentioned earlier, more obvious targets for European level protest.

EUSMOs, the ability to exploit all of these is tempered by this requirement for knowledge and expertise on the system. They must be able to judge the appropriate tone and aim of each action that forms their European level campaign, as well as be able to anticipate the entire European level process with enough time to launch national level campaigns in order to influence Council. Therefore, EUSMOs need staff with detailed knowledge of the institutions, their composition, and the legislative processes of the EU in order to mount effective campaigns at the European level. At the same time, they need to have good links with their national members or affiliates in order to mount campaigns to affect negotiating mandates in the Council. Once again, we find a relationship similar to that imposed by the constraints of becoming a consultation partner with the Commission. That is, expert members of staff at the European level are likely to find it difficult to keep up close contacts with national counterparts, or vice versa. Yet these contacts are needed to exploit all access points in the legislative process. Once again, it can be said that those groups able to draw on significant knowledge of the EU whilst simultaneously ensure close links between European and national levels will mount more effective campaigns.

The final boxes of the table presented above, coalition in all institutions and inclusive attitudes to the opinions of others, require little further comment. The story here in terms of opportunities and threats for the campaigns and the groups that carry them out is already fairly well covered by above discussions. Coalitions in each of the institutions require EUSMOs to have knowledge and skills in tailoring their actions to bolster the appropriate coalitions at relevant points. The inclusive attitudes of the Parliament (described as anxious to prove its credentials as the interlocutor of citizens by Balme and Chabanet 2002:81) and the Commission in particular to third party opinions obviously provides opportunities for campaigning groups in terms of having their message heard, although dynamic opportunities and threats will condition how far these positions will actually be considered when making decisions.

Dynamic political opportunities are specific to each campaign. However, some of the variables used for outlining these more dynamic opportunities have already been presented above, and some variables classed as fixed at the national level were added to the dynamic side in the case of the EU. Below those variables used for determining dynamic political opportunities at the EU level are presented.

Table 3 – variables for determining dynamic political opportunities at the EU level

<u>Dynamic political opportunities</u>	
(In)stability of elites	Elite allies / ‘enemies’
Intra-elite conflict	Position held by ally
Electoral instability (= no. of parties needed in voting coalition – variable from subject to subject)	Ability of ally to fulfil promises
Proximity of elections	Hostile elites
Contingent events	Presence of counter movements
Extent of polarisation of opinions	

Following McAdam’s synthesis (1996)⁴⁵ as presented earlier, dynamic political opportunities may be defined by following variables that effect “the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity” and those that effect “the presence or absence of elite allies” (ibid 1996:27). Using the sources of data described earlier, the dynamic political opportunities for each case may be detailed using the above variables as a guide. However, some very brief comments about what sorts of situations the variables may point to may be made.

Intra-elite conflict refers to conflicts or differing opinions not only within European institutions (between DGs of the Commission or Parliament committees), but between the different European institutions and the member states. Electoral instability and the proximity of elections are related to the political make-up of both the European Parliament and the Commission. Elections at the European level are especially important for EUSMOs in terms of the opportunities and threats they may bring about as a result of the changing composition of the EP and also as a result of changes in the Commission. Where

⁴⁵ This synthesis is particularly applicable here, as it explicit goal is to root out those elements introduced to the theory that do not concern political opportunity in its strict sense. McAdam understands this in a similar manner to Koopmans, whose clarifications are employed in this study. For example, McAdam (1996) excludes “Brockett’s inclusion of “temporal location in the cycle of protest”” as he fail[s] to see what makes this a form of *political* opportunity, as opposed to a more general temporal facilitator of (or constraint on) movement activity” (McAdam 1996: 28 – emphasis in the original).

a Commission changes, this may signal a change in the overall perception of the Commission's position on the campaign subject. The variable 'contingent events' refers to a whole host of circumstances that, occurring during a campaign, may have significant repercussions on its outcomes. As will be seen in the case studies, these events may eventually be reclassified in less vague terms, and indeed the recasting of this category for future studies is discussed in the conclusions. During the earliest stages of the research however, leaving this category as wide open as possible was necessary as the nature of the different contingent events could not be predicted, and a narrower definition entailed the risk of missing important elements. In the second column of the table, positions held by allies needs little further comment – are allies to be found in positions of power, such as within the institutions? This would mean a significant opportunity, as mentioned earlier in discussing Ruzza's (2004) emphasis on the importance of institutional allies. Similarly, the size of the opportunity will be dictated by the ability of the ally to fulfil promises. Hostile elites refers to European actors that are firmly set against the positions of the EUSMOs involved in the campaign. Finally, the presence of counter movements presents a challenge to the clarity of the message of the EUSM, as the opposing frames will clash in the arena of the campaign. Counter movements may then pose threats to the campaign, but also opportunities to rally activists, refute arguments and so on (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996). These variables provide a guide to be applied to each of the case studies, and therefore will be explained in more detail in the following chapters.

1.4 Discursive Opportunities

One final theoretical approach must be discussed before the cases and their analysis with a view to tracing outcomes remains unexplored. In a sense, the discursive opportunity approach draws together the two theories already discussed in order to pay attention to the discourses and frames that also provide an important context to the campaigns, and by that token to their effects.

The idea of discursive opportunities, as devised by Koopmans and Statham (1999) can be discussed in terms of both the literature on framing, and that on political process. Thus far, framing processes have been described as processes internal to coalitions of EUSMOs or movements. Yet contestation in framing processes comes not only from within movements, but also from without. Counter movements, the media, institutions, political

parties, governments and the like may also be engaged in the competition of constructing the most salient frame. This is where *discursive* opportunities come into play: since framing is an ongoing process that must react to outside factors if it is to retain any meaning beyond the groups directly involved in the processes, frames must interpret new information, and be sure to respond to other, competing, frames in order to ensure their frame's superiority when actors consider the issue in hand. In the framing literature, this idea corresponds to 'resonance' - frames which resonate with the context in which they are embedded will be more believable, and probably appeal to a wider number of people.⁴⁶ In this study similar ideas are considered under the heading of discursive opportunities for the simple reason that the analysis of these 'external' frames is seen in terms of the opportunities and threats posed to a campaign. The opportunities label is thus more appropriate. The choice is also linked to the analytical model developed for tracing campaign outcomes that will be described below. Because the model makes an analytical distinction between processes internal and external to the campaigning groups, it makes more sense to define discursive opportunities as external.

This choice may seem incongruous since such pains have been taken to limit the political opportunity approach precisely to *political* opportunities. Yet specifying that political opportunities are different to discursive ones merely implies that care is taken in classifying the different factors that contribute to campaign outcomes. The argument underpinning Koopmans and Statham's idea of a discursive opportunity approach is their assessment that the political opportunity approach leaves no room for discourse,⁴⁷ which is seen as the major explanation for differing outcomes amongst movements in the same field. While I believe that a consideration of both of these types of opportunities and constraints⁴⁸, alongside a consideration of identity factors, will yield the most complete explanation of variations in campaign outcomes in the European Union, it is certainly relevant, especially

⁴⁶ See, for example, Gamson and Modigliani (1989). Here the authors describe two different frames that had developed around the issue of nuclear power – one emphasising its dangers no matter the aim of its use, the other making a distinction between nuclear power for energy production and nuclear power used for constructing weapons. When accidents at electricity-producing nuclear plants happened at both Three-Mile Island and Chernobyl, the latter frame began to lose its resonance with the public as it clearly did not allow the interpretation of this information as effectively as the former frame, which highlighted the dangers of nuclear power. As it lost its resonance, it thus lost its salience, and thus contributed to the anti-nuclear movement's growth in importance.

⁴⁷ Where the political opportunity approach is properly specified according to Koopmans' own work of course. See section 1.3.

⁴⁸ Recalling that 'political opportunities' actually refers not only to potential advantages but also disadvantages presented by the political sphere.

in light of the framing approach used here, to make such a link. If discourse, as an identity-building tool employed by social movements via framing processes, is important for movements, and if their discourses are constantly challenged and forced to respond to events taking place in the wider social and cultural context (Benford and Snow 2000), then it makes sense to consider these discursive opportunities as important in determining the fate of movement campaigns. As Koopmans and Statham describe the idea, discursive opportunity structures “may be seen as determining which ideas are considered “sensible”, which constructions of reality are seen as “realistic”, and which claims are held as “legitimate” within a certain polity at a specific time” (1999: 228) – in this sense, they are evidently important for EUSMO campaigns and their eventual outcomes.

In addition, this approach has the merit of covering the areas that the two approaches already introduced leave out. As Koopmans and Statham (1999) point out, not only do political opportunity approaches often have trouble explaining different outcomes in similar circumstances (a problem tackled by adopting a *variable* political opportunity approach here), but, as logically follows, framing approaches have difficulty in explaining the differential success of similar frames in different circumstances. Thus, as many of the most influential scholars in the area have called for, a fusion of the two theories – which are by no means contradictory but indeed highly complementary – is necessary for a complete approach to the subject.

Unlike the political process approach, it is more difficult to neatly divide discursive opportunities into their more fixed and more dynamic types. Because discursive opportunities may come from such a wide variety of sources (whereas the sources of political opportunities are well defined) it is counter-productive to limit their description with too many categories. Where deemed relevant, dynamic discursive opportunities will be described separately for each case. That said, some variables for describing discursive opportunities in the EU in general and the campaign areas in particular can be listed. Reactions to these by the movement may then be explored. There are two main elements that apply to all four of the case studies. The first of these may be broadly labelled as perceptions of legitimacy.⁴⁹ As the drafter of legislation and an unelected body, and as a

⁴⁹ Although the division of the discursive category legitimacy and those concerning the prevailing culture of the EU as placed within the political opportunity structure is quite arbitrary – all of these categories are somehow concerned with frames as will be seen below. However, while legitimacy can be said to be a

result of the controversies of the democratic deficit, legitimacy can be said to be especially sought by the Commission (but also by the EU institutions in general) by engaging in dialogue on policies with as wide as possible a sector of civil society or ‘stakeholders’ (Balme and Chabanet 2002:54). Opportunities connected to the *perception*⁵⁰ of legitimacy are for good reason discarded in national accounts, where the struggles that endowed the state with perceived legitimacy to act in various areas on behalf of the population as a whole were concluded long ago (although often re-opened precisely with the advent of ventures such as the EU). All the governments of the member states of the EU are more or less accepted by their populations as the legitimate centres for defining rules and regulations concerning various areas of private and public life.

But this is far from the case for the EU, which is not as yet widely accepted as a legitimate (whether democratic or not) authority. This is especially relevant for EUSMOs, because although the European Union is not a nation state in any traditional sense, and has been best described by Jacques Delors as an ‘unidentified political object’, it cannot be denied that the legislation it passes has effects on the everyday lives of European citizens, and indeed on the lives of many citizens of nations outside the EU. Essentially, for the purposes of building a picture of the discursive opportunity structure, this perception of a democratic deficit, or a lack of legitimacy, is shared within the EU institutions, and especially the Commission – the first port of call for many EUSMOs as the body responsible for drafting policy. Even where individuals in the Commission do not share this view, the practical outcome is the same: to write legislative proposals likely to pass through the other institutions, the Commission must attempt to satisfy (or at least not utterly disappoint) as many interested parties as possible. Although the perception may not be shared in reference to their own institutions by the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, the problem for the EU as a whole is certainly recognised. For example, the European Parliament cannot, according to Wessels’ simple yet powerful argument of the ‘number problem’, take responsibility for representing every European citizen. The citizens represented by each MEP are simply too many (Wessels 2004). The European Parliament, as seen in the section on political opportunities, is to some extent considered

discourse, the prevailing culture elements may be said to be directly derived from institutional characteristics, hence the choice of division.

⁵⁰ The debates over whether or not the democratic deficit actually exists or not, and if it does how and whether it should be solved are largely irrelevant at this stage in the research. What is important here is that the democratic deficit is perceived and discussed in the institutions of the EU. The role that EUSMOs may be able to play in this respect should be discussed in the conclusions rather than here.

the natural ally of EUSMOs. While MEPs Conceive of their duty as that of representing the citizens of the EU, EUSMOs that can claim to represent some of these citizens may find a ready ear in the European Parliament.

The perceived democratic deficit thus translates into an opportunity for EUSMOs since, as Mény puts it “As long as the legitimacy deficit concerns public action alone, the situation is not serious. (...) By contrast, the position becomes more problematic when the legitimacy deficit relates to the institutions or political elites.” (2003: 252) Thus, the institutions must react to this distrust amongst citizens or risk the eventual rejection of the rules they impose. Much of the institutional discourse on the subject of legitimacy has been connected with that on governance (understood as the formulation and application of policies via a wide range of actors not all considered to form part of the traditional set of government actors) via the various (and very widely defined) institutions of civil society. The basic idea of opportunity here is that those groups that demonstrate some form of moral authority in that they represent a section of public opinion (as most social movement organisations may: see Boli 1999) will be in a good position to exploit the institutions’ weakness (especially the Commission as an unelected body) in terms of a lack of legitimacy. In demonstrating that decisions have been taken in line with - or at least with an awareness of - the preferences of the public, the EU institutions may claim more (input) legitimacy – an option attractive to them. Ruzza succinctly sums up the opportunity for EUSMOs presented by this situation.

“The concept of civil society, in particular, strikes many observers as warranting special interest as a construct that constitutes a third level of political action located between decreasing political interest, knowledge and commitment at the level of individuals, on the one hand, and the functions of the state, which are shrinking or at least being substantially redefined in economic terms, on the other” (Ruzza 2004:9) .

Another source of discursive opportunities or threats (depending on the subject area) for campaigns in the EU arena may be hypothesised as flowing from ideology, or the ideological import of different subject areas. As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, certain subjects at the EU level are easier to split into series of small, technical questions, to some extent stamping out the broader questions surrounding the subject, whilst others are harder to break down into uncontroversial issues. This is very much related to ideology – some issues do not fit into traditional right-left ideological continuums (such as

environmental issues), while others do. Following on from the previous descriptions of the EU institutions as working mostly on the basis of consensus, it may be hypothesised that non-ideological issues may have an advantage over ideological ones in that they may find a ready ear amongst actors of all political colours.⁵¹ Social and employment issues, traditionally the stamping ground of the left-wing, carry connotations that mean that non-left wing actors may be automatically hostile to the sorts of arguments advanced by interested EUSMOs in the area. The upshot of this may be that to some extent, *the nature of the policy area structures the debate around the issue, and the form of the campaign.*⁵²

The second broad variable used in defining the discursive opportunity structure of the EU concerns issue salience, and more particularly the effects that past or contemporary events may have on this. One study providing concrete proof of how past or contemporary events in this sense is that on the diffusion or contagion of protest events among different EU member states by Reising (1999). In this research, the author points out that as individual citizens adapt to the transfer of power to the new locus of the EU, they will not only focus more of their protest activities on the latter, they will also begin to form cross-national and transnational networks, as they did when power shifted from local to national levels previously (*ibid*:320). It is then hypothesised, following the reasoning of both the collective action and political process traditions, that “the increasing interdependence of state actors on a global or transnational level to be mirrored by increasing interdependence of transnational protests” (*ibid*:322). This is then tested via the counting of European protest events that took place in the neighbouring countries of France, Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany between 1980 and 1995. The analysis of the data demonstrate that recent protest events in one of these countries, as well as other events focusing on European Union issues, have a (varying) positive effect on the occurrence of protest (*ibid*:333-7). In another, more recent, example of how protest events may affect issue salience, Uba and Ugglä (2008) find preliminary evidence linking the occurrence of europostests with fluctuations in levels of public support for the EU and the process of European integration.

⁵¹ As may be guessed, this opportunity straddles the political/discursive dichotomy, underlining that this is, at the end of the day, a theoretical construct that is not so clear cut in the real world. The connotations of the opportunities related to ideology may however be seen as slightly more connected to discourses than structural political opportunities.

⁵² I am indebted to Prof. Sidney Tarrow for picking up on what was originally a simple comment about ideology and suggesting that its consequences may well be far wider than first appeared to me.

As these studies show, recent or parallel events can have effects on other campaigns. It may be that they also have other effects apart from simply making these more likely – successful tactics or discourses may for example be replicated, or previous mistakes avoided. Although separated for analytical clarity, the relationships between political and discursive opportunities may thus be very close – for example, Smith notes that shifting political alignments following the end of the cold war allowed the salience of environmental issues to develop as security concerns receded (Smith 1999:181). Various events may amplify a campaign’s relevance for the public, organisation members, and campaign targets by underlining their importance. Some such events may be described for each of the policy areas under study here.

For the environmental / public health cases, several recent health scares have contributed to pushing the issue of public health high on the agenda in the EU. The first, and possibly most important, of these was the BSE (‘mad cow’) crisis. The disease began in the UK, which then led to an EU ban on the export of British beef. However, the late detection of the disease meant that many other European Union countries, although at relatively low levels, were affected by the disease. The continuing uncertainties of how BSE is connected to its counterpart disease in humans, Creutzfeldt Jakobs Disease (CJD), exacerbated by the disease’s characteristics (it can take many years to manifest itself)⁵³, in addition to the high level of media coverage of the affair, meant that public health became an extremely salient issue on the European agenda. Coming hard on the heels of the BSE crisis, and again in the UK, the first European outbreak of foot and mouth disease for 50 years contributed to keeping public health and food safety highly salient issues in the EU. Both BSE and foot and mouth sparked new EU directives. Even more recently the issues surrounding the likely spread of the Avian Influenza virus to humans has again placed public health, and the perceived unprepared state of science for such an epidemic, high on the agenda. Other scholars have also noted the importance of these previous health scares on consumer confidence in new technologies and the like (including GMOs) (Imig and Tarrow 2001:29, Kettner 2001:208, Skogstad 2003:329, Juska and Edwards 2005:202, Hansen 2005).

⁵³ This uncertainty is also reflected in the fact that those who lived or travelled for a long period of time in the UK in the years before the disease was finally uncovered are not allowed to donate blood in other EU member states.

For the social cases, recent examples of rather controversial European legislation in this field may also have affected the overall salience of social issues. Three prominent examples spring to mind. The first two, the Working Time Directive and the Temporary agency workers Directive, remain unadopted at the time of writing (March 2008). The first, an amendment to a longstanding Directive, saw a Commission draft proposal extensively amended by the European Parliament in order to end the opt-out clauses allowing some member states to continue without any cap on maximum working times – clashes between Parliament and Council (and the UK in particular) remain unresolved. The second, on temporary agency workers, is a similar story of a number of member states blocking attempts to adopt legislation, with numerous presidency attempts at breaking the deadlock having proved unsuccessful. Finally, legislation attempting to liberalise port services saw widespread and even violent protests organised by the European Transport Federation in 2006. These protests saw around 6000 striking dock workers smash windows at the European Parliament, with simultaneous actions taking place in Rotterdam, Antwerp, Marseilles, Le Havre and Thessaloniki.

The remaining variables that may be useful in specifying discursive opportunities are related to the two separate policy areas covered by the cases. They are included, along with the two variables already introduced, in the following table.

Table 4: Variables for specifying discursive opportunities

Perceptions of legitimacy (all cases)	Discourse on the ‘democratic deficit’ (shared by many in EU institutions, academics, public).
Ideology (all cases)	Non-ideological issues may have wider audiences.
Issue salience (all cases)	Past (or contemporary) events heightening the salience of campaign in hand.
Public health / environment	Scientists no longer perceived as able to identify all risks, and therefore caution is needed to avoid these unknown risks.
	Recent development of the precautionary principle.
Social	Social Dialogue – EU sees need for negotiation between employers and workers on legislation and other issues affecting employment.
	After 2000 (Lisbon Agenda agreed) loss of power for left-wing governments in many member states, resulting in the weakening of social discourses.
	Growth of the movement for globalisation from below / global justice movement (European Social Forum; Attac..) as a new force behind social discourses.

I shall begin by outlining some possible discursive opportunities for the two environmental public health campaigns. The first of these is related to the relatively recent change in the public perception of scientists, and more specifically the way the risks associated with various products are perceived. Generally speaking, since the 1970s, it may be said that “scientific progress and technological innovation are no longer unambiguously equated with social progress” (Hansen 2005: 9). The actual truth of such a statement is, in this thesis, somewhat irrelevant for reasons similar to those put forward concerning the

discourse on the 'democratic deficit' above. The important point, for discursive opportunities, is not the truth of such a statement but the extent to which it is discussed and considered seriously by different actors. In the case of declining trust in a generic class of 'scientists', public concerns and low levels of acceptance of innovations such as genetically modified organisms (GMOs), cloning, and other reproductive technology indicate this change.

Following this line of thinking, the issue of risk, and the public's declining acceptance of risk assessments belonging exclusively to the domain of science contributes to a concrete discursive opportunity for the two environmental / public health cases. The social and environmental risks posed by innovations like those mentioned previously are seen as unpredictable, as previous experiences have shown science incapable of uncovering all of the possible outcomes of innovations. Some examples here may be Thalidomide, a drug administered to many before being found to cause serious deformities in children; the poisonous effects of the industrial fertilizer DDT; and more recently the terrible consequences of some animal feeds in the BSE, or 'mad cow' controversy. A discursive opportunity for campaigns on public health issues may spring from exploiting this uncertainty. The EU's reliance on experts and scientific committees when making decisions in the area of public health is a potential discursive point of attack.

The next potential source of discursive opportunities is the general policy guideline developed by the EU as a result of the 'unknown risks' discourse: the 'precautionary principle'. A first communication from the Commission on the precautionary principle was published in 2000 (Commission 2000) after a Council request that it apply the principle more generally. This request was itself presumably a reaction to some of the health scares mentioned above. The only mention in the EC Treaty of the precautionary principle is under the environment title, and it is specifically stated that it should be generally applied in all matters concerning environmental protection, human, animal or plant health. It should be followed where there is not enough scientific evidence to complete proper risk assessments – in such cases policies and other instruments should follow the most cautious path in terms of protecting public health until new and complete evidence is available. Thus, this general principle can be said to represent an important discursive opportunity for EUSMOs, who may bring it up, along with complementary comments on the lack of scientific evidence in any particular case, as a more concrete basis for their demands for

caution. Since no scientific assessment can easily be shown to take into account all evidence and all possible future risks, the principle should be easy to invoke. In addition, because the principle is not entirely clear its application may be proposed to cover an extensive range of possible policy options – even a complete ban on a product or technology perceived to be too risky.

Turning now to the variables connected to the two social policy campaigns. The first of these is the social dialogue. This is specifically related to the European Trade Union Congress (ETUC) and its members, and their official role in legislation regarding social and employment issues. Along with the European employers' association (UNICE) the ETUC takes part in this dialogue, whose joint texts (where these have been reached) take the place of Commission proposals for relevant legislation. The social partners also have a role as privileged interlocutors on a host of other non-legislative issues in this area. This gives an obvious discursive opportunity to the ETUC, and the Trade Unions it represents that stands quite apart from the political opportunity the position also affords. Politically speaking, they have access to high-level players in the EU that others do not. Yet access alone would be relatively insignificant without the discursive opportunity attached to the perception that their opinions have the right to be taken into account by these actors as a result of their legislative role. The second variable concerns the more general political climate in the EU since 2000, when the Lisbon Agenda was decided. Since then, many left-wing governments in the member states have lost power, with a corresponding shift in overall policy directions towards more right-wing agendas of economic growth and the free market. This has been seen as a significant discursive threat for social discourses of the welfare state, social rights, globalisation with a human face and the like, which do not have any economic benefits in an immediate sense, but also a spur to mobilise, as the 'neo-liberal' turn of the EU has been cited as a major condition behind the Euro marches (on unemployment and other issues) (della Porta and Caiani 2007:10). The final circumstance relevant to discursive opportunities around employment and social issues at the level of the EU is the (relatively) recent rise of the global justice movement, or the movement for a globalisation for below. The emergence of many new movement organisations and protest events based on opposition to neo-liberal globalisation may be seen not only as providing political opportunities for new alliances and campaigns for EUSMOs active on such issues, but also as providing a new source of social and rights discourses that could counteract the threats mentioned above. While EUSMOs often state that they have problems making

issues attractive to the mass media, this movement has attracted a great deal of media coverage (albeit often unfavourable) in recent years.

In this I hope to have developed a more or less coherent model for approaching social movement campaign outcomes that is in line with recent calls for the integration of political process and identity approaches. Drawn together into a single analytical framework that will be presented in the next chapter, the approaches outlined here will assist me in uncovering and describing the causal chains between EUSMO actions and their (eventual) consequences by paying proper attention not only to the latter (through frame analysis and attention to tactics) but also to external contexts and actors (through the political and discursive opportunity approaches). Although the analytical distinctions between politics and discourse, strategy and identity are arbitrary, they may be brought back together in the thick descriptions of the cases. Their separation is however necessary for drawing out the tangled paths from movement action to outcome. The following chapter will first discuss the data collection and methods employed in the case studies before presenting the integrated analytical model.

2. Untangling paths of influence: data and methods

This second, briefer chapter will critically discuss the choices of data sources and methods used in the study. Beginning with a discussion of the case study itself, the chapter will also discuss data sources and their triangulation, the methods developed for examining shared frames and political and discursive opportunities, and, finally, will present the integrated analytical model used to untangle the paths of influence between the various actors in each of the cases.

2.1 Cases and campaigns

The basis of the research that will be presented in the following chapters is the case study, which, following Snow and Trom (2002), should comprise of the description of “sets of interrelated activities and routines engaged in by one or more networks of actors within a social context that is bounded in time and space” (Snow and Anderson 1991 cited in Snow and Trom 2002:149). In addition to thick narrative descriptions on how the story of each case unfolded, with a focus on actors, events, and targets, the methods that will be described below will contribute to fulfilling this aim by ensuring that proper attention is paid to the relations between the central actors as well as to the contexts in which they work. The triangulation of methods focusing on political and discursive opportunities and shared frames also necessitates the use of qualitative methods of data collection, as will be described below.

The decision to conduct the research based on a small number of relatively in-depth case studies was very much a consequence of the theoretical considerations that have already been presented. And, indeed, comparative approaches require strong theorisation (della Porta 2002:293) Because the ultimate aim of the study is to show the processes that lead EUSMOs to effect different kinds of outcomes at the EU level, a design allowing the close inspection of those processes (what della Porta (2002:292) describes as a Weberian comparative approach) is necessary. Outcomes cannot easily be assigned as effects of one single action or another, as will be seen in the following discussion of process tracing. A larger N study would have given the apparent advantage of allowing broader conclusions to be drawn, but at the price of foregoing any in-depth understanding of the processes linking

actions and outcomes. While smaller-N studies inevitable suffer the defect of conclusions that cannot be generalised to any great extent (della Porta 2002:297), the decision to limit the study to four cases studies is a reasonable one in an area where no great amount of literature yet exists. A more wide-ranging study looking at higher numbers of cases would be appropriate in the future in order to test the suggestions of this study, but in the absence of an exploratory study such as this one, where the possible mechanisms connecting EUSMO actions and those of other actors are explored, a large-N study would miss a great deal. The present study aims to provide at least indications of the kinds of variables that would need to be considered in a large-N study, which would in any case require more resources in order to be carried out properly. A paired comparison lies somehow halfway between the single case study and the large N study in that it still extends, if only a little, the generalisability of conclusions, and allows me to test some of the statements on EU movements that have already been made by other scholars (della Porta 2002:297). In addition, the fact that the work presented here also makes a contribution in terms of empirical knowledge, in that it focuses on cases that have not, for the most part, been the subject of research before, also marks a point in favour of a more in-depth exploration.

The unit of analysis that will provide the basic focus of each of the case studies is the social movement campaign. This choice was made for several reasons, both theoretical and empirical, and I believe that this unit of analysis not only matches the actual phenomena under study well, but also facilitates the investigation of the research questions. Della Porta and Rucht (2002) assert that in social movement studies in a general sense, analyses either approach entire movements as coherent entities – generally problematic since movements have been shown to be ephemeral and constantly shifting phenomena (Tarrow 1994) and problematic for this project in particular because movements as they are understood in the traditional sense do not neatly transfer to the European level - or focus on case studies that are difficult to place in the context of any wider trend. In addition, Tarrow and della Porta (2005:240) have asserted that “the modal unit of transnational contention is not the bureaucratic movement organization, but the loosely linked movement *campaigns*, social fora, or other types of weakly structured networks” (emphasis in original). A focus on campaigns, defined as “*a thematically, socially, and temporally interconnected series of interactions that, from the viewpoint of the carriers of the campaign, are geared to a specific goal*” (*ibid*:3, emphasis in the original) lies between these approaches, paying

attention to both context and the shifting nature of movements over time.

In more mundane and practical terms, the campaign is chosen as the unit of analysis for reasons of clarity. Since the goal of the research is to identify whether European level groups have any effects on the EU in terms of changes in policy or legislation, the European agenda, or access to actors (as described in section 1.2), a focus on single campaigns makes the task of untangling the actions and effects of different actors more manageable. Identifying the effects of a social movement, drawn out over time and with shifting goals, is an especially tricky matter, and therefore a fairly rigorous limitation of the types of effects to be investigated is useful. The goal here is to look at precise effects on policies and access rather than the wider-ranging effects that larger movements may have over longer lengths of time (for example the movement for a globalisation from below). Bearing this in mind, campaigns with clearly stated goals are a more suitable unit of analysis, as will be further discussed below.⁵⁴ In terms of the theoretical approaches to the research, specific campaigns also allow a more in-depth examination. If a campaign consists of a network of EUSMOs engaged in a certain activity at certain levels for a relatively short period of time, then analysing campaigns should provide some insights into the internal cohesion and organisation of campaign coalitions. Limiting the focus to campaigns also allows for a deeper analysis of internal characteristics, since the moment is short enough to allow detailed delving, whilst avoiding too brief an image. Eventually, then, the information generated from these case studies could conceivably be tied in to the history of a wider movement.⁵⁵

2.2 Data and sources

The first step in gathering data for the analysis of the campaigns is naturally to identify the groups involved in each of these. The identification of those groups or organisations starts

⁵⁴ A point also made by della Porta and Rucht (2002)

⁵⁵ For an enumeration of the advantages of comparative campaign analysis, see della Porta and Rucht (2002:1-9). Campaigns have concrete aims, mobilise a limited set of actors and opponents around a specific target, and are temporally bounded (*ibid* 2002:3); focusing on campaigns allows the researcher to avoid privileging one particular actor or activity, although we are limited to a smaller unit that will not necessarily reflect the movement as a whole (*ibid* 2002:3); by comparing campaigns, cross-movement patterns that may otherwise remain hidden can be uncovered, and a systematic investigation of spatial dimensions (*ibid* 2002:5) showing interaction between all kinds of groups, in “*pragmatic, although short-term alliances on concrete aims* (*ibid* 2002:6, emphasis in original). Finally, studying campaigns “offers better chances to assess impacts” (*ibid* 2002:9).

at the European level, since this is the main site of interest for this study. Preliminary research on the more prominent groups in each of the subject areas active at the European level revealed that campaign information, such as press releases, calls for action, reports and the like were usually gathered in thematic pages, with logos and links to other organisations involved in the campaign and their resources. It therefore seemed most practical to identify the ‘hard core’ of groups involved at the EU level through a ‘snowballing’ technique, borrowed from the most preliminary stages of network analysis (see below for further discussion). Once the group or groups involved in a campaign have been identified,⁵⁶ (the ‘central node’ to employ the language of network analysis), the whole network of organisations involved can then be traced by seeking out the contacts of the central organisation, and then theirs, and so forth until no further contacts are mentioned. Obviously, such a technique requires the setting of specific boundaries, or risks becoming never-ending. Therefore, contacts will be understood as relevant only when the relevant EUSMO campaign under study is actively participated in by the organisation, thereby filtering out more passive organisations that merely advertise links or banners. This technique builds a preliminary picture of the EUSMOs involved in the campaign, as well as ideas of the links between them and the role of each organisation, information then corroborated or otherwise in interviews with representatives of the organisations (see below).

The subsequent selection of national groups involved in the campaigns is a little more complicated. Although those national groups involved will be members of the European level groups leading the campaign at the transnational level, active participation was found to vary a great deal from country to country as well as from organisation to organisation. For example, in the coexistence case, the national Greenpeace group in Greece was extremely active, while in the UK the Friends of the Earth took the lead. A sample of the organisations most active in only a few countries was therefore decided as the most workable solution (see also the discussion of problems with surveys in 2.3), also because interview evidence showed that a few key countries in each case aided the campaigns – that is where national involvement was achieved to any degree (the REACH case, for example,

⁵⁶ These organisations are also located by internet research. When a controversial issue is noted at the EU-level, this is generally because one or more EUSMOs have begun to make public statements about it. Whether or not the organisations identified at first are really the ‘central nodes’ of the campaign coalition is irrelevant, since the subsequent snowballing ensures that all organisations involved are identified. Further research reveals just how far each organisation is active.

saw little national involvement). Therefore interviews as well as clues provided by publicly available documents from the European groups were used to identify these key organisations in the member states.

Once the organisations had been identified, the first batch of documentary data sources could be collected. This consisted of all the relevant documentation provided by the organisations on the subject of the campaign, and included mainly web pages, press releases, policy positions, investigative reports, conference reports, and information for activists such as newsletters, instructions for protests, model e-mails and letters etc. These were supplemented by the relevant official documents – i.e. legislative proposals and communications, European Parliament reports and legislative summaries taken from legislative oeil (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/>), Council common positions, as well as press releases and occasionally the texts of speeches. Other documentary sources were policy files available from www.euractiv.com, which provide useful summaries of policies and the positions of principal actors, and occasionally newspaper articles, from the European Voice in particular. Wherever quoted these sources are included in the bibliography, and the locations of all the documents used in the frame analyses (see below) are included in a separate annex.

The second main source of data is from semi-structured interviews with representatives of each of the European level organisations involved in the campaigns. (For a discussion of interview techniques, see section 2.4 below). A total of twenty four interviews were carried out with, wherever possible, the member of staff responsible for following the campaign in question, although in some of the smaller organisations interviewees also followed several other issues. Efforts were made to organise interviews with representatives of all the organisations identified as involved in each of the campaigns, yet this was not always possible. Because the groups are often extremely small in their European guise, running offices with only a few staff members in Brussels who are responsible for following all the business of the Union, some organisations did not have the time to grant an interview, directing me to their websites for information. In the Bolkestein case a different problem was met with, namely that nearly all the members of the ETUC have their own offices in Brussels. In this case, selections of organisations were made based on their levels of activity on the issue, and with an effort to contact social NGOs as well as trade union organisations. Amongst the trade union groups, the services

confederations were, understandably, the most active in this campaign. There are four European service confederations at the EU level: the European Transport Workers Federation (ETF), the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE), the European Regional Organisation of Union Network International (UNI-Europa), and the European Public Services Union (EPSU). Of these, only the latter two organisations were interviewed, as attempts to arrange similar interviews with the remaining two were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the two interviews carried out concern the broadest of the four confederations, representing workers from several sectors, and appear (based on internet research) to have been more active in the campaign as a result of this.

Despite these slight gaps in the interviews, overall the source provides a wealth of information on the choices of the campaigning groups that cannot be gleaned from public sources, such as the reasons organisations took certain choices or actions, the mechanics of how they work with other groups and how they take joint decisions, as well as representatives' real feelings about outcomes (even where optimism may be upheld publicly, privately groups may feel more disappointed about campaign outcomes). By triangulating data sources and including documentary as well as interview evidence, the danger of too one-sided a story is also avoided, and various facts as well as the consistency of stories (an often pointed-out risk of interview data) can be checked. Cross-checking is also facilitated by drawing not only on documents produced by the organisations involved in each campaign, but also on official documentation and analyses provided by third parties. The main sources of evidence do however remain the campaigning groups, which entails the risk of exaggerating the role of their actions in eventual outcomes. Yet because the focus of the study is exactly these groups' actions, this bias in data sources is to some extent necessary. Exaggeration is avoided by using, as already mentioned, other documentary sources as well as via the political process approach, which obliges me to pay proper attention to other actors and events affecting the course of the campaigns and their outcomes.

With the 'mechanics' of data sources covered, the remainder of this short chapter will discuss and detail the methods used in the analyses of the case studies.

2.3 Measuring shared frames

Measuring indications of collective identity is an extremely difficult endeavour, not least because there is no easy way of pinning down exactly what proves that a collective identity is present. In the theoretical discussions presented earlier in the previous chapter, I fixed on the concept of the frame as indicating shared ideas and problem definitions between different groups, which would allow them to work alongside one another and therefore have effects on the EU, as an alternative to seeking out ‘collective identity’ in a stronger sense, since this is contested even as a possibility in transnational movements (Rucht 1999). These frames build “sustained connections among activists in different regions, they structure the repeated opportunities for transnational cooperation and exchange that are essential to building trust and promoting commitment to group identities” (Smith 2002: 507-508). Frames are thus essential for, and good indicators of, collective identity, and are spread through the mechanism of diffusion (Snow and Benford 1999).

In order to trace the diffusion of frames, several methods are possible. For example, the organisations involved in a web of diffusion could be identified through some preliminary form of network analysis. Indeed, qualitative versions of network analysis have been recommended for studies concerned with investigating networks in relation to more ‘meaningful’ issues such as collective identity (Diani 2002). The technique has also been connected with the theory of diffusion, since “Direct channels of diffusion are akin to cohesion models used by network analysts which hold that ideas diffuse most rapidly when individuals are in direct and frequent contact” (Soule 2004:295). However, network analysis is an extremely time-consuming and involved method, and would leave little room for the investigation of shared frames that is the real aim here. Accordingly, some very preliminary techniques of this method are drawn on to identify the organisations relevant to each case, and nothing more (i.e. the snowballing technique described earlier).

Once the authors of frames (that is the organisations involved in each campaign) have been identified, several solutions for examining the frames they create are possible. Perhaps the

most direct and thorough way of determining how and if frames are diffused among organisations is the use of qualitative surveys which may gather information on both the strength and content of frames (Smith 2002). These surveys include questions that may be answered according to qualitative scales, or indeed freely by the respondent, providing the researcher with rich data on framing processes as well as the frames themselves. Direct interviews would of course be even more preferable, but including national level organisations as well as European level organisations would be too much for one researcher to carry out. Such a survey, with questionnaires designed to query aspects of collective identity, common understandings and solidarity (see Smith 2002), as well as the frequency, quality and direction of contacts and the exchange of resources between different organisations was attempted for the co-existence case – the first undertaken for this study. The usual recommended steps were taken in order to reduce the chances of a low response rate (a cover letter promising results, possibility to respond electronically, reminder letters, following Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1992).

However, this more direct attempt at analysing the extent of shared frames between organisations involved in a campaign met with the common problem of response rates too low to base any analyses on. In addition, the wording of some of the questions, which necessarily included their own framings, were criticised by some respondents.⁵⁷ At the national level especially European technical terms for some problems were simply not recognised, although equivalent words were used. Since the suitability of the method for analysing frames produced at multiple levels was paramount, it was decided to develop a technique for analysing the frames that organisations used in their publicly available documents – such as press releases, conference reports, or position papers. Where surveys may impose some personal view of shared frames, documents would tell the truth of the frames as they were developed. While such an analysis also has its drawbacks – most prominently as a result of the necessity of sampling, of ensuring a dynamic analysis and such like – it does at least ensure that a more detailed picture of shared frames is built, by avoiding the imposition of boundaries and language.

The method of frame analysis developed for this thesis draws on many different studies,

⁵⁷ Some respondents in the national groups active around the issues of the coexistence case do not accept the cultivation of GMOs in any form, and therefore reject outright the idea of rules for coexistence of normal and GM crops. These groups were more active in promoting regional or local bans.

and in particular della Porta et al (2006), that have employed similar tools in an attempt to elaborate a method that overcomes the main pitfalls normally associated with the approach whilst remaining well-suited to this particular subject. It should be noted however that the frame analyses carried out will be used to corroborate (and if necessary to correct) the more qualitative thick descriptions of the case studies.

The first question to be answered is what exactly is to be analysed? Documentary sources for the campaigns studied are plentiful (at least for the European-level groups) – too plentiful for one person to analyse meaningfully or within the timeframe of this project. In addition there are many downsides to undertaking analyses of a large amount of documents where the information sought in these is more of a qualitative nature (Gerhards and Rucht 2000:573). Although the roots of frame analysis are, as mentioned earlier, in content analysis which started as basic word counting, searching for meaning in syntax is of a far more qualitative nature, and correspondingly more open to argument. Sampling is thus a good solution to both the problem of reducing a labour intensive job, and to that of debatable interpretations since focusing on a small sample of documents means that these may be more easily and speedily consulted by the reader who wishes to check the researcher's analysis (Johnston 1995, 2002; Gamson and Modigliani 1985; Gerhards and Rucht 1992). Reproducing the documents analysed is also the best available response to the criticism that all discourse analysis is inevitably reification since the researcher brings her own expectations and knowledge to the analysis (Steinberg 1998).

The documents sampled are publicly available texts published by the groups active in the campaigns at both the European and national levels, as described in the previous section.⁵⁸ Since the interest here is not only in shared frames but *how* these frames came to be shared, that is in framing processes, it is also clear that documents written at different points in the campaign must be analysed in order to trace frame development. Within each campaign, critical events that required a movement response can be identified. These form the basis for the periodisation of each campaign, and documents are chosen to reflect the intensity of the campaign within each of these periods, including reactions to the critical event marking the beginning of each. This continuous analysis of documents throughout the campaign

⁵⁸ These documents were found while identifying the network of EUSMOs involved in the campaign via the snowballing technique mentioned above, which involves examining all the documents available from the internet that are apparently pertinent to a campaign. This wider reading allows informed choices to be made on which documents to analyse.)

addresses the common criticism by many academics that although framing is described as an ongoing process, analyses tend to ‘freeze’ a frame and take it as fixed in describing it (Oliver and Johnston 2000). By taking ‘snapshots’ of frames at different points, the analysis should avoid such a static representation of the campaign, focusing instead on framing processes (following the advice of Johnston 2002). In addition, this technique is well-suited to the multi-level nature of the campaigns – it’s dynamic analyses can include ‘snapshots’ from different levels simultaneously as well as over time.

The analysis thus follows framing processes both throughout the campaign – from event to event – and at different levels – from transnational to national.⁵⁹ The comparison of frames, classified according to whether they are diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational in order to provide more information for discussion, provides evidence of where frames change or incorporate new arguments over time. Backed up with interview evidence, which shows where groups contacted others, for example with the hope of their joining the campaign, this will provide proof of ‘bridging’, ‘diffusion’ etc., and draw a detailed picture of how shared problem definitions develop (or not) during the campaign. The ‘frames’ found in each document analysed are recorded in a grid, including the position of each frame within the document (title or paragraph number) and the total amount of mentions across all documents analysed. In fact, what these grids record is what Johnston (2002:64-5) would describe as the components of frames. By taking each component of the wider argument contained in each of the documents, the analysis takes account of how the *hierarchy* of the frame components shifts across each campaign (*ibid* 2002:64-5). The grids show in a simple graphic how far different frames are shared, and which frames are closely connected. Another advantage here, pointed out by Johnston (2002:87) is that “systematic methods of presentation... increases confidence in interpretations, and makes comparisons easier”. These grids, compiled for each period of each campaign for the European and national levels, are included in Appendix I. The documents they analyse are listed in Appendix II. Where necessary, any problems with the selection of these documents is discussed further in the relevant section of each chapter.

2.4 Varying political and discursive opportunities

⁵⁹ Unfortunately the research outlining the networks in each campaign stops at national contact points, since to follow through to the local groups simply makes too much work for one project. Ideally, the study could be followed up by a more thorough investigation of all the groups involved and their communications.

The comments on methods for identifying and analysing opportunities and threats further below in this section apply to both political and discursive opportunities, and so in order to avoid repetition the two are merged in this discussion. First, however, the task of identifying and analysing the *political* opportunities and threats present in each campaign, as well as the responses to these, raises its own particular methodological question. This touches on the theme of case selection, a theme that will be further discussed in relation to other criteria at the end of this chapter. Some discussion is nevertheless warranted here as a result of the methodological implications for analysing political opportunities.

As the main aim of the research is to examine the outcomes (if any) of campaigns by EUSMOs at the European level, the political opportunity structure in which they act must be held constant as far as possible in order to facilitate the tracing of causal paths towards outcomes (see section 2.5). In addition, holding contexts constant contributes to making the cases more comparable. The overall political opportunity structure in which the campaigns take place is of course the European Union as a whole. However, the suitability of a variable political opportunity approach was also posited in the theoretical discussions presented earlier on. In order to ensure that the national and local political opportunity structures that also bear consequences for the campaigns do not vary too widely, and therefore ensuring the method's suitability for studying multi-level phenomena, the cases will concern campaigns focusing on subject areas where: 1) the EU has a clear policy competence, meaning that the supranational institutions have power. Comparing a campaign on, say, environmental policy with a campaign on immigration would not produce comparable results as the EU's supranational institutions hold no jurisdiction over matters of immigration, whilst they do for environmental matters. 2) the areas of competence must be comparable. Comparing different subject areas where one is more recently acquired and thus less developed in terms of procedures, actors etc. would also produce 'unfair' results. This applies equally to the development of EUSMOs at the European level. Areas where groups are considered policy partners and routinely consulted cannot be compared to areas where no such relationships exist. This means that the study may be accused of another bias – that of tending to include only the most institutionalised or mainstream organisations to the detriment of newer and more radical groups. This I acknowledge, but defend by stating that this is simply a characteristic of groups active at

the EU level on policy issues – acceptance of the EU in general and a willingness to work within its sphere is a pre-condition for participating in these campaigns. At the national level, more radical groups may well be included in the cases – for example, many of the national Greenpeace groups involved in the coexistence campaign may be described in such terms. The Bolkestein case also includes radical groups such as ATTAC at the national levels, and indeed some transnational involvement was seen through branches of the European Social Forum and in the Stop Bolkestein initiative. It is interesting to note, however, that the more institutionalised ETUC, a strong player in this campaign, took steps to distance themselves from these organisations. In this sense, the Bolkestein case can be seen as the exception that proves the rule on this issue of in-built bias in the study. However, because this bias towards the study of institutionalised groups is the result of the characteristics of the field itself, and cannot for this reason be overcome, it is ultimately defensible.

The method that will be used to identify and analyse the political and discursive opportunities present in each of the case studies is a simple one. In a first step information is gathered from the documents already mentioned above, as well as from other available sources, such as scholarly research focusing on similar or the same issues, documents from groups working against the campaigning EUSMOs, and news articles.⁶⁰ The information from these sources is then combined with interview data. Of the three classical types of interview (structured, semi-structured, and nondirective), the semi-structured is most suited to the purposes of the interviews to be carried out in the framework of this research. Semi-structured interviews allow boundaries to be set by concentrating on a particular area of interest, but also leave ample space for probing subjects as they arise. In addition, the semi-structured interview has been particularly recommended for investigating political (and discursive) opportunities, as they minimise the “voice of the researcher” on the subject, and bring to the fore the aspect of human agency crucial to the exploitation of political opportunities (Blee and Taylor 2002).

Linked to this last point, interviews should reduce interviewer bias as well as encourage full and descriptive answers by beginning with wide, open-ended questions that may then be refined as appropriate through probing questions at later points (Frankfort-Nachmias and

⁶⁰ In particular, the European Voice weekly newspaper and the website euractiv.com provide good coverage of EU issues.

Nachmias 1992; Blee and Taylor 2002), with more specific or routine questions asked at the end of the interview. This technique also allows the interviewee to contribute to the dialogic process between the empirical case and the theoretical framework,⁶¹ which may be adjusted and redesigned according to information from the ground provided in broad, open-ended questions that may be answered in an unconstrained manner. Thus, using interviews to probe the themes of political and discursive opportunities in the EU allows me to build a more complete and accurate picture of each case, as they provide information on those variables missed in the literature-based sketch.

Interviews were carried out with as many as possible of the core *European level* groups in each campaign, as discussed earlier. It may well be asked why interviews were not carried out with institutional actors, as well as counter-campaigning groups, or with groups at the national level. While the reasons for omitting the latter from interviews were purely logistical, and would certainly be an important part of any future study, the focus on EUSMOs is justified by the political process approach itself. As already mentioned briefly in the relevant theoretical discussions, an integral part of the role of political (and discursive) opportunities in social movement campaigns is their *perception* (Tarrow 1994). While the description of political and discursive opportunities can be derived from relevant documentary sources, information on how opportunities and threats are perceived, on which are seen as most important and which as relatively innocuous, on which threats or opportunities were most reacted to and contributed the most to shaping each campaign, can best be gathered from one-to-one interviews with representatives of the campaigning groups. The interviews that were carried out for each of the case studies included here are listed in Appendix III.

All of the interviews carried out, each of which lasted around one hour, were transcribed and subsequently coded. The development of codes was not difficult, as the variables described earlier as guides for classifying political and discursive opportunities provided a ready made code list tailored to the purpose. The interviews were then coded using the WinMax 98 programme. Categories on shared frames and campaign outcomes were also

⁶¹ Such a dialogic process between evidence and theory is underlined as important by several influential authors on qualitative methods, for example Ragin (cited in Snow and Trom 2002), and in relation to the study of social movements by Snow and Trom (2002) and Blee and Taylor (2002). The latter underline the importance of beginning with interviews that are broad and relatively un-structured followed by a process of revising and refining the theoretical approaches on the basis of these results.

included in this coding in order to provide more data on the variables described in the previous chapter. The coded sections for each variable were then easily accessible and rearranged by code and / or group, facilitating the analyses of political and discursive opportunities that are found in the case studies. As with the method used for analysing frames, this simple and very much open method for examining political and discursive opportunities leaves the data relatively untouched, rendering it only more easily retrievable according to the variable under examination.

2.5 Campaign consequences: a method for process tracing

The next challenge is how exactly we may discover the tangled paths leading to these outcomes. In order to do this, information on internal movement processes (frames) and external contexts (political and discursive opportunities) is necessary. The following discusses how the information from these analyses is used to facilitate process tracing with a view to assigning causal links between campaigns and their outcomes.

Undertaking the task of identifying the links between a campaign and its possible outcomes entails the unravelling of highly complex paths of influence, and many ‘over-simplistic’ studies on the subject are criticised for under-estimating the complexity of these links (Cress and Snow 2000). Not only must the messages of movements be identified through their various actions, documents and other campaigning techniques, but these must then be traced in their travels through the ‘filter’ of political opportunity structures, political and discursive opportunities. Many authors have underlined the importance of this ‘filter’, pointing out that a movement, or indeed any kind of interest group, may have some effect only when circumstances allow. As was described in the theoretical approaches to this study, the circumstances most important for EUSMOs in the European Union are political and discursive. Discussing the problems in disentangling the lengthy causal threads between action and outcome in such situations, Giugni (1999) summarises five cross-checking techniques for establishing tighter links between the two. These are as follows: 1) Collecting data not only on the movement in question and outcomes but also on all other actors involved (rulers, parties, interest groups, media, counter movements etc.), and then control for their effects, 2) Take context into account, 3) Comparative research design, 4)

Dynamic analysis of causal links,⁶² 5) Examine situations with no outcomes in order to check for the presence / absence of hypothesised contributions to consequences.

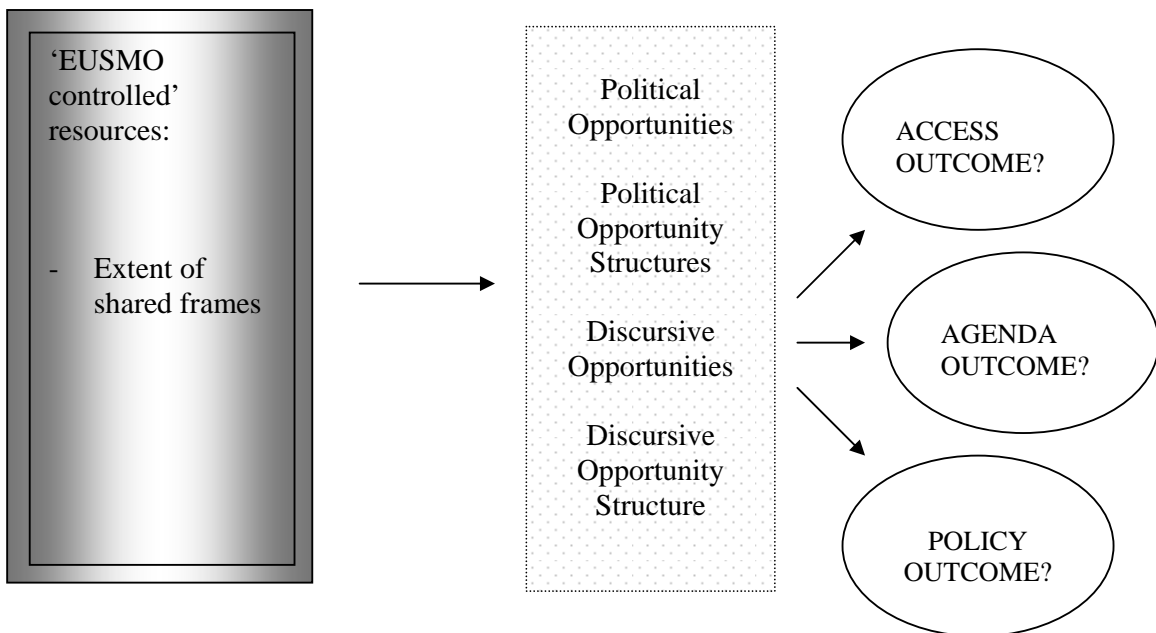
Equivalent considerations are built into the research design here. Points 1 and 2 are included in the analytical model that will be used as an aid for unravelling the chains linking EUSMO actions and their possible consequences. Thus, the model builds in those controls concerning the collection of material on other actors, as well as the proper consideration of relevant contexts via the determination of political and discursive opportunities and structures. Point 3, which recommends a comparative research design, is obviously covered as the research consists of comparative case studies. The comparison of cases allows the identification of similar paths, and thereby more robust pronouncements concerning the effects of certain actions (Kriesi and Wisler 1999). The fourth point has, as already demonstrated, been included in the general approach taken to the subject of movement outcomes here. Finally, Giugni's fifth point – that of investigating cases with 'no' outcomes - is also heeded, since two of the cases did not see their stated goals achieved. In addition, by periodising the campaigns (as will be discussed below), the 'N' of the study is increased, providing other examples of cases with no outcomes.

The following model, adapted from Schumaker (1975) will be used to guide the analysis of causal paths leading to campaign outcomes.⁶³ The model includes all of those approaches discussed so far as important in identifying outcomes, integrating them into a method for process tracing. Outcomes are the dependent variables, the results of the values for the independent variables of shared frames, and the intervening ('filter') variables of the various political and discursive opportunities of each campaign, at both European and other territorial levels.

⁶² Tilly develops this idea in his conclusion to Giugni, McAdam and Tilly 1999. Paths should be traced from outcome to movement, vice versa and from middle outwards both 'before' and 'after' research has been carried out to control for hypothesised paths of causal chains.

⁶³ Following Amenta and Caren's (2004:469) review of the literature dealing with movements' effects on states, this model includes those variables found to be relevant (in various combinations) in these studies.

Figure 1: an analytical model for tracing campaign outcomes



Unlike Schumaker's original model, contextual factors, that is the political and discursive opportunities, are classed as intervening rather than independent variables. This is a consciously made theoretical simplification, since the links between opportunities and coalition actions are in reality very close, with coalitions often creating their own opportunities. The separation of these factors in the model will however allow, to some extent, the isolation of single causal chains with the complex paths leading to each campaign's consequences (for examples of similar strategies see Amenta and Caren 2004). Unpacking causal chains along the lines of this model will, in other words, simplify the task of tracing the complex paths between campaign and outcome. A model that takes such complexity into account is necessary in light of Giugni's (2007) findings concerning

movement impacts. Based on studies of the outcomes of the ecology, antinuclear, and peace movements in the United States between 1977 and 1995, Giugni (2007) concludes that movements are extremely unlikely to cause any outcomes on the basis of their actions alone – their actions always weave in with external opportunities or threats where an outcome is recorded. Similarly, he also discounts the two-step model of movement outcomes, which characterise movements as mere aggregators of interests subsequently left in the hands of institutions which act upon them accordingly. Instead, all of these factors must be considered together as simultaneously occurring phenomena, as is the case in the model presented here (*ibid* 2007).

Looking at the model more systematically, the first box concerns information on those aspects that may be described as more or less under the EUSMOs' control – i.e. the 'extent of shared frames', denoting the results of the frame analysis. Of course, in the real world the relationships between social contexts, political opportunities, internal movement choices and consequences are inextricably linked in what Amenta and Caren (2004:462) call a 'recursive process', that is in a circular relationship where choices affect consequences and vice versa. However, the extent of shared frames within a movement is in the final analysis the result of choices taken by the movement alone, even if they are likely to have been taken strategically in light of the conditions in which it exists. For theoretical simplification therefore this somewhat arbitrary distinction is made. In the second box we find the fixed and dynamic political and discursive opportunities of the EU, which vary for each campaign. The shading of this box indicates the effect of all these external conditions as a filter, more or less conducive to letting EUSMO ideas – expressed in frames and via different actions (tactics) – pass through unscathed. Within this filter, we can imagine that ideas may be mutated, entangled, more or less altered, acquired or rejected by other organisations, they may also enter into competition with the claims of other groups and so forth. The challenge of the analysis therefore lies within this filter, in untangling context from original idea in an effort to trace paths of influence. On the far side of this 'filter' consisting of various societal contexts, emerge the movement outcomes. The information here will be provided by the assessment of varying political and discursive opportunities.

How exactly will all this information be used to determine the causes and outcomes of the campaigns? With such a small number of cases, there are two real possibilities, either a

more formal method, or the more qualitative approach of process tracing plumbed for here. Concerning more formal methods, one possibility is qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), a small-N analytical tool. QCA is based on Boolean algebra, and can be used to test variables in order to determine which of these, and in which combinations, are necessary (the variable must be present), or sufficient (the variable alone suffices) for an outcome. This tool may be appropriate since complex causal paths to movement outcomes have been shown to be the rule (see for example Cress and Snow 2000, Giugni et al 1999), and “[F]or causal claims that are interactive or combinational... interactive specifications or like means should be employed. Such interactions can readily be modelled by way of QCA, a technique that often can be employed in the absence of large numbers of cases.” (Amenta and Young 1999:38)

One particular problem with the classical QCA method stems precisely from the fact that campaign outcomes have complex causes. Cress and Snow (2000) discuss this problem with relation to QCA under the label of ‘significant impact’. Their analysis of the outcomes of mobilisations by homeless organisations was hampered by the fact that because traditional QCA uses ‘0’ (absent) and ‘1’ (present) codes, the extent of an outcome’s actual impact, or importance, is not captured in the results. This problem is overcome in a more recent version of QCA, which uses ‘fuzzy-sets’ to provide more fine-grained scores. Each variable is allocated a score between 0 and 1, according to a scale designed with that specific variable in mind. In addition, each score between and including 0 and 1 must be assigned a linguistic tag that describes its real meaning. The laborious process of coding ensures a continued dialogue between analysis and case study, making for an accessible and considered analysis.

Another more recent modification to the method (see Schneider and Wagemann 2006) also addresses the similar issue of the need for the differential treatment of ‘remote’ and ‘proximate’ conditions (based on Kitschelt 1999). In the ‘fuzzy-set/QCA two-step approach’ (*ibid* 2006), remote conditions, which would equate to the structural context variables in this study (both discursive and political), are analysed in a first step to determine within which overall conditions the outcome is likely or unlikely. In a second step, the effects of the proximate variables, here those concerned with the more dynamic political and discursive opportunities, as well as those connected to internal movement dynamics, are tested for their effects *within* these background conditions, since their effects

may be different in each. This method thus matches well with the political opportunity approach as understood in this project, as it also makes a clear distinction between what I have called static and dynamic variables. It also matches well with what political opportunity theorists have always found: that one tactic may be advantageous in one context, but disadvantageous in another.

Although this method may be tempting, the option of process tracing fits better with the aims of the study in hand. QCA's acknowledgement of the problem of limited diversity (since this is a problem also seen in statistical and other methods, including process tracing) makes a less formal method a more sensitive choice in a study with so few cases, and which aspires to pay such close attention to these. Various measures have been proposed to alleviate the problems of limited diversity in QCA: the computer programme may simulate the most parsimonious solution, assigning outcomes to the entire constellation of possible case outcomes; or indeed all possible cases may be assigned a negative outcome; or the researcher may make decisions on outcomes based on theoretical assumptions (see Wagemann 2007:399-400). More sophisticated solutions, such as that of Schneider and Wagemann (2006) described above, may also be applied to alleviate the problems of limited diversity. Using this more formal method of analysis thus rather defeats the object of the study as a more exploratory look at how complex patterns of causes contribute to campaign outcomes in the EU – already an under-theorised area as seen in the above discussions with their adaptations to the transnational level. Therefore, a more intuitive method for untangling the causal paths of the case studies is employed – one that can certainly employ the useful terms of 'necessary' and 'sufficient', and uses the same kinds of logic as QCA, but relies on even more detailed, careful, theory-based narratives.

Process tracing is one such methodological approach, and one peculiarly suited to the aims of this study. Process tracing may be described as “a procedure for identifying steps in a causal process leading to the outcome of a given dependent variable of a particular case in a particular historical context” (George and Bennett 2005:176), that is, rather than simply narrating the accumulation of events, the researcher must ensure that narratives are guided and geared towards eeking out processes and causal chains and mechanisms in their case studies. Since the main research question of this thesis is to do with attributing causes to outcomes in EUSMOs' campaigns, process tracing is therefore well-suited to this aim. Of

course, the actual method used must be adapted to the study in hand, and this is the essential aim of the analytical model already presented above.

Process tracing also strengthens the overall design of the study as based on case studies, since another of its benefits is to alleviate some of the problems connected with attempts to recreate the conditions of controlled comparisons in the tradition of Mill. Since the real world only very rarely provides us with an array of cases similar in every respect but one, process tracing can help overcome associated problems because it is so sensitive to detail, and allows the researcher to inspect *all* possible causal paths leading to a certain outcome, and then to inspect each with a view to (ideally) discarding all but one of these (*ibid*:214). The particular variant of this method that I employ is what George and Bennett term analytical explanation, which is “... couched in explicit theoretical forms” and focuses deliberately on what are considered to be the most important elements for explaining the outcomes of the cases – i.e. shared frames and political and discursive opportunities. In the final, comparative stage of the study included in the concluding chapter, the results of the process tracing carried out for each of the cases are also valuable, since they may also contribute to middle-range theory development in that the different conditions or contexts of events leading to certain outcomes may begin to be generalised in what the authors call “contingent generalizations” (*ibid*:215), although these would of course require further investigation in order to receive proper confirmation. Process tracing does of course have its limits – the researcher must be careful to investigate all the possible paths that may lead to an outcome and consider each carefully before accepting or discarding its validity. Most importantly, process tracing can only form any kind of basis for causal inference where the information and path traced between a cause and an outcome is uninterrupted (*ibid*:217). In this study I believe that information and the paths posited in each of the cases are complete, and in each of them many different possible paths are discussed in the relevant sections of each study. My belief is that the case studies that will be presented in the following four chapters are not pure narrative exercises – the above model and the theoretical approaches it encompasses lead to accounts that are focused, structured and geared towards the explanation of causal paths via process tracing.

More recent work by McAdam et al (2008) takes the process tracing method a step further into the terrain of identifying not only causal paths but also mechanisms, a virtue also highlighted by George and Bennett (2005:127). As McAdam et al put it: “...all episodes of

politics result from mechanisms: *delimited changes that alter relations among specified sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations*” (2008:308 – emphasis in the original). By identifying the mechanisms at work in causal chains, the authors posit that the researcher not only shows a causal chain linking two events, but also the sort of event that produces this link. The authors then continue to provide concrete examples of research that has achieved this aim, including work that directly measures mechanisms through “systematic events data” (*ibid*:310). Indeed, the relevant example focuses on the mechanism of scale shift – a phenomenon that also comes to light in the present study in the coexistence case (see section 3.6). The case studies presented here thus take account of these most recent calls to extend the method of process tracing by providing general classifications for the phenomena that link actions and outcomes – although these are not explicitly labelled as mechanisms. These are presented in the final chapter drawing conclusions from the comparisons between the different case studies included in this study.

Similar arguments for narratives bound by theoretical models are advanced in Bates et al’s (1998) work on ‘analytical narratives’, where these “Trace behaviour of particular actors, clarify sequences, describe structures, and explore patterns of interaction” (*ibid*: 10). By paying careful attention to theoretically guided narratives, and to the model outlined earlier, the different paths towards case outcomes can be described and evaluated for their relative importance on the basis of the different analyses. Although a less formal method, process tracing is much more in tune with the expectation that campaign outcomes will be the result of complex paths. Even were a formal method like QCA to be used, in-depth knowledge of the cases would still be behind the results generated. For such a small-scale comparative study it therefore makes more sense to rely directly on in-depth narratives and reasoned arguments for the assertions made about the outcomes of each campaign.

2.6 Case selection

Finally, now that methods, data collection and theoretical approaches alike have been described and defended, I shall introduce the cases selected for study in this thesis. Some

of the factors relevant for case selection have already been described at opportune moments, and will merely be referred to briefly here for the sake of avoiding repetition.

The starting point for selecting each case is simple: because the interest is in EUSMOs – that is organisations that may be described as having their roots in social movements at the national level that have subsequently transferred some of their activities to the European level – I began by seeking out controversial (in that they have sparked high levels of attention from interest groups) issues in the EU through monitoring the websites of prominent EUSMOs, news reports on European issues, and from personal knowledge.⁶⁴ Several potential issues were identified: the transport of live animals; gender mainstreaming; genetically modified organisms; the Convention on the Future of Europe (charged with drafting the Constitutional Treaty); chemicals legislation; the Lisbon agenda; and the Directive on Services in the Internal Market were the most prominent of these. The start and end points of each of the campaigns are, as far as possible, dictated by the campaigning groups and the EU institutions themselves, with end points taken as the point at which a campaign can be said to have achieved or failed to achieve its stated goal.⁶⁵

The chosen campaigns took place at similar points in time (between 2003 and 2006), and are also comparable in the sense that they display ‘concrete’ aims, with the goal of making the tracing of paths to outcomes a little less complicated. Two different policy areas were then fixed on in order to guarantee variation in the EUSMO coalitions studied. These are environment and public health policies, and ‘social’ concerns in the broad sense often employed when approaching these issues at the EU level (Daly 2006:463) – that is encompassing internal market policies that affect EU citizens’ as workers and consumers in particular. These two areas of policy competence are comparable – although environmental policies are a more recently acquired EU competence, with the first five-year action plan proposed in 1972, an impressive amount of legislation has been built up in the area (Balme and Chabanet 2008:172). In addition, policies with more obviously direct effects in the broad area of social policy can also be said to be more recent, since the earliest efforts of the EU in this area (following the Second World War) were necessarily limited to purely economic areas (Balme and Chabanet 2008:235). It could be argued that better matched policy areas could have been chosen – for example internal market policy

⁶⁴ As a researcher for a Member of the European Parliament before attending the European University Institute.

⁶⁵ Of course the groups involved in these campaigns differ on when exactly interest in the issue, and therefore the campaign, started. For this reason I include the EU institutions when deciding start dates – these are usually based on reactions to particular moves by EU institutions.

and the common agricultural policy. However, I believe that concentrating on environmental and social policy brings the important advantage of variation in the kinds of EUSMOs involved – while service providers and trade unions of long history and standing in the member states are prominent in the social policy areas, groups belonging to the New Social Movements are active around environmental policies. This variation means that any overall conclusions of the study can more convincingly be defended as potentially applicable to all EUSMOs rather than those in any one particular category.

In a second step, the organisations identified as active in each campaign were examined. In order to ensure that EUSMOs were involved in the campaigns, at least some of the organisations involved needed to be connected to national movements, that is they needed to be connected to organisations credibly able to threaten forms of protest (see below). Other criteria were to be considered before selecting the final cases however. In order to guarantee variation on the dependent variable, the original idea was to select two cases where campaigns achieved their stated goals, and two campaigns where they did not. In addition, the four campaigns would concern two subject areas fulfilling the criteria outlined in the section on political opportunity (i.e. with similar levels of competence for the EU). In the event, the selection of cases was not as straightforward as this. The first subject area, one ripe for campaigns at the EU level since much legislation is produced, is environmental / public health. While investigating the possibility of studying the co-existence issue, the campaigns on REACH (chemicals legislation) and the Directive on Services in the Internal Market (Bolkestein) began to unfold. Both of these were being hailed as heralding unprecedented levels of mobilization at the European level, of both business and EUSMOs. The opportunity of studying these issues was therefore too tempting to pass up merely because the outcomes were not yet known. Both cases were of particular interest in different ways: Bolkestein because of the levels of transnational protest, appearing as a deviant case considering the assertions against the practicability of European level mobilisation (Marks and McAdam 1999); and REACH because of the broad and very tight-knit coalition that appeared to have been formed among the campaigning EUSMOs.

This choice then entailed taking up the coexistence case (despite this issue also being unresolved at the time), and the Lisbon campaign. Taking these in the order they are presented in the following chapters, ‘Coexistence’ (chapter 2) is a specific issue within the controversial issue of GMOs, concerning rules for growing GM and ordinary crops

alongside each other. REACH (chapter 3) is the acronym for Registration, Evaluation and Assessment of Chemicals, a legislative proposal under the co-decision procedure. The Lisbon Strategy (chapter 4) was a short, sharp campaign by social NGOs and Trade Unions against the suggestion that the Lisbon Strategy should be narrowed down to only its economic growth pillar, discarding (for a while) the pillars concerning social protection and cohesion, and sustainable development. Finally, the proposed Directive on Services in the Internal Market (chapter 5) has seen sustained levels of protest on the part of social NGOs and Trade Unions. Each of these cases involves groups clearly tied to social movement actors at the national level – the environment / public health cases both heavily involve Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, while the social cases both involve the ETUC, tied to national trade unions and their long histories of contentious politics.

As the cases were resolved, it became clear that the research would after all include two cases that achieved their stated goals and two that did not. Unfortunately, these correspond with the policy areas, with both environmental campaigns failing to achieve their stated goals and both social campaigns securing theirs – ideally each policy area should have included a ‘successful’ and an ‘unsuccessful’ campaign. A variety of other criteria also contributed to choosing the cases to accompany the REACH and Bolkestein cases however.⁶⁶ Firstly, because both were cases concerning the passage of legislation, coexistence and Lisbon were chosen to provide a contrast to these, as these campaigns focused on calls for legislation and broad policy directions respectively. Second, the coexistence and Lisbon cases also provide variety in terms of their main targets, the Commission and the European Council, whilst the legislative cases shift their focus along with legislative procedures. This variety among the cases, it was reasoned, would place in relief the different kinds of actions used when targeting specific actors. Third, while the co-existence campaign provides an example of a moment in a much larger scale campaign on the broader issue of GMOs, and indeed the longest campaign of the study, the Lisbon campaign provides an example of a much shorter campaign, with correspondingly quicker methods of mobilisation. The two cases thus add interesting contrasts to the legislative cases. Finally, the Lisbon case’s outcome is very closely linked to Bolkestein, providing an example of how contemporary campaigns can contribute to one another’s outcomes.

⁶⁶ Another advantage of comparing social and environmental cases is the juxtaposition of older and newer conflict areas, with social issues traditionally followed by organised labour, and environmental issues more by newer organisations (della Porta and Rucht 2002:2), with their correspondingly more or less rooted methods of contestation (Balme and Chabanet 2002:25).

Within each of these cases, different periods can be identified according to reactions to actions by EU institutions, as was mentioned in the discussion of the method for frame analysis. Splitting the campaigns according to these critical junctures has the advantage of increasing the N of the research, and therefore increasing not only the eventual generalisability of the conclusions, but also the number of cases of outcomes and non-outcomes (which may be seen not only at the end of campaigns, but also during as in the case of access and agenda outcomes). Periodisation also contributes to facilitating process tracing between actors and outcomes, as changes in overall situations regarding framing and political and discursive opportunities can be tracked from campaign phase to campaign phase, with the aid of synthetic tables.

The following four chapters will present these case studies using the theoretical approaches and methods described in this chapter. These four chapters all follow a common structure: beginning with a short introduction and overview, a thick description of how the case unfolded is presented, with particular care to note the different actions and events of the campaigns as well as the role played by national and / or local groups. Following this, analytical sections tackle the questions of shared frames, first between the EUSMOs active in the campaign, and second between these EUSMOs and active national groups. Political opportunities, both fixed and dynamic, are then described, and finally the discursive opportunities are tackled. A separate section on campaign outcomes draws all the evidence together to make the processes leading to any campaign outcomes, as well as non-outcomes, explicit, followed by a brief concluding section. A final concluding chapter will compare and contrast the cases with one another in order to draw some tentative conclusions about how and when campaign outcomes come about, as well as discuss some broader ideas raised by the cases.

3. Back to their roots: bottom-up approaches to coexistence and GM crops

“I think it's very important to work at the national level - in Brussels what you can do at best on issues like GMOs is damage control basically. You know, trying to prevent really really bad decisions being taken by scandalising them.” (interview 1)

Coming, as they did, in the shadow of the long and hard fought campaign against GMOs in Europe that culminated in strict European legislation on labelling and other issues, discussions about GM crops and ‘coexistence’ or contamination are not especially well known. In a nutshell, the discussion surrounds the issues of 1) how to diminish the possibilities for contamination and, 2) how to establish liability if contamination occurs. In early 2003, reacting to a Commission communication declaring that member states should deal with the issue on their own, a coalition of three environmental groups – the European Environmental Bureau (EEB), Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth Europe (FoEE) - began to call for EU legislation. Although the campaign got off to a slow start, it eventually took off alongside an initiative led by two regional governments, Upper Austria and Tuscany, to form a network of ‘GM-free’ regions. The environmental groups set up their own network of GM-free areas through the GM-free Europe website, adding this demand for legal GM-free zones to that for European legislation, and began to campaign with the regions through an alliance with the Assembly of European Regions (AER), with events arranged from the local level up to the European with large conferences discussing all aspects of GMOs.

The coexistence campaign, better known in its ‘GM-free Europe’ guise, is at a certain point a textbook example of European level campaigning according to the hypotheses outlined in chapter one. Although it started slowly, the campaign begun by the environmental EUSMOs quickly adapted to the discursive opportunities provided by the parallel initiative of the regional governments, bridging their demand for European legislation with the regional government’s call to allow local bans in the GM-free Europe campaign. The latter also recalled language used in existing national and local campaigns, showing the groups’ ability to carry out a multi-level campaign reflecting the structure of the EU itself, and therefore exploiting one important structural political opportunity. More dynamic opportunities were also grasped in launching a barrage of actions aimed at the apparently more sympathetic Barroso Commission from 2004, and the campaign as a whole can be said to emulate the tactics of previous mobilisations across Europe on GMOs, thereby

exploiting the discursive opportunities provided by previous campaigns for the salience of current ones. Yet despite securing access outcomes early on in the campaign, no policy outcomes were seen, meaning that the coexistence campaign appears to overturn the hypotheses outlined in chapter one. A dynamic political threat in the form of a negative ruling against the EU and its previous moratorium on GMOs from the World Trade Organisation (a ‘contingent event’) is shown to have overturned any enthusiasm the Barroso Commission may have had for the idea of European legislation or allowing GM-free zones. The coexistence case thus provides strong evidence for the overall conclusion drawn about the importance of contingent events for securing outcomes in EU level campaigns, precisely because the WTO ruling was found to unhinge the campaign *despite* its strong performance in almost all other aspects.

The main concerns of EUSMOs, that is the prevention of the *contamination* of normal crops, and especially of seeds, along with the connected issue of *liability*, are approached by different Commission departments - coexistence and liability are dealt with by DG Agriculture, while seed purity falls into the remit of DG public health and consumer affairs. This practical reason lies behind the choice to limit the case study to the coexistence issue (although the discourse on seeds is of course relevant at points).⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the campaign on coexistence is one part of an ongoing, multi-issue campaign that remains relevant to its analysis. For the purposes of clarity this case study takes a Commission Communication on coexistence as its starting point, and the negative WTO ruling against the EU of May 2006 as its end point – although effectively the draft ruling of February really spells the end of this phase of the campaign. This cut-off point may seem arbitrary, but I will argue that the Commission’s sudden change of stance from an apparent opening on the issue to an abrupt ruling out of European legislation only weeks after news of this ruling spelled the effective end of this particular strand of the anti-GMO movement.

The campaign on coexistence (although it is not so well defined and unitary as other cases included in this study) may be split into three more or less distinct phases according to institutional reactions as described in chapter two. At the beginning of the campaign, an environmental coalition that had been active on the labelling and traceability legislation demanded (alongside the European Parliament) European level legislation on coexistence.

⁶⁷ The debate around the issue of seeds is (on a practical level) different to that on the wider debate about coexistence in general. The former concerns the adventitious presence of GM material in seeds, and at what level (suggestions ranging from a minimum of 0.1% to a maximum of 0.9%) labelling requirements should be triggered.

This was the more latent phase of the campaign, during which groups worked to prepared the more radical ‘GM-free Europe’ approach. The beginning of the second phase of the campaign was marked by a Commission Recommendation ruling out the possibility of EU legislation, and its rejection of the Upper Austrian law banning the cultivation of GM crops. This was chosen as a timely moment to launch the ‘GM-free’ campaign. Two separate clusters of groups are involved in similar actions here. On the one hand regional governments, led by Upper Austria and Tuscany, formed the Network of European GM Free Regions. On the other, environmental groups launched a website to link local groups’ campaigns to ban GMOs. The similarities between the previous national and local campaigns targeting supermarkets, which led to governments being forced to introduce the moratorium, are clear here. Once again the idea seems to be to present the Commission with a *fait accompli* whereby the vast majority of localities in the EU refuse to countenance GM crops, thus forcing them to act. In a final stage of the campaign, again marked by a (more positive) Commission communication, the environmental groups work to integrate the different strands of the campaign by launching actions with the Assembly of European Regions, who in turn represent the majority of the regional governments involved in the network. In the following section the story of the campaign in terms of the EUSMOs’ actions is laid out in detail. The campaign will then be analysed with a view to explaining its outcomes.

3.1 A tale of two campaigns

The coexistence campaign is best understood as one moment within the wider, ongoing movement in the EU against GMOs. Some background on this wider movement and on European legislation on the subject is useful for the reader to place the campaign in its correct context. The first European directive on experimental releases of GMOs was passed in 1990, and as the market grew steadily during the first half of the 1990s, legislation on labelling (the ‘novel food’ directive) was instigated. However, institutional wrangling over these rules lasted until 1998, with limited results. A first wave of protest against GMOs had begun in 1995, lasting until early 1996 against the background of the EU’s hesitation, as well as the increased salience of food safety issues in the wake of the BSE crisis. A second wave rose in 1998 with the progression of legislation on labelling (Kettner 2001). Protest and lobbying actions took place all over Europe, which led many supermarket chains to ban the sale of GMOs in their stores, and many European

governments were obliged to change their positions on the issue (Kettner 2001, on the UK see Imig and Tarrow 2001, Lezaun 2004). In June 1999, the EU imposed a de facto moratorium on the import and sale of all GM products until proper legislation was in place, leading Margot Wallström (the then environment Commissioner) to “declare NGOs victorious” (Imig and Tarrow 2001).⁶⁸

As legislation on the traceability and labelling of GM foods wound its way through the various institutions under the co-decision procedure (with its final adoption in July 2003 spelling the effective end of the moratorium), other issues connected to the GMO field – including coexistence – began to move into the spotlight. If the moratorium was to end with the adoption of the legislation, then other issues, such as coexistence, seed purity and consequences for organic farming, needed to be settled. It was against this background that the Commission published its first communication on coexistence, recommending that individual member states develop their own rules and regulations according to existing regimes.

Generally speaking, the environmental EUSMOs (FoEE, Greenpeace, and the EEB) were the most prominent actors in this first stage of the campaign. Because the GMO issue has so many facets, and because they had worked together on previous campaigns, the groups already had a fairly formal division of labour, with Greenpeace taking the lead on the seed purity issue, and FoEE concentrating on coexistence (interviews 1 and 2).⁶⁹ It is thus FoEE that provide the impetus behind the bolder actions of the campaign. The campaign got off to a slow start, however. The environmental groups responded to the Commission’s communication⁷⁰ on coexistence with a simple press release, as did the Greens/EFA group

⁶⁸ The moratorium effectively began in Spring 1998 when five member states - Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, and Luxembourg - announced that they would ban GMOs until the EU introduced effective legislation concerning traceability and labelling.

⁶⁹ Apart from being allies through work on previous campaigns, these groups also form part of the ‘Green 10’, a network of Brussels environmental groups. The groups work individually, but “coordinate joint responses and recommendations to EU decision-makers on issues of interest to all NGOs” (<http://www.foeeurope.org/links/green10.htm>, accessed 4/2/08).

⁷⁰ The communication states that no form of agriculture should be excluded within the European Union, and that therefore rules for their coexistence are necessary. However, since the environmental and public health concerns are dealt with in the draft labelling and traceability legislation, the Commission consider the issue to be purely economic. Rules concerning coexistence, since measures must be tailored to particular regional qualities and situations, as well as to specific crops, would best be dealt with at the member state level. Liability, too, since already covered by national laws, must be dealt with through appropriate changes to these according to the subsidiarity principle. In general, those who do not wish to see the introduction of GM crops should bear the responsibility for implementing protective measures. The communication also mentions the possibility of GM-free zones for particular crops, but excludes the possibility of any national or community

in the European Parliament (although they maintain a strict independence from one another, the Greens/EFA groups and environmental groups exchange press releases and information according to interview 3). While Greenpeace and FoEE had also expressed their views through other vehicles, such as position papers, internal newsletters, their websites and the like, the EEB was a more silent campaign partner. The drive behind the EEB's role in the campaign lay chiefly in the commitment of its Italian Vice-President from Legambiente, an Italian environmental organisation.

One small protest at the European level did take place during this phase, although, tellingly, it did not have much effect. The Commission had announced a round table discussion for 'all stakeholders' on coexistence for 24 April 2003, before the drafting of more binding recommendations. A letter, as well as a press release informing of the letter, was written by the environmental groups along with two others lamenting the fact that they had not been invited to the discussion, and that the majority of those that had were from the biotechnology industry. The other two groups included in this action were the International Federation of Organic Farmers (IFOAM), and the Coordination Paysanne Européenne (CPE), a result of working together on previous campaigns on GMOs. On the day of the event FoEE, accompanied by one of their national groups⁷¹, the CPE, and one of their 'GMO inflatables' (an enormous ear of corn), staged a small demonstration outside the building in which the discussions were being held. A follow-up letter released by the same groups also protested the unbalanced nature of the Commission's discussion.

At the end of the first period of the campaign, a more proactive action was organised in the form of a conference on coexistence held at the European Parliament and organised by FoEE, EuroCoop, and the Heinrich Boll Foundation (HBF), with the Greens/EFA group, and more particularly the MEP Friedrich-Wilhelm Graefe zu Baringdorf as parliamentary sponsors.⁷² Graefe zu Baringdorf then went on to present an own-initiative report on

level regulation for these, since economic interests alone cannot justify "imposing such strong limitations on fundamental liberties" (Commission 2003).

⁷¹ The nationality is not specified, but the obvious assumption would be the Belgian group.

⁷² In order to organise an event within the European Parliament a member must 'sponsor' the event, organising entry to the building and a room etc. Events cannot be held without such sponsorship as this goes against the Questors rules. The inclusion of the Heinrich Boll Foundation as an organiser is presumably a result of a previous partnership – FoEE's monthly GMO publication the 'Biotech Mailout' is written in cooperation with the Foundation. As for EuroCoop, the wish to broaden the coalition as far as possible is made clear by all interviewees, but unfortunately exactly how the contact was made is unclear, as the staff at

coexistence closely reflecting the participants' views, which was subsequently adopted as the Parliament's official position. The event was described as a 'counter-summit' to the Commission's discussion, and as a chance to give a voice to those who were overlooked at that forum. The conference thus included speakers from the scientific community, MEPs from the Greens/EFA and Socialist groups in the European Parliament, representatives of the environmental groups, consumer's groups, trade unions, the Commission, and the Belgian government – as well as the conference organisers.

The second, much longer, period of the campaign, begins with the publication of the Commission Recommendations on coexistence of 23 July 2003, which officially ruled out the option of European level legislation. Apart from the usual press release from the core trio of environmental groups that accompanied the publication of the Recommendations, the campaign can now be said to move into a much more varied, public and proactive phase.⁷³ Such actions, however, required planning, and following their condemnatory press release on the Recommendations, the environmental coalition became rather quiet. During this latent period stretching from July 2003 to April 2004, the environmental groups turned their attentions to developing the tactics already being pursued by various like-minded groups at the national or local level in the Union by building the GM-free Europe website (interview 2). The site's aim was to facilitate information-sharing and was built by Friends of the Earth Europe. Seeing that a growing number of national and local groups were beginning, or in many cases had won campaigns demanding that local governments ban the cultivation of GMOs on their territory, the group decided to set up a website providing information, advice on campaign and legal tactics and the like for such groups.⁷⁴ The national level now became the principal battleground of the campaign, with high profile successes such as that secured by Greenpeace Greece, who managed to secure bans to such a wide extent that the entire territory of the country is, at the time of writing,⁷⁵ 'GM-free'.

EuroCoop had changed by the time an interview was carried out with the organisation. The personal contacts between the previous member of staff and the environmental groups was made clear however (interview 6).

⁷³ That said it should be noted that meetings with the Commission continued to be sought throughout the campaign. These meetings, often taking place with the participation of many of the different groups working together on the campaign (more on this below), are mentioned by all of the activists interviewed, with the exception of the Greens/EFA for the reasons outlined above. Although I have no specific timetable of such meetings, the impression conveyed is that they are sought at regular intervals by the movement, not only in the hope of convincing the Commission to take on their views, but principally as a way of staying informed as to the institution's intentions and preferences during quieter periods in terms of official communications and the like ('corridor information', as interview 7 dubs it).

⁷⁴ Although such blanket bans were theoretically illegal, as bans could only apply to specific GMOs.

⁷⁵ February 2006.

The creation of the website was thus a crucial point in the campaign, marking not only the increased involvement of the national and local levels but also the first step towards integrating the environmental groups' campaign with the regional governments' campaign. The regional governments that had already declared bans on GM cultivation, mainly because quality local products were under threat,⁷⁶ had also decided to bring their concerns to the Commission. In the first stage of the campaign (13 March 2003), the regional government of Upper Austria had notified the Commission of their draft law banning the cultivation of GM crops. On 2 September 2003, the Commission rejected this law as contrary to the rules of the internal market. Upper Austria immediately appealed to the European Court of Justice against the Commission's decision, but in the meantime another, joint approach was decided when the Brussels representation of the region was approached by the Tuscan representation. The Tuscany regional office suggested forming a Network of European Regions (the Network) in order to launch a more political campaign. The two offices then approached other regions with similar bans or intentions to ban, avoiding, at this early stage, regions in their own countries, since both were known to be firmly anti-GM. They were anxious to prove that worries about GMOs were widespread throughout Europe, and not just in their countries. The network was officially launched with a declaration in November 2003. Thinking of the efforts of the environmental groups with their GM-free Europe website, it is hard to believe that no deliberate parallels were planned. From this point onwards the Network widened, and either held or participated in various events on a more-or-less bi-monthly basis, with the aim of ensuring that coexistence remained on the agenda (interview 5). At the same time, Upper Austria continued its legal challenge against the Commission.

The two different attempts at coordinating the GM-free approach, on the one hand by the regional authorities, and on the other hand by environmental groups, are certainly complementary. Towards the end of 2004, however, the hunch that FoEE are actively seeking parallels between their own approach and that of the Network seem to be confirmed by their launching a joint campaign with the AER. The AER were drawn to the coexistence issue by the activities of their member regions who were also members of the

⁷⁶ The two regions heading up the Network, Upper Austria and Tuscany, are both producers of specialised goods – organic, and products with various European quality labels (controlled origin etc.) – that would lose their value in the scenario of GM contamination. Organic labelling was still only allowed with 0% GM content at this point, the reader will remember.

Network, and thus sought a campaign partner with more expertise on the subject. The campaign guide on how to become a GM-free region published by FoEE made them an ideal candidate (interview 7). This, in turn, provided the FoEE with the opportunity to forge a real link to the Network. This new addition to the campaign bridges the two separate approaches to coexistence, and signals another victory for the bottom-up tactic of (illegal) cultivation bans as opposed to calls for European legislation (although the two are compatible, as will be seen in the section on frames). The main tactic of this period is thus to build up steam behind the GMO-free zone strategy, with the main driving force coming from FoEE, who attempted to link their efforts with those of the Network wherever possible. For example, the Network were invited by FoEE and the AER to present their initiative at their campaign launch press conference at the European Parliament in September 2004, and later, in February 2005, FoEE also began a petition explicitly designed for signature by local politicians. This last tactic also contributed to reinforcing the link between the local and national groups, asked to circulate the petition for signature, and the European level in the shape of the Commission, to whom the petition was then forwarded.

The third period of the campaign is marked once more by a Commission communication (22 March 2005), this time by the Barroso Commission, in which the campaign received recognition.⁷⁷ Shortly after this, the Agriculture Commissioner (Fischer-Boel) met with the Network at the offices of the Tuscany region in Brussels. It is interesting to note the parallels that may be drawn here between the coexistence campaign and previous phases of the anti-GM movement that led to the moratorium. The EU had already been forced to act because of the situation created in the member states. In the coexistence case, the sheer number of GM-free bans forced the Commission, at this point in the campaign, to at least acknowledge a growing problem where previously the issue had been considered closed. This move by the new Commission recognising the campaign and entering into dialogue

⁷⁷ “A number of regions and local communities are taking steps to implement highly restrictive national or regional measures, aiming at limiting (as much as possible) or preventing cultivation of GMOs. The Commission continues to receive an important amount of correspondence from regions and municipalities declaring themselves “GMO-free”. A **network of “GMO-free” regions** has been set up under an initiative from Upper Austria and Tuscany and now comprises twenty regions throughout Europe, notably in Spain, France, Germany, Greece and UK. This network is gaining popularity and an increasing number of members.” (Commission 2005, emphasis in original.)

with the regions thus signalled an opening up at the European level that seemed to bode well.

In terms of the tactics employed by the environmental groups, now campaigning alongside the AER, this phase saw the continuance of the actions begun previously (the GMO-free Europe site, and thus the local connection, and condemning press releases continued), as well as new methods. One such innovation came in the form of a legal opinion (procured by a coalition of British groups) used by the environmental groups along with EuroCoop to declare that the Recommendations on coexistence were incompatible with existing EU legislation. Continuing with the legal theme, Upper Austria also persisted in their legal challenges during this final phase of the campaign: when the Court of First Instance rejected Upper Austria's appeal against the Commission's rejection of their regional law on 5 October 2005, they reacted by introducing a new law, based on a different Treaty article, the very next day.

More public actions at the European level also returned to the fore at this stage of the campaign. FoEE and the AER organised another conference at the European Parliament, physically bringing together the actors from the environmental groups and the regional governments for the first time. At this point then the organisations from each strand were working together, with the Network explicitly supporting and providing speakers for the conference (the leading regions' names and logos appear on the invitation), which took place on 17 May 2005. It is interesting to note that the regions were very careful to underline that such a coalition would only last so long as all partners were willing and shared a goal at that particular time – in other words, it was key that coalitions remained *flexible* (interviews 5 and 6). This is probably a result of the fact that the groups in this coalition would most likely disagree over the actual content (or indeed the use in the first place) of coexistence legislation. Another interesting feature of this conference is the fact that it is sponsored by a member from the centre-right European People's Party (EPP), Polish MEP Janusz Wojciechowski. The first conference at the European Parliament was supported by very different actors – a green research foundation, EuroCoop, and the Greens/EFA. This choice was made in order to underline the non-ideological nature of the issues in hand (interviews 2 and 8).

A second feature in terms of strategy that becomes more visible in this period, although starting in the second, is the *location* of events. More and more conferences gathering EU-level actors alongside regional and national ones now began to take place outside Brussels in various locations throughout the EU, reflecting the more bottom-up approach of the GM-free zone strategy, which included efforts to broaden the network. For example, the AER joined forces with the Foundation for Future Farming (Ffff) and the European NGO Network on Genetic Engineering (GENET) to organise an annual Conference of European GM-free Regions, the first of which was held in January 2005 in Berlin, that is just after their campaign launch with FoEE. Another example is the Consumers International conference of September 2005 held in Bologna. These conferences gathered speakers on all aspects of genetic engineering, but are also cited as places where all the different groups concerned may gather in one place and meet national and local actors (interview 1). A second annual conference of European GM-free Regions was held in January 2006, again in Berlin.

The Network, in the meantime, again met with agriculture Commission officials in September 2005 after their first meeting with Commissioner Fischer-Boel, apparently confirming the impression of a Commission more open to persuasion on the coexistence issue. The institution had also promised to report on national coexistence measures and comment on the issue of European rules at that time. However, in early February 2006 rumours began to circulate that a WTO ruling on a trade dispute between the EU and other members of the organisation over the previous moratorium would find in favour of the complainants (the United States, Canada, and Argentina). FoEE and the other environmental EUSMOs immediately reacted to these rumours by attacking the WTO and its secrecy, and by highlighting the European consumer's right to refuse GMOs. The Commission's report on national measures of 9 March 2006 found that European legislation on coexistence "does not appear justified at this time", promising a progress report only in 2008 – FoEE answered this news with the slogan 'contaminate then legislate'.⁷⁸ At the same time, the Commission had launched a new round of consultation on the subject, mainly through the vehicle of a conference to be held on the subject in

⁷⁸ Press release accompanying report: 'Commission reports on national measures to ensure coexistence of genetically modified crops with conventional and organic farming'. IP/06/293. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/coexistence/index_en.htm, accessed 4/2/08.

Vienna from 4-6 April.⁷⁹ Several of the campaigning groups were involved in this conference, attending or, in the case of FoEE and the Tuscan region, speaking. A march ‘for a GMO-free Europe’ was also organised for 5 April with the involvement of both European level and Austrian groups (including, amongst others, ATTAC, regional organisations, and farmers’ organisations). In addition, a global day of opposition to GMOs was held soon after the conference on 8 April 2006. None of these mobilisations served to change the Commission’s mind either on European legislation or the right to local bans (although European law is clearly against regions here), despite signs of disagreement through the contradictory speeches made by the Agriculture Commissioner Mariann Fischer-Boel and the Environment Commissioner Stavros Dimas at the Vienna conference.

On 10 May the WTO confirmed the original rumours with a ruling against the EU (final reports were circulated in September 2006). Since then, the campaign has wound down somewhat – although the annual conferences continue, the GMO-free Europe website ceased its news feed in September 2006. At the time of writing the Commission has yet to publish its latest report on coexistence, and European legislation appears unlikely.

3.1.1 Joined-up campaigning: the role of national groups

The coexistence campaign saw much higher levels of involvement from local and national groups than the other cases presented in this study. Indeed, it is the only case where European level groups took their central campaigning ideas from the national and local level rather than the other way around – the essential work of the GM-free Europe action was to join up the different local and national campaigns taking place throughout the member states. Activities involving these groups have thus already been outlined in the narrative of the campaign. In this section, then, I shall focus on how the main European groups of the campaign involve national and local members in their decisions on a more general basis.⁸⁰

One of the most prominent examples of national and local groups involved in the campaign is that of the groups that were eventually pulled together at the European level through the

⁷⁹ It is likely this conference had something to do with the fact that Austria, as we already know a country highly engaged in the GMO debate, held the rotating presidency of the Union at the time.

⁸⁰ Less involved groups, such as the farmers’ groups and EuroCoop, are not considered because of the marginal roles they played in the campaign.

GM-Free Europe campaign website set up by FoEE. Many of these groups had, as mentioned above, been involved in campaigns to secure cultivation bans at the local and regional levels across Europe, sometimes for many years prior to the actions that began at the EU level in 2003 (the French example is mentioned in interview 1). FoEE's work in pulling together these previously separate national and local campaigns thus drew on a pre-existing body of collective action rather than created a new transnational effort. The regions, of course, also provide an example of direct local-level involvement at the European level, and constitute a category apart in the sense that they are representations with a strict mandate to stick to local government views and positions: they are embassies for their regions at the European Union. It is fairly safe then to conclude that they are branches of their regional governments. The network as a whole is "a very informal network (...) It's just only to get an informal personal contact with other regions" (interview 5). Meetings between the like-minded regions sometimes produce documents, to which all agree. The AER, which provides a crucial 'bridge' between the regional network and the environmental coalition, decided to launch its joint campaign with FoEE following a discussion at one of its conferences – and therefore with the backing of its member regions, some of whom belong to the Network (interview 7). Again, this organisation is strictly representative in that it employs only administrative staff with all decisions being taken directly by members grouped into committees at the organisation's base in Strasbourg. The AER, like the regions making up the Network, can be described as completely dependent on its members.

FoEE describes itself as the European branch of Friends of the Earth International – a global organisation. However, the organisation takes every opportunity to state that rather than being a single group, it unites a "grassroots network" of national and local groups who are independent in their choices of campaigns to launch or follow. However, based on interviews it could also be said that to some extent FoEE takes on the role of representing all of the European national and local groups of Friends of the Earth. Meetings with national groups, at which strategies for the European office are decided, take place twice a year. Ideas and input for these may come from either the European staff or from the various national groups (interview 2). A prominent example of this in the current case is the GMO-free Europe campaign, where European staff picked up on national and local campaigns of a similar nature (not only by Friends of the Earth groups, but also by others) and then created a website to share information, tactics and such like between them.

Information sharing is a crucial part of the European office's work. They aim to share expertise and information with other national and local groups, as well as between national and local groups through initiatives like the GMO-free Europe site.

The Greenpeace European Unit, like the Greenpeace organisation as a whole, is a much more hierarchical organisation that must follow the strategies outlined by its directors.⁸¹ This can sometimes hinder coalition work with other groups – where others may take fast decisions, Greenpeace must check these with superiors first (interview 4). This organisation's roots lie in 'creative confrontation', where a few people participating in spectacular actions are considered to be more effective in creating space for discussion by attracting media attention than grassroots actions and involvement. The organisation for all groups is the same – to follow Greenpeace International which leads all campaigns. However, some coordination role is played by the Greenpeace European Unit, although perhaps not to the extent that is seen in FoEE. In this campaign national Greenpeace groups are involved in the GM-free Europe initiative, most notably in Greece but also in Luxemburg. These national Greenpeace groups are listed as the primary national contacts on the GMO-free Europe site.

Finally, the European Environmental Bureau is an organisation subscribed to by more 'conservative' (in both senses of the word – i.e. more institutionalised or conventional groups originally dedicated exclusively to the conservation of endangered species or habitats) organisations from different countries. Whereas both Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth are themselves global organisations, the EEB is strictly European and represents national organisations. The structure of this body is more formal, with working groups made up of national members used for both disseminating and gathering information from national groups, as well as for deciding positions and strategies, a board, and an annual general meeting where the membership of these are elected, work programmes and budgets decided and the like. Campaigns are usually coordinated by a member of the EEB's own staff in Brussels, although sometimes this role is filled by one particular member with expertise. This is the case in the coexistence campaign, which was run by the representative of Legambiente, the Italian member organisation, who would draft the

⁸¹ For a succinct summary of Greenpeace International's organisational structure see Lahusen 1999:192-3. Of particular interest for this study is Lahusen's mention of the split between the organisation's 'wet suits', who engage in spectacular protest events, and its 'dry suits', who carry out lobbying work behind the scenes (also mentioned by Schaefer Caniglia (2001)).

positions to be discussed and adopted by the working group. The EEB is first and foremost a lobbying organisation, and therefore its presence in the coexistence campaign is more or less restricted to ‘behind the scenes’ actions such as meetings with the Commission, and press releases. National members are also largely absent from the GM-free movement, as are more conservationist organisations in general.⁸²

To sum up this brief narrative of a long and complicated campaign, there are several points to highlight. First, like the REACH case that will be presented in the following chapter, we see environmental groups make a special effort to build broad coalitions in this campaign – even if these are, in the case of the regions, highly flexible coalitions of convenience. Second, the national and local levels become very important for the main tactic of the campaign, that is the formation of a network of local areas that have banned GM crops, which leads to a change in the central campaign demand. This could be described as a result of the fact that, as in the social cases, the supranational European institutions are not particularly friendly towards the campaigning groups’ ideas for the majority of the time, or, in the case of the European Parliament, are not well-placed to help (similarly to the Lisbon campaign). Yet the parallels that can be made between this tactic and those of previous GMO campaigns are also striking. The gathering of information in order to publicise national and local ‘GM-free zone’ tactics, and the work to bridge the environmental groups’ work with that of the Network’s recall the processes of ‘scale shift’ described by McAdam and Tarrow (2005). Scale shift is defined as “a change in the number and level of coordinated contentious actions leading to broader contention involving a wider range of actors and bridging their claims and identities” (*ibid*:125). In the GM-free Europe initiative, EUSMOs brokered links between previously unconnected national and local campaigns throughout the EU. This they achieved through what McAdam and Tarrow term ‘relational diffusion’ – that is through “the transfer of information along established lines of interaction” found between the EUSMOs and their national members (*ibid*:127). A similar process also provides a good description of FoEE’s work to link the regional and EUSMO campaigns through their work with the AER. By securing this scale shift, the EUSMOs achieved a truly transnational campaign.

⁸² For brief overviews of Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, and the European Environmental Bureau, see van der Heijden 2002:193-4.

Finally, it is important to note the presence of an important contingent event in the shape of the WTO ruling at the end of the campaign (which may also be characterised as a threat from a hostile transnational elite, as will be discussed in section 3.3). These points will be more fully explored in the following sections, where the campaign is analysed with a view to tracing the paths between the actions described above and the outcomes.

3.2 Bridging frames in the coexistence campaign

In this section I shall look at how frames developed throughout the campaign. As described in the theoretical sections of the first chapters, I shall judge the presence of collective identity amongst the groups active around the campaign by examining their arguments, or frames, as presented in publicly available documents. Frames amongst the EUSMOs will be examined first, followed by a comparison with the frames from a sample of national level groups involved in the campaign. First, however, a note on the documents analysed here. For the European level, the documents analysed reflect both the passage of time in each phase of the campaign, as well as the constellation of actors involved. For the national level, the documents analysed are from groups that are amongst the most involved in the campaign, as garnered from researching the case more generally and confirmed by interview data. However, national level documents were, in the event, more difficult to come by than imagined. Quantity was no problem, rather the documents available provide much information, but little argumentation – perhaps a result of the widespread suspicion of GMOs that reigns throughout Europe. As a result, the document sample for the national level, while still including those groups most active in the campaign, is a little scattered in that documents across time from the same groups were not always available. I have nevertheless included documents produced by such groups, since I believe that their argumentation can only serve to enrich the final analysis drawn from the exercise.

3.2.1 Frames among the European level groups

In the first phase of the campaign relatively few documents were produced by the EUSMOs. This was still a fairly latent stage of the campaign, where the groups were working behind the scenes on the GM-free Europe approach. Nevertheless, the analysis compares the environmental EUSMOs' joint press release with an article from FoEE's internal newsletter in order to assess the degree to which frames were shared between the

three core environmental EUSMOs at this early stage. The analysis, summarised in the frame grid found in Annex I, showed that frames were shared to a great degree albeit with slight variations in emphasis. Both the four most prominent frames of each document analysed and indeed those used less frequently closely match one another. The most important shared frame is ‘condemn Commission communication’, a diagnostic frame. Following this frame in importance is the central demand (prognostic frame) of the campaign at this stage, that for European legislation on coexistence. The next frame raised, which may be seen as both prognostic and diagnostic, is the ‘polluter pays’ principle, classified as equivalent to calls for the liability in cases of contamination to lie with GM growers, since this is consistent with the former. Finally, among the most frequent frames of this phase, is the stress on widespread contamination risks.

There are, however, differences in emphasis between the two documents analysed here, as was mentioned above. More emphasis is placed on elements strictly related to the Commission and the EU in the joint press release, as may be expected in a document expressly framed as a response to the communication. Nevertheless, of the frames that are not shared, neither contradict the overall argument expressed in the common frames. In short, there exists a very high level of congruence in the arguments advanced by the core groups involved in the campaign during this period, as would be expected from the groups’ history of joint campaigning on GMOs and indeed on other subjects.

In the longer second period of the campaign, the number of groups involved in the campaign increases, putting the strength of shared frames to the test. To recap briefly, there are effectively two strands of actors involved in the campaign at this stage – the regions and the environmental groups (and their allies). Later in this phase the FoEE try to bridge these two efforts by launching the GM-free Europe website and another campaign with the AER. Interestingly and fittingly for the results of the analysis of the second phase (where the environmental groups steadily pick up on this frame), this last was advertised as a campaign not only on coexistence, but also for the protection of ‘quality food products’, explicitly recalling a line of argument often raised by the regions.

The most striking change in the frames during the second phase of the campaign is the near disappearance of the demand for European legislation. In fact, the most frequent frames are now those concerning the creation of GM-free zones. It is interesting to enter into a

little more detail on this point, since tracing the demand through this period and amongst different groups reveals stories of framing work. At the beginning of the period the frame is entirely absent in the press release from the three core environmental groups. The Network, however, do pick up the EU legislation demand frame, although always conditioning it with a mention of the subsidiarity principle.⁸³ While the environmental groups pick up on the bottom up approach, the regions take up the frame on EU legislation. Moving on to the press release marking the beginning of the FoEE's joint campaign with the AER, the EU legislation demand is resurrected in the first paragraph and linked with the GM-free zones frame, the beginning of a bridged frame also repeated later in the same document. Finally, the petition from the GM-free Europe website again includes the new completely bridged frame of EU legislation including the right to GM-free zones. The path of this frame's development suggest some framing work taking place between the environmental and regional groups, more specifically through negotiations by the FoEE and the AER.⁸⁴ If we also consider the 'quality food' frame mentioned earlier, more evidence is gathered for this reading. While this frame does not appear at all in the first press release by the environmental groups, it appears in both of the documents authored jointly by the FoEE and the AER.

As for the other frames seen in this phase, the principle *diagnostic* frames (contamination risks and polluter pays) from the first period remain high on the agenda and are still shared. The contamination risks frame remains strongest in the document authored by the three core environmental groups, but is also prominent in the documents by the Network and the FoEE and AER, and is also mentioned in the GMO-free Europe petition to the Commission. It is not present in the conference conclusions (authors AER, Genet and FoEE), but other frames consistent with this more general claim are used, such as threats to biodiversity and seed purity. Nevertheless, both of these diagnostic frames become less prominent as the period moves on – the polluter pays frame remaining until the end of 2004 and then tailing off, as frames concerning regional and more purely environmental issues start to come to the fore. These changes also reflect the changes in tactics in this phase, and by the fact that the frames are so closely connected with the call for European level

⁸³ i.e. European legislation should follow the subsidiarity principle, which dictates that decisions be made at the lowest possible level. Since coexistence rules affect local agriculture, local authorities should have the right to decide.

⁸⁴ The regional representations interviewed, Upper Austria and Tuscany, were careful to point out that any work they did with environmental groups was temporary, lasting only so long as a shared goal. It is unlikely they were in direct negotiations.

legislation. To sum up the situation concerning at the end of the second period, there is good evidence of framing work, or more precisely the bridging of the two main groups' central frames. Although the overall convergence of frames is less striking than in the first period of the campaign, the evidence of bridging may be considered an indicator of identity *building*, whereas the evidence from the first phase points more to *existing* shared understandings (similar to those seen in the REACH campaign in jointly authored documents). A similar story can be seen with other frames, with overall patterns converging during this phase (the decline of the contamination and polluter pays frames, the adoption of the quality food frame).

The third period of the campaign includes a more diverse set of actors, which is in turn reflected in the document sample. With the inclusion of new actors in the campaign, or, better, with the campaign being picked up by new actors, the frames that were previously common begin to change. In this period, only two frames are shared across three of the four documents analysed, and both refer to GM-free zones. Interestingly, the call to allow for regional bans is slightly less frequent than an entirely new frame here: 'GM-free movement widespread and widely supported'. This would appear to reflect a continued movement of frames up from the national and local level – especially since this is a motivational frame, more the preserve of national groups – an impression confirmed by paying close attention to the later documents. The call for European legislation almost completely disappears, mentioned in only one document towards the beginning of the phase. This change in the central frames indicates a more general trend - not even these frames are shared to the extent that the principal frames were previously, and the structures of the argumentation in the various documents are very different. The best way of illustrating this diversity is by briefly describing the documents analysed.

The press release by the three environmental groups, the IFOAM and EuroCoop stresses the widespread nature of the GM-free movement, but also carries through more of the frames that dominated in previous phases, namely the claim for EU coexistence legislation including the right to local bans, and the contamination risks argument. Its strongest frame, however, remains 'condemn Commission recommendation' – a frame that has entirely disappeared from the other documents examined. The conference 'statement of support' by the AER and the FoEE, meanwhile, comprises of a list of reasons for which they believe EU legislation should be drafted and GM-free zones allowed (separate but

linked frames rather than the bridged frame). Frames that were more prominent in the previous period in documents involving regional actors are also seen here, with emphases placed on regional rights, quality food products, and the polluter pays principle.

In the third document, produced by a conference in Bologna organised by Consumers International, the frames move more decidedly away from this rather EU-oriented direction. Here the emphasis is placed less on 'political' frames than on arguments strictly concerning GMOs: contamination risks, scientific evidence of GM contamination, and the rejection of the very concept of coexistence as impossible. Here then we find a very definite move away from the EU-level and towards a more grassroots level encompassing a generalised opposition to GMOs. The frames are inclusive, and although the frame of allow GM-free zones is present, this is preceded by the rejection of safe coexistence. Indeed, moving to the fourth document analysed, frames here continue to echo this approach. The stress is on the frame 'GM-free movement widespread and supported', closely followed by the demand to allow GM-free zones. Yet again these are backed up with more radical arguments compared to the more economics and rights oriented arguments found in the first two documents. Scientific evidence of contamination and the rejection frame appear again, along with 'threat to biodiversity' and 'end of organic food and farming if current approach taken'.

This brief description of the diverse range of frames found in this final period of the campaign suggest differences in argumentation and even in fundamental understandings of the problems. It seems to be the case that the campaign lost a more unified message in widening its appeal and becoming to some extent fused with wider and more general campaigns against GMOs. Although the majority of the frames used do not contradict the basic demand of the campaign, by now the demand to allow GM-free zones in the framework of European legislation, the rejection of the very concept of coexistence among some groups seriously compromises that demand. In terms of dialogue, in this period there is little evidence of bridging or other framing work between the different groups represented in the documents analysed. The approach seems rather to be an all-inclusive one, all arguments are admitted.

To sum up the story of framing at the European level in this campaign, the start of the campaign sees a very limited number of groups necessarily united in terms of frames as

joint authors of documents. With the second phase, which sees the real kick-off of the campaign in the GM-free initiatives, the core demand of the campaign evolves as do other frames. There is good evidence in this phase of frame bridging between environmental groups and regional representations. In the final phase of the campaign, however, this unified moment of joint actions dissipates, with frames diversifying among different actors.

3.2.2 Frames at the European and national levels

Shared frames among the EUSMOs do not give us a complete analysis however. In order to complete the picture, the following examines the extent of shared frames between the EU national groups involved in the coexistence campaign. In the first phase of the campaign the few European level groups involved delivered a highly united message. The two national documents analysed for the same period, from the French and UK Friends of the Earth groups, mostly, but not entirely, mirror this impression. The French document is in fact a reproduction of the joint press release albeit with some re-wording and additions to the original text. The document thus faithfully reproduces the framing of the European level document, with the addition of frames stating that organic farming would be rendered impossible under the current approach, and that clearly defined safety measures are needed, neither of which contradict nor weaken solidarity with the arguments presented at the European level. The reproduction of this document is explained by the fact that FoEE regularly circulate their press releases and other material to national groups in order to allow them some voice on issues they may not otherwise have the resources to cover (interview 2). Although this means that frames were not *constructed* together, it does show that shared understandings of the coexistence issue exist between the French and European levels. This is less so for the UK however. The Friends of the Earth UK document refers to its European counterpart, signalling dialogue between the two levels, but the document does not share the central frame demanding European level legislation. The frames condemning the Commission and calling for the polluter to pay are shared, but the emphasis here is placed on purely environmental arguments. In keeping with the lack of a demand for European legislation, and also with the fact that the European groups subsequently took up the national GM-free campaign, there is a more local focus to the framing used in this document.

Moving on to the second period, the frame grid presents a slightly misleading picture (see Appendix I). Because one of the documents analysed (the French petition) is much longer than the others, frames have more space to be repeated. However, once this difference is taken into account, the only significant change is a swap of the frames in first and second place in terms of frequency. Accordingly, the most important frames at the national level in the second phase of the campaign are various formulations of the observation that the GM-free movement has widespread support and is growing steadily – a frame that finds just two mentions at the European level. This could be a result of the specific aims of the different documents – while the national documents may aim more at spreading the GM-free initiative, the EU level groups’ documents are mainly designed to inform EU institutions of the initiative and its message. However, the fact that the European level groups adopt the GM-free approach and work to incorporate it into their central demand furnishes evidence that the European level has worked alongside national and local groups on this issue.

Following this frame in importance is the contamination risks argument against GMOs, a frame faithfully reflected at the EU level, although here less prone to fading out as the phase moves on. The polluter pays frame is also very frequent at the national level, showing that both European and national level groups share their criticisms of GMOs. Another interesting point for the European to national level comparison is the situation regarding the central demands of the campaign, which were bridged at the European level during this phase to include both the call for European legislation and the call to allow for GM-free zones. Neither of these demands features very strongly in the national level documents – again due to their aim of strengthening the movement as a direct solution to the problem of GMOs rather than making claims on institutions. Nevertheless, they do come up several times, although they are not bridged as at the European level, with the exception of the Friends of the Earth UK group, who explicitly publicise the EU level campaign and make comments about the European Commission. While there is still evidence of the GM-free zone frame being developed in dialogue between the European and national levels then, demands are not repeated to the same extent at both levels. Rather than representing a clash of interests, however, this seems more indicative of the different aims at the different levels, as already described.

During the third period of the campaign, the frames put forward by the European level groups became more diverse, reflecting the broadening EU level coalition. There were only two frames shared across three of the four documents at this level: ‘GM-free movement widespread’ and ‘allow GM-free zones’. The first of these is found in every single national document analysed, as consistent with the frame’s importance in the previous period. This also indicates, however, another instance of the European level groups taking up a frame originating at the national level. The second of the most frequent European frames, ‘allow GM-free zones’, appears in only one of the national documents. On the other hand, the European legislation demand, found only twice in the European documents (once in its bridged form), appears in half of the national documents analysed. This suggests that both levels are picking up on each others original demands – the European level stressing GM-free zones, and the national level beginning to do the same for the European level demand, complementing their emphasis on the widespread nature of the movement by seeking EU level rules. The contamination frame continues in its importance at both levels, and across time, and although the polluter pays frame becomes much less important, this is so for both levels, it being mentioned in only one European document and only one national. One apparent example of national groups taking up frames more commonly found at the European level is seen in this period with arguments related to ‘quality food’. This frame began with the regional governments before being taken on by European environmental groups and finally, in this period, pops up in the discourses of national environmental groups. This may be due to the publicity given to the Network’s successes on the GMO-free Europe website, or it may correspond to the fact that the groups have now begun to pick up the EU legislation demand. The quality food frame, which has more to do with regional markets than any environmental or public health concerns, may be judged as more convincing for EU actors. In any case, there is more evidence of dialogue in this frame shift.

In addition to these instances of frames moving between the European and national levels, the different national level documents also share a number of prominent frames (more so than in the previous period). This may indicate that the European coordination of national campaigns is contributing to their shared understandings, or that national groups are also directly in touch – likely as a result of the GM Free Europe website aiding in the loose linking of organisations over a single common goal (see Lance Bennett 2005). The frame ‘GM-free movement widespread’ is seen in all of the documents analysed, while

‘contamination risks’, ‘quality and organic food products’, ‘regional right to choose’, and ‘majority consumers do not want GM’ are all shared across three of the four.

The frame analysis carried out for the coexistence campaign suggests an argumentatively rather complex issue, where the frames and even the central demands shift across time. No strong line of argument, with the exception of the single frame on contamination risks, comes to the fore throughout the duration of the campaign as seen in the Bolkestein issue, for example. The analysis also turned up evidence of frames shifting not only from the European to the national level, but also from the national to the European, with the latter category including the assumption of a new campaign demand by the European groups. There is also evidence that as the campaign went on and became stronger the frames of different national groups also began to converge. There thus seems to have been more identity-building work (if such work is accepted as inherent in framing work) done during this campaign than in any of the others presented here – frames were consciously worked on in order to allow collaboration, as seen in other transnational campaigns (Juska and Edwards 2005:201). This, however, was not enough to secure the outcomes the campaigning groups desired.

3.3 Close but no cigar: political opportunities in the coexistence campaign

In this section, I shall describe how the various groups responded to both the fixed and the dynamic political opportunities and threats provided by the EU arena and the peculiarities associated to this campaign. For the sake of clarity, I shall begin by looking at the most important aspects of the campaign in the light of fixed political opportunities, and then move on to first describe and then narrate reactions to the campaign-specific dynamic political opportunities.

In the coexistence campaign, the environmental EUSMOs face a threat from the Commission in that they are not dealing with what I have termed their ‘natural partner’ DG, that is DG Environment. Instead, responsibility for the coexistence issue lies with DG Agriculture which, at the beginning of the campaign, showed its disregard for these groups by excluding them from the stakeholder discussion organised in April 2003.⁸⁵ This initial threat of being shut out from the official dialogue on coexistence saw two main reactions

⁸⁵ Indeed, Skogstad states that with the advent of the Prodi Commission an era of slack leadership on GM issues ended, fitting with the forthright attitude of the Commission before the change of 2004 (2003:330-31).

from the three environmental groups: they sought both to broaden their coalition, and to secure the support of another institution to bolster their position. In their immediate reaction to the fact that they had not been invited to the discussion, the groups joined forces with the IFOAM and the CPE – both of whom are, beyond the shadow of a doubt, ‘stakeholders’ in the coexistence issue. By uniting their call for inclusion with that of farmers’ groups, the environmental groups attempted to legitimise their claim to be included. Coalition building continues to be an important tactic throughout the campaign. For example, in addition to the bridging between the environmental and regional sides of the campaign through the coalition of the FoEE and the AER, the AER also branched out in its coalitions, beginning a series of annual conferences of GM free regions with the Foundation on Future Farming and Genet. Such conferences and parallel meetings were also been found to be important in expanding networks in the campaign against deforestation in Brazil by Keck and Sikkink (1998:140). On the environmental groups’ side, joint press releases in response to Commission actions were also extended to include EuroCoop. Broad as well as flexible (in that groups are in no way bound to participate in all actions or statements, but may choose to act together as and when they wish to do so) coalitions are thus an important and useful feature of this campaign in common with other transnational campaigns (Bandy and Smith 2005:244-245).

Indeed, coalition building emerges in interviews as the EUSMOs’ general reaction to the EU’s political opportunity structure – regardless of the content of the campaign. As seen in other case studies presented here, by forming coalitions the groups pool many different types of resources, such as staff, expertise, contacts with actors in institutions, national networks, and finances, so that they stand a chance of acting on an equal footing with their adversaries. In this particular campaign, one advantage of forming coalitions with other groups is particularly important: access to allies’ national member bases of EU citizens, without which the GM-free zone approach would not have seen any success - this will be explored more fully in the following sections on discursive opportunities. Sticking with the theme of the GM-free zone tactic, this can also be characterised as an adaptation to the political opportunity structure of the EU, in that it aims at making the most of its multi-level design. Since opportunities at the supranational level were scarce (the Commission closed – especially in the light of the Recommendation, the Council weak⁸⁶ and the

⁸⁶ In that throughout this campaign the Council did not manage to reach a qualified majority either for or against any motion connected with GMOs in general.

Parliament largely irrelevant in this non-legislative case) the groups move back to the grassroots level in an attempt to influence the EU from the bottom up, much as seen in the (albeit more successful) Bolkestein campaign. The importance of multi-level actions has also been noted by scholars of other EU campaigns (for example Hellferich and Kolb 2001:151). With the additional actions aimed at publicising the campaign at the European level, the groups thus hoped to achieve a ‘sandwich’ effect, placing pressure on the institutions from both above and below (interviews 3 and 8). For example, the Parliament, despite being formally powerless on the issue, was nevertheless sought out as a venue and an ally for the campaign, mostly by environmental groups who used it as an arena for ‘making noise’ (interview 6). The Commission, on the other hand, was subject to lobbying, especially following the change of Commission in 2004, mostly from the Network (interviews 5 and 7, Seifert 2006/7). These tactics can also be seen as exploiting the separation of powers in the EU.

Moving on to consider the EU’s need for ‘outside’ information sources as a result of the small size of the Commission in particular, the campaigning groups in this case are not considered as possessing information relevant to Commission decisions. The environmental groups in particular feel strongly about this, seeing comitology as a threat because of its lack of transparency, and its distance from ordinary citizens who, they sustain, have very different opinions (interview 9). The European Food Safety Authority (EFSA), mentioned in connection with authorisations for cultivating GM crops, is also highly mistrusted. Those groups who can (usually Greenpeace) continue to provide scientific evidence, but feel that this is either ignored or discounted (interview1). Amongst the regions, only Upper Austria provided scientific evidence in order to support its regional law prohibiting the cultivation of GM crops. This was, however, reviewed and subsequently overturned by the EFSA. The campaign is thus deprived of the advantage of being able to provide useful information to those with the power to act in their interests. Once again, the tactical response can be found in the turn to the grassroots campaign, a sort of ‘reverse boomerang’ (the boomerang pattern, developed by Keck and Sikkink (1998:12-13), describes a situation where national and/or local groups resort to the international level because national opportunities are closed) where the national and local levels are resorted to since the supranational level is closed. Fairbrass and Jordan have also noted such episodes, dating from as early as the 1970s, where environmental coalition of groups have exploited the European level in order to strengthen the Birds and Habitats directives, using

“EU opportunities to outflank politically the British government and achieve policy outcomes that may not have been secured through national channels of representation” (2001:514).

Altogether, the groups active in this campaign sought to exploit all the opportunities provided by the EU arena, especially by acting at the transnational, national, and local levels and by using a variety of tactics. This combination of a wide variety of tactics and actions at multiple levels has also been observed in other transnational campaigns led by environmental groups, for example in Smith’s (1999) study of the Greenpeace-led campaign on toxic wastes. The remaining variables pertaining to the EU’s political opportunity structure are not so helpful in analysing the tactics of the campaign, since they are both more suited to assessing legislative campaigns. I shall now turn to consider and describe the dynamic opportunities and threat of the coexistence campaign.

Table 5: Dynamic Political Opportunities in the Coexistence Campaign

Intra-elite conflict	No real conflict observed.
Proximity of elections	Mid-campaign. EP somewhat overlooked at beginning as a result. Commission become a little more open with change.
Electoral Instability	Not relevant for this campaign (non-legislative)
Contingent events	Ongoing WTO trade dispute, legal decisions on Upper Austrian case, attitudes of new member states to GMOs.
Position held by ally	European Parliament; regional governments; Austrian presidency.
Ability of ally to fulfil promises	EP have no power to initiate legislation, regions have more leverage with Commission, presidency able to steer debates and prioritise GMO issues.
Hostile elites	Commission (DG Agriculture)
Presence of counter movements	None present.

Because the coexistence campaign is long and somewhat more complex than the other case studies presented here (due to the fact that it does not deal with the progress of a legislative proposal), the dynamic opportunities vary more. Nevertheless, I shall stick to the order of the variables as presented in chapter one, as far as those variables are useful for analysing the campaign.

No significant intra-elite conflict was observed in this particular campaign, and so I shall begin by looking at the role of elections in the campaign. The most significant change signalled by the elections in 2004 was of course the change in the Commission that accompanies them. An apparent upturn for the campaign thus took place in the second period of the campaign with the appointment of the new Commissioner for agriculture, Mariann Fischer-Boel. As the former Danish minister for agriculture, she was responsible for the drafting and passing of the very first member state coexistence law, mentioned as useful for the campaign in the sense that the Commissioner was familiar with the intricacies of the issue (interview 1). More importantly, however, and referring back to opportunities for dialogue, the new Commissioner signalled a re-opening of possibilities for dialogue, albeit mostly with the regions (interviews 2, 5, 7 and 8). This apparent (but, in the event, inconsequential) opening up in the Commission is immediately followed by the launch of the joint campaign of the FoEE and the AER for a legislative framework on coexistence. Following a period very much focussed on the bottom-up GM-free approach, this indicates their appreciation of a change in opportunities. A new Commission is also perceived as obliged to assert their identity as distinct from the old Commission: “..but the new Commission has one problem – that they need to move on. So they have to take into account the feelings of the Europeans. So this is why, at the end of the day they are more or less prepared to change” (interview 8).

One contingent event played a particularly important role in the campaign in terms of its impact on outcomes. This was the complaint brought against the EU in 2003 within the WTO over the de facto moratorium on GMOs and other related issues, or more precisely the ruling on it.⁸⁷ It should be noted that this contingent event could also be classified as a transnational hostile elite, as will be further discussed in chapter seven. This dispute is

⁸⁷ For more detailed information on this trade dispute see http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds293_e.htm

very useful in explaining the Commission's stance at both the beginning and the end of the campaign. In 2003, it is easy to imagine the Commission feeling constrained in their actions by WTO obligations - if previous European restrictive actions were being disputed, the Commission would logically be unwilling to expose themselves to further risks in the future by introducing yet more restrictive legislation. Towards the end of the campaign, as the first reports of the WTO panel's ruling leaked out at the beginning of 2006, the Commission hastily withdrew the hints it had been making about European level legislation, with Commissioner Fischer-Boel stating that this would not take place at the Austrian presidency's Vienna conference. The WTO case thus neatly explains the twists and turns of the Commission's stance in this campaign, because the EU, as the representative of all EU member states at the WTO, must take its obligations there seriously, considering them more binding than any duty to react to public opinion within its borders. Although it is not, of course, the only factor in explaining the overall outcome of this campaign, since many other obstacles, both legal and practical, also play their role, it certainly seems plausible that this ruling against the EU was the straw that broke the camel's back. In terms of reactions to this situation amongst the campaigning groups, the ruling was widely condemned by both national and European groups in various press releases and newsletters, not least because of the secrecy of the process. In addition, the case was the subject of a separate, even more active and widespread protest campaign, again headed by the FoEE.⁸⁸

Highlighting the legal constraints on the Commission vis-à-vis the GM-free zone movement is the Upper Austrian ban – again an event which could be reclassified by describing the European Court of Justice as a hostile elite. As Seifert succinctly puts it, the rejection of this blanket ban “had to be expected; a blanket veto imposed on all GMOs (...) is at odds with key principles of EU regulation” (2006/7:22). The path chosen by Upper Austria, as opposed to the more practical path chosen by Carinthia, he notes, was admitted to be a test case to see how far a ban could be pushed (ibid:31). This aside, Upper Austria's determination to push the issue of GM-free zones also led it to form the Network – a move recalling social movement tactics decidedly unusual for a regional government (ibid). In addition, the Upper Austrian legal challenges were lauded by the environmental

⁸⁸ The “Bite Back” campaign against the WTO, which included the launch of a touring monster GM tomato across Europe. Local groups used this resource to stage their own anti-WTO protests (the common slogan being “WTO hands off our food”. More information on this is available from the Friends of the Earth Europe website: www.foeeurope.org.

groups, and perhaps contributed to their decision to explore the legal possibilities of bans through their GMO-free Europe site. The website set up by the FoEE, GM-free Europe, draws on the legal guide developed by the Austrians, and also provides other examples of regional bans. In another legal challenge at the very end of the second period, FoE UK published a legal opinion declaring that the Commission's approach to coexistence was not in line with existing Community legislation, and therefore illegal. This was taken up by FoEE, who linked this opinion to the Commission communication on GMOs marking the beginning of the third period. Although interview evidence reveals no direct link between these two groups of actions, some indirect inspiration (or diffusion) between the two can certainly be supposed.

A final contingent event of some import to the campaign, that straddles the classifications of contingent event and elite allies, was the attitudes of the majority of the new member states to GMOs. The environmental groups assert that not only they, but the Commission, had erred in their judgement that the new members would tend to be pro-GM (interviews 2, 8). In the event, as shown by their votes on GM application dossiers for cultivation, as well as the widespread nature of the GM-free movement in several of these (the most prominent example being Poland), the new member states were quite the opposite. There is no reaction to this as such in terms of campaigning techniques (the decision to ask a Polish MEP to sponsor the AER and FoEE's conference perhaps aside) but it is interesting to note that this probably prolonged the campaign, in that it had the effect of continuing the split in the Council of Ministers in votes on GM issues.

In general, elite allies are more numerous than would be expected for a campaign that does not reach its desired outcome if compared to other cases presented in this study. This only holds, however, if we do not also take into consideration each ally's 'ability to fulfil promises', i.e. what degree of power they have in securing the campaign's desired outcome. The Parliament can thus also be considered as an elite ally of the campaign. Considered by all the groups, in all the campaigns studied for that matter, as a natural partner - or at least more open to campaigns by NGOs - the Parliament is chosen as the arena for many of the conferences that took place during the campaign. More specifically, the Parliament also adopted an own-initiative report on co-existence in December 2003⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ The Council show no sign of either opposition or support for the Commission's approach on GMOs in general.

This placed the Parliament in firm opposition to the views of the Commission, as the document mirrors the opinions of the environmental groups as well as the Network. Although the groups were not involved in drafting the report (interviews 1 and 2), the MEP responsible for it, Graefe zu Baringdorf, is seen as a “friend” (interview 2) and the Greens/EFA group to which he belongs consider themselves as close to the environmental groups (interview 3). However, there was no reaction from the campaigning groups aimed at maximising this report’s effect. In fact, interview material shows that although they were happy about the report, and generally consider the Parliament as an important institution to pit against the Commission, the groups did not consider the document a campaign tool. This lack of consideration for the Parliament as an important ally is also seen in the Lisbon agenda campaign, but is surprising considering the importance of the Parliament in the outcomes of the legislative cases.

On the other hand, contributing to this apparently missed opportunity is the fact that the environmental groups were concentrating on building up the GM-free approach at the time of the report’s adoption, as well as the fact that elections were close. Elections to the European Parliament took place in July 2004, and resulted in a swing to the right in the body’s composition. The result of this outcome in terms of elite allies may be argued to be one of watering down the Parliament’s highly critical position, since voted for by a previous body of MEPs. In confirmation of this view, the FoEE, who may be said to have relied more passively on the previous Parliament’s support after the publication of the opinion in December 2003, now returned to the Parliament, with the sponsorship of a centre-right Polish MEP, to launch their new joint project with the AER in September 2004 – that is immediately after the resumption of Parliament business following the election. This move combines two uses of the Parliament – on the one hand a right-wing ally is sought in order to demonstrate the non-ideological nature of the issue (see below), and on the other the Parliament is used as an arena, a sounding board for launching the campaign. This rather minimal use of the Parliament as an ally can be explained by considering the variable examining allies’ ability to fulfil their promises. In terms of real leverage with the Commission the Parliament is not able to force a legislative proposal. In a certain light, we may also consider the regions of the Network as elite allies, due to their positions as elected

representatives rather than EUSMOs in a strict sense.⁹⁰ They certainly provide a new lease of life to the campaign in terms of the authority with which they invest the GM-free approach, and also gain an important foothold with the Commission (after the 2004 change), who meet with and officially recognise their efforts – tinting the environmental groups’ efforts by association.

Towards the end of the campaign, the cards seem to be stacked in the campaigning groups’ favour. An apparent opening up in the Commission, the widespread nature of the GMO-free zone movement, a supportive European Parliament and finally the Austrian presidency seem to spell the good fortunes of the anti-GMO lobby. The Austrians were openly in favour of EU level coexistence legislation, and stated that they would treat GMO issues as a priority for their presidency. A more tangible opportunity was provided by the Presidency in the shape of the GMO conference in Vienna held in April 2006. Invitations to participate and contribute were, for the first time by an EU institution, extended to the various campaigning groups at the conference of European GM-free regions in January 2006. This ally was unique in its ability to fulfil its promises – the presidency may steer discussions within the Council to some degree, bringing the possibility of legislation closer (since the Council may request the Commission to initiate legislation). Relations between the campaigning groups and the presidency also ran deeper than simple conference participation - indications were given of some ‘behind the scenes’ work with presidency representatives (interview 8). This apparent alliance between a member state and an EUSMO campaign recalls Warleigh’s findings on the Auto Oil directive (Warleigh 2000:233). However, here an alliance with the member state holding the EU presidency is deemed more important than alliances with other member states by the coalition.

The Commission, and more specifically DG Agriculture, are of course the number one elite ‘enemies’ in this campaign – although this position shifts during the campaign as seen above. Following the appointment of the new Commission in 2004 there is a degree of friendliness and openness between the institution and the Network. The reactions to this hostile elite are clear from a very early point for the environmental groups. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, resorting to a grassroots campaign reminiscent of the successful tactics that brought about the de facto moratorium is the logical as well as tried and tested

⁹⁰ I include the Network here in the list of ‘elite allies’ not only because of their positions as elected politicians, but also because it is also clear that such campaigning activities are highly unusual for these actors. See Seifert (2006/7).

reaction to a closed Commission. The regions, on the other hand, secure favour by exploiting their position as elected representatives, as will be seen in relation to discursive opportunities. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Commission in this campaign is perhaps less hostile and intransigent than merely constrained by legal commitments – i.e. the Treaties and WTO rules. Finally, no real counter movement is present during the campaign. Although the biotechnology industry is sometimes seen as having an effect on the outcome of the debate, for example through stakeholder meetings, and over-representation on scientific committees and in the European Food Safety Authority, they did not actively campaign against the environmental groups.

To sum up this section on the fixed and dynamic political opportunities and how these are exploited or avoided during the campaign, we can note that, similarly to the other campaigns included here, the political opportunity structure of the EU is well known to the groups, who act accordingly. The main threat of a closed Commission is, again as in other campaigns, contrasted with a return to the grassroots and the bottom up tactic of the GM-free zone approach. In addition, a broad and loose coalition of groups is built up around the issue. In terms of dynamic opportunities, these are certainly more abundant than in the REACH campaign, the other case where the desired outcome was not achieved: the campaign disposes of several weighty allies towards the end of the period of analysis in the shape of the Parliament, the regions (also a part of the campaign) and the Austrian presidency, and even the hostile Commission seems to be open to persuasion by the regions. However, one contingent event seems to scupper all of these chances – the unfavourable ruling by the WTO. Other studies have also noted the importance of contingent opportunities (although without labelling them as such), for example – in a positive sense – Juska and Edwards (2005:193). As seen in the Lisbon and Bolkestein cases, where the positive effects of the rejected Constitutional Treaty secure the efforts of these campaigns, this contingent event appears to break the coexistence campaign with its superior claims on the attention of the Commission and member states alike.

3.4 Repeating tactics: discursive opportunities in the coexistence campaign

The first of the fixed discursive opportunities outlined in chapter one is the legitimacy discourse. It is interesting to note that this discourse is understood by the campaigning groups in a similar manner, that is they are aware that they may provide a source of extra

legitimacy to a Commission seeking to improve its democratic image, as is illustrated by the following quote from an interview with Greenpeace:

“the Commission is not an elected body, they don’t have legitimacy by themselves because they are not elected, they are criticised, they have been criticised a lot for the measures they were taking, you know and it’s just basically full of technocrats taking the decisions. *So the Commission in order to ensure the legitimacy of the decision has to be more open than a national government and has to be seen as widely consulting so-called civil society in order to legitimise the decision basically.*” (interview 1, emphasis added)

As may be guessed from the tone here, however, this need for legitimacy is not seen as an opportunity by Greenpeace. This perceived threat to open discourse with the Commission is very closely linked to the conditions presented in relation to the openness of the latter institution to dialogue. In fact, from the interviews conducted it appears that whilst the less confrontational groups (such as the EEB) are more satisfied with their dialogues with the Commission, the more confrontational groups are not. Greenpeace in particular are sharp in condemning the fact that groups such as theirs, “which defend the general interest”, are placed in the same ‘stakeholder’ box alongside industry groups (interview 1). FoEE are also suspicious, for example: “Because I have been in the meetings with DG Trade, and I always have the impression that we are very strong, but that the biotech companies are never there. So in the end they are going by other circles or in another way to lobby the Commission” (interview 2). In other words, the supposed discursive opportunity linked with the legitimacy discourse does not come to light in a straightforward manner in this campaign. Instead, the groups feel threatened by the discourses of industry groups, similarly to the REACH campaign. Group level reactions to this situation vary - groups who are more satisfied with their relations with the Commission emphasise the importance of contacts (on the importance of personal contacts with employees of institutions see Keck and Sikkink 1998:148, Caniglia 2001:50-52). Other groups with more difficult relationships do not abandon attempts to talk to the body though, although they do concentrate on more protest-based tactics (this is the case for Greenpeace in particular). The idea behind the groups’ approaches is very much related to transparency:

“... if you want, the big difference between our lobbying activity and the industry activity is that they need to lobby behind closed doors. And they are successful. When we open,

when the institution, when the decision-making process is like glass, a building of glass, transparent, and peoples, citizens, are one of the key players, then they have lost!” (interview 8).

Another main reaction has already been explored under the heading of political opportunities. Coalition building is also seen as giving lobbying efforts more weight, “...because like that we have billions of EU citizens behind us and that gives us more power, more weight and helps influence some things” (interview 4, for similar findings see Keck and Sikkink 1998:22). Legitimacy is thus, although not seen as an automatic opportunity, brought in to bolster the groups’ position. By arguing that their members are interested EU citizens rather than profit-seeking businesses gives gravitas to arguments outweighed in number by those of industry groups. Legitimacy is also one of the reasons behind the bridging of the campaigns by the regions and the environmental groups. The regional governments joined in the Network are *elected* by EU citizens, unlike the Commission itself. As an available ally regional governments are theoretically highly desirable, bringing more than the usual advantages of a broad coalition, they are also directly representative in the classical democratic sense.

As for the opportunities that may derive from stressing the non-ideological character of the GMO issue, the groups were, as already mentioned, careful to ensure that MEPs from both the Greens and the EPP were used as sponsors for their conferences at that institution. There was no other evidence that the non-ideological nature of the issue lessened the controversy surrounding the debates at all. Indeed, according to the interviews each member state appears to be firmly pro (Finland) or anti (Austria) GMOs regardless of the political persuasion of their government. Few opportunities thus flowed from this variable. Moving on, the perception of the ‘unknown effects’ discourse is, as we have already seen, prominent in the groups’ arguments for strict European legislation and GM-free zones, especially in the contamination risks frames. However, neither the precautionary principle, nor the inability of scientists to identify all possible risks, are arguments drawn on to any great extent. This is indicative of a more long-term discursive shift in the wider GMO campaign. While at earlier stages groups had been adamant that GMOs should not be cultivated at all, with the passing of the labelling and traceability legislation and discussions on ‘coexistence’, the possibility of cultivating GM crops was admitted, thereby reducing the relevance of the precautionary principle. If the latter were to be absolutely

applied to the letter, GMOs would be banned entirely, since their possible effects cannot be predicted.⁹¹ As for previous events or campaigns contributing to the increased salience of public health issues, in the coexistence case the interview evidence shows that previous health scares have provided if not opportunities as such, then a context that makes the anti-GMO discourse possible in the first place. For example, the following quote from an interview with the EEB makes it clear that previous events such as BSE render certain arguments more salient.

“For instance, biotechnology is one field where there has been a clear change. I remember in the very beginning I sometimes went to some of the meetings in the Commission, all simply because we didn’t have an expert working on it but wanted at least to keep updated on what was going on. [...] industry was very strong, and I remember the frustration from the other organisations saying we participate in the meeting, we submit our points, and nothing has actually been taken up in the next version of the official text. With BSE this changed a lot. Because that created public awareness, and also public concern. And that put pressure on the Commission to take this concern more into account, and that also showed people how things can happen with biotechnology.” (interview 4)

That said, parallels between the coexistence campaign and the previous anti-GM campaigns that led to the de facto moratorium are visible. The interviews made it clear that a more general argument used by the Network in meetings with the Commission is that of there really being no market left for GM products in the EU, since the public are so against them (interviews 5 and 6). This argument, backed up by the proliferation of GM-free zones which so physically confirm its reality, appears to be an attempt to place the Commission and the EU in general in a position similar to that in which it found itself prior to declaring the moratorium. Individual member states, faced with massive opposition from their citizens expressed effectively through pressure on large food retailers, who in order to preserve their clientele progressively banned GM products from their shelves, found themselves forced to react by making official a situation that was already an effective *fait accompli* (Kettner 2001). In this sense, a parallel is clear – it was hoped that the EU institutions, faced with a growing number of GM-free zones and the reality of a shrunken market, would be forced to legalise an existing situation. Although they do not expressly

⁹¹ On this discursive shift, as well as a discussion of the use of the term ‘coexistence’ and its peaceful connotations as derived from its use during the cold war, see Levidow and Boschert (2007). On the reasons behind the environmental groups’ decision to cease their outright opposition to GMOs, see Skogstad (2003).

draw this comparison, there is evidence that the groups share this idea (interviews 1, 5, 8). Keck and Sikkink make a similar comment on how the campaign against deforestation in Sarawak in Malaysia drew on the successful form of the recent campaign on whaling (1998:150, 154). Both the co-existence campaign and the previous campaign on GM foods counter the view that the sub-national level is “unpromising” in terms of leverage over EU issues (Rucht 2001:134), indicating that this tactic is both innovative and recent in the repertoire of EU campaigning. Another example of the campaign’s benefiting from previous campaigns – although it does not strictly fit into the category of *discursive* opportunities, was the opportunity to draw together pre-existing national and local campaigns against the cultivation of GM crops in the GM-Free Europe campaign site. By drawing on the strength of grassroots campaigns already underway for some time, a new boost and a ready spring of local level support was brought to the EU-level campaign.

I shall now turn to look at the more dynamic and campaign-specific discursive opportunities and threats. At the beginning of the campaign, discursive threats are contained in the first Commission communication. First is the Commission’s definition of coexistence itself – as a purely economic issue. The reasoning behind this is that other legislation on GMOs has already dealt with environmental and health aspects, and therefore coexistence rules should deal exclusively with economic consequences, such as liability, payment for protective measures and so on. This definition is obviously a threat to the environmental groups’ discourse on GMOs, since it implies that ‘peaceful’ coexistence is already possible (interviews 1, 2, and 7). What is most interesting about this threat is the additional logic it supplies to the subsequent bridging of the environmental groups’ campaign with that of the Network – for these regional groups such a definition is less of a threat, as for them the whole logic of GM-free zones is economic gain - they want GM-free zones in order to protect their quality food production. Bridging the two campaigns thus has the bonus of bridging the environmental and economic discourses as well.⁹²

The second important aspect of dynamic discursive opportunities in this first period is the lack of response on the environmental groups’ part to the Commission discourse of GMO-free zones. Although far from uniformly favourable to these, they are raised by the Commission in response to their proliferation as one possible solution to the problems of coexistence. The communication dismisses the possibility of there being any legal basis

⁹² Again, for an account of the coexistence campaign as a clash of discourses, see Levidow and Boschert (2007).

for them, seeing any such zones as based on voluntary agreements only. Nevertheless, this is a clear opportunity, even an invitation, to push the GM-free argument. Yet as we already know, there is no mention of this approach at this stage in the campaign. Perhaps this is connected to a bigger threat implied in this communication – that those opposed to the cultivation of GMOs should foot the bill for protective measures. This is of course strenuously denounced by the environmental groups who invoke another generally applicable EU policy principle – ‘polluter pays’. Indeed, the swift disappearance of this suggestion from subsequent Commission documents may qualify as another outcome of the campaign.

The GM-free zone campaign that comes to the fore in the second phase of the campaign brings to light a new discursive threat at the European level – the threat of the very label of ‘coexistence’ itself, a term seldom used outside the Brussels arena. The GM-free approach thus allows the issue to be more easily ‘sold’ to grassroots members, in turn helping the campaign react better to the multi-level design of the EU. “There are local groups who don’t like to speak about coexistence but they like to speak about GMO-free zones. So they are going to do more work on that, because coexistence at the end is a legal term that is used in the EU. ...if you want to work with the grassroots it’s probably too scientific and legal issues, so the GMO-free zone aim is more concrete so they will prefer that” (interview 2). The narrow definition of coexistence is also tackled on another front by the Network via their aforementioned frame of quality food production, backed up with the argument that different legislation in every member state will lead to the distortion of the internal market. The Network use a series of economic arguments to wrong foot the Commission on their own discursive ground – regional particularities are highlighted in response to the institution’s assertion that the particular conditions in each member state require separate national laws. Continuing that line of logic, regional particularities should therefore also be respected (by allowing GM-free zones)!

The third period of the campaign brings some significant discursive opportunities contained in the new Commission’s communication. A close look at this documents shows that, apart from the more obvious opportunity brought with the express recognition of the Network, which opened the door to a series of meetings with Commissioners, the document even

takes on some of the movement's own frames from previous periods.⁹³ To take some examples, the document recognises that 'public and political concerns with GMOs continue', and that major retailers are reluctant to market GM food (Commission 2005a). Such points have been shown to be important factors for the groups during the campaign, and factors that the Commission has never before drawn attention to. However, this period also brings the contingent political threat of the WTO ruling, and judging by the amount of press releases devoted to the attempt to rubbish this, all efforts were at this point being poured into this rather than into the exploitation of the discursive opportunities provided by the Commission communication – especially since the April conference saw the agriculture Commissioner withdrawing from her previously more open stance.

Another discursive tactic of the Commission that also becomes clear when looking back over the campaign as a whole is that, as compared to the social cases, there are an inordinate amount of meetings, conferences and discussions on the coexistence issue involving the Commission or other European institutions. From the first of the Commission's stakeholder meetings, to the campaigning groups conferences set up in reaction to this, to the Austrian presidency's conference at the end of the campaign, it is remarkable that much talking and little action takes place. In addition, the Commission stalls its review of the recommendations continually at the end of the campaign, after waiting for one report on the implementation of member state legislation in March 2006, it ordered another due this year (2008) but yet to be published. This would seem to echo the filibustering techniques employed to delay the publication of the REACH proposal – by extending consultations almost indefinitely, the Commission may be theorised to be deferring the point at which they must take a decision sure to provoke the ire of some party or other while in the public eye. By delaying, the issue may lose steam, diffusing the tensions surrounding the decision. In this case, the Commission was most likely playing for time whilst awaiting the WTO panel's decision over the trade dispute. Whatever their intentions, however, the campaigning groups' tactic, as already described, of attempting to force a decision corresponding to an already existing reality of GMO-free zones, did not triumph against this long and drawn-out discussion.

⁹³ The agriculture Commissioner even went so far as to go to the offices of the Tuscan region for a meeting with the Network, highlighting her apparent willingness for dialogue at that stage of the campaign.

In conclusion, discursive opportunities in the coexistence campaign were – as with political opportunities - plentiful and indeed exploited, but to little avail once the WTO’s negative ruling became clear. Fixed opportunities such as the legitimacy discourse were acknowledged by the campaigning groups, although generally suspicious of the Commission paying only lip-service to real dialogue, but perhaps the most important of these was the attempt to re-create some of the circumstances of the previous campaign that had led to the de facto moratorium some years before. An important discursive threat in the shape of the Commission’s framing of the coexistence issue in economic terms was overcome by the Networks own framing work, and the bridging of the two campaigns, leading to opportunities for the Network in particular (opportunities also linked to their status as elected representatives) which was subsequently recognised by the Commission in an official document.

3.5 Recognition not legislation: the outcomes of the coexistence campaign

The real question arising from these analyses is of course how did these actions on the part of the EUSMOs contribute to outcomes in the coexistence case? Before tackling this subject, however, we must specify exactly what those outcomes were. Of the three types of outcomes of interest in this study, two are seen during the campaign. At the beginning of the second phase of the campaign, marked by the publication of the Commission’s recommendations on coexistence, the idea that those opposed to the cultivation of GMOs should foot the bill for protective measures disappears from the text. This may be classified as a policy outcome of the first phase of the campaign. With the beginning of the third phase of the campaign, on the other hand, we see an access outcome for the Network, who are explicitly recognised in the 2005 (Barroso) Commission communication, a fact which leads to several meetings with Commissioners. This outcome may also be applied to the EUSMO campaign as a whole, since the communication also admits that “The Commission continues to receive an important amount of correspondence from regions and municipalities declaring themselves ‘GMO-free’” (Commission 2005), a statement that almost certainly also applies to ‘GM-free zones’ created as a result of the campaigns of local environmental SMOs. Regarding the explicitly stated aim of the campaign, i.e. European level legislation on coexistence rules, and the recognition of the right to declare

GM-free zones,⁹⁴ neither of these is forthcoming at the end of the campaign as defined in this case study.⁹⁵

To trace the processes that led to these outcomes, as well as the failure to secure the policy outcome that formed the essential goal of the campaign, we must look back at the results of the theoretical analyses presented in this chapter. The following table provides a succinct summary of each these for each phase of the campaign in order to facilitate the exercise.

Table 6: Summary of the coexistence campaign by phase

Phase	Extent of shared frames	Political Opportunities	Discursive Opportunities
1	High congruence at EU level – frames condemn Commission and demand EU legislation. National level largely in line with EU level.	Threat closed Commission – seek to widen coalition and use EP (separation of powers exploited).	Threats in Commission communication language – limit to economic effects.
2	Frame bridge EU legislation and GM-free zones, frames less congruent than phase 1. Pick up quality food frame. National level focus on widespread nature of movement. Diagnostic frames similar to EU level.	Coalitions strong between regions and envi. Groups, also strong multi-level campaign (GM-free Europe), ally in Austrian Presidency. New Commission more open to discussion esp. with regions.	Exploit legitimacy opportunity / respond to economic arguments by linking campaign with regions'. GM-free approach recalls previous campaign that led to moratorium. Commission continue to delay reports.
3	EU level frames very diverse, core demand overtaken by motivational frame on widespread movement. National level picks up EU legislation	Opportunity in Austrian Presidency conference – inclusion in official discussion. Commission closes following WTO ruling.	Commission communication expressly recognises Network and widespread movement. Filibustering continues (until WTO

⁹⁴ The Commission does recognise the possibility for GMO-free zones on a strictly private basis. The campaign explicitly asks for legal recognition or the right to make blanket bans at the level of local authorities.

⁹⁵ The end of this campaign is of course somewhat artificially imposed for the purposes of this study, although there is certainly a serious scaling down of activities that coincides with this imposed end. Nevertheless, the demands of the campaign may be granted at some later date. At the time of writing (February 2008) this is not the case.

	demand, quality food frame, emphasise widespread movement. Diagnostic frames similar to EU level and amongst national groups.		ruling).
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It is relatively easy to trace the processes leading to the policy outcome of the concession on liability contained in the Commission Recommendations that mark the beginning of the second phase of the campaign. Glancing at the synoptic table, the relative weakness of the campaign is notable. Discursive and political threats are present in the Commission's words and actions, especially their exclusion of EUSMOs from the roundtable discussion that is publicly credited as the source of the Recommendations (Commission 2003: 7). The campaigning groups do share frames to a great extent at this early phase, however it should be remembered that the campaign was still fairly low key at this point. The biggest event that had been held was the conference at the European Parliament. According to the conference report, the point that GM authorisation holders rather than those wishing to be protected from GM admixture should pay is certainly made, in keeping with the findings from the frame analysis that showed the unity of the campaign's message at this early stage. It is also true that people from the Commission (from various DGs), MEPs, farmers' unions, national government advisors and experts and regional government representatives attended this conference, alongside the environmental groups. A member of Fischler's cabinet was even a speaker.⁹⁶

Yet the fact remains that the Commission's stakeholder meeting, from which the campaigning groups were excluded, is the explicitly acknowledged source for the Recommendations. While receiving a similar message from EUSMOs may have added another reason for the Commission's change of heart, it is unconvincing to apportion any real credit for this policy outcome to the work of the EUSMOs when the contents of the Recommendations had to all intents and purposes already been decided when the conference took place, and none were present at the roundtable meeting. In line with such a conclusion, none of the campaigning groups interviewed claimed any part in this outcome, in either interviews or public documents. Summing up this conclusion in

⁹⁶ Information from the conference report 'GMOs: co-existence or contamination'? Drafted by Friends of the Earth Europe.

theoretical terms, the actions taken by the EUSMOs in response to the prevailing discursive and political threats they faced came too late to be causally linked in any convincing manner with the policy outcome observed.

The second outcome of the campaign, the access outcome for the Network as a result of their recognition in the second of the Commission's communications, follows the completion of the second phase of the campaign. The number of factors that could plausibly have contributed to this outcome is correspondingly higher, but many are attributable to the regions themselves. As the summary table reminds us, the second phase of the coexistence campaign is a theoretically near-perfect scenario. In terms of shared frames the second phase saw the adoption of the GM-free frame (that is the frame demanding that local and regional bans be allowed) from national campaigns that had already secured some success, and its bridging with the EUSMO demand of European legislation. This evidence of dialogue and a united front in terms of the understanding of problems was echoed in the responses to the threats posed by a closed Commission: by adopting the GM-free approach the EUSMOs secured a forceful multi-level tactic, and at the EU level they broadened their campaign by building bridges to the parallel (and complementary to the GM-free approach) Network. This approach also solved the discursive threats of the Commission's argument that the issue be limited to economic issues, since this was a major frame in the region's work. Elite allies in the shape of the Austrian Presidency, not to mention the change of the Commission bringing hope through signals that the coexistence issue was once again open to discussion, delivered yet more opportunities to the now strong, widespread campaign. All this would lead to the conclusion that the access outcome observed had much to do with the EUSMO campaign.

Nevertheless, a closer examination does reveal some caveats to such a conclusion. It is important to remember, for example, that the Commission had already recognised the possibility of GM-free zones, albeit on a strictly voluntary basis between private citizens, in their first communication on coexistence in 2003. Since then, they had also approved numerous local and regional laws prohibiting the cultivation of GMOs on a case-by-case basis, as compatible with European legislation (see Seifert 2006/7). Awareness of GM-free zones and their growing popularity was therefore relatively old news to the Commission. It was therefore not the EUSMO campaign (as defined as beginning in 2003) that originally brought the movement to the institution's attention, but notifications from the regions and

municipalities of the member states and therefore indirectly the campaigns of local SMOs that were subsequently linked through the efforts of the EUSMOs. Even taking this nuance into account, however, the fact remains that the outcome remains attributable to the work of a campaign rather than other circumstances or actors.

The very specific mention bestowed on the Network leads us to surmise that the latter's political efforts were also a significant factor leading to this outcome, combined with the fact that regional governments are made up of elected representatives, and are therefore in an optimal position to exploit the discursive opportunity of legitimacy according to which such actors will have a stronger claim on the Commission's attention. The Upper Austrian region's attempts to secure a blanket ban through its legal challenges also drew attention to their resolve to remain GMO-free, which helped to keep the issue on the Commission's agenda. And of course the work of the wider GM-free campaign had a similar effect of keeping the issue visible and salient, blurring the distinctions between the Network and an even more widespread phenomenon stretching throughout the EU. It is therefore safe to conclude that the Network's recognition was indeed a consequence of the campaign's work, even if the GM-free issue pre-dates it – no actions by any other actors took place between the actions by the EUSMOs and this access outcome, nor did any particular circumstance unconnected to the campaign contribute to the heightened salience of GM-free zones. The causal path is unusually direct. It is difficult to judge exactly which of the factors mentioned as relevant to the outcome was relatively more significant, but since all are attributable to the campaigning groups, this is less important for the purposes of this study.

The real dilemma in discussing the outcomes of this campaign however is the *lack* of the final outcome sought by the campaigning groups. If we compare the coexistence case to the other campaigns presented in this study, for example, we see that the campaign has many of the ingredients that contributed to the positive outcomes of the social campaigns – relatively few political and discursive threats, which are, where met, mostly overcome with skill. Looking back at the glittering evaluation of the campaign in the second phase, it remains difficult to pin down the reason for the ultimate lack of the policy outcome sought. In addition the coexistence campaign also has the strongest levels of identity through shared frames of all the cases presented, as it is the only to present real evidence of framing work, and thus meaning creation, taking place between the campaigning groups.

Considering all of this, it is logically to the third phase of the campaign that we must turn in order to discover the reason for this lack.

The framing work seen in the second phase of the campaign seems to begin to come undone in the third and final phase. As the number of EUSMOs involved rose, the messages of the campaign became more and more diverse. Although the strength and coherence of the national and local movement continued, the European level groups failed to continue to deliver a consistent message in the third phase. It is interesting to note that this situation coincides with the Austrian Presidency's conference on coexistence and the long-awaited inclusion of the EUSMOs in the official discussions on the issue, the fact that this shortcoming in framing occurs at this particular point in the story means that it could be one of the reasons behind the ultimate failure to secure the policy outcome. Yet this conclusion does not stand up to close scrutiny – firstly because the conference may (despite the best intentions of the Austrian presidency) be seen as simply another episode in the Commission's filibustering of the issue, rendering the actual content of EUSMOs' messages redundant; and secondly because as rumours of the negative WTO trade dispute ruling spread during that very conference, the agriculture Commission Mariann Fischer-Boel promptly quashed the possibility of European level legislation in her speech, thus backtracking on previous signs of her inclination for such a move.⁹⁷

Bearing this reasoning in mind, the conclusion that the contingent event of the WTO's negative ruling on the trade dispute over the moratorium is the only remaining explanation according to the analytical model presented in chapter two. All other possible causal paths have been considered and discarded, and because it is a non-outcome that we are seeking to explain it is to this circumstance, the only other remaining threat apparent in the third period of the campaign, that we must turn. Indeed, the conclusion that the unwelcome outcome of the trade dispute over GMOs within the auspices of the WTO was instrumental in convincing the Commission not to legislate on coexistence, or to attempt any legalisation of local cultivation bans, makes perfect sense considering the sudden u-turn by the agriculture Commissioner at the Vienna conference in April 2006, despite her previous recognition of the Network and the wider GM-free movement. In addition, this conclusion

⁹⁷ The Agriculture Commissioner Fischer-Boel confirmed at the Austrian Presidency's April 2006 conference that there would be no legislation on coexistence. At the same conference the Environment Commissioner Dimas made a speech underlining his worries about the issue.

makes sense not only in terms of the strict universe of this case, but also in terms of the importance of WTO membership to the EU. The EU's legal obligations to this organisation, as well as its dependence on good economic relations with the rest of the world, easily overruled the efforts of regional governments and environmental groups. As will also be seen in other case studies included here, a contingent event proves itself the crux of the campaign, making, or in this case breaking, its fortunes.

3.6 Conclusions

The coexistence case got off to a slow start in early 2003, with environmental EUSMOs reacting to the Commission's 2003 communication and their exclusion from stakeholder discussions with press releases and a conference. Yet these rather tame European level actions masked behind the scenes work to coordinate the efforts of national campaigns to create GM-free zones at the regional and local levels, most visibly through the construction of a website providing information and a central point of reference for different national campaigns. At the same time, regional governments had formed a network to protect their own GM cultivation bans through lobbying work at the European level. The environmental groups, and FoEE in particular, worked to bring these two strands of the campaign together by launching an initiative with the AER, an organisation representing many of the members of the Network, as well as by adding the call to recognise regional and local bans to its previous calls for European legislation. In this second phase of the campaign the strong coalitions worked well together, with frame bridging and evidence of dialogue between EU and national groups abundant. Opportunities were also on the increase, with the new Barroso Commission proving more open to discussions with the campaigning groups, even going so far as to explicitly recognise the GM-free movement and the Network, and the upcoming Austrian presidency also supplying a powerful ally. These positive circumstances were once again turned around in the third phase of the campaign, where an ever-expanding coalition began to lose the unity of its message, and, more importantly, a ruling against the EU in a WTO trade dispute on the previous moratorium on GMOs put an end to the possibility of EU legislation and legal local bans.

Two outcomes were identified in the campaign – a policy outcome following the first phase of the campaign where the Commission backtracked on their previous assertions on liability and an access outcome following the second phase of the campaign in the shape of

the recognition of the Network and the GM-free movement in an official communication. Using the process tracing method outlined in chapter two, I showed that while the first of these could not be traced to any of the actions taken by the campaigning groups, the second was very much linked to their work, although the Commission had already begun to take note of the movement before it was expressly picked up by the EUSMOs. As for the stated goal of the campaign, to secure European legislation and, later, the legalisation of local bans, this was not achieved for the above mentioned reason of the WTO ruling – after assessing all other possible paths to this outcome, including the dissipation of the campaign’s message in the final stages of the campaign, this remained the most plausible and logical conclusion. Nevertheless, the near textbook campaign observed in the second phase did secure an outcome, showing that consequences will be seen in strong campaigns. Nor, to be fair, did the campaign ‘fail’ in its real aim: that of stopping the cultivation of GMOs. By securing so many bans and keeping opposition to GMOs alive, the campaign contributed to the fact that today very few GM crops are actually to be found growing in European soil.

At its strongest point, that is in the second phase, the coexistence campaign recalls findings on several other successful transnational campaigns. First and foremost, parallels can be drawn between this campaign and the previous one that led to the moratorium. As Kettner’s (2001) study shows, here European authorities were faced with successful campaigns that had worked from the bottom up to force their hands over the GM issue – by creating the de facto moratorium, the EU was obliged to institutionalise it until legislation was passed. Similar tactics were of course also seen in the GM-free initiative – the linking and encouragement of national and local campaigns in order to bring them to the attention of EU authorities, and to create effective widespread bans on GM crops. Drawing on the forms of other connected campaigns is not a phenomenon limited to GMOs. Other transnational campaigns have also drawn inspiration from previous successes, for example the campaign against deforestation in Sarawak, Malaysia, which drew on a previous campaign on whaling (Keck and Sikkink 1998:150), or indeed the nuclear freeze campaign’s diffusion to Europe from the United States in the early 1980s (Tarrow and McAdam 2005:135-140).

Focusing on other particularities of the campaign, the findings on frame bridging also recall other research on transnational campaigns. The need to consciously engage in framing

work in order to facilitate collaboration has been noted not only in EU coalitions (Cullen 2005) but in others too, for example in Juska and Edwards' (2005:201) study on a transnational campaign against intensive pig farming. Linked to this finding on framing work was the observation that the broad coalition forged in this campaign, especially between the regional governments and the EUSMOs, remained flexible. The groups worked together so far as they agreed, but with no binding commitments or the like – a feature of transnational campaigns noted as common and important to the cases included in the volume edited by Bandy and Smith (2005:244-5). The coexistence case thus confirms findings from other research, and also contributes to one of the main findings of this thesis, i.e. on the paramount importance of dynamic opportunities in general, and contingent events in particular, in the campaigns examined here.

4. REACHing out: strong coalitions around European chemicals legislation⁹⁸

“I would say REACH is a case where the coalition work has been most cohesive and most brilliant. [...] And I’ve heard people saying, people who have been working on different issues, for many many years, saying that what we have here, in terms of the REACH coalition, is something that never happened before.” (interview 16)

Coalitions were also important, flexible, and strong in the REACH case, although here too the EUSMOs were unable to secure the policy outcome they desired. The EU had decided to review its ageing chemicals legislation in 1999, and the Commission duly published a White Paper on the subject in early 2001 – a document generally praised by the EUSMOs who would later criticise the legislative proposal. Unsurprisingly, industry was less impressed by the rather stringent rules floated in the White Paper, and were vigorous in their responses to the raft of consultations that followed its release. Indeed, the EUSMOs accused them of pressing the Commission to hold the public internet consultation of summer 2003 in order to ensure further delays to the legislative proposal. Such a delay would be likely to mean the proposal would be received by a more right-wing and industry friendly European Parliament following the 2004 elections.

It was, more or less, from this point in the proceedings that a coalition of environmental, consumers, health and women’s EUSMOs began to campaign to ‘save’ the REACH proposal, which when finally published reflected the views of industry more closely than they would have liked. A coalition, the aptly monikered chemical reaction, was set up in attempt to involve national and local groups, but the campaign was mainly carried on at the EU level with a barrage of scientific reports, press releases, media stunts (mostly carried out by Greenpeace) and events in the Parliament, and lobbying. Much time was reacting to the even more ferocious campaign simultaneously being carried out by industry groups, who had managed to shift the discourse away from environmental and human health issues onto the ground of employment and economy. Out-campaigned, outnumbered, and out-argued, the EUSMOs were disappointed with the legislation finally adopted in late 2006,

⁹⁸ An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the conference ‘The “Establishment” Responds – The Institutional and Social Impact of Protest Movements During and After the Cold War’ in Heidelberg, November 22-24 2007. I would like to thank the participants of this conference for their valuable comments and insights.

despite the brave face they put on in public. Once again, a dynamic political threat played a big role in scuppering the fortunes of a campaign – in this case a strong counter-movement.

The REACH case features many of the EUSMOs encountered in the coexistence campaign, but in the different setting of a campaign concerning legislation. There are similarities between the two campaigns, in the importance of coalitions in particular. Yet the REACH case shows tactics that were not encountered in the coexistence campaign – media-oriented stunts play a larger part, as, on the other side, does serious scientific research. Another interesting feature of the campaign is that it unfolded almost simultaneously to the Bolkestein case, and is singled out by many interviewees (alongside Bolkestein, of course), as a landmark in terms of campaigning methods at the EU level despite its ultimately disappointing outcome in the eyes of the environmental EUSMO coalition. As the case concerns legislation, its periodisation is relatively straightforward in that the most logical divisions follow the legislative stages. Taking the White Paper as the starting point of the campaign (phase 1: February 2001 – October 2003), the following two phases correspond to the first and second legislative readings (October 2003 – July 2006 and July 2006 – December 2006).

4.1 A reactive campaign

REACH, standing for the Registration, Evaluation, and Authorisation of Chemicals legislation in EU jargon, is the only of the four case studies included in this work whose story begins with support for a European proposal from EUSMOs. Discussions on new European chemicals legislation had begun as early as 1999 in both the Council and Commission,⁹⁹ partly as a result of the relatively new ‘precautionary principle’, itself in turn a result of previous public health crises including BSE. The main objective of the new legislation would thus be to secure a high level of protection for human health and the environment, although without forgetting the importance of the internal market. With these goals in mind, the Commission published a White Paper on the theme in February 2001, which was then followed up with intensive consultation by the two responsible DGs within the Commission: Enterprise and Environment (headed at this point in the story by

⁹⁹ For an in-depth description of the run-up to REACH, see Lind, G (2004).

Commissioners Liikanen and Wallström respectively, replaced in 2004 by Commissioners Verheugen and Dimas), beginning with ‘stakeholder conferences’, and ending in an open and public internet consultation during the summer of 2003. This consultation was hotly contested by environmental EUSMOs, who viewed it as a tactic of the industry coalition to ensure the new legislative proposal would not reach the European Parliament before the elections scheduled for the summer of 2004, widely expected to result in a more right wing, and therefore more open to industry, composition in the institution. In the event, this was indeed what happened. The final legislative proposal of the Commission was presented in October 2003.

The EUSMOs active on the REACH issue were relatively quiet during this first phase of the campaign. Several of the larger organisation involved, such as the WWF, Greenpeace, and FoEE, had carried out previous campaigns related to the introduction of the new legislation, but with the publication of the White Paper by the Commission in February 2001 shifted gear to accommodate this fact. Indeed, it is unsurprising that the groups remained relatively quiet on the subject, since they were by and large very supportive of the content of this document. The European chemicals industry, and the groups representing them (who will also be referred to as the ‘counter-movement’ here), however, were equally unsurprisingly not so quiet about the prospect of the new legislation. Their work aiming to influence and change the content of the final legislative proposal was the main trigger for the EUSMOs’ subsequent campaign.

The first EUSMO documents concerning the REACH campaign (according to the periodisation applied here that is) appeared a few months after the publication of the White Paper in the form of position papers and general comments on its content. It is interesting to note that even at this early stage a joint paper containing the key arguments on REACH in the eyes of several EUSMOs (namely WWF, the EEB, FoEE, and Eurogroup for Animal Welfare) appeared, presumably for the attention of the Commission in light of the many stakeholder conferences taking place at the time. In 2002 the contributions of the EUSMOs active on the issue increased, detailing joint views and key priorities once more in jointly published documents now including Greenpeace as well as, occasionally, BEUC (the European Consumers’ Organisation). This acceleration in the publication of press releases, discussion papers, and the like is linked to the campaign simultaneously being carried out by industry groups, who had by now succeeded in delaying the publication of the

legislative proposal by advancing arguments on the potential loss of many jobs in the chemicals sector as a result of the rules envisaged in the White Paper. For example, in a joint letter dated 25 October 2002, the EEB, BEUC, Friends of the Earth Europe, Greenpeace, and the WWF express their concerns over the delay in publishing the legislative proposal and the influence of ‘certain business sectors’. They go on to recall the urgency and support for the White Paper from the other EU institutions in a plea to stop further impact assessments and an internet consultation.

This rather paradoxical standpoint (EUSMOs more often speak out in the name of transparency and increased consultation) is explained, as mentioned earlier, by their belief that industry was seeking to delay the publication of the legislative proposal in the hope that a change in the Commission and Parliament following the 2004 elections would be favourable to their opinions. The EUSMOs, on the other hand, were keen to see an early publication, closer to the content of the White Paper, and discussion in the Parliament beginning before the elections. It was in 2003, then, that the campaign began in earnest with the consolidation of joint work seen in many collaborative efforts, such as a study by WWF and the EEB refuting some of the claims then being made by the industry groups on the repercussions of REACH. Work by separate organisations continued, with the first of many media-oriented stunts being held by Greenpeace in June 2003 in Hamburg outside a business meeting where Commissioner Liikanen and the then German Chancellor Schroeder were in attendance.¹⁰⁰

The extended period of consultation on REACH culminated in the public internet consultation held during the summer of 2003. This consultation saw the first instances of efforts to mobilise grass roots members by the EUSMOs involved, as well as further efforts to extend the (already quite large) coalition on the issue. A joint contribution was made by the EEB, Friends of the Earth Europe, Greenpeace, WWF, BEUC, Women in Europe for a Common Future (WECF), and the European Public Health Alliance (EPHA), along with a jointly sponsored ‘Declaration for a Toxics Free Future’, signed by 22,000 citizens, which was handed over personally to Commissioner Wallström with an accompanying press conference. ‘Cut and paste’ answers to the on-line consultation questionnaire were also

¹⁰⁰ An activist inside a giant test tube filled with green liquid was installed outside the meeting venue. The test tube was decorated with the names of companies producing chemicals subsequently found in dust, breast milk and other household objects.

circulated on various groups' websites, authored by the EEB, FoEE, Greenpeace and the WWF. These efforts meant that despite the strong presence of industry groups (who formed two thirds of the contributors, while NGOs made up only 6%), the EUSMOs were successful in mobilising their members, since they made more submissions per participant than industry (Persson 2005). The internet consultation was followed up with various press releases and discussion documents, mostly focussing on discrediting claims made by industry groups. The final public action of the first phase, days before the publication of the legislative proposal and its communication to the European Parliament, was carried out by Greenpeace. The group vacuumed the offices of several MEPs and then tested the dust for potentially hazardous chemicals in an effort to bring home the salience of the issue for those who would take the next decisions on how REACH would shape up.

The most important feature of the EUSMO campaign on REACH during the first reading of the legislative proposal was the launch of a more permanent coalition structure under the title 'Chemical Reaction'. Existing through a website providing a point of contact for many different NGOs active on the subject, this idea came from a staff member of Friends of the Earth UK, who then convinced both the EEB and Greenpeace to join the project, which came to fruition in 2003 (interview 23). Although nominally a project by just these three organisations, Chemical Reaction provided an umbrella for publicising many other joint and individual initiatives. Amongst the press releases archived on the website (www.chemicalreaction.org), for example, few feature the logos of less than 5 organisations (the 3 directly involved, plus WWF and the EPHA or EEN¹⁰¹). Chemical Reaction was also important in broadening the coalition on REACH, most notably recruiting and funding the women's group WECF (interviews 23 and 24), as well as working to spread grassroots activism on the issue by ensuring that at least one organisation had an active national level group in each member state, and by providing some funding where possible.

Working in a coalition was considered important in this case for reasons similar to those seen in coexistence, and indeed in the other cases included in this thesis. It should be underlined that Chemical Reaction in itself was not seen as the basis for coalition work,

¹⁰¹ The European Public Health Alliance (EPHA) set up the EEN – the EPHA Environment Network – in response to the clear links between environmental damage and public health risks. The EEN is now the Health and Environmental Alliance (HEAL). Press releases participated in by either the EPHA or the EEN are thus understood to amount to the same thing.

officially it represented only those three organisations that were directly involved in its creation. Nevertheless, the site gives the impression of representing the wider coalition, since it gathers all the joint material published around the subject of REACH. This is the first reason for which coalition work was seen as useful – quite simply it allows one press release instead of five or six. Working together also allowed the organisations to agree general strategies, thereby avoiding any overlap in their actions (i.e. by not organising major actions by separate organisations on the same day). Common positions, such as the five NGO demands that will be seen below, were also made possible through the coalition, although they were by no means easy to negotiate, and sometimes led to exclusion where a more radical message was preferred (interview 16).¹⁰² In this vein, the flexibility of the coalition's working relationship was also stressed – where one organisation had the capacity or will to carry out some individual action this was perfectly possible, as it was to opt out of those statements that a group could not agree with.

The strong coalition formed around the REACH issue was also important for sharing resources - not only financial, but also expertise, knowledge, contacts, information, and even active grassroots groups. The coalition was cited by all interviewees as extremely important for filling in these gaps – where they existed – for each group. WECF, for example, cited contacts as an important advantage of the coalition, since the group is based in Utrecht rather than Brussels, making it difficult to cultivate the personal contacts seen as necessary for interacting with the Commission (see Murphy 2005:235 for a similar remark). On the other hand, the interviewee felt that the organisation brought certain contacts with conservative MEPs that the coalition might not otherwise have had, partly through their own work alongside the European Women's Lobby (interview 24). Another form of resource pooling mentioned by all interviewees was expertise, not only because of the complexity of the REACH legislation, but more particularly in light of the strength of the industry lobby in terms of sheer numbers. By dividing expertise on different areas of REACH, the EUSMOs felt more able to cover the same ground as industry, although never to the same extent. Finally, coalition work is described as important geographically – for covering the areas and citizens most affected by the legislation – and in terms of communication – with different groups providing more active networks or groups in different member states. In this sense, as will be discussed further in the section on

¹⁰² This appears to have been the case with BEUC, who appear in early joint documents but then disappear from publications with the beginning of the first reading and the launch of a more direct campaign.

political opportunities, working in coalitions can be seen as a strategic move in the campaign.

After a lull at the beginning of the second phase the REACH campaign resurfaced again in the spring of 2004. This gap in proceedings is explained both by the fact that, as will be seen in the Bolkestein case, it takes time for organisations to digest and form positions on legislative proposals, and by the fact that the European Parliament wrangled for some months first over which committee should be awarded the report, and then over which political group it should be assigned to. In the event, the Environment committee retained its title as lead committee, although in line with the enhanced Hughes procedure equal weight would be given to the reports produced in the Internal Market and Industry committees. Nevertheless, the Parliament decided to postpone the important report until after the elections of summer 2004. In these months then the campaign remained dormant, with few actions taking place: the EEB held a conference in March, while Greenpeace publicised some of their work testing consumer products and house dust for the presence of chemicals about which little is known, as well as praising 'progressive' companies that had already taken steps to substitute such chemicals in their production processes. In terms of coalition work, as part of a larger election effort Chemical Reaction published the results of a 'vote watch', exposing how various candidates had voted in key environmental votes, including a vote on REACH, as well as urging candidates to sign a 'safer chemicals pledge'.

In September 2004, with the new Parliament beginning its term of office in earnest, a joint report was released by Greenpeace, the EEN, Chemical Reaction (unusually featured as a separate logo), the EEB, and FoEE entitled 'Chemicals Beyond Control: Ensuring EU Chemicals Policy Protects Human Health and the Environment'. This report spells out in detail the groups' views on how the legislative proposal should be changed. In the same month various joint press releases also appeared, targeting the European Parliament and calling on MEPs to ensure health and environmental protection, with similar calls addressed to the Presidency, and finally attacking the business association UNICE's position on REACH. At the end of the month the groups usually found gracing the press releases published through Chemical Reaction (the EEN, EPHA, WECF, WWF, FoEE, Greenpeace, and the EEB) held a meeting in the European Parliament to officially launch

their campaign for safer chemicals. The meeting was followed up the day after with coalition visits to individual MEPs.

The focus of the campaign at this point is thus clearly on the European Parliament, as is logical given the moment within the legislative process. Other institutions, and especially industry targets, however, were far from ignored. The EEB and the WWF were, for example, both active members of a Commission working group on REACH during this period,¹⁰³ alongside industry representatives, although in January 2005 they withdrew their support for the impact assessment commissioned by the body from external consultants, stating that they had been refused access to key parts of the study, and that they were in any case in disagreement with other members over the methodology employed. Greenpeace, in the meantime, continued their work on exposing ‘suspect’ chemicals in consumer products, publishing new work headed ‘my toxic Valentine’, or ‘eau de toxins’, in February 2005. National level actions were also beginning to take off at this juncture, as will be seen in the next section devoted to contact with national groups.

In March of 2005 the coalition returned to the spotlight with the release of the EUSMOs’ 5 key demands for REACH, as agreed by the EEB, EEN, FoEE, Greenpeace, WECF, and the WWF. The main demands for the campaign were now as follows: 1) the phasing-out of the most hazardous chemicals unless no alternative is available and their use essential, also implying the deletion of the ‘adequate control’ loophole¹⁰⁴; 2) the provision of safety information for chemicals produced in quantities of 1-10 tonnes per year; 3) obligatory checks on information supplied by industry by independent third parties; 4) that imports be subject to the same rules as chemicals produced within the EU; and 5) the public right to know and transparency – i.e. any hazardous chemicals found in finished consumer products should be labelled. These five demands now officially formed the basis of the campaign, and thus of all the subsequent actions, which continued similarly in both intensity and style throughout the year: reports, actions by Greenpeace highlighting progressive industry or

¹⁰³ Cited as an example of division of labour within the coalition by several interviewees – as the most ‘conservative’ groups, places on the Commission working group were procurable, although the EEB had to insist more than the WWF (interview 23).

¹⁰⁴ In the legislative proposal chemicals representing hazards to the environment or human health and thus required to apply for authorisation would not have to be replaced by safer alternatives available at a comparable price where existing provided that the applicant could demonstrate that the chemical was ‘adequately controlled’, or that the socio-economic benefits of using the chemical outweighed its hazards. The EUSMOs involved in the campaign insisted instead on obligatory substitution of such chemicals where safer alternatives were available.

problem products, briefing lunches (EEN and WWF for MEPs), and press releases refuting industry claims. WECF also became more conspicuously active during this period, bringing the weight of their close links with the influential European Women's Lobby (EWL) to the campaign by jointly sending the EUSMO demands to MEPs, as well as concentrating on contacts with the national level through a new kind of action – bringing grassroots members to Brussels for seminars and lobbying sessions on REACH – events made possible thanks to funding supplied by coalition members and supporters.¹⁰⁵ In September 2004 the organisation also employed a member of staff to work specifically on the REACH issue (interview 24).

During the summer of 2005, the new enterprise Commissioner Verheugen came under attack from the environmental EUSMOs (Greenpeace and FoEE in particular) for what was seen as an attempt to make a more 'business friendly' deal on REACH within the Commission while the text was still working its way through the European Parliament. The reaction to this rumour, which came about as the result of a leaked internal Commission document, was however contained to press releases condemning the move. The main target of the campaign moving into the second half of 2005 remained the European Parliament, with actions taking the form of letters from organisations addressed to those MEPs sitting on the committees that would vote important reports on REACH. FoEE also held an action with its German member group, Bund, where 100 garden gnomes were brought to the European Parliament on the day of the environment committee vote. The reports and the groups' reactions to them were as to be expected – because each committee showed a preference for its domain, the report from the environment committee was by and large welcomed, while reports from the Industry and Internal Market committees were criticised.

Similar letter-writing and lobbying actions continued as the first reading plenary vote, scheduled for November 2005, approached. Here the coalition changed slightly with the addition of a new logo to its jointly signed letters – that of EuroCoop, which as the European association of cooperatives could be described as an organisation that straddles the divide between industry and consumers. Actions at the national level were also seen during the run-up to the vote, with an on-line action being organised through the Chemical

¹⁰⁵ The EEB, and the Rausing Trust UK – a funder of Chemical Reaction.

Reaction website, national level actions organised by different groups (see section below), and on the day of the vote itself the presence of more Friends of the Earth garden gnomes, of large banners organised within the coalition (interview 16), and national representatives of the WECF network involved in last-minute lobbying. Lobbying actions were also stepped up in the weeks preceding the vote in an effort to influence the compromise package negotiated mainly between the environment and internal market committees, by rapporteurs Sacconi and Nassauer. In a more radical stunt back in Brussels, Greenpeace activists offered to move President Barroso and Commissioner Verheugen from the Commission's Berlaymont building into the German chemical producer's BASF's offices nearby, alleging that they were really working for them.

The European Parliament's first reading vote duly took place on 16 November 2005, and was rather cautiously received by the EUSMOs – that a step had been taken towards replacing hazardous chemicals had been taken was recognised, although the many exemptions approved by the Parliament were regretted. Campaigning efforts now turned towards the Council of Ministers in line with the legislative process. This institution was targeted, both as a whole and in terms of individual national ministers by national level groups. As the body began to discuss the proposal, joint letters from the coalition groups were sent to ministers (22 November 2005 by the EEN, EuroCoop, FoEE, Greenpeace and WECF), while national groups were encouraged to target ministers from below. Other institutions were (at least publicly) left aside as targets during this stage of the legislative process in favour of more media or public opinion-oriented ones. For example, in December 2005 Greenpeace and the EEN took up the opportunity offered by an incident in Italy to draw attention to their arguments on REACH. The withdrawal of a large quantity of powdered baby milk from the market following the discovery that chemicals used in printing labels had seeped through into the product was thus taken as an example showing the need for a strong REACH, since little was known about the chemical concerned and its potential effects on humans. In a similar effort, FoEE released a report in the same month entitled 'Toxic Inheritance', with a press release entitled 'Will your government allow the pollution of breast milk to continue?'. These efforts to mobilise public opinion were ultimately aimed at the Council of Ministers, with last minute actions taking place at the Council building itself, where the WWF's 'toxic family' met with ministers.

Nevertheless, the Council's common position, published in December 2005, was a great disappointment to the campaign, bringing the loss of the substitution principle in favour of adequate control – the demand that had been number one on the EUSMO's list. As the first reading concluded with the Commission's opinion, the groups continued to target Verheugen as the puppet of the chemical industry, whilst meeting to discuss their strategies for the second reading, including the re-negotiation of their demands in reaction to the reality of what had been lost in the first reading (interview 16). The five NGO demands thus became four. The first and most important point remained substitution, now followed by a more general demand for safety information, chemical manufacturers' duty of care (replacing the more stringent demand that REACH apply to imported products) and finally transparency or the right to know for citizens. However, because the second reading lasted much less than the first, and began in July 2006 just before the European Parliament's annual break, campaign actions were necessarily reduced. Chemical Reaction organised an action aimed at reminding MEPs about REACH during their holidays ("Think about REACH while on the BEACH"), handing out organic cotton towels emblazoned with slogans recalling the importance of substitution. Other on-line actions were also organised through the Chemical Reaction website. The Parliament did, in the event, support substitution in the environment committee vote, but the principle as favoured by the campaigning groups did not make it into the final version of the legislation, following a compromise deal brokered by the Finnish Presidency in a bid to avoid conciliation. Actions at the European Parliament therefore took on a tone more akin to protest than encouragement, with Friends of the Earth declaring the 'patient to be barely alive'. Indeed, the campaigning groups already considered the most important points already lost with the completion of the first reading.

The campaign continued a little after the legislation entered into force (1 June 2007) with the Chemical Reaction website providing a more upbeat description of the adopted legislation and information on how to exploit it, although it is now closed. To conclude this brief description of the tactics seen during this campaign, several points deserve mention. Firstly, a strong coalition of different groups is apparent from the very beginnings of the campaign, and only becomes wider as the campaign progresses. This coalition publishes most of the campaign's publicly available documents jointly, unlike the more separate campaign strands seen in the GMO campaign. At the same time, this campaign also presents a larger number of targets for the campaigning groups – not only

must they address each and every one of the institutions according to the legislative process, but also the arguments of the strong counter-campaign mounted by industry groups. The technical nature of many of the arguments employed also led to some difficulties in translating the campaign to the national level, as will be seen below.

4.1.1 Thin on the ground: the role of national groups

Before describing how national groups acted in and contributed to the REACH campaign, I shall briefly describe the structures of each of the EUSMOs in an effort to shed light on how national groups are more generally involved in European level work. Greenpeace, FoEE and the EEB were examined in the previous chapter on coexistence, leaving the WWF, the EEN, and WECF. The WWF, one of the biggest environmental organisations present in the EU arena alongside Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, describes its Brussels office as the “embassy” for the organisation’s global network in the European Union. The office provides a point linking the network of national WWF groups in the EU to the European level, and brings their input through participation in thematic working groups. This arrangement could be described as lying somewhere between the FoEE’s more organic processes of dialogue with national groups and Greenpeace’s more hierarchical structure – while national groups are involved, there is no annual general meeting, executive committee or other more formal guiding mechanisms.¹⁰⁶

The EEN (now the Health and Environmental Alliance - HEAL) has more of these formal institutions. Its policy priorities are decided at an annual general assembly, and its day to day work overseen by an executive committee elected by members at the general assembly. In addition, members are involved in thematic working groups that draft the group’s positions on various issues. Finally, the WECF (one of the most important groups in terms of organising national group actions in this case) grew from a meeting of women’s groups at the UN Earth summit in 1992. It describes itself in looser terms as a network of women’s groups concerned about environmental issues. Perhaps the best description of this more organic network is their guiding principle; that they seek solutions “From local to global: WECF implements solutions locally and influences policy internationally by

¹⁰⁶ For a brief overview of the WWF’s organisation, see van der Heijden 2002:193-4).

presenting their experience and recommendations to policy makers”.¹⁰⁷ This approach means that most of its European actions, as will be seen below, involve or are aimed at empowering its members.

Actions by national groups were seen by all interviewees to be of paramount importance to a successful campaign. In particular, national groups with good contacts with national ministries were considered vital for the legislative stages involving the Council of Ministers, as were national delegates in the lobbying of MEPs. In the REACH campaign, however, evidence of more independent or spontaneous national level work, like the GM-free movement in the coexistence campaign, is somewhat limited. Although a previous campaign to incite the EU to make changes to the chemicals legislation had involved national level involvement particularly from the UK FoE (interview 23), this campaign was separated from the later, reactive campaign that followed the substantial changes to the previously approved White Paper. Indeed, some interviewees mentioned that they met with some difficulties when attempting to convey the importance of the legislation to national members (interviews 23 and 24), and indeed a more general lack of action on the EU level on their part (interview 23¹⁰⁸). There is, nevertheless, some evidence of a network of organisations used for disseminating information on the actions of Chemical Reaction, which are listed on the website. The affiliation of each group varies, according to the coordinator of the project, according to the strength of each national group: “And we actually compare, with WWF and with Greenpeace, where do you have an active group, what are our weakest points, what can we do to change that?” (interview 23). One tactic for involving national groups in the coalition is thus this conscious choice of the group strongest for each country, and even the funding of groups or activities where needed.

Involving national groups through each of the separate organisations of the coalition necessarily depends on the internal structure of each. Greenpeace, for example, concentrates more on the diffusion of cyber-actions to be carried out by individuals, due to its hierarchical organisation, as does the WWF, while the EEB has no national members as

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.wecf.eu/english/wecf/index.php>

¹⁰⁸ “I started working for Friends of the Earth in 2001 in the UK, and then we were saying yes, we recognise EU politics is made in Brussels. So if we recognise this it means, for me, that we have to take concrete steps, how to change our own campaigns to reflect that. How are we going to communicate with our national ministry, and what attention are we giving to Parliamentarians in Brussels? And the reality is that most people do not give much attention to what goes on in Brussels. That's still the case.” (interview 23).

such.¹⁰⁹ Greenpeace also concentrates on producing reports and evidence, work that may be managed due to their higher levels of funds and academic resources. Friends of the Earth Europe presents a more network-like structure, with independent national and local groups deciding themselves whether or not to become involved. The German Friends of the Earth group, Bund, was for example very active alongside the Brussels office on the REACH issue, while the idea for a joint campaign on REACH itself came from a staff member of Friends of the Earth UK and Northern Ireland. The strongest group in the coalition in terms of organising various national level actions was the WECF. This organisation is less rooted in Brussels than the others (in fact its offices are in the Netherlands) and generally appears more committed to grassroots actions than EU level lobbying – something the organisation finds difficult – although their success in convincing member groups to act was also imputed to the strength of arguments concerning chemicals and their particular effects women’s and children’s health (interview 24). Not only did the WECF sponsor its member organisations’ events in Greece, the Netherlands, and Germany, it also organised information and training seminars, as described above (education and information used as a campaign tactic has also been employed in another campaign by the European Women’s lobby where national mobilisation was a problem, although it took several years for such a tactic to produce results. See Hellferich and Kolb 2001:150). The EEB, Greenpeace, WWF and FoEE also hold an annual chemical working group in Brussels for national members, where strategy is discussed, representatives of the institutions are invited, and lobbying actions are encouraged (interview 23).

Much contact with national groups is therefore aimed at educating them on European issues which may not be very visible at the national level, as well as on chemicals themselves. A point mentioned frequently when speaking of involving national organisation was the need to convince these of the campaign’s importance: “each NGO on the national level, they are all independent, so you can’t tell them that this is really important, you can only try to win them over with different arguments when you want them to work on an issue. And then also there comes the money side of it.” (interview 23). As this quote shows, while the more ‘democratic’ organisations may have good relationships with national members, the latter will not automatically take up a European campaign, often for the mundane reason of not having enough resources, and more immediately pressing national issues to deal with –

¹⁰⁹ Although interviewees also mentioned their attempts to promote work *between* national groups, as well as the recruitment of unaffiliated national groups (WECF).

hence the funding offers where possible through Chemical Reaction. Here the aim was to fund national delegates' trips to Brussels at strategic points in the campaign, and again to encourage them to visit their MEPs and the like, as well as to contribute towards translation costs in order that national groups would be able to provide information in local language as well as carry out cyber actions. On a more passive level, European groups ensured that all documents concerning the case were at least provided to their national and local levels. This, however, also means that in many of the EUSMOs documents are drafted with the sole input of the other EUSMOs active on the campaign, which reduces the role of national groups to advertising.

4.2 Shared but inconstant: frames in the REACH Campaign

The REACH campaign presents a peculiar picture when it come to frame analyses. Because so much time was spent in negotiating joint documents, with hardly any of the EUSMOs drafting their own separate positions, evidence of framing work is not to be found in the finished documents analysed but rather in their preparation. Taking this into account, the highly unified messages of the campaign are clear, although their constancy is less so.

4.2.1 Frames among the European level groups

The documents selected for each phase of the REACH campaign amongst the European level groups are different from those seen in other case studies presented in this thesis because, as mentioned above, they are all jointly authored documents. This presents a problem in that it is difficult to draw any conclusions about frame bridging or other processes vital to establishing whether or not we are faced with an instance of identity building. However, the selection of documents is faithful to the characteristics of the campaign, and in itself presents conclusive evidence of a strong coalition present from the very beginning of the campaign. While the environmental groups do not form so tightly bound and permanent a network as seen in the social cases (i.e. the Social Platform) they do meet regularly through the Green 10 network, and divide responsibility for following areas of European legislation according to expertise. In addition, while the first documents mostly concern environmental groups, others join the campaign later on, meaning that dialogue with new groups must be taking place, since press releases are jointly drafted.

During the first phase of the campaign, stretching from the publication of the Commission's white paper to the publication of the legislative proposal, very few campaign documents could be located. This is due to the fact that on publication of the White Paper the campaigning groups were satisfied, and no campaign had yet been launched. However, a year on the letters and press releases began to appear. The analysis of this admittedly small number of documents shows that no strong line of argument has really been developed as yet. The most frequent frame is, unsurprisingly, anger that the Commission is allegedly delaying reform of the chemicals legislation. All of the documents also insist on the importance of substituting dangerous chemicals, a frame that later reveals itself to be on the whole the most important of the whole campaign. Yet this is the only frame shared across the board. Although mentions of the hazards of chemicals, of the positions of the Parliament and Council and of evidence showing the dangers of chemicals are also found in two of the three documents analysed, these are the only frames found in more than one document, and a great deal of arguments mentioned only once make up the rest of the grid (see Annex I). In sum, few frames are repeated to any large extent, although this may be attenuated by the fact that most of the single frames are arguments sustaining these main points. Frames pointing the finger at industry for ruining REACH are fewer than would have been expected. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this is an extremely early point in the campaign pre-dating the real launch of the coalition's work.

Many more documents were available for the analysis in the second and most intense phase of the campaign. It is interesting to note that BEUC, the European consumers' organisation, now disappears from the campaign, while the hard core of the EEB, FoEE, Greenpeace, WECF and the EEN remain. For obvious reasons the frame blaming the Commission for delaying the reform now disappears, and is replaced with arguments highlighting the importance of the substitution principle, closely followed by the call for industry information to be independently audited. In fact five of the six most frequent frames relate to either substitution (phasing out, adequate control etc.) or to information requirements. There is thus continuation from the first phase in terms of the importance of substitution, accompanied by the introduction of more concrete arguments on what REACH should contain – it is interesting to note that the five most frequent frames are in fact prognostic rather than diagnostic. The large amount of frames used very infrequently

are explained by the fact that they relate to different parts of the legislative process. In substance, many raise very similar arguments.

Once again, there is less evidence of reactions against industry groups than would have been expected - more frequent at the beginning of the first reading, references to business die out as the process moves on. This may be imputed to the fact that industry arguments were answered more in the private domain, that is in Commission working groups and lobby meetings, than in press releases. Or it may be construed as an oversight of the campaigning groups, or as a signal of their difficulties in addressing multiple actors. The first of these explanations seems more convincing when considering that interviewees all stressed how much time had been spent responding to industry arguments. Overall for this phase of the REACH campaign the extent of shared frames is low, with only two frames shared in more than two documents. This finding requires a different interpretation to those that may apply in the other cases included in this study as a result of the fact that *all* of the documents analysed are jointly authored. The low number of shared frames across documents and time at the EU level does not therefore indicate an absence of framing work – as mentioned in the introduction to this section, framing work was carried out in the drafting of these documents. This finding indicates the lack of a strong message carried throughout the EUSMO campaign on REACH (with the partial exception of the substitution frame, which appears in five of the eight documents analysed) – a lack that was theorised in chapter one as potentially very damaging for the outcomes of EU level campaigns.

In the third and final phase of the campaign, the substitution argument becomes less important as the ultimate content of the legislation becomes clear. In fact the most frequent frame, although closely followed by substitution, is a warning that the new legislation will allow the continued use of dangerous chemicals even where safer alternatives exist. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these two ‘top’ frames are only found in two of the documents analysed for this third period of the campaign. Continuing the overview of the frames used in the third phase, however, we can also note the disappearance of prognostic frames in favour of diagnostic, i.e. the frames now tend to point out what is wrong with the draft rather than suggest what it should contain - the emphasis now appears to be on ‘damage control’ rather than active participation. That said, not all frames are pessimistic, reflecting the groups’ (public) post legislative stance on REACH, which emphasises that it

is a first step and that vigilance may lead to improvements. Generally the third period of the campaign is also characterised by a large number of frames used only once or twice, where even those frames found twice then to be within the same document. While similarly large numbers of unique frames certainly feature in other cases, these have been offset by a small set of frames with high frequency and continuity. REACH does not display a strong thread of frames running throughout the campaign, or at least not according to the frame analysis. This may of course be imputed to the coalition's reaction to the facts and the adaptation of their arguments, but may also suggest that the lack of a strong and repeated argument contributed to the less than perfect outcome.

As already mentioned above, it is impossible to draw any real conclusions from this analysis on the presence, absence or nature of framing processes. However, we do know that each press release, and the five, then four, NGO demands were negotiated jointly by all of the groups (interview 24). Evidence on dialogue must then come from which organisations lend their names to each document. As already noted, BEUC disappears from press releases after the first phase of the campaign, while a hard core of environmental groups formed by the EEB, Friends of the Earth Europe and Greenpeace (the sponsors of chemical reaction) grace every single document (bar one). In addition to these groups, the WECF, WWF and the EEN (also appearing as the EPHA and HEAL) come and go, although appearing very often - confirming the comments on the flexibility of the coalition made earlier. Later in the campaign, EuroCoop also appear as a joint author of press releases, although this was confirmed by a representative of the group as a passive action. All in all then we may say that the groups, at least on the subject of REACH, worked to form a shared understanding or analysis of the subject, and remain united in their message as testified by the joint authorship of every single document analysed here.

4.2.2 Frames at the European and national levels

Significantly, not a great deal of documents concerning national level actions on REACH were found. As described earlier, several national level actions involved groups that are members WECF, and most took place in Germany. The vitality of the German national level in terms of work on REACH can be attributed to the fact that the largest chemicals producers are German (BASF and Bayer), and they were also active in lobbying the German government on the subject. As a result of the small number of documents

available for this analysis, the national level frame grids are amalgamated into a single table for all phases of the REACH campaign (see Appendix I). The low number of documents available does present a problem in terms of interpreting the frame analysis – but as with the first phase of the EU level campaign this is a faithful interpretation of the actual situation. Taking into account the significance of the low number of documents published speaks volumes about the lack of a widespread national level campaign on this issue.

Similarly to the frames seen at the EU level, the national level documents also display few widely shared or durable frames. Not one document was located for the first phase of the campaign, although admittedly this was also a slow phase at the European level. Only one frame is shared across nearly all the documents (all bar one of which concern the second phase of the campaign), corroborating previous hypotheses and findings about the difficulties of negotiating strong positions amongst heterogeneous groups (for example Rucht 2001: 137, Hellferich and Kolb 2001:149, Lahusen 2004, Cullen 2005). This single frame is the argument that health and environmental concerns should be at the centre of the REACH legislation. This is a frame that, although present in the EU level documents, is weak. Substitution, the most important frame throughout the campaign at the European level, is however mentioned more than is apparent at the national level. It is mentioned in different contexts, usually in a language different than that of the EU level documents, for example by noting that industry has no incentives to develop alternatives, that chemical which damage foetuses will be allowed under the REACH proposal, or that it is the German government's fault that compulsory substitution was blocked. We can therefore say that, despite its different wording, the substitution frame remains strong at the national level. Indeed, looking at the most frequent frames of the national level documents, there is a more general trend of less technical language. This falls in with comments made in interviews about the difficulty of translating highly technical EU issues to the national level in a way that convinces the latter to mobilise.

But what can be said of the evidence of dialogue between EU and national levels? Firstly, the small number of documents located is eloquent – the campaign was not widespread and well known at the national level, perhaps with the exception of Germany. The German Friends of the Earth groups, BUND, was certainly considered as an expert partner in the European level campaign, and they lent their name and activists to several actions on

REACH, as well as being very active in lobbying at the national level (interview 16). In line with this, it is also interesting to note that every single one of the national actions looked at involved a European organisation as well – either the WECF or Friends of the Earth Europe. Therefore there is certainly evidence of dialogue between the EU and national levels, but with the outcome that national actions seem less independent and spontaneous than in other cases (namely Bolkestein). This also matches the many comments made in interviews of having to convince national groups to take part in the campaign. Actions at the national level, in the end, seem more sponsored than spontaneous. The repetition of a coordination website similar to that seen in the coexistence campaign seems to have worked less effectively here in creating links, a fact attributable to the main difference between the two campaigns in this aspect, i.e. that while the GM-free Europe site picked up on *existing* national and local campaigns, the chemical reaction website would have had to create them from scratch.

4.3 A strong counter-movement: political threats in the REACH campaign

Following the diagram of the political opportunity structure of the EU outlined in chapter one, the first category to consider in sketching a picture of the campaign that pays attention to political contexts is dialogue with third parties, especially in connection with ‘natural partner’ DGs in the Commission. As in other cases, the groups interviewed confirm this view that the Commission is open where contacts are with the group’s ‘natural’ DG, in this case DG Environment. This rule is reconfirmed by WECF, who comment that contact with DG Environment is more difficult for them as a women’s organisation, although they believe this would not be the case for, say, DG Employment where women’s issues are more commonplace. In DG Environment however “we are not considered a key player” (interview 24). The confirmation of this rule is a threat for the campaign in this case since power over the dossier is seen as lying mainly with DG Enterprise. The groups try to overcome this threat by securing places on expert groups, by participating in consultations, and by ensuring that they provided technical expertise (interview 23). However, as will be seen in more detail in the comments on hostile elites, a great deal of rancour builds up towards the DG and its Commissioner Gunter Verheugen (Commissioner in the most key points of the campaign, i.e. after the beginning of the first reading).

Access to the Commission in general is seen in quite a different manner by different groups. The institution is seen as more inviting to participation from the more conservative groups, in this case the WWF and the EEB, and the interviewee from Friends of the Earth Europe confirms this by commenting that she finds the Commission difficult to access. However, these views of the Commission's accessibility, as well as the views of DG Environment as a natural partner, are tempered by the perception that a good relationship with the Commission always depends on the maintenance of contacts (interviews 16, 23, 24, Keck and Sikkink 1998:148, Caniglia 2001:50-52), and that these vary from dossier to dossier. Once again the WECF highlight an interesting point in that the interviewee stresses the difficulty of making and maintaining contacts with the Commission when based outside Brussels, even if only in nearby Utrecht (interview 24). One of the most obvious ways of ensuring good contacts is thus being present in Brussels and able to follow up on meetings personally. The need for contacts also leads to comments on the institution's transparency. One interviewee cites an incident where a group was refused a document listing the members of an expert group: "And I think on hotly debated issues I think it's probably less transparent, but we do know that industry has the access and they have the documents, but I suppose you can't prove it" (interview 23). Which brings us to the point that while access and response are perceived as variable for the EUSMOs, they are convinced that this is not the case for industry groups. In this case, however, this may simply be the continuation of the natural partners rule, since we are dealing with DG Enterprise.

Dialogue with the Council does not take place to any great extent at the EU level proper – all of the interviewees confirm that this is more the business of their national groups where these can be convinced to participate in a campaign. There are some meetings with government advisors present in Brussels (interview 16), but targeting the Council through the national level is seen as far more logical since this is where EU groups have less contacts and influence than their national counterparts, and thus "this is where they can have the most impact" on EU legislation (interview 16). Responding to the opportunities presented by the multi-level EU design thus requires not only EU level contacts and expertise (for the Commission) but also good grassroots contacts (for the Council). The fact that the REACH issue did not provoke any kind of widespread action at the national levels of the EU therefore damaged the campaign's attempts to influence the Council. Without the apparent backing of grassroots members the European campaign floundered

with the Council's first reading opinion – it was here that points central to the campaign were irrevocably lost.

Dialogue with the Parliament, on the other hand, is perceived as the easiest to achieve in comparison with the other main institutions. This Parliament is seen as highly accessible in general, although some individual MEPs are described as simply not interested in the opinions of Green NGOs (interview 16). The Parliament thus provided a good opportunity for dialogue in this campaign, also because of its powerful role in the co-decision legislative procedure. Indeed, the groups carried out many actions in the Parliament, from information meetings and one on one lobbying by national members, to blood testing and analysing the dust from MEPs' offices.

The professionalism and resources of the different institutions also provide threats and opportunities for the campaigning groups. For the European Parliament, for example, the campaigning groups must present their arguments in less technical detail than for the Commission. MEPs' resources are stretched and therefore often do not have the time to follow certain subjects in great depth, which makes it necessary to present arguments in a quick and simple way. Another response to this situation is the organisation of information seminars or training sessions for members, although these did not, in this case, attract a great turnout. MEPs were also targeted by e-mail actions through the Chemical Reaction site, where one MEP complained that even the 50 or so e-mails he had received created too much extra work (interview 23). Perhaps as a result of the sheer complexity of the REACH legislation, or at least its highly technical character, the groups also found that despite their efforts MEPs tended to simply vote according to the suggestions of their respective (shadow) rapporteurs, since unable to follow the dossier themselves due to heavy workloads (interview 23).

While the Council is mostly addressed from the national level rather than by EUSMOs in this campaign leaving little to discuss in terms of this particular variable, the Commission presents a very different picture to that of the Parliament. As described in the research design, the Commission is, relatively speaking, resource poor and therefore seeks to consult on legislation it drafts. Nevertheless, as a drafter of legislation the information the body is interested in is of a much more technical and detailed nature than that required by the majority of MEPs in the Parliament (interview 16). Participating in consultations with the

Commission therefore requires groups who can provide the kind of technical expertise needed to draft legislation, a need also noted by various scholars of interest representation (Warleigh 2000:231, Skogstad 2003:330, Bouwen 2004:476-7). What this means essentially is that the smaller groups of the campaign coalition are unable to participate, leaving the job to the larger groups who also rely on stable and secure funding – in this case the EEB, Greenpeace, and the WWF in particular. As WECF put it: “I’m trying to be detailed in the text and stuff but I’m not WWF who can talk to, I don’t know, whatever expert and have the time to look for weeks into only one particular aspect of REACH. I don’t have the resources nor the time to do that. But that also means you don’t have the possibility to talk to the Commission on certain things” (interview 24). This threat jointly posed by the very different tactics and knowledge needed to successfully address both the Commission and the Parliament are thus answered by joining with other groups in a coalition, which also allows for a certain division of labour where each group most suited to each task contributes. Forming coalitions in order to enjoy the expertise another group may bring to a campaign is a tactic also noted in studies of other transnational campaigns, for example in coalitions of Mexican and US and Canadian groups against the North American Free Trade Alliance, where groups based in Washington were able to provide significant information and lobbying expertise to the others (Foster 2005:11). However, here the groups rely on one another to *produce* information for the consumption of the EU rather than the other way around, unlike the aforementioned example.

This last comment applies generally to the responses to the opportunities and threats posed by the EU as a multi-level system, with well separated powers. The groups use their coalition at the EU level in order to be sure to address each institution appropriately, and also use each other’s different national level groups in their attempts to kick start action at the national level. Again, this is especially important for the participation of smaller groups with closer links to national levels than the European, to whom the structure of EU power is not particularly clear (interview 16). In terms of the degree of centralisation in the EU, the campaigning groups’ actions follow the logical pattern of targets provided by the passage of the legislation, thus following the power allocated to each institution at each specific point (interview 16). Finally, on the subject of coalitions in each of the institutions, little is said in the interviews. As will be seen below in the section on dynamic political opportunities, the majorities in each of the institutions were, in this case, firmly set against the campaign by the environmental groups and their allies, mostly as a result of a

strong and convincing counter movement. This particular threat was very difficult to respond to.

The final variable on fixed political opportunities is the EU institutions' attitudes to differing opinions, judged to be on the whole inclusive, is more or less confirmed by the responses of the groups interviewed. Here again, however, divisions of labour come into play, with more 'conservative' groups taking part and making contacts with more institutional players, and others concentrating on more unconventional actions. The Commission's attitude to the groups' opinions is seen as more than a greenwash (interview 16), with many interviewees convinced that "the intention is there and the goodwill is there" (interview 24) when it comes to listening to others. However, when it comes to actually accommodating different standpoints in a final text, the outlook is more pessimistic. Not only do the groups believe that industry beats them on this point because there are so many of them, they also believe that in the final instance decisions are purely political in the Commission (interview 23). The Parliament's attitude to differing opinions, on the other hand, is surprisingly seen in a more pessimistic light by the groups active in this campaign. While the institution is generally seen as accessible, some MEPs are seen as completely untouchable and unwilling to hear different opinions. However, some room for manoeuvre is available by using the more conservative, or non-green, groups to approach the right wing members.

All in all, the most important resource for responding to the varying structural opportunities offered by the EU in this case has been the coalition of groups, each suited to several different tasks. Greenpeace's history and strong funding, for example, allow it to coordinate more spectacular media events whilst also supplying highly detailed technical information, while the WECF as a women's group has access to some MEPs that other groups find difficult, as well as strong links with national groups. In turn, the other groups that are stronger than the WECF at the EU level help this group to make contact with the Commission (on coalitions for access see Keck and Sikkink 1998:141). Broad coalitions as a feature of transnational campaigns more generally thus also emerges in this case (see Bandy and Smith 2005: 244-5). The different qualities of each group thus allowed the campaign to respond to the opportunities and threats of each institution – however, as will be seen below, more difficulties were encountered in this than in other campaigns because of an active industry lobby – a lobby with more resources, more members of staff, and

more expertise. These threats become particularly clear when we examine the dynamic political opportunities of the REACH campaign, briefly detailed in the table below.

Table 7: Dynamic political opportunities in the REACH campaign

Intra-elite conflict	More within institutions than between. Between DGs Environment and Enterprise within the Commission, also between Commissioners and President Barroso. Between similar committees in the European Parliament.
Proximity of elections	Legislative proposal delayed until after 2004 elections, after which European Parliament swings to the right. Reflected in new Commission.
Electoral Instability	Stable (and against the campaign) in the most important stages.
Contingent events	None as such.
Position held by ally	Wallström before 2004 elections; Green group in EP; ‘progressive’ member states (Nordics, Belgium)
Ability of ally to fulfil promises	Change of Commission takes away Wallström’s power on REACH, Green group small, member states too few.
Hostile elites	DG Enterprise / Commissioner Verheugen; President Barroso.
Presence of counter movements	Strong industry lobbying opposed to the environmental campaign’s demands.

Following the above table, which briefly outlines the dynamic political opportunities of this campaign, the first theme to be examined is intra-elite conflict. Within the Commission at the start of the campaign the main tensions seem to have been between DGs Enterprise and Environment, although any antagonism was not particularly public. Following the change of Commission, however, more public evidence of internal tensions appear, between the former environment Commissioner Margot Wallström (now a vice-President of the Commission) and the Environment and Enterprise Commissioners (Dimas and Verheugen) over a supposed deal on REACH that had been presented to the Council, but had not been discussed in the College.¹¹⁰ In a direct manner, this split was exploited by the campaigning

¹¹⁰ Cover story of the European Voice, ‘Wallstrom vents fury at Barroso’s REACH retreat’, 13-19 October 2005.

groups in a press release authored by Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth Europe, in which they accused the Commission of “contempt for the democratic process”, since the Commission should have waited for the Parliament’s first reading report before further discussion.¹¹¹ In a more general sense, however, any internal splits were hard for the coalition to exploit due to the ‘natural partners’ rule. In other words, while DG Environment were certainly sympathetic to the groups’ position, DG Enterprise held the reins and was correspondingly unreceptive (interview 16).

Another intra-elite conflict, along similar lines, was seen within the European Parliament between the Environment committee on the one hand and the internal market and trade committees on the other. The most public manifestation of this was in the struggle over to whom the dossier would be allocated. In the end the enhanced Hughes procedure was used, sharing the dossier between all three of the committees. According to the coalition, this procedure should not have been used, and the final first reading deals were due to the Environment committee rapporteur’s (Guido Sacconi, Italy PES) feeling that a compromise would have to be reached. Here again little could be done by the coalition to prevent a compromise deal being struck – had the environment committee alone led on the dossier they would have been satisfied with that committee’s report. In comparison with the other legislative case, however, the lobbying of MEPs comes across as a little less strategic, or at least less well received. Whilst obviously targeting key figures such as rapporteurs, the groups stated that even where promises were made by MEPs, the votes told a different story.

The proximity of elections within this campaign also proved decisive to the fortunes of the EUSMOs. At the beginning of the campaign, coinciding with the publication of the White Paper, elections seemed far away, and the Commission’s position favourable. With the continued delays, however, the elections came closer and it became clear, according to the campaigning groups, that industry lobbying was aiming for the European Parliament receiving the text for discussion after the elections widely expected to return a more right wing outcome. A more right wing Parliament, in turn, was seen as unfavourable for the campaign in that industry arguments would be more likely to receive a more open audience (see the section on discursive opportunities). The groups were quick, however, to exploit

¹¹¹ Friends of the Earth Europe and Greenpeace: ‘Commission Sticks Boot into REACH’ 23 September 2005. Available at: http://www.foeeurope.org/press/2005/AK_23_Sept_REACH.htm

the chance to link environmental issues in general, and REACH in particular, to MEPs' electoral campaigns. On the Chemical Reaction website, then, a section entitled 'vote watch' was established where citizens could see how their MEPs had voted on key environmental issues, including a previous vote on chemicals legislation.

Following the elections, however, the groups were faced not only with a more right wing Parliament, but also with a Commission that reflected the majority of right wing governments in the EU's member states.¹¹² Here the only option was to attempt to work with these more hostile institutions, since they would be in place throughout the rest of the campaign. As already seen, many attacks were made by the groups on the new Commission, in particular on its new President Barroso and the Enterprise Commissioner Verheugen. They were seen as interfering with REACH despite its legally being in the hands of the European Parliament. Within the Parliament, on the other hand, more important splits were seen between committees than between parties, as already seen above. Nevertheless, party lines are seen as responsible for many MEPs revoking on their promises to vote according to the demands of the campaigning groups (interview 23). To these twin threats, especially that of the Commission, the groups found it difficult to respond. One attempt was to make their points more personal through actions such as the vacuuming of MEP's offices and the testing of their blood in order to demonstrate the extent of chemical presence, thereby overcoming both industry arguments and political lines, and cyber actions of citizens uploading their pictures to demand a strong REACH (interview 23). But in the end campaigners still felt they were leading a reactive campaign, spending most of their time answering industry arguments rather than creating their own.

Turning to the variable of electoral instability, majorities in favour of a industry's vision of REACH were in place during the more critical moments of the legislation's passage – i.e. at the first and second reading decisions. The Commission is seen as unshifting in its position, a fact that will change only with its renewal (interview 23). The Council, especially following the German national elections and the departure of the Greens from government, is also seen as fairly immobile in its votes (Howarth 2007:97). The European Parliament, on the other hand, shows some scope for manoeuvring during votes. Yet even

¹¹² The German elections which took place during this campaign were also mentioned as a setback for the REACH campaign, as the new right-wing German government was also seen as keen on delaying reform (interviews 16 and 24).

this hope is tempered by the aforementioned compromise deals between the leading committees. Even where groups were not too disappointed with Parliament votes, the ensuing Council decisions overturned these. Overall then there are few opportunities for swinging majorities in this campaign, and attempts to do so in the European Parliament did not come to fruition. For example, the campaigning groups organised information meetings in the Parliament for MEPs with expert speakers in an attempt to engage a cross-party audience, yet such events did not attract many members (interview 23).

The category of contingent events has little effect on this campaign, with no events being particularly linked to its fate. A health scare in Italy where infant formula milk was withdrawn from the market after the discovery that chemicals from its packaging were seeping into the powder was drawn on, but the event did not make enough headlines to swing the debate, and not much evidence of REACH activities were found in Italy. Interestingly, however, one interviewee does dwell on the difference such a contingent event could have made on the campaign, demonstrating an awareness of their importance as demonstrated by their presence in the Bolkestein campaign in particular. “I mean we were saying recently is there any kind of chance that we could get exactly what we wanted in REACH, and we would say well, if there was this big chemical contamination disaster then probably people would get scared and give us what we want..”

We can now move on to look at the campaigning groups’ allies, and their ability to hold promises, although, significantly, little is said about these either. In the Commission, to begin with, DG Environment as the groups’ ‘natural partner’ is seen as an ally, and the previous Environment Commissioner Margot Wallström in particular. Any opportunity this relationship would have given however fades with the change of the Commission and the decisions on the dossier being essentially transferred to DG Enterprise. In addition, the new Environment Commissioner Dimas is not regarded as particularly knowledgeable on environmental problems in general (interview 23). The Green group in the European Parliament is similarly regarded as an ally, but again this group holds little sway over vote outcomes in the Parliament. Finally, some member states, namely the Nordic members and Belgium, are named as allies within the Council (interview 16). Once again, though, these countries hold too few votes and are too few in total to swing Council votes. All in all, the campaign presents few opportunities in the form of allies for the campaigning groups.

The campaign also suffered from the presence of hostile elites in the form of the new Commission from 2004 onwards, at the most important stages of the REACH legislation. Both President Barroso and even more so Commissioner Verheugen are seen as very much against the kind of REACH that the groups wished to see. Verheugen is described as having had a “huge impact on making REACH weaker” (interview 16), while Barroso’s Commission as a whole is seen as friendly towards industry thus making light work for the latter’s lobbying efforts. Even potential allies within the new Commission, i.e. Commissioner Dimas, are seen as crushed by these hostile elites: “But, you know, she [Wallström] would have fought for REACH and Dimas wasn’t.. given that opportunity. I think, my impression when I met him in Berlin, and I addressed the registration issue with him, he was sincere about it, because the Commission experts said exactly the same thing as we had been saying. But he was under so much pressure and it was clear that he wasn’t the one calling the shots” (interview 24). In addition to this, the hostile DG Enterprise is also described as disposing of more expertise than other more friendly departments (interview 23). In response to this threat, the campaigning groups attempted to convince other Commissioners to stand up for a different kind of REACH (interview 16) whilst being sure to meet with each cabinet member of each DG responsible for environmental issues (interview 23), as well as their frequent denouncing of Barroso and Verheugen in press releases, and in actions targeted to attracting the media (Greenpeace’s office removal stunt in particular comes to mind). In the end, though, these efforts did not change the Commission’s outlook on the subject.

The final variable to be inspected in terms of dynamic political opportunities is the most important (in conjunction with discursive threats in particular) to the outcomes of this campaign. It is, of course, the presence of a strong counter movement in the shape of a very active industry lobby. To begin with, the industry lobby enjoys far greater material resources than the those available to the campaigning groups, both in terms of expertise, funds, and sheer numbers of people engaged: according to interview 16 as many as 100 lobbyists worked for the industry campaign as compared to around 10 people for the social one. The strength and omnipresence of the industry campaign also manifested itself in other ways, with many interviewees pointing out that whenever they met with an MEP, they had always met with an industry representative before. Some had been invited to dinner parties, and been offered gifts by the chemicals lobby – tactics that the campaigning

not only could not but would not resort to (interview 16).¹¹³ This strength in terms of numbers led to the aforementioned complaint that the EUSMO campaign was constricted to answering the criticisms of the industry campaign rather than building its own, more positive and proactive campaign concentrating on points seen as more important for environmental arguments (interview 23). This threat, i.e. controlling the campaign agenda, is most obvious in the industry lobbies argument that the original, White Paper, REACH would lead to the loss of many jobs in the EU. Combined with the generally higher salience of social and employment issues in the EU at the time of the campaign, this argument in particular placed environmental groups on the defensive, and on unfamiliar ground, since they were obliged to frame their arguments in terms of SMEs and economic arguments.¹¹⁴ The campaigning groups also accused the industry lobby of inventing arguments, or of pulling out totally irrelevant ones, placing the environmental campaign on the defensive whilst believing that the true facts were really on their side (interviews 16 and 24).

In terms of clear threats, then, the counter movement of industry presented numerous obstacles. At the very beginning of the campaign, for example, they were seen as behind the successful push to extend consultation on the White Paper, thereby delaying the legislation for more than a year. This tactic forced the campaigning groups into the paradoxical situation of having to denounce a public consultation – something they should logically have been in favour of but were forced to oppose. Their response was to raise a petition, to circulate instructions on contributing to the consultation among their groups, and a public handover of their petition. In fact, as noted earlier in this chapter their efforts meant that they trumped industry in terms of mobilisation, although not in terms of numbers of contributions. Yet still the White Paper was stripped of many of the points the campaigning groups were in favour of as it was reworked into the legislative proposal, a result of the Commission's perceived openness towards industry groups to the detriment of social ones (interviews 23 and 24). As the proposal moved into the Parliament, the numerical and argumentative strength of the industry lobby made it nearly impossible for the campaigning groups to achieve the engineering of any majority in favour of their position. Although the Parliament's first reading vote was far from disastrous, the groups were forced to rethink their demands as it became clear that some points had been

¹¹³ Since transparency is a factor also very important to these groups.

¹¹⁴ Smith (2006) makes a similar argument for the REACH case on this point.

irrevocably lost. Finally, industry lobbies were also perceived as strong at the national level, making the Council vote move even further away from the campaigning groups' ideals. In Germany especially lobbying from giants such as BASF and Bayer was seen as extremely detrimental to the campaign. Although the groups made efforts to counteract these lobbies by implementing direct citizen e-mail actions, as well as by encouraging direct national actions by their member groups and others, this did not turn out to be enough.

4.4 Shifting the environmental to the social: discursive threats in the REACH campaign

The discursive opportunities and threats in the REACH campaign are particularly interesting, as the industry lobby borrows the more salient, social arguments in order to derail what the campaigning groups would have liked to be an environmental issue. Paradoxically then it is not the fixed discursive opportunities on the environment and public health outlined in chapter one that determine to a great extent the outcomes of this campaign, but the argument put forward by industry groups that REACH could spell unemployment for thousands of Europeans. This, along with other discursive threats connected to the industry counter movement, will be looked at in more detail below. Before turning to those more dynamic discursive opportunities, I shall briefly describe the few elements relating to the fixed discursive opportunities provided by the EU arena on environmental and public health issues.

On the discursive opportunities offered by the EU's search for democratic credibility, a quote from Friends of the Earth Europe is the most eloquent:

“...one positive aspect is having all those groups across Europe working on REACH as well and being in touch with both their MEPs and their national governments and national experts, basically saying we represent all those people. And obviously when we do cyber-actions through Chemical Reaction, it's showing that it's citizens outreach, and citizens' concerns for certain chemicals to be phased out, or for a stronger REACH in general. We kind of tried to use this grassroots base also for lobbying purposes. Because it, well, it doesn't always work, but sometimes it works pretty good” (interview 16).

This quote shows that apart from the need for expertise on the EU and technical information for the Commission in order to exploit structural political opportunities, it is vital for groups to have good grassroots contacts, and for national groups to work in the member states on European issues. These conditions are important not only for political opportunities at the national level, but also for exploiting discursive opportunities at the European. Since the largest 'global environmental mass organisations' (van der Heijden 2002: 193) are involved in this campaign, bringing the combined weight of their large memberships (so large that it has been argued that they may take over some functions of political parties in interest aggregation and representation, *ibid* 2002) some clout is likely. In this case, however, the (albeit limited) actions of national groups are too effectively counteracted by industry, and are in any case on a lower scale than seen in other cases. The full weight of national membership cannot be brought to bear on the campaign because of the failure to mobilise enough at the national and local levels.

The theoretically non-ideological nature of environmental / public health issues is completely disproved by the REACH case. The involvement of industry as a result of the potential effects of the legislation on the European chemicals sector meant that the issue was highly politicised from the word go. As in other areas, the industry groups worked effectively to seize and create opportunities flowing from this, both by delaying the publication of the legislative proposal until a more right-wing Parliament (more open to their views) was elected, and by shifting the discursive basis of the arguments around REACH away from technical questions on chemicals and onto the ground of employment. By asserting that the legislation would mean widespread unemployment in the sector, the industry groups also ensured a sympathetic ear amongst left wing actors, traditionally the defenders of the goal of full employment. Whilst ideology definitely played a large role in the discursive landscape of the campaign, it did not furnish the EUSMOs with opportunities but threw them into unfamiliar landscapes of discourses on employment and business viability.

On events and campaigns contributing to the increased salience of environmental and public health issues, the main comments from the coordinator of Chemical Reaction focus on the fact that such discursive opportunities were conspicuous by their absence in this campaign, indicating that the wave of popular concern on such issues is either abating, or that REACH simply did not catch the imagination of citizens or journalists. Comments

similar to those made on contingent events and how they may have helped the campaign are made on this subject too, since health scares are easier to sell to journalists. Although coverage was initially promising according to interviewees, developments in the REACH campaign (developments favourable to the environmental view that is), such as new scientific research and the like, were simply “not sexy, ..not easy to grasp for journalists” (interview 23). Efforts mainly by Greenpeace to grab the attention of the media, mostly by testing various popular consumer goods such as children’s clothing, became less interesting for the media with repetition (interview 23). A lack of big public moments for exploitation by the coalition groups was also bemoaned as a threat:

“There were times when we thought, for example when the Verheugen paper was leaked, and then the week after the European Voice headline was, you know, Wallström mad about Verheugen paper and that this paper was not cleared with the Commission, with other cabinet members. But those moments were so tiny, and we couldn't, we weren't even able, although we really tried our best..” (interview 24)

This problem with discursive opportunities continues in a similar vein when it comes to unknown risks and public distrust in scientists. In this case instead of playing to the favour of the campaigning groups, as with GMOs, the fact that scientific research has so far been unable to link specific chemicals to particular health risks is used to claim that further regulation is not needed.¹¹⁵

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, more campaign specific discursive threats were posed by the active industry lobby on REACH. Although the industry lobby were undoubtedly strong and skilful in their campaign, the generally higher salience of economic issues such as employment and competitiveness on the European agenda are also recognised as having contributed to the effective industry campaign. Nevertheless, this climate had to be interpreted and exploited by the industry lobby, and in this they were particularly successful. Putting specific arguments as discursive threats aside, the main problem for the environmental coalition groups was that they were obliged to answer industry arguments: “So we haven't been actually, we're always responding ... rather than

¹¹⁵ Whereas in the case of GMOs unknown risks are successfully exploited as a reason for extra precaution. The difference between the two cases here may be only in spin – again the presence of a strong counter movement seems to have worked to the detriment of the environmental coalition.

actually ... being active ourselves and saying this is what's happening. We spend a lot of time dealing with industry arguments, like workability, like the jobs issue, the cost issue, so we wasted our time and energy. Rather than driving forward our own messages, our own campaign, we spent our time actually responding to industry positions” (interview 23). In addition, the industry lobby’s successful tactic of placing the discussion firmly in the sphere of economic issues also wrong footed the environmental groups, who were forced to frame their arguments in appropriate terms, focussing on the benefits of a strong REACH for SMEs for example. Clearly this is not the home ground of such groups, although they recognise that it must become so in the future.

The discursive side of the EU institutions’ need for technical information is also raised as a clear threat in the REACH campaign for several reasons. Firstly, the constant production of reports is, in the end, doubted as a successful tactic, since “you think well, what’s the point of doing another report if it’s not even being picked up by Parliamentarians? It’s just another report. And then it comes down to who do I believe? And if I’m a conservative then I am more inclined to believe a business representative than some Green NGO” (interview 23). Even here, it is interesting note, the successful production of knowledge depended on the presence of a strong industry lobby or not. Had the campaigning groups had a clear field, their technical knowledge may have been acceptable even to conservative members, as was the case for Trade Union arguments in the Bolkestein campaign.

In addition, concentrating on the production of technical information is also raised as a problem in keeping up grassroots links and links with the public at large (interview 23). Because social campaigning groups are usually small in terms of staff, often a decision must be made over contributing on the policy level, i.e. with amendments and so on, or on employing a campaigner in order to mount a more public action when in truth both are needed for a strong EU level campaign. Here once again forming a coalition with other groups helps overcome the more practical side of the problem, while discursively the groups tried to make sure that their demands were framed in such a way as to bridge the different targets (citizens, institutions). This, however, is seen as a difficult task to accomplish: “I mean you cannot just make totally general remarks about REACH because then you are unprepared, and you don't do justice to the intrinsic delicacies of REACH also, but on the other hand if you do it too detailed, I cannot sell this to women, that's for sure. They will not understand it, I will lose them” (interview 24). This campaign thus

confirms the link between the knowledge of EU policy and the willingness to participate in campaign actions posited by Klandermans et al in their study of Dutch and Spanish farmers (2001: 92). In this work, the authors found that those farmers, for the most part Spanish, who were unaware of issues linked to the common agricultural policy were far less likely to take part in protest actions than their better informed Dutch counterparts (*ibid*:2001). The REACH campaign echoes this finding, since the REACH issue is defined by several interviewees as particularly difficult to explain to national groups, who consequently concentrated on other campaigns. Linked to these concerns is that of losing the core message of the campaign in technical detail – again responded to by sticking to a few central demands. This, however, is seen as a more general problem when working with legislative texts.

The technical nature of the legislation itself is also raised as constituting a difficulty when communicating the environmental impact of REACH. Technical details, it seems, tend to drown out the link between chemicals and environment: “People are usually surprised that what boils down to our environment, there is a problem. But to actually then make this connection and say therefore we have to do this and this in REACH, I'm not sure if this works” (interview 23). Continuing in this vein, the groups also feel a discursive threat from the fact that they had to change their demands throughout the campaign according to what had been lost in previous stages. Such changes were necessary in order to keep realistic goals, but also meant that the groups kept lowering the bar, and at the end, at some point, REACH will not do what it is meant to, we may even have to change and say we do not support REACH anymore” (interview 23). As seen in the section on shared frames, these reactions also meant that the campaigning groups did not manage to present a clear message throughout the campaign, although this may also be due to the intrinsic complexity of REACH.

To sum up, the most striking feature that can be drawn from this assessment of discursive opportunities in the REACH campaign is that almost all are threats. Very few exploitable opportunities were available, placing the campaigning groups on the defensive. The structural opportunities offered by the EU arena did not provide much scope for effective discourses, and the presence of a strong industry lobby meant that the coalition groups met only with obstacles in terms of campaign specific threats, obstacles that were more generally parried through a division of labour among the groups of the coalition or, in the

case of industry arguments, not overcome at all. The industry lobby was, on REACH, successful in terms of placing the discourse on its own terms, forcing the campaigning groups to spend time in answering their arguments rather than creating their own.

4.5 Outnumbered and out-argued: campaign outcomes

All of the analysis of the campaign on REACH has, of course, served to allow an attempt at tracing the processes that led to the campaign outcomes. Now that these different aspects of the campaign have been examined in depth, from internal arguments and dialogues to reaction to discursive and political contexts, some such attempt may be made. Firstly, however, it is necessary to outline just what those outcomes were.

To recall, the three categories of outcomes of interest here were access, agenda, and policy outcomes. Concerning the first of these, the campaign does not seem to have changed the levels of access to institutions already enjoyed by EUSMOs. Different groups in the coalition take part in lobbying and in Commission expert groups, and all confirm that access is possible, even if this does not automatically mean that arguments will be listened to. In terms of agenda outcomes the campaign also appears to have had no great effect if we only consider the period of time included in this analysis. It may be argued that EUSMOs' work on REACH *before* the White Paper had some effect of bumping the issue up the agenda, but for the legislative campaign industry was more effective, changing what had been a satisfactory White Paper in the eyes of the environmental groups into a very different piece of legislation by moving discussions away from health and environmental issues and towards those of employment and competitiveness. Finally, the policy outcome of the REACH campaign was much closer to the wishes of the industry lobby than those of the environmental coalition, although in their public reactions the EUSMOs did put a brave face on it, characterising the legislation as a valid first step towards the kind of regulation they would wish to see. Other outcomes of the campaign for the coalition groups relate more to campaigning techniques. As the quote heading this chapter shows, the REACH issue saw one of the closest instances of coalition campaigning ever seen at the EU level, even if in the end it was not enough to secure the desired policy outcome. For the groups taking part in the campaign, both at European and national level, this was seen as an

important learning experience, and an incentive to carry on working on EU issues with national level groups. This, in the eyes of the coordinator for Chemical Reaction, was one of the more important outcomes of the campaign:

“..for these groups who have been taking part, for them it's a really good experience. For me it's also a matter of how you can get the involvement and the enthusiasm for EU politics. And then for people to continue working on EU politics. Because of course if you're in a country like the UK or Italy, we are used to focussing on our immediate surroundings. And you really need to widen the horizon and that's why we need to get people out of their national offices and coming to Brussels, so that they understand.” (interview 23)

It is the access, agenda, and policy non-outcomes that are of most interest here however. What can be said about why no outcomes of importance to the environmental coalition were seen as a result of the campaign, especially with its unprecedented coalition? The following table provides a summary of the analysis in order to recall the features of the campaign considered in process tracing.

Table 8: Summary of the REACH campaign by phase

Phase	Extent of shared frames	Political Opportunities	Discursive Opportunities
1	Only one frame (substitution) shared across the board. Many single-use frames, but very early point in campaign. No evidence of national level framing work found.	White Paper approved, Commissioner Wallström an ally, but industry counter-movement secure extended consultation and text changes. Campaign begins in earnest only with mobilisation for internet consultation.	Lack of national movement means no exploitation of legitimacy opportunity. Industry shift discourse from environment to unemployment.
2	Framing work strong in the joint drafting of all campaign documents, but no strong message carried through over time with the partial exception of substitution. National level frames similarly weak, and most frequent frame not	DG Enterprise seen as leading, hostile relationship with Verheugen after EP and Commission swing to right. EP use Hughes procedure. No exploitation of multi-level design through strong	Lack of national movement means no exploitation of legitimacy opportunity. Industry shift discourse from environment to unemployment, EUSMOs' on defensive. Resources sunk into

	strong in EUSMO documents, although substitution frame strong.	national actions, Germany elect right wing government. Stronger actions in EP, but lobbying unstrategic. Coalition division of labour allows participation in technical groups as well as more media-oriented actions. Industry lobby remain extremely strong.	production of technical information. General shift of saliency to economic arguments in EU. Media largely ignore the subject, no previous campaigns contributing to saliency.
3	Substitution and warnings on legislation frames most frequent, but still not shared across majority of documents. Lack of strong message continues. National level frames as phase 2, more critical of legislation than EU level.	No strong national level campaign to influence Council / Presidency deal. Commission hostile. Industry lobby remains extremely strong.	As phase 2. Campaign demands change to accommodate losses of first reading.

Non-outcomes for the EUSMO campaign translate to some extent into outcomes for the industry campaign here. At the end of the first phase of the campaign, the industry lobby saw their preferred outcome of an extended period of consultation, as well as a legislative proposal that was in their eyes an improvement on the White Paper. The second phase also brought a policy outcome for the industry lobby with the further altered legislation, as did the third phase in which the legislation was finally adopted. Tracing the processes of the non-outcomes of the EUSMO campaign is therefore also enlightening in understanding the success of the industry lobby to some extent, although more information on their campaign would of course be required to draw more thorough conclusions.

In the first phase of the campaign, the EUSMO camp got off to a slow start, since they were essentially pleased with the content of the White Paper. The frame analysis showed that as the consultation period dragged on and the campaign began in earnest, the coalition groups began to work together immediately, calling attention mainly to the delays in the publication of the legislative proposal and to the call for substitution of the most hazardous chemicals. Despite their scanty message at this point, then, the coalition was already working as a unit, showing that framing work was certainly taking place behind the scenes. The situation regarding political and discursive opportunities, however, is less positive.

The industry lobby began work earlier than the EUSMOs, since they were unimpressed with the White Paper. They successfully convinced the Commission to extend their consultation period and to carry out a public internet consultation – a move that the campaign’s only elite ally, Commissioner Wallström, could hardly oppose. On the discursive side, the industry lobby had already shifted arguments away from environment and health issues and towards the unemployment threat posed by the legislation. Added to this was the lack of a strong national level campaign on the EUSMO side to counteract such arguments at the Council level, which also left them in a more difficult position for exploiting the legitimacy discursive opportunity. Considering this combination of the strength of the industry lobby and the initial relative weakness of the EUSMO campaign, the non-outcome for the latter at the end of the first phase of the campaign can be attributed to a mix of the campaign’s shortcomings as well as the strengths of the industry counter-movement. At this point, hostile elites and other situations more directly connected with the EU institutions played less of a role.

The most intensive phase of the campaign corresponded to the first reading of the Commission’s legislative proposal in the European Parliament. Here both the EUSMO campaign became stronger – the coalition grew, and actions became much more frequent. The frame analysis reflected the continued unity of the coalition, with all of the documents analysed jointly authored. Framing work is thus assumed to have continued behind the scenes. The message put across in the campaign documents, however, is scattered, with no small cluster of frames remaining constant throughout. In addition, the national level members of the EUSMOs were, for the most part, oblivious to the REACH issue. The industry lobby continued to be strong, carrying out an intense lobbying campaign at the European Parliament with its superior numbers of staff. While the EUSMOs also targeted the Parliament, this was necessarily on a less grand scale. More importantly, the second phase of the campaign saw the European elections, the change in the Commission, and a change of government in Germany. All of these resulted in more right-wing configurations more open to the arguments of the industry lobby. The new President of the Commission Barroso, and his Enterprise Commissioner Verheugen, were particularly loathed by the EUSMO campaign, who saw them as extremely hostile to their goals and over-friendly with the industry sector.

Industry continued to make headway with their unemployment discourse in the meantime, which obliged the EUSMO campaign to follow their lead in responding to such arguments rather than advancing their own. In addition, although their strong coalition allowed them to divide labour and carry out not only more media-oriented actions but also participate in expert commission, the numbers were simply not enough to match the industry campaign. Sinking resources into the production of technical knowledge whilst simultaneously attempting an all-out public campaign and to respond to industry affirmations was simply too much to cover. Added to this was the continued lack of a strong national level campaign backing up their efforts. All in all, the lack of outcome at the end of the first reading of the legislation is a more complicated affair than in the first phase of the campaign if we take all of these factors into consideration. It is true that the industry campaign was strong and the EUSMO campaign weaker, but a plethora of political and discursive threats were added to this. As the situation in the third, much shorter phase of the campaign is in all aspects extremely similar to the second, I shall now discuss the non-outcome of the overall campaign in general.

The structural opportunities of the EU were navigated well by the EUSMO coalition, who were perfectly aware of how to work with the complicated multi-level system, of where to concentrate their efforts at which point of the legislative procedure, and of the importance of a strong coalition when searching for the resources to achieve all of this. Here, as in other cases, it was dynamic political opportunities that were more important in deciding the outcome of the campaign, and of these the strong counter movement of industry lobbies was the deal breaker. Similarly, it was the dynamic discursive threats arising from the industry lobby's dominance of the discourse on the REACH issue, alongside threats stemming from the highly technical nature of the legislative proposal, that scuppered the environmental groups' efforts to raise the points most important to them in an effective way. Discursive opportunities in the campaign, whether structural or dynamic, were few and far between.

Looking back at the previous summary of the different features and threats encountered in the campaign, the links between the majority of these and the presence of a strong industry lobby stand out. Despite strong internal dialogue, indicated by the joint authorship of almost every single press release seen in the campaign, it was noted that the campaigning groups did not carry a strong message throughout the campaign – they were, instead, forced

to react to the losses conceded at each point of the legislative process. Losses that can also be characterised as gains for the industry lobby. In terms of political opportunities, again, few were to be had for the campaigning groups, and the presence and success of industry were often mentioned. In addition, there were no strong allies for the campaigning groups within the institutions – a condition commonly judged paramount to the success of a social movement campaign (Tarrow 1990; Kitschelt 1990; Giugni and Passy 1998). Here too, we may conjecture that a lack of strong allies for the campaigning groups may be a consequence of the presence of strong allies for industry lobbies. Finally, a strong discursive threat to the campaign, to the detriment of the strong work within the coalition in terms of framing work, was of course industry's appropriation of the REACH discourse, which was moved away from environmental issues and towards employment and competitiveness arguments. Another strong discursive threat, with repercussions for the EU levels groups' links with the national level counterparts, lay in the intrinsic complexity of the REACH proposal, and the necessity of devoting time to the production of technical knowledge. As already mentioned, it appears that the coalition simply could not convince national level groups of the importance of the REACH campaign, both as a result of its technical nature per se and as a result of their resources being stretched, also partly because of the highly technical nature of the proposed legislation.

In the case of REACH, then, it is clear that the efforts of an apparently strong coalition were continually scuppered by the work of an even stronger, more resource rich, and better connected industry lobby. The successful work by this lobby was responsible for the transformation of many opportunities into threats for the environmental groups. A useful way of understanding this campaign's failure to secure any of its desired outcomes despite the strength of the coalition is provided by Warleigh (2000). In an article examining four cases of NGO campaigns in the EU, Warleigh finds that being a member of the 'policy coalition' is vital to securing impact – he sums up the situation of the REACH campaign succinctly in observing that “those seeking to break into policy networks outside their traditional spheres of expertise can find their path blocked by existing insiders, necessitating the construction of extremely complex alliances in order to achieve goals” (*ibid*:235). This applies well to the REACH campaign, where industry insiders (at least with DG Enterprise once responsibility was placed there) managed to block the environmental coalition's entry to the 'policy coalition' of actors that were credibly contributing to the legislation. Combined with this was the threat of losing resources and

contacts with grassroots members due to the highly technical nature of the legislation, and the resources sunk in producing contributions to Commission consultations and expert groups, as well as the production of numerous reports.

4.6 Conclusions

This chapter looked in detail at the campaign which took place around the European chemicals legislation REACH, beginning with the publication of the Commission's White Paper in 2001, and ending with the adoption of legislation in December 2006. A wide variety of tactics were employed by the EUSMOs campaigning on the subject, from more traditional lobbying techniques and participation in Commission consultations, to more spectacular actions such as testing the blood of MEPs for dangerous chemicals. Few actions were seen at national level, although national members were brought to Brussels on several occasions either to demonstrate or to take part in training sessions and lobbying at the European Parliament. Meanwhile, the campaign was faced with the challenge of a strong and resource-rich counter-campaign from the industry lobby.

The documents selected for the frame analysis were all jointly authored by coalition groups, a reflection of the unprecedented degree of close coalition work on this issue between groups that usually work in looser coordination. National level documents were extremely difficult to locate, again a faithful reflection of the general lack of any widespread movement or awareness of the issue at that level – the actions that did take place were mostly the result of EU level sponsoring rather than spontaneous involvement, since all involved an EU level group. In the long term, the tactic of bringing national members to Brussels for seminars and lobbying exercises may secure outcomes in other campaigns. Hellferich and Kolb (2001:150) for example note the role of education and information for national level women's groups in the campaign for a legally binding article on equality in the EU Treaty. In that long-running campaign however this strategy took several years to produce the result of spontaneous and informed actions by national groups.

As for the content of the frame analysis of the REACH campaign, the messages of the campaign were constantly shifting and no strong demand or message shone through the duration, perhaps with the exception of the demand for the substitution of hazardous chemicals, although even this was weak when compared with the strength of core frames in

other campaigns presented here. This corroborates findings from numerous scholars about the difficulties of negotiating strong positions amongst heterogeneous groups (for example Rucht 2001: 137, Hellferich and Kolb 2001:149, Lahusen 2004, Cullen 2005), although I would argue that here the successes of the counter-campaign also played a large role in obliging the EUSMOs to change their message.

The EU level groups were evidently aware of the best ways to engage with the EU political opportunity structure, but were faced with dynamic threats, most of which were linked to the industry lobby's campaign, that stretched their already meagre resources as well as obliging them to shift away from their usual discursive ground. Non-outcomes in the first phase of the campaign could be attributed to both the strong industry lobby and the weakness of the EUSMO campaign, which got off to a slow start. In the second and third phases, hostile elites in the Commission, the committees of the Parliament, and in Germany combined with the continuing failure to kick-start national actions that was at least partly due to the very technical nature of the legislation, the absence of elite allies (a factor found to be paramount to the success of social movement campaigns by many authors, e.g. Tarrow 1990; Kitschelt 1990; Giugni and Passy 1998), and all the threats stemming from the strong industry campaign (both discursive and political) resulted in the EUSMOs' disappointment with the version of REACH that was eventually adopted in December 2006.

The case suggests, then, that where a strong and resource-rich counter-movement is present in the EU arena, small groups such as those seen in this case have little chance of influencing policy as they would like, no matter how close a coalition they form. The coalition observed in the REACH campaign, where groups pooled resources, contacts, and divided labour in an attempt to cover all aspects of the issue, is a tactic that has also been noted as an important factor in transnational campaigns (Keck and Sikkink 1998:141, Bandy and Smith 2005: 244-5, Foster 2005:11). Yet in the end this coalition was simply not strong enough to overcome the host of political and discursive threats the campaign faced. The conclusion that a strong counter-movement was the most instrumental factor in the non-outcomes of the REACH campaign also receives confirmation from the Bolkestein campaign, where the industry lobby is conspicuous by its absence (see chapter six). In addition, the technical character of REACH was difficult for the groups to boil down into any simple slogan or one strong line of argument that could be carried through their

campaign and aid in mobilising grassroots members. To conclude, then, the REACH campaign is a good example of a strong coalition, but faced with too strong an opposition.

5. The Lisbon Campaign: a short, sharp shock

“..It was a bit clearer than usual that there was something to be really protected. So often these processes are very complicated and complex, and so it's quite difficult to mobilise people around it. But here you had a very clear choice where you were being presented with an approach that economics will solve everything...” (interview 12)

In March 2000, the European Council met in Lisbon to discuss the future of ‘social Europe’. At that meeting they agreed a new, overarching strategy for the future of the EU, dubbed, for obvious reasons, the Lisbon agenda. The goal of this agenda was to make the EU “the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, and respect for the environment by 2010”.¹¹⁶ This all-encompassing message proved popular with a range of organisations involved in those areas the agenda would affect – environmental, social, and trade union organisations in particular. In February 2005, these groups formed a coalition to protest against a move made by President Barroso of the European Commission to limit the scope of the original Lisbon agenda to economic growth and jobs at its mid-term review (Commission 2005). While the other parts of the Lisbon strategy, social cohesion and sustainable development, would not be forgotten, they would take a back seat for a period. In his own words, as he defended the communication to a plenary session of the European Parliament, "If one of my children is ill, I focus on that one, but that does not mean that I love the others less".

These rather ill-judged words only served to spur on the social groups and trade unions that were already much worried and opposed to this proposed change. These EUSMOs, members of the Social Platform and the ETUC, took Barroso’s words as a signal that the parts of the Lisbon strategy concerning social cohesion and sustainable development were to be abandoned. This would threaten the very basis on which they worked at European level, and they began to act to try and stop such a move. The time available was very short - Barroso’s communication was published on 2 February 2005, and the Spring Summit that would endorse or discard it took place on 22-23 March 2005, giving the campaign around seven weeks to make their case in an effective manner. For this reason, groups opted for

¹¹⁶ The environmental dimension of the Lisbon agenda was officially added by the Council at its meeting in 2001 in Gothenburg.

simple, strong messages and a show of numbers by launching a petition, a day of action, and organising a demonstration two days before the European Council meeting that took advantage of the contemporary mobilisation around the Bolkestein directive (see chapter six) – actions made possible in a short time span because of permanent coalition structures and awareness of the issue in hand amongst national members. High level meetings were also sought with member state leaders, the Commission, and the Presidency.

These bottom-up tactics, usually identified more closely with national level social movement campaigns than EU level campaigns, combined with favourable circumstances including the debate over the Constitutional Treaty and the mobilisation on the Bolkestein directive and the support of the Luxembourg presidency, are found to have helped the EUSMOs to secure the positive policy outcome they sought. In the Council conclusions, the member states reiterated their commitment to the Lisbon agenda as it was originally worded. Although the year to come would prove that those words were somewhat empty, the groups had at least secured the outcome of this short, sharp campaign. Because of its short duration of just seven weeks, the Lisbon campaign is not split into separate phases, but analysed as a whole. The case is interesting precisely because of this short time span, which pushed the EUSMOs to draw on their national networks and national-style tactics in order to target the European Council. It is also a good example for showcasing the importance of contingent events, permanent coalition structures, and contemporary campaigns.

5.1 Instant mobilisation in the Lisbon campaign

As the marker of the halfway point to the Lisbon agenda's deadline of 2010, the 2005 social summit provided the opportunity to take stock of progress – for both European institutions and EUSMOs. Before the campaign began, an expert group (the Kok group) had been set up to provide a detailed report on progress towards the agenda's goals, with the Commission producing an additional mid-term evaluation report of its own – the report that would trigger the case under investigation.¹¹⁷ The Social Platform was unenthusiastic about these arrangements for the review of the Lisbon strategy. They were unhappy that

¹¹⁷ The overlap between the Lisbon and Bolkestein cases can also be noted here, since one of the conclusions of the Kok report was to pursue competitiveness by ensuring the quick adoption of the Services directive (Howarth 2007:94).

social NGOs would have no representation in the Kok group despite the fact that many of their members were responsible for implementing parts of the agenda through ‘Partnerships for Reform’. The ETUC was represented in the Kok group, and did not therefore question the methods of the mid-term review. Nevertheless, when the final report was published in November 2004 neither the ETUC nor the Social Platform were impressed with its conclusions.¹¹⁸ Already before the campaign proper then, these two groups to some extent expected strife over the review of the agenda.

The main EUSMO actors in the Lisbon campaign are, or are members of, two permanent, institutionalised coalitions of groups.¹¹⁹ Since these groups are organised very differently to those loose coalitions seen in the environmental case studies, it is useful to provide an overview of them here. The first is the European Platform of Social NGOs (the Social Platform). This organisation, set up in 1995 with funding from the European Commission, brings together many different kinds of social NGOs working on many different issues – poverty, humanitarian aid, and the representation of minorities for example. Despite numerous problems during its early days, when members found it difficult to define the common ground on which they could work, and procrastinated over the issue of the institutionalisation of the coalition (see Cullen 2005:71-75), the Social Platform now maintains a permanent secretariat in Brussels. Its main functions are to facilitate information exchange and dissemination, to facilitate common campaigns on those broader issues allowing common positions, as well as some capacity-building work and facilitating access to the European institutions for its members. The ETUC, on the other hand, is a federation of national Trade Unions. Founded in 1973, long after the formation of a similar federation by employers (UNICE, now Business Europe, founded in 1958), the body only began to come into its own as a vehicle for representing workers’ point of view on European level legislation in 1991. This owed much to the activism of the Delors Commission, who provided large sums of funding for the ETUC (for a summary of the ETUC’s history, see Martin and Ross 2001). Nevertheless, divisions between member Unions, ranging from Christian to Communist, have often formed an obstacle to the development of transnational positions in the organisation (Balme and Chabanet 2002:66). In 1991, the ETUC became an official legislative player alongside UNICE in the Social Dialogue.

¹¹⁸ The Social Platform, having had no luck in securing representation, instead provided the group with their own detailed review of progress in particular towards the goal of greater social cohesion.

¹¹⁹ These comments also apply to the Bolkestein case, which involves the same coalitions.

The two organisations, the main actors in the Lisbon campaign, also have regular contact with one another, a result of the activism of the former president of the Social Platform, Giampiero Alhadeff, and his links with the Trade Union movement through Solidar (Cullen 2005:77). The organisations meet not only through such bodies as the Civil Society Contact Group (interview 12), but also meet to exchange information on a monthly basis (interview 10), and, importantly, to coordinate their positions. The fast reactions of the groups to the perceived threat in Barroso's early February 2005 speech and the subsequent mobilisation thus avoided the more arduous work of building coalitions by drawing instead on existing, well-established networks.

These extremely brief descriptions highlight an interesting difference between these two coalitions. While much of the impetus for the development of the ETUC came from the top down, that is from European institutions, the Social Platform was (albeit problematically) created through the volition of its members. The ETUC has thus experienced some problems with creating real connections with its grassroots members. In more recent times, however, the organisation has been seen to take up more 'independent' strategies such as the coordination of collective bargaining, the development of closer links and alliances with a variety of other EUSMOs, and the organisation of public demonstrations, following the successful examples of European trade union sectoral organisations (Bieler 2005:478). Connecting with the grassroots is not in the immediate remit of the Social Platform, which is after all a coalition of European level groups. While working together at the European level may be difficult, links with grassroots members are the responsibility of individual members. The high levels of mobilisation among trade unionists seen in both of the social campaigns (i.e. also Bolkestein) are therefore particularly interesting.

Returning to the story of the campaign in hand, in the Commission's contribution to the mid-term review of the agenda, published on 2 February 2005 and entitled "A new start for the Lisbon strategy", the President outlined the idea that first and foremost, the Lisbon strategy should concentrate on the issues of economic growth and jobs within the EU, as without strength in these areas the remaining Lisbon 'pillars', social cohesion and sustainable development, could not be achieved. This view was not shared by a majority of social NGOs, nor by the ETUC. The Social Platform reacted quickly to the communication with a press release, and Solidar – a member of the Social Platform – was already working on a

more publicly directed response to the apparent change of direction. This group, the European secretariat of a network of social service providers and groups working on development issues and humanitarian aid with close links to the trade union movement, is one of the key members of the Social Platform.¹²⁰ The usual protocol for Solidar, and indeed the Social Platform itself, is to provide detailed comments in the form of an evaluation or resolution for each social Summit. A similar procedure was also followed for the Kok report. However, with the publication of the Barroso communication, Solidar's steering committee felt that something more drastic was needed. The thought of "wasting their time" on drafting detailed comments did not appeal, and so it was decided to "just make a strong call, let's try to initiate a strong message" (interview 13).

The action took the form of an online petition entitled SOS Europe (Save Our Social Europe). The idea behind the petition was to exploit the citizens' initiative article in the draft Constitutional Treaty, despite the fact that the short timeframe of the campaign precluded the collection of individual signatures.¹²¹ Instead, Solidar wrote a short text calling for the original version of the agenda to be respected. An important aspect of the petition was that although initiated by Solidar, the organisation opted for a 'no logo' petition – Solidar was not visible as the author or initiator of the petition anywhere on the website or any other formats in which the petition subsequently appeared. The logic behind this choice, also seen in the 'Stop Bolkestein' petition in the Services Directive campaign, was that a no logo petition would overcome any objections to signing on the basis of authorship – any groups who would feel uncomfortable about linking their names with the authors' could then sign without problems, not to mention diffuse the petition. Rather than having the glory of any result, Solidar decided it was more important to "have a lot of big organisations taking ownership of that, and actually getting the message across" (interview 13). Having Solidar take the initiative on the petition also avoided the lengthy processes of setting up working groups and the like within the framework of the Social Platform – this would have taken up too much of the precious little time the groups had in which to react (interview 12).

¹²⁰ Solidar is the new name for what was International Workers Aid. Its roots lie in the humanitarian effort within Europe following the Second World War. At the time of this campaign, the group supplied the Social Platform's vice-president. It is named as one of the Platform's strongest members, alongside the European Anti-Poverty Network and the European Women's Lobby, by Cullen (2005:77).

¹²¹ This article stated that any petition bearing 1 million signatures from citizens from a minimum number of European member states, would have to be acted upon by the EU.

Once the petition had been drafted, it was circulated to other Social Platform members, who diffused it among their own networks.¹²² By the time of the social summit, the petition had the support of around 7000 organisations. Judging from the indicative list of signatories printed in the European Voice newspaper of 17-23 March 2005, all of these organisations are either European organisations belonging to the Social Platform, or (the majority) national organisations belonging to European organisations who are, in turn, members of the Social Platform. The only individuals listed as signatories are MEPs, in virtue of their positions as elected representatives at the European level. The reasoning behind the petition had very much to do with showing the European organisations' roots at the member state level. "[SOS Europe] grew out of this recognition that actually we needed to show that we are more than just this office in Brussels, you know, that we are actually a much broader movement, engaging lots and lots of national organisations. Because that's the only way that national governments will actually sit up and listen" (interview 13). Relying on national organisations where the Council is a major target is thus the additional logic behind this strategy. In order to grab the attention of national governments, organisations well known in national contexts needed to be mobilised.

The day after the Social Platform's public reaction to the Barroso communication a delegation from the organisation met with the Presidency of the Council, then held by Luxembourg, and their Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker. Interestingly, the Social Platform did not seek this meeting but were invited. The fact that Juncker was seen to be seeking out allies in his efforts to steer discussion in the Council away from the direction set out in the Barroso communication are in fact seen as crucial to the campaign (see below on political opportunities). According to the Social Platform, the meeting was fairly lengthy, one and a half hours, and the parties discussed the group's opposition to Barroso's proposed approach in detail. These sorts of high-level meetings, in combination with public and contentious actions, characterise this campaign throughout its short duration. As the main target is the European Council, any access to the top-level of politicians is exploited in order to get the message straight to the horse's mouth.

In a further demonstration of this combination, another large-scale public action was also being planned at this point in the campaign. The ETUC hold a march every year for the

¹²² For the petition, the Social Platform is thus used less as an organisation in itself than as a network of European groups and their links to the national level (interview 11). The Social Platform as a unitary body state that when working with EU institutions they restrict themselves to lobbying.

social summit (interview 10), but on this occasion they too felt that extra effort was needed both as a result of the Barroso communication, the draft directive on Services in the Internal Market (see chapter five) and the generally more right-wing climate in the EU. All of these factors were stressed in their call to demonstrate. The demonstration is therefore linked to other issues from the very start by the ETUC: “[t]hese things happen, and you plan to have a demonstration before the European summit because you know that they will review the Lisbon agenda, but we were also aware of the fact that there was a lot of popular, a lot of unrest amongst people and trade unionists on this Bolkestein Directive. And of course it’s related, it ties in, it’s this model of open the economic frontiers” (interview 10). By linking the two subjects, the ETUC hoped to see a bigger turnout from a larger number of countries than on most previous occasions, where a ‘core’ of Belgian trade unionists provided between 10 and 20,000 participants, but few came from other countries (interview 10). The march itself took place immediately before the summit, on 19 March 2005.

Apart from organising their demonstration, the ETUC also made contacts with high-level players in both the Council and the Commission in order to press their point. Their position as a social partner and rather privileged interlocutor at both European and national levels is clear from the level at which contacts were made. Meetings or contacts were made by the secretary general of the ETUC (John Monks of the UK’s Trades Union Congress) with Jacques Chirac, the President of France, Guy Verhofstadt, the Prime Minister of Belgium, Gerhard Schroeder, the German Chancellor, as well as Commission President Barroso, and Commissioners Spidla (Employment, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunities) and Verheugen (Vice-President and Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry). Jean-Claude Juncker was also invited to the ETUC’s Executive Committee to discuss their position. Contacts between the ETUC and the Presidency were frequent, and considered to be particularly “helpful in steering the discussion and the conclusions in another direction than the one Barroso would like to see” (interview 10). It is interesting to note that, the Presidency aside, the national leaders targeted are all either naturally inclined to the views of trade unions (left-wing politicians), or, in the case of Chirac, from a country with a traditionally strong trade union movement calling for a ‘yes’ vote in the upcoming constitutional referendum (more on this in the political opportunities section). Apart from these efforts, national trade unions were also carrying out their own meetings at the national level (interview 10).

Despite the view that the usual repertoire of tactics were not enough for this campaign, the Social Platform nevertheless produced its usual Resolution for the Spring Summit on 21 February 2005, as well as another co-authored with the EEB and the ETUC. This resolution not only called for the re-balancing of the agenda, but also drew on arguments linked to the vision of the Union according to its citizens. Further public actions still accompanied these resolutions however, for example a call for action on the Platform's website on 1 March 2005. This call includes several options for action. First, it asks for signatures for the now up-and-running SOS Europe petition (thereby proving that although Solidar initiated the project, the Social Platform and its members drove it (interview 12). Secondly, it provides a model letter to be sent to heads of state and/or permanent representatives in Brussels in several languages. Thirdly, it asks for support for a 'day of action' on 21 March 2005 organised by the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN),¹²³ where the organisation asked its members to arrange events raising awareness on the campaign, and making their objections known.¹²⁴ Shortly after these events, the Social Platform was extremely surprised to receive an invitation to discuss their concerns with President Barroso himself (interviews 11, 13, 14).¹²⁵ This unprecedented invitation was, according to Solidar, most likely due to the fact that the usually serene Social Platform had raised such a public voice in opposition to the President's communication (interview 13). According to the press release reporting the meeting, it was helpful in the sense that the Platform had the chance to underline their idea that social, economic and employment policies should not be seen as competing choices. In concrete terms, however, little came of the meeting (interview 14).

The campaign now entered its last stages, and all three of the groups made a final push to publicise their various events through press releases, calls to demonstrate and, in the Solidar's case, a one page advertisement in the European Voice reproducing the petition

¹²³ It is interesting note that, like Solidar, the director of the EAPN is also a Vice-President of the Social Platform. This would seem to suggest that their roles as active members of the Social Platform has somehow influenced the fact that they then provide the core of the efforts towards more public actions around the Lisbon agenda campaign. In addition, the EAPN were very active in defining the Open Method of Coordination on social inclusion, and feel a strong ownership of this part of the implementation of the agenda (interview 12), which may also contribute to a stronger reaction to any threat to that process. That an active member of the Social Platform takes on public actions also fits with the problems encountered by the Social Platform itself in engaging in such actions – with no contacts with grassroots members it questions not only its ability in such matters, but also the appropriateness of even attempting to do so (interview 14).

¹²⁴ The EAPN's call also includes calls to sign the SOS Europe petition and to support the ETUC's demonstration.

¹²⁵ The meeting is cited in a press release from 15 March 2005 – therefore it may safely be assumed that it either took place on this date or the day before.

and lists of organisations and MEPs who had signed.¹²⁶ Another important factor in spreading the petition was its translation into all EU languages, making it more accessible at national levels. Following this final drive to gather support, the petition was handed to the President of the Council. At the end of the campaign, the petition had garnered support from around 7000 organisations, the majority of which were national organisations.¹²⁷ The demonstration called by the ETUC took place on 19 March. The President of the Social Platform addressed the protestors at the beginning of the day, along with the secretary general of the ETUC.¹²⁸ On the day, turnout was even higher than expected, with around 75,000 people marching through Brussels “for the defence of employment and social rights and to show their opposition to the Bolkestein directive”. The composition of the crowd, as estimated by the ETUC, was the usual core of Belgian trade unionists, but with larger contingents of trade unionists and others from other countries – around 20,000 from France, and 10,000 from Germany. “So it was a really European manifestation, in the real sense of the word” (interview 10). After the summit, the Luxembourg presidency’s press release re-affirmed the Council’s commitment to the original Lisbon agenda, meaning that the campaign had achieved its *immediate* objective of conserving the three-pillar approach.¹²⁹

5.1.1 Driving the campaign: the role of national groups

A swift assessment of how the core groups active in the Lisbon campaign (the Social Platform; the ETUC; Solidar; and the EAPN) went about involving their national members is particularly important for the present case as a complement to the frame analysis, since some problems were encountered in locating national level documents.

¹²⁶ The petition was sent directly to MEPs in order to secure support from elected politicians (interview 13).

¹²⁷ The SOS Europe petition was continued after the end of this campaign with a conference in February 2006 in partnership with the Austrian Solidar in order to continue activism on Social Europe. See www.soseurope.org.

¹²⁸ Despite some discussion of this decision to involve NGOs, with a few members feeling that these would ‘take over’ the march (interview 10), the need for a large turnout apparently won the day. Indeed, from the moment the ETUC called for a demonstration, this was taken up by the network of European social forums – starting from the Belgian social forum. Their call is more centred around opposition to the ‘spread of neo-liberalism’, but is explicitly a call to support the ETUC, and Social Europe. In the event then, the trade union demonstration is also proffered for shared ownership with NGOs and grassroots organisations.

¹²⁹ Similar conclusions on this story are drawn by Daly (2006:471). According to this author, as well as interviewees, however, the social objectives of Lisbon did suffer a certain “watering down” following the mid-term review (ibid:471), while others seem unaware that the presidency conclusions ever made such a statement (Howarth 2007:89). Legislation following the conclusions thus continued with the growth and jobs emphasis. Indeed, it has been argued that Lisbon as a “strategy towards ‘competitiveness’ (ibid:103) was an important tool in advancing both the Services directive and the REACH regulation (Smith 2006)

The Social Platform presents a peculiar structure with respect to national membership, in that the organisation must pass through its European level members in order to reach the national level. Strictly speaking, the Social Platform *has* no national level of membership, only European. Contacts with the national level depend on its individual members, although the organisation must still communicate effectively with its members if it is to ensure that information is passed down through the network.¹³⁰ Therefore the decision-making structures of the Social Platform must be almost more democratic and open than those of its members in order to be able to claim that a common campaign represents the views of all of its members – indeed the importance of democracy and participation in its work are very much stressed. Thematic working groups, made up of members' representatives with special interest in the particular area, produce position papers in dialogue with one another, which are then adopted by the Steering group, which may amend, and in which all members are represented. Due to the location of most members in Brussels, these groups may meet regularly. A management committee, including the President and Vice-Presidents, takes responsibility for the administration of the body, while the President and Vice-Presidents represent the Platform as a whole when necessary.

Quick reactions are not then the Platform's speciality, and the more public actions of the campaign are all carried out through the members of the Social Platform rather than the Platform itself. The Social Platform members most active in this campaign, and both of which provide a Vice-President for the organisation, are Solidar and the EAPN. Both of these organisations are European offices for networks of national groups – their staff in European offices are there to serve these members. In this campaign, as already seen, the EAPN's main mechanism for involving national members was the coordination of national actions of a variety of types in a single day of action. Solidar plays an important role in coordinating the efforts (both political and humanitarian) of its members. In the Lisbon campaign, it was those members that make up the steering committee that decided to draft the petition. Indeed, both Solidar and the EAPN state that their decisions are decided alongside their members. Solidar works on the basis of two thematic committees, each member deciding whether they should participate in one or both. Within these committees actions and positions are decided, with a general assembly holding the final decision. Day

¹³⁰ Most members of the Social Platform are federations of national groups who fund a small office in Brussels to monitor EU events on their behalf.

to day decisions are taken by a board, elected by the general assembly. The EAPN splits its decision-making work amongst task forces and working groups, again made up of national members. Similarly, a general assembly elects the executive committee and the board.

The ETUC is also very much controlled by its members, as seen in the brief description at the beginning of this chapter. The ETUC discusses issues in thematic working groups, where national experts in each policy area meet. Positions and plans of action, however, must always be approved by the Executive committee, where the top level of national members have the final decision on all actions – including those held jointly with other organisations. With regard to diffusing EU information to national members, the ETUC's role in this respect is limited. Most national trade unions, as long established and well-resourced organisations, research EU issues for themselves through other sources, or even maintain their own Brussels offices (often on a sectoral basis) (interview 10). Even when the ETUC calls on members of the Executive committee to contact national governments or diffuse information (a rare occurrence), there is no real follow-up to ensure information is sent through to grassroots members (interview 10). This however is not the case in the campaign in hand – the call to demonstrate on 19 March was well diffused by national members, and turnout was (for a European demonstration) high.

To summarise, the Lisbon campaign was triggered by Barroso's communication in early February 2005. The aim of the campaign was to ensure that the European Council would reaffirm its commitment to the three-pillar approach of the original agenda. The campaign was characterised by a combination of high-level lobbying and other more conventional tactics and a very public campaign including a mass internet-based petition, and a sizeable demonstration two days before the summit itself. These public actions relied on short, generalised messages in order to mobilise members (see the quote at the beginning of this chapter). While the Social Platform used lobbying tactics, writing resolutions and meeting with relevant actors, its most active members dedicated themselves to more public approaches such as the petition and a day of coordinated national actions (organised by the EAPN). The national level was therefore mobilised by Social Platform members working with one another rather than the Social Platform as an individual organisation. The ETUC also carried out both sorts of tactics, lobbying a number of very high-level actors,¹³¹ as well

¹³¹ The difference between the meetings with these high-level actors held by the ETUC and the Social Platform was that while the latter was invited, the former arranged the meetings themselves, indicating that access to such high-level actors is, for them, more routine.

as organising a mass demonstration with the participation of the other groups already mentioned, national groups, and national trade unions. In calling for this demonstration, they linked the campaign to the directive on Services in the Internal Market, which greatly enhanced mobilisation levels.

5.2 Simple and constant: frames in the Lisbon Campaign

Because the Lisbon campaign is so much shorter than the other case studies presented here, no separate phases were singled out. In order to ensure that the frames in this short campaign could be accurately traced, the documents selected for this frame analysis are more numerous than in other, longer case studies, and are closely spaced in a chronological sense. This short timeframe also constituted a problem when locating national level documents, as will be explained more fully below.

5.2.1 Frames among the European level groups

The core demand of the various organisations involved in the campaign is the same: that the European Council should not abandon the social pillar of the Lisbon agenda in line with the approach advocated by Barroso. Although missing in this strict form from the EAPN documents, this line is also implicit in the frames ‘put social / environment back into Lisbon strategy, and ‘reaffirm commitment to social inclusion strategy’, both of which appear prominently in these. The basis for common action – a shared demand – is therefore present. The core diagnostic frame is the argument that the Lisbon pillars are mutually reinforcing. The image is one of a pyramid of three pillars supporting one another – removing one will cause the entire structure to fall. This frame is found, at first, only in documents authored by the Social Platform, and not in the documents of its members. Nevertheless, the separately authored documents from Social Platform members analysed here are all some form of call for action. They are thus directed internally to members, and more concerned with the details of actions to be carried out.¹³² With the publication of the only jointly authored document of the campaign (by the Social Platform,

¹³² The arguments behind the actions are skipped, we may assume, because Solidar and the EAPN both state that their members are very well aware of the Lisbon agenda since they are often involved in its implementation (interviews 12 and 13).

the ETUC and the EEB), however, the mutual reinforcement frame begins to spread.¹³³ After this, the frame appears in an ETUC press release publicising the spring summit demonstration. This is a good indication of an instance of frame diffusion from the social to the trade union side of the campaign. It is, though, an instance of a frame being adopted by the ETUC, who include it with reference to the main claim of a balanced approach. Looking for the movement of a frame in the opposite direction, which would complete the dialogue, no evidence is found. This is indeed the story for most of the frames – they either stay put in one organisation’s output, or migrate only as far as the joint document.

As a result of the short-term nature of this campaign, the frames employed during this campaign do not develop much. The impression is less one of framing work between the groups engaged in this campaign as one of the activation of a pre-existing relationship. Of course, it is also evident that the core organisations all share the same demand – to reinstate (or rather not to abandon in the first place) the original Lisbon agenda. To back up this view of a pre-existing basis for common actions we can draw on what has already been said about these organisations. The Social Platform, providing a permanent framework for the coordination of actions, in itself proves framing work between its members prior to this particular campaign. The specific issue of the Lisbon agenda campaign is seen as an obvious area where all groups in the Social Platform will hold the same opinions. “..for those sorts of bigger things, wider things, it’s very good to work with the Social Platform. the next one was around this mid-term evaluation” (interview 12).¹³⁴ The petition diffused through the Social Platform network by Solidar shows how this pre-existing identity was activated without further work. Actions by the other main player, the ETUC, however, are carried out separately, and although there is evidence of the two organisations informing one another of planned actions, there is nothing to show that they coordinate positions or do any joint work. The SOS Europe petition, for example, was signed by the ETUC, but not diffused, while the ETUC demonstration did include the NGOs but did not involve them in its organisation.

In conclusion, it may be said that there is scant evidence of framing work in this campaign, despite the fact that the definitions of problems are obviously shared by the groups involved. It is the very organisational forms of the main campaigning groups, as well as

¹³³ Although the Social Platform documents are really jointly authored, this document is singled out since it visibly displays the support of three separate organisations.

¹³⁴ And in line with comments by Cullen (2005).

the bodies used for regular dialogue, that provide an explanation for the shared frames in the campaign. The main demands are similar for all groups, and while the diagnostic views are slightly different, none are contradictory, and some do migrate from the social organisations to the ETUC documents. The Lisbon campaign thus drew on pre-forged identities and like-mindedness between organisations, underlining the importance of permanent structures for transnational organising also identified by Passy (1999:164). Proof of this lies in the types of organisations involved: the Social Platform, which is in itself the example *par excellence* of an institutionalised European-level coalition; Solidar and the EAPN, both providing vice-presidents for the Social Platform and taking care of the more public social actions; and finally the ETUC, who in any case have close contacts with the Social Platform quite apart from any naturally close standpoint. The case therefore provides a good example of a long-term coalition mobilised in a short period of time in the face of a serious threat – the permanent coalition structures allowed for a swift mobilisation which was required because of the time limits in this case (for a similar finding see Juska and Edwards 2005:203) - thereby highlighting the importance of regular contacts and the maintenance of identities between likeminded groups at the European level.

5.2.2 Frames at the European and national levels

Before the discussion of frames at the European and national levels, a note on the selection of national level documents is necessary. These were difficult to locate for this particular campaign. This may be for several reasons: 1) the short timeframe of the campaign; 2) the nature of the organisations involved; 3) the ETUC's demonstration being scheduled alongside anti-war marches (seemingly just a fortunate coincidence – with the Spring Council beginning on the Monday, the Saturday was bound to attract some activity). The first reason was that the SOS Europe petition was launched only (approximately) 7 weeks before the Spring Council, and spread by organisations via e-mail. While many signed the petition (up to 7000 according to Solidar) few published the call on their websites (the aim being to gather organisations as signatories), or where they had it was the exactly the same call, and thus offered little in terms of comparison to the European level document. Similarly, the Trade Unions publishing the call to demonstrate in Brussels with the ETUC tend to reproduce their same arguments, although with different emphases. Nevertheless, these are the documents that most represent what was available at the national level, and

the convergence of frames between European and national levels is in that sense justified. In addition, the vast majority of organisations who signed the SOS Europe position are service providers. These kinds of groups may be said to be far less likely to publicise their policy work than Trade Unions, who have a strong tradition of fulfilling this role on behalf of their members. Thus, the numbers of documents analysed that relate to SOS Europe are in turn lower than those for the ETUC demonstration. These points must be born in mind when analysing the framing work between the European and national levels.¹³⁵

The most common frame arising from the analysis of the European-level documents, ‘balanced approach in all original pillars’ falls to fourth place in the analysis of the national level documents, appearing in only three of the seven analysed. Indeed, amongst the most shared frames no mention of the actual Lisbon agenda appears at all. Instead, we find wider, mostly motivational frames. The most widely shared and frequently mentioned frame is ‘oppose Bolkestein directive’, confirming that the coincidence of the two cases provided a strong opportunity for this campaign (see below). The ETUC were in fact working more on the anti-Bolkestein campaign than on the Lisbon agenda issue, although the two issues were both considered symptomatic of what was wrong with the Union. It therefore made sense for the ETUC to draw on both of these issues in its call to march. The national trade unions, in turn, were also much more concerned with the more concrete threat posed by the Bolkestein directive, and thus favour frames concerned with this over those on the Lisbon agenda. It is much more likely that national trade unions marched not for Lisbon, but against Bolkestein.

Mirroring the situation at the European level, we also find a split between the motivational frames in the documents at national level. While the ‘oppose Bolkestein directive’ takes first place, second place goes to ‘Social Europe (support, fight for, save)’.¹³⁶ Looking more closely at how the frames are distributed, however, reveals that while the Bolkestein motivational frame is found mostly in trade union calls for action, along with other organisations calling for support for the demonstration, the Save Social Europe frame is found in the documents of social groups whose Brussels offices are members of the Social Platform. ‘Bolkestein’ as the most popular motivation is therefore due to the higher

¹³⁵ Here, for the difficulties mentioned above, the documents are less systematic than for other campaigns, where effort was made to sample documents from each organisation over time.

¹³⁶ The various different expressions of this frame were amalgamated into one category. Fighting for, supporting, and saving can easily be argued to have the same message in the context of a call for action.

number of calls for participation in the demonstration of 19 March 2005. The frames do, in this sense, reflect the goings on at the European level. The split between the public actions is re-created, with trade unions focusing on the demonstration, and the social on the petition and, to a lesser extent, the EAPN day of action. The higher number of calls for participation in the demonstration is also reasonable – the aim of bringing people to Brussels to demonstrate obviously necessitating a more public diffusion of the message than is the case for SOS Europe, whose goal is to secure the support of organisations.

The frame analysis comparing European and national frames suggests a top-down repetition of frames mainly through the diffusion of various calls to action. The message from the European level is passed down, and altered only to make it more salient to grassroots members, where it is passed down at all. The overall impression is again one of the mobilising of pre-existing identities for a short campaign. For the ETUC this is particularly interesting when we consider the image of the organisation as distant from its membership. By drawing on a frame it knew to be shared by grassroots members, the organisation succeeded in bringing many of its members onto the streets of Brussels to demonstrate over several linked issues, demonstrating the idea that flexible frames and identities can often bring “multiple issues into the same protest event” (Lance Bennett 2005:205). The Social Platform also succeeded, indirectly, in canvassing its twice removed national members (the members of its members) by delegating the responsibility for public actions to its active European level members. Although not reflected particularly in the frame analysis for the national level (for reasons already discussed), the number of signatories to the SOS Europe petition bears witness to this. In the Lisbon case, then, as a short, sharp campaign, *long-term alliances and coalitions, and the identity-ties they create*, are more important than the construction of new alliances and problem definitions.

5.3 Powerful allies: political opportunities in the Lisbon campaign

The fixed opportunities and threats applicable in the EU arena were reflected in the tactics of the groups campaigning on the Lisbon agenda in a variety of ways. However, before looking specifically at the tactical responses of the rather short Lisbon campaign, it is useful to look at some of the evidence gathered on the involved groups’ more normal or day-to-day methods of working in the EU. This point of comparison is worthy for a campaign of such as short duration, as it underlines the very different nature of the

mobilisation the groups achieved around the Lisbon campaign when juxtaposed with their more ordinary methods of working in the EU.

All of the groups involved in the campaigning confirmed that they more generally use lobbying strategies when targeting the supranational EU institutions. The reasons for this are strongly related to the opportunities the Commission in particular presents for certain kinds of groups who become involved in formal consultations (see chapter one). All of the groups involved in the campaign around the Lisbon agenda fall into this category, whether directly (ETUC and EAPN) or through membership in the Social Platform (Solidar). The ETUC is an official partner in the Social Dialogue, and recognised as such in the Treaties. This organisation perceives itself primarily as a lobbyist (interview 10), although as is evident in this campaign also draws on the national traditions of the trade union movement, organising demonstrations – although these are rarely particularly confrontational. The Social Platform, as well as many of its members, also holds the place of a ‘valued interlocutor’ (although more unofficial) of the Commission, attending bi-annual meetings. In addition, many of its members are involved with implementation (EAPN), or on the lists of those consulted for certain areas of work. Indeed, the Social Platform even point out that often they are contacted to participate in various consultations and other events, rather than having to seek meetings (interview 11). Murphy points out the various advantages (and drawbacks) of such permanent coalitions: shared resources lead to an elevated bargaining position, as seen in the last point, as coalitions may claim to represent broader constituencies (2005:237).

There is therefore an element of the lobbying tactics more usually used by these organisations being *caused* by a privileged position with the Commission rather than being a *reaction* to its structure. The groups are also aware of this situation of their privileged access (interview 11), and in the case of the Social Platform this translates to a long term strategic decision, allowing them to facilitate access and aid information production for those groups that do not fall into this category of privileged partner.¹³⁷ Yet the Platform also mention that this can go too far, that they provide an all too convenient ‘one stop shop’ for the Commission, who often believe that their job is done after consulting them. This may cause tensions with individual members, who are often overlooked in favour of the

¹³⁷ This is less the case for the ETUC who, as seen in their brief history presented earlier in this chapter, were to some extent *created* by Delors with the function of Social Partner in mind.

more visible Social Platform. The Social Platform as a tactic also makes it difficult, and even inappropriate, to attempt more public actions. This relates not only to its position vis-à-vis the Commission, but also to its distance from grassroots members. Because there is no direct contact with the members of their affiliates, more radical forms of action are problematic (interview 14), and must be left to single member organisations. In this sense this organisation is a near perfect example of the description of the idea outlined in chapter one that being a recognised interlocutor of the Commission can be a double-edged sword.

Continuing with the theme of lobbying versus more public actions in the EU arena, many of the organisations involved in the Lisbon agenda also express reservations as to the effectiveness of public actions, and more specifically demonstrations, at the European level. Demonstrations are seen as very rarely being truly 'European' in the sense of the nationalities of those participating, and are therefore seen as more effective at the national level, an opinion in line with Marks and McAdam's (1996, 1999) views (interview 13). Nevertheless, demonstrations are seen as important in a more long term sense, in that they physically show the individual support base behind lobbying actions: "...as I said, to mobilisation at the European level there are limits. So probably on the day-to-day political work lobbying is more effective. But you will never succeed with the lobbying if you can't make the institutions believe or see the organisations and the people that are actually behind that" (interview 13). This is seen as important because the organisations believe the Commission often forget the national membership element when they consult European level groups (interview 13), and contributes some explanation to the logic behind the demonstration in this campaign.

These more general comments on the ways in which the groups involved in the Lisbon agenda operate in their day-to-day business serves as a good backdrop for explaining their campaigning tactics in the short, sharp, campaign they organised between February and May 2005. Starting with the theme of dialogue with third parties is a good basis for interpreting their actions. There are two aspects particularly relevant in attempting to explain the more public course of action taken by the groups on this occasion. The first of these relates to the problem (or opportunity) of 'natural partners' within the Commission. The DG within the Commission usually dealt with by these groups, their 'natural partner', is DG Employment and Social Affairs. This section of the Commission is described as having an agenda very close to that of the social NGOs (interview 12), and is seen as

fighting the corner of these groups within the Commission. The groups even see themselves as a tool employed by DG Employment in discussions within the Commission, where they are “used ... to help influence other parts of the Commission”, reinforcing the view of this department as an ally (interview 13). However, as seen in all of the other case studies presented in this thesis, this good relationship with a ‘natural partner’ DG is accompanied by a bad one with other departments, who “all push you back to Employment and Social Affairs rather than meeting you face to face” (interview 12). One reaction to this is building coalitions between different kinds of EUSMOs, especially on issues such as the Lisbon agenda – a tactic also seen in the broad coalition formations of the environmental cases. This was the logic behind using the Civil Society Contact Group to bring the EEB into the campaign, which was useful for its contacts with DG Environment (interview 13).

The second view of the Commission as a partner for dialogue that also contributes to explaining the course of this campaign is the perception that the institution uses dialogue and consultations selectively, paying only ‘lip service’ to the idea. Several of the social groups make such comments in relation to both the Lisbon agenda and the Bolkestein directive (interview 14). Comparable comments were made by the ETUC in relation to the outcomes of their participation in the Social Dialogue, and, more pertinently for this campaign, the Kok group. Despite winning important concessions within these forums, the documents subsequently released no longer reflected the decisions made (interview 10). Similar comments on the Commission’s only paying lip service to consultation are raised in all the case studies and will be further discussed in the conclusions.

The combination of these two factors contributes to explaining the campaign tactics. Although DG Employment and Social Affairs is a campaign ‘ally’, it did not have any role in Barroso’s communication and was therefore in no position to ‘uphold promises’. With their ‘natural partner’ unavailable, the campaigning groups’ response was to tap into another resource – their grassroots members. Since the ultimate decision would be taken at a European Council, which I argued to be one of the EU institutions providing a clearer point of reference for public protests, more public events were chosen as the best alternative path to more usual lobbying actions, opportunities for which were closed since the Commission did not consult on this communication. Although many other factors contribute to the unfolding of the campaign, a basic picture of closed doors at the

supranational level and the consequent return to more ‘traditional’ (i.e. protest, letter writing, petitions, and other actions that have been called unconventional or contentious) social movement actions is seen in this campaign, and repeated in other cases also included in this study (more or less successfully). The beginnings of a reverse boomerang effect as detailed by Keck and Sikkink (1998:12-13 – see page 91), where groups facing difficult circumstances at the international level revert to the national and local levels rather than vice versa, can thus be made out.

Looking at the campaign’s reactions to the EU as a multi-level structure there are fewer useful observations to be made, since although a variety of different actions are employed, most are directed towards the European Council or individual heads of State and government. The relative absence of the Commission as a strong campaign target has already been discussed, but another actor is clearly missing from the descriptions provided so far – the European Parliament. This is because the European Parliament’s role in this issue was, officially, limited to a resolution. Any influence that might have been exerted on a political level was destroyed by the fact that their resolution was seen to be very weak. This will be explored more fully below as a ‘dynamic’ threat more specifically related to this campaign than the structure of the Parliament in general, although of course this does play a role. Were there not so many committees involved in the drafting of a resolution on the Spring Summit, it is alleged, the outcome may have been much stronger (interview 14). The only targeting of the European Parliament was through seeking its individual members as signatories to the SOS Europe petition – the only individuals to sign. Their support was seen as important since “people recognise MEPs.. It’s true they don’t have a clear say because it’s the Council, and they can’t do anything there. But on the other hand I think people know that they are the elected people on the European level” (interview 13). Turning the focus to the different actions of the campaign does however reflect the multi-level structure of the EU, adding to the more general picture of moving back to national resources and strategies in the face of threats and closed doors at the European level outlined above. While the groups continue their lobbying efforts, they also attempt to mobilise their grassroots members, thus mirroring the structure of the EU in the sense that they are active at the multiple levels simultaneously at work in this organisation. Where an issue may be affected by the actions of any one of the institutions, campaigns must reflect this situation by acting to try and influence all of these. As Solidar put it, “Usually we

really try to operate on both levels. Because I think if we look at decision-making in the European Union, that is the most effective way” (interview 13). Multilevel action has also been found crucial to the success of EU campaigns by other authors (Hellferich and Kolb 2001:151).

The below table summarises the dynamic opportunities and threats applicable to the Lisbon agenda campaign, according to the parameters laid out in chapter one.

Table 9: Dynamic political opportunities in the Lisbon campaign

Intra-elite conflict	None publicly perceivable during the campaign – possibly between Commission and Council Presidents. EP resolution seen as weak, plus no very official role, campaign waiting for Council reaction.
Proximity of elections	Far. Elections took place less than one year before the campaign began. Both Parliament and Commission are relatively new.
Contingent events	Luxembourg Presidency – sympathetic to campaigning groups. The existence of the Constitutional Treaty. Impending national referenda (France and Holland in particular) scheduled for the end of May / beginning of June. Both countries have strong ‘no’ campaigns.
Position held by ally	Luxembourg Presidency.
Ability of ally to fulfil promises	Able to steer debates in the direction wished by the campaigning groups. A strong ally, but non all-powerful.
Hostile elites	Commission. A powerful actor, but the decision sought by the campaign lies with the European Council.
Presence of counter movements	None perceivable

The first topic in discussing dynamic opportunities in the Lisbon campaign is intra-elite conflict. This is only slightly applicable here, because in one sense the goal of the groups was to *create* inter-elite conflict between the European Council and the Commission. No evidence came to light of any public conflict between these two institutions in the period immediately preceding the formation of the European Council’s position, although the final outcome of the campaign certainly shows that there was some disagreement on how to continue with the Lisbon agenda. Conflict with either of these institutions and the European Parliament was a non-issue, since the mid-term review of the Lisbon agenda did not foresee any real role of the Parliament with the exception of a Resolution that in the

event contradicted neither the original Lisbon agenda nor the Commission communication. The variable proximity of European level elections, on the other hand, is useful in that it draws attention to the general climate surrounding the campaign. Elections to the European Parliament and the appointment of a new Commission had taken place less than one year before, and both had resulted in changes unfavourable to the campaigning groups' agendas in a general way. Views on new governments in many of the member states were also pessimistic, which may be interpreted as having contributed to the campaign's heavy targeting of heads of state and government. This theme is discussed further in terms of discursive threats, as will be seen below.

Although not strictly a 'contingent' event, and although it pre-dates the campaign proper, it is important to underline that the Kok group played a decisive role in the launching of both the SOS Europe campaign, and in sparking the spate of public actions by other organisations. When the Kok group was set up, the Social Platform and its members attempted to secure a place in the high-level group for a Social representative. This request was denied, and combined with the disappointing (in the eyes of the Social groups) conclusions the group then reached proved an important threat for the campaign to rally around (interviews 12 and 13). This also applies to the ETUC, who despite their representation in the group expressed their disappointment over the conclusions, which did not reflect their input or the outcome of various discussions. This said, several other contingent events also contributed to the campaign. Indeed, we may go so far as to question whether these events would have sufficed to secure the groups' desired outcome without their taking other actions.

The first of these was the Luxembourg presidency.¹³⁸ Luxembourg's Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker was from the very first sympathetic to the views of the campaigning groups. As already seen, he contacted the Social Platform extremely early on in the campaign in order to meet with them. The ETUC also state that they had good contacts with the Presidency and met with Juncker. The role of the Luxembourg presidency as an ally of the campaign echoes Warleigh's findings on the campaign around the Auto Oil

¹³⁸ Of course, the sympathetic Luxembourg presidency could equally be classed as an elite ally of the Lisbon campaign. However, discussing the presidency in the category of contingent events serves to highlight the transient nature of the presidencies, and the mere coincidence that the campaign found an ally in this institution at the time of the mid-term review of the Lisbon agenda. As mentioned previously, the possibilities for redefining the category of contingent events will be discussed in chapter seven.

directive (Warleigh 2000:233). However, the timing of these meetings suggests that Juncker was seeking an ally or support for his own point of view rather than convinced by arguments presented by the campaigning groups, an interpretation which is also corroborated by interview data. All of the groups involved cite the support of Juncker as important to the final outcome, and the Social groups add that an invitation from a President of the Council was absolutely unprecedented for them. Meeting with the President was seen as useful in that the groups may have firmed up his resolve to act, and drawn extra attention to resistance to the proposed changes to the Lisbon agenda (interviews 10, 12, 14). The President's favourable eye was also mentioned as a spur to the use of more public actions. His support provided an extra impetus to take a more public course of action, thereby providing him with clear cases on which to draw on in supporting his claim that citizens would not accept a changed agenda. The request for a meeting with the social groups as represented by the Social Platform also boosted the groups more generally, by confirming them to be actively sought out by high level actors in the EU as a source of information on 'social' opinions. The Presidency was also important to the campaign in terms of an important and powerful elite ally. In terms of his or her ability to fulfil promises, the President of the European Council is certainly in an important and powerful actor in steering debates in certain directions, bringing up certain points on the agenda, and drawing attention to some facts rather than others (in this instance, perhaps, the public actions of the groups against the Barroso communication). Juncker in particular was a Council President with an unprecedented amount of previous experience, and is generally seen as a gifted 'fixer' of difficult issues within the body (Hearl 2006:51). High-level lobbying has also been noted as an important factor in campaigns focusing on intergovernmental conferences, similar in composition to the European Council (Hellferich and Kolb 2001:156).

Another relevant factor to the campaign was the upcoming referenda in several member states on the new European Constitutional Treaty. The French referendum was particularly important. France, as one of the founding states of the EU, and home to the principal architect of the organisation, Jean Monnet, was the litmus test for the Constitutional Treaty. Many were worried at the time, and not least the French government, about the strength of the 'no' campaign in that country. While a rejection of the Treaty by a smaller country, or one known to be sceptical of the European project could be weathered as had been done

before,¹³⁹ a rejection from France would indicate a more deeply seated problem to be overcome. The campaign in France against the Constitution was based (not solely, but including) on accusations about ‘Social Europe’. The Bolkestein directive in particular was linked to a rejection of the Constitution by the large French Trade Unions. There was therefore the perception that other heads of state and government would respond to President Chirac’s alleged plea to reach a ‘social’ conclusion at the European Council, allowing him to present that as evidence in the ‘yes’ campaign. This interpretation was also shared by the campaigning groups: “The other thing that I think was also exerting pressure was the referendums on the Constitution that were coming up at that time. So Chirac, for example, was having problems - or Chirac was having an interest in supporting social Europe in order to appease his own public, his own public voice, in order to have a yes vote for the Constitution. So that probably also played a role in the Council conclusions” (interview 10).

In the documentary evidence studied in piecing together the story of this campaign, however, arguments related to the Constitutional Treaty and its possible rejection as a result of abandoning the original Lisbon agenda are extremely scarce. While the favourable circumstance of the debates over the Constitutional Treaty is therefore perceived by the campaigning groups, it is not especially exploited. The exploitation of this opportunity fell to the trade unions acting on the Bolkestein directive, as will be seen in the next chapter. Here, groups worked to link the Bolkestein issue to the referendum debates, with particularly strong outcomes in France – arguable contributing to Chirac’s position at the spring summit at the heart of the Lisbon campaign. Added to this is the relevance of the Bolkestein campaign in the high turnout at the demonstration. It was thus the Bolkestein campaign and its work on this subject that were, apparently, the decisive factors in the outcome of the Lisbon campaign. The only direct link between the Constitutional Treaty and the case in hand was that it provided the impetus for the SOS Europe petition, as seen earlier. The clause in the draft Treaty on the ‘citizens’ initiative’, where a million-strong petition would force action by the EU institutions, was the idea behind the petition. Of course, in the event, gathering such a high number of individual signatures was unrealistic in the time available, but the basis of the action remained.

¹³⁹ For instance with the Danish rejection of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, i.e. a euro-sceptic member state, and the Irish rejection of the Nice Treaty in 2001, i.e. a small member state. In both cases amendments were made to these Treaties, with new referenda subsequently approving them.

Of the remaining variables, none are particularly useful for unearthing important political opportunities and threats in the Lisbon campaign. Hostile elites as a category has been covered in comments on the Commission. No counter movement as such exists in the present campaign. To summarise the Lisbon campaign in terms of political opportunities and threats, it can be noted that no serious threats were encountered (such as strong counter movements, or a complete lack of influential elite allies as seen in the environmental cases), while opportunities, especially those created by the Constitutional Treaty and the Bolkestein campaign were present but not explicitly exploited. The groups were, however, able to rise to an occasion calling for more public actions, most notably planning a successful petition and demonstration.

5.4 Exploiting the Bolkestein debate: discursive opportunities in the Lisbon campaign

As in other cases, the discursive opportunities in the Lisbon campaign are closely linked to political opportunities, and especially the perception of a threat to ‘social’ discourses as a result of a more right-wing, or free market, political climate in Europe after 2000. However, I shall begin the section according to the order laid out in chapter one, and begin with the legitimacy discourse.

The legitimacy opportunity arising from the discourse on the democratic deficit in the EU is seen by the groups in this campaign as a problem for the Commission which has caused them to seek dialogue not only to create legitimacy, but also to diffuse their own messages, or information. For example, on the subject of the openness of the Commission: “They [the Commission] know the democracy gap. And I don't know if they see it so much because they are not elected or just because they are remote, they are far away from people, and I think in that sense they know that it's important to have that link, also to transfer their message” (interview 13). The Commission therefore uses the groups as their own discursive opportunity in turn: there is, to some extent, a two-way understanding (interview 11), or “lobbying on lobbyists” as it is termed in the Bolkestein campaign (interview 22).¹⁴⁰ This two-way flow of understanding may be seen in a positive light, as helping the campaigning groups understand the limits faced by those they target. Others, however, see the situation more negatively, as one of the Commission exploiting the participation of civil

¹⁴⁰ A similar situation is mentioned by Caniglia (2001:44) between TSMOs and the UN and other International Governmental Organisations – “We use them, they use us” (interview quote, *ibid* 2001:45).

society (see below on the ETUC and social dialogue, as well as papers from the symposium Mountain or Molehill? A critical appraisal of the Commission White Paper on Governance, 2001).

In this equation there is also, of course, the element of groups changing in order to fit the Commission's view of a partner for dialogue. The Social Platform can, in one view, be seen in this light. The organisation was founded as a result of a joint response to the Commission's wish to develop dialogue with social NGOs expressed in the 1993 Green Paper on European Social Policy. And the organisation can be said to have heightened the visibility of Social NGOs – several interviewees give this reason to explain the invitations to meet with Juncker and Barroso. However, this opportunity for dialogue has also caused problems for the individual groups of the Social Platform (especially the smaller, lesser known members). The Social Platform is intended to represent members on cross-cutting issues rather than issue specific themes, yet the Commission often overlooks individual members (interview 11). This perception of the Commission as forgetful of both collective and individual members in its simplistic search for 'interlocutors' is also used to justify public actions – these can serve to remind the institutions of the national bases of the European offices (interview 13).

Opportunities related to ideology stem from the fact that the Lisbon agenda is an extremely broad (and has been described as a very vague) policy, which also means it is a relatively easy one to support. This goes as much for institutional actors as it does for the campaigning groups. "It was a bit clearer than usual that there was something to be really protected. So often these processes are very complicated and complex and so it's quite difficult to mobilise people around it. But here you had a very clear choice... So it was possible to mobilise people around it in a way - normally we can mobilise the people who are active in our network who are following it and know the detail or whatever but at this moment it was a bit clearer" (interview 12). Thinking back to the ideas presented in relation to this characteristic of the EU in chapter one concerning ideology,¹⁴¹ the nature of the Lisbon agenda means that it is unlikely to meet serious opposition, or in other words, is

¹⁴¹ i.e. the idea that broader issues, difficult to split into small technical questions, are often connected to ideological positions. Standpoints more traditionally belonging to the left may therefore face opposition from the right and vice versa, while other issues falling outside of ideology may find broader support. The Lisbon agenda, focussing on economic growth, social cohesion, and sustainable development, contains elements acceptable to all political colours.

easy to create a consensus around. This translates less into a discursive opportunity than into the removal of a discursive threat in the shape of ideology and the entrenched positions that this can evoke – although there are also clear links with political opportunities, most notably the reduced chances for strong counter movements. The groups therefore benefited from this situation without really having to act in order to exploit it.

The ETUC's role as a social partner provides the organisation with significant discursive opportunities in terms of access to high-level actors and their legal obligation to consult them about certain issues. This position is clearly exploited during the Lisbon campaign, where the ETUC's secretary general John Monks (TUC, UK) met with several of the member states' heads of state and government as well as Commissioners and President Barroso. A trade union representative was also present in the high-level Kok group. However, this privileged position is not always seen to be all that helpful to the organisation.

“What's the use underwriting reports like the Kok report, or underwriting the social partners' agreement, if afterwards the press strategy of UNICE, of the Commission, of right-wing politicians, simply abuses this? If that's the way the game is being played then we should say no. But that's a difficult message to tell internally because for the ETUC this is also a kind of an organisational thing, of survival of the organisation. They tend to see the European social dialogue as one of the basic pillars, activities of the ETUC. And of course if you look at it like that then you have an interest in keeping it alive and continuing it. But there's, as I say, a reflection to be made on this.” (interview 10)

As this quote shows, this particular representative of the ETUC sees consultation as pure strategy on the part of the Commission and other EU actors – they are accused of twisting outcomes to fit with their own views, and then announcing that they have secured the support of workers. Numerous examples of this are cited – for example the Kok group Commission press releases following the Spring Summit. The EAPN and Solidar, on the Social Platform side of the equation, also comment that even in the case that a policy text contains ‘nice words’, subsequent legislation and policy remain completely dislocated from these statements. “So all the signs were that there was a growing lack of concern for the social cohesion element of it which in all cases was never as deeply lead politically as the other aspects of Lisbon. And that's been the essential contradiction in Lisbon, between the

words that are on the page and what people and the political leaders did was something else” (interview 12). Political opportunities for dialogue between the EU institutions and civil society are therefore perceived to translate into a discursive threat – groups are pacified with words, but betrayed in actions.

This view is also connected to the swing to the right in many governments across Europe in the early 2000s. Most of the comments cited above are, naturally, related to the current situation with the Lisbon agenda, and every interviewee spoke extensively of the discursive problems met in recent years as a result of governments more interested in the economy than with social protection. This has led, firstly, to new discursive ploys in bringing forward their arguments. While more traditional arguments are far from abandoned – human rights and social protection in particular – there are efforts to ‘re-package’ these discourses in order to fit the political climate. “We were used to a certain style, and we were used for example to bring in the human rights dimension as being a reason good enough to act, to do something. We know that this is not good enough, it is on paper, but if you really want to make a change you have to demonstrate that there is also a business case for that change. And that it will benefit the public authorities, that it will benefit the economic objectives as well the social objectives. What we are trying to demonstrate more and more is actually that the two should go together and reinforce each other” (interview 11). This discursive threat has also led to a more fundamental self-questioning among the Social groups about their role. This means that they are attempting to carve out a role in agenda-setting rather than always reacting to the EU’s work programme.

Concerning other events or campaigns contributing to the salience levels of the Lisbon issues, the main effect for this campaign is from the contemporary campaign on the proposed directive on services in the internal market (Bolkestein). This will be discussed below as a dynamic discursive opportunity, leaving us to move on to look at the next more stable discursive opportunity variable – the rise of the global justice movement.

The idea that the existence of the global justice movement and other such movement organisations may work to counter the effect of more right-wing governments by proposing a more ‘social’ discourse from another source is not borne out in this case (or indeed the Bolkestein case). In reality, the presence of the global justice movement is not seen as an opportunity (if commented on at all). Indeed, comments are more interesting in that they

paint a picture of, if not rivalry, then at least a big divide between the kinds of organisations involved at the EU level and this movement, suggesting that the discourses of the global justice movement are perceived as damaging groups' chances of success at the EU level. (for similar findings see Lance Bennett 2005:125). This is not seen as entirely the fault of the movement and its organisations, but also of the media, who fail to convey or misreport social discourses whatever their source (interview 12). Nevertheless, there is an element of blame towards these organisations for not really understanding the processes they oppose. The comments below, made by the EAPN, show this perception and link it to public action, providing further support for the hypothesis that the knowledge requirements imposed by the EU arena on EUSMOs pulls them away from grassroots members and organisations based on mobilisation, negatively affecting their ability to mobilise to any great extent.

“I think the other thing that one would want to look at is the gap between the sort of type of social movement that has grown up in Europe, and our type of organisation here. And if you were talking to somebody from social movements, whatever, they have a much better record of mobilisation than we ever manage. You might get a different view. *And when I talk with them I find them very ill-informed, very often, on some of the things that they're campaigning on.* ...And I mean for us that's a huge challenge, to try and build that bridge as well. *Because it's not one that we've been so successful in building as well, I mean we make a big effort at our general assembly to try and build contacts with ATTAC, to at least engage in a dialogue,* but even more than the businesses they didn't turn up. Maybe they wanted to, that came not long after the Paris Social Forum, and they may have been exhausted from it... But I think for me it's something incredibly striking this huge gap. *I would feel myself naturally part of that social movement, but at the same time I find myself very distant from the role that they're playing. And so I think that this is, if you're talking about real mobilisation, they're able to it in a way that we can't.* And maybe.. I don't know what it is. Maybe, if you know too much about the process you get nuanced views, but not very mobilised. Whereas if you're just free and able to give the big messages then it may be more mobilising.” (interview 12, emphasis added)

Because the campaign is so short in length, there are few significant dynamic discursive opportunities to be examined. In parallel to the contingent events seen in the political opportunity section earlier on in this chapter, the Bolkestein campaign that was playing out simultaneously with the Lisbon campaign plays an important part in discursive terms too –

lending numerous ready-exploited opportunities to the campaign. Not only did this other campaign provide more salience by generally bumping social issues up on the European agenda, it also provided a more concrete opportunity in that the more abstract and perhaps less well known Lisbon issue was linked to an issue more pressing and concrete in the eyes of grassroots members at the national level. Similar findings on the importance of parallel campaigns on related issues have also been communicated by other scholars of transnational campaigns (Juska and Edwards 2005:202; Keck and Sikkink 1998:150). This was indispensable in the high turnout at the March demonstration that played an important part in this campaign.

Overall, both of the main coalition groups involved in the campaign have difficult relationships with the EU in terms of dialogue, and both are fighting against a generally more right-wing culture in the Union. Potential opportunities for social discourses from the work of the global justice movement did not transpire. In the event, more dynamic opportunities closely related to political opportunities in the form of the contemporary Bolkestein campaign and the nature of the Lisbon agenda as a vaguely formulated policy incapable of generating serious opposition were the only ones to be had, perhaps suggesting that political opportunities were altogether more important in the outcomes of this campaign. This shall be looked into more extensively in the next section, where I shall attempt to trace the processes that link the spring summit's conclusions and other outcomes with the short campaign waged by the EUSMOs.

5.5 An apparent success: campaign outcomes

Tracing the processes that led to the outcomes of the Lisbon campaign is a less daunting task than with the other longer campaigns analysed here since it was short and analysed as just one phase. As ever, though, before tracing those processes, the outcomes need to be identified. In terms of access outcomes, the Social Platform, and thereby its members, were (according to interview evidence) for the first time sought by both the President of the European Council at the time, Jean-Claude Juncker, and by the Commission's President Barroso for meetings. Process tracing is not needed to explain this outcome – the Presidency's invitation to the Social Platform pre-dates their first campaign actions. President Barroso was likely influenced by this meeting in his invitation, although the vocal opposition of the EUSMOs may also have been a factor.

The results for agenda and policy outcomes are a little less clear. The case for classifying the overall outcome of the Lisbon agenda campaign as a policy one can be made, but based on the interview data I argue that it may more correctly be described as an agenda outcome, since no *direct* policy outcomes were seen in the sense that no legislation was affected. The decision to classify the effects in this way will become clear in discussing the groups' perception of their 'success'. The agenda outcome of the campaign was of course that the Presidency conclusions of the Spring Summit in March 2005 reaffirmed the Council's support for the original formulation of the Lisbon agenda, i.e. the version including not only economic growth, but also social cohesion and sustainable development as equally important goals. The campaigning groups were, on paper, very positive about this state of affairs. The SOS Europe website declared that "a famous victory" had been won, and the ETUC and other groups also penned similarly positive press releases. All, however, stressed that continued work and mobilisation would be needed to ensure legislation would reflect the goals of the agenda. The following months, however, proved that results in the form of more socially oriented legislation were not forthcoming, although it was stressed that it was important to claim some success in order to make subsequent mobilisations possible (interview 12).

The following table provides the usual summary of the campaign analysis in order to guide the discussion of the paths that led to the agenda outcome.

Table 10 – Summary of the Lisbon campaign by phase

Extent of shared frames	Political Opportunities	Discursive Opportunities
Main demand shared by all EUSMOs, and remains constant throughout the campaign. Some evidence of frame diffusion of the 'mutually reinforcing' argument from social to trade union organisations. Any need for framing work attenuated by pre-existing basis for common action in	Commission closed to dialogue on the subject in hand and EP weak – EUSMOs turn to grassroots to target European Council and its components ('reverse boomerang') and engage in high-level lobbying. Strong and powerful ally in the Luxembourg	General strength of right make social discourses difficult. Grassroots actions used to remind EU of citizens' wishes (legitimacy opportunity). Broad scope of Lisbon made it an easy and clear cause for national groups to support. ETUC social partner exploited for

<p>permanent coalition structures. National level calls to demonstrate stress Bolkestein directive rather than Lisbon, social groups stress Lisbon. Suggests top-down diffusion and pre-existing ties.</p>	<p>Presidency. French debate on Constitutional Treaty, linked with view on Bolkestein, meant Chirac seeking social credentials to take home – exploited in Bolkestein campaign. Bolkestein campaign ensured high turnout at march.</p>	<p>high level contacts. Global justice movement provided no opportunities. Bolkestein campaign raised salience of social issues, and linked social issues to the Constitutional Treaty.</p>
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A glance at this summary shows us that the campaign benefited from quite a dazzling array of political opportunities, although less discursive ones. The EUSMOs involved were able to effectively mobilise a bottom-up campaign in little time by activating existing ties and identities built through years of work in their permanent coalition structures, and also kept up a strong, simple message. Since the European Council was the only body with real power to decide the outcome of this campaign, we may use the hypotheses of chapter one to list the factors that were most likely to influence this institution: 1) a Presidency sympathetic towards the original Lisbon agenda (as the Presidency has power to steer debates within the Council, and because elite allies have been found to be important in social movement campaigns¹⁴²); 2) an unusually public campaign, including a significant level of grassroots mobilisation, against the Barroso communication (as the members of the European Council, as elected leaders, must ultimately react to their electorates), and; 3) upcoming referenda in key member states on the Constitutional Treaty, and a strong no campaign in France that accused the EU of not being ‘social’ enough (for similar reasons of electoral returns, as well as the wish to see the Treaty pass).

These factors constitute the major strengths and opportunities of the campaign. The more complicated issue, however, is the comparative importance of each of these factors – if all of them were indeed important. Had one or more of these conditions *not* been present, would the result have been the same? In other words, was any one of these factors decisive for the final outcome, or did a combination of the three lead to the result? Definitively answering this question is of course impossible, but theoretically informed attempts at process tracing can at least lead to an educated guess. I shall take each of these factors in turn, laying out their respective power to influence the European Council, before proposing

¹⁴² For example Tarrow 1990, Kitschelt 1990, Giugni and Passy 1998.

the conclusion that the most important factor was in fact the upcoming referendum in France (although alone this may not have sufficed to produce the outcome).

Firstly, the sympathetic Presidency. The Presidency of the European Council is a powerful, but not an all powerful, institution. The President, who chairs the Council meeting, may steer the debate towards themes or areas that they consider important. In the Lisbon case, we may speculate that, since the President sought meetings with the Social Platform and had good contacts and worked with the ETUC, opposition to the Commission's proposal was a theme that he drew attention to during meetings. This alone could not secure the outcome however – where a majority of other members of the Council do not agree or do not find such themes important a decision wished by the President cannot be guaranteed. The Presidency conclusions, the only source of knowing the shape of the discussions inside the Council, must be agreed by consensus by all members of the Council. Therefore the Presidency was certainly a useful factor leading to the agenda outcome, but is unlikely to have been enough to secure it alone. The coexistence campaign, for example, showed that faced with other threats, a willing Austrian Presidency was not enough to carry a policy outcome of coexistence legislation.

The second factor was the public aspects of the campaign carried out by the different groups. Because the lobbying strategies mainly concerned the Commission and the Presidency, with only the ETUC directly contacting members of the European Council, and because the Commission has no role in the European Council and the role of the Presidency is considered separately, these public actions are considered most important.¹⁴³ Yet it is far from easy to prove what effect these actions had. Some clues may nevertheless be found. One is the fact that Barroso sought to meet with the Social Platform, an invitation that has already been classed as an access outcome of this campaign. Had the groups not made their opposition public, Barroso would not have had reason to meet with them. If we can assume that Barroso took note of the opposition to his communication, then it may also be suggested that others were also taking note. (For the European Council, again, this is compounded by the role of the President.) Another source for judging the role of the campaign in the final outcome are the campaigning groups themselves. Such a source may be considered questionable, but since none of the groups interviewed took a simple view of

¹⁴³ The ETUC's contacts with national leaders may come into the equation when discussing the French role in the campaign outcome. See below.

the situation, or claimed that the outcome was due entirely to their work, and as one source among many, their views may be taken into account. A particular advantage of the interview data as a source here lies in the fact that contacts in the institutions were given as a basis for conclusions on the campaign's effectiveness.

The opinions of the different groups interviewed on the role of their public campaign are similar. Although they attribute importance to the other factors mentioned here in relation to the agenda outcome, they also believe that their campaign played an important role in creating pressure for the European Council to come to the conclusions it did.

“I think the Commission felt the pressure, I think the publicity for example through the European Voice was quite effective, I think the Luxembourg Presidency realised what was going on. But the demonstration definitely was one aspect as well. It is kind of hard to say. I think in most cases on European, I mean as I said to mobilisation at the European level there are limits. So probably on the day-to-day political work lobbying is more effective. But you will never succeed with the lobbying if you can't make the institutions believe or see the organisations and the people that are actually behind that. And of course to actually show them every now and then is a very good thing.” (interview 14)

In addition, one interviewee gives evidence received from Commission officials and other players to the same tune: “I think it contributed quite significantly, because I heard.. As I say it's quite difficult for NGOs to assess the impact without being perceived as self-boasting or, on the contrary, being always pessimistic about what we do. But I've heard several people, including some national officials, and Commission people, saying, you know, behind the scenes, you did make a difference” (interview 11). It can therefore be said that in a general sense the public actions of the Lisbon campaign at the very least drew attention to opposition to the Commission communication, which in turn mirrored the debate over the French referendum and Social Europe, as well as providing evidence for the Luxembourg Presidency's view of the situation.

The idea that the public events of the campaign drew on the advantage provided by the French situation is a likely one if we consider the actions taken by the ETUC, also the main player in the contemporary Bolkestein campaign. Not only did this group meet with French President Chirac, but they also used the frame of the Bolkestein directive to

motivate workers to come to Brussels and demonstrate, adding the Lisbon agenda frame as an additional reason. The Bolkestein directive was an important issue in France, linked for many members to opposition to the European Constitution.¹⁴⁴ Linking the demonstration to this subject, brought to the attention of the French President by the ETUC themselves as well as the Luxembourg President and most likely by French trade unions as well, may have contributed to the French need to secure Council conclusions favourable to the desired result in the Constitutional referendum. This exploitation of an exceptional situation where all the member state governments were anxious to see their Treaty adopted, and knew that a French rejection would mean the death of the project, may be judged as one of the most forceful factors behind the agenda outcome.

The French situation may be judged the strongest factor in securing the outcome of this campaign. Yet it must be noted that had the demonstration and other actions *not* specifically linked the Lisbon agenda and Social Europe to the Bolkestein Directive, linked in France to the referendum debate, it is hard to imagine that much notice would have been taken of the groups' views by the Council, as these would not have been connected to either national citizens' opinions or the Constitutional Treaty. The role of the Presidency in this scenario, would appear to be outweighed in influence by the French factor, although it compounded the attention drawn to the campaigning groups' actions. The French situation, as well as the campaign's transnational mobilisations (the fact that the French were a strong element in the demonstration also being noteworthy) can be seen as the two necessary conditions for the content of the Presidency conclusions: even if these were later judged to be just 'nice words', and devoid of any real commitment.

5.6 Conclusions

This chapter described the short, sharp campaign that took place during the run-up to the March 2005 spring summit of the European Council. The campaign was launched in reaction to a communication by President Barroso of the European Commission intimating that the Lisbon agenda, as part of its mid-term review, should concentrate more on issues of growth and jobs. The campaigning groups feared this would mean the neglect of the

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, the CGT call for participation in the ETUC demonstration, which clearly states that the demonstration is not connected to the Constitution (thereby proving that for many, it is). Communiqué du 11 février 2005, Appel à participer à la manifestation syndicale organisée par le CES, le 19 mars à Bruxelles. Available through <http://www.cgt.fr/ei/html/presse/com/>. This link is also mentioned in interview 19.

original agenda's emphases on social protection and sustainable development, and sought to convince the European Council to reiterate its support for the original version. The main actions of this short campaign were publicly oriented: a no-logo web petition authored by Solidar, a member of the Social Platform, which was then diffused through the Social Platform network and which gathered around 7000 organisations' signatures by the time of the spring summit; and the ETUC's (annual) march on the occasion of the spring summit, particularly strong on this occasion as a result of mobilisation around the Bolkestein directive. In addition, a string of high-level lobbying meetings took place between trade unions and national leaders, the Commission President, and the President of the Council – a tactic that has also been noted to be an important factor in campaigns focusing on intergovernmental conferences, similar in composition to the European Council (Hellferich and Kolb 2001:156). The Social Platform was also invited to meet with the President of the Council, and then with the President of the Commission.

In terms of process tracing, following the model introduced with this aim in chapter one, we can note the presence of simple slogan-like frames carried throughout this short campaign. There is no evidence of the construction of shared frames, but rather the presence of previously (painstakingly) constructed solidarity through permanent coalition structures – the ETUC and the Social Platform. The case therefore provides a good example of a long-term coalition mobilised in a short period of time in the face of a serious threat, and highlights the importance of regular contacts and the maintenance of identities between likeminded groups at the European level. These findings on the advantages of more permanent coalition structures corroborate Passy's (1999:164) and Juska and Edwards' (2005:203) findings. Political opportunities were created by converting the threat of a closed and hostile Commission into an opportunity for grassroots mobilisations aimed at influencing the European Council. A sympathetic Presidency also provided a significant opportunity since the President may steer debates within the Council.

Crossing between political and discursive opportunities, the important contextual element of the Lisbon campaign was the parallel mobilisation on the Bolkestein directive and its linking to the debate on the Constitutional Treaty in France. Very briefly, in political terms, this contributed to a high turnout at the ETUC demonstration, where broad frames about Social Europe in calls for participation brought the different issues together into one action (see Lance Bennett 2005:205 for similar findings on linking issues in broad frames).

The debate over the Constitutional Treaty and the threat of a no vote in the French referendum also contributed to the disposition of other European Council members to produce a ‘social’ conclusion. In discursive terms, this situation meant that the salience of ‘social Europe’ ran generally high during this short campaign, contributing to its visibility. Similar findings on the importance of contemporary or recent campaigns on related issues have also been noted by other scholars of transnational campaigns. Juska and Edwards (2005:202) comment on the importance of the “growing criticism of the industrial model of agricultural production throughout Western Europe” as an important factor in raising the salience of issues of intensive animal farming in Poland, while Keck and Sikkink make similar comments in a more general manner (1998:150). Because power over the outcome sought in this case lay with the European Council, we can conclude that the most important factors leading to the outcome of the Presidency conclusions (which reiterated the body’s support for the original Lisbon agenda formulation) were the opportunities connected to the debate over the Constitutional Treaty – an issue of paramount importance for the majority of the Council’s members – and the effective bottom-up style campaign carried out by the EUSMOs, which vocalised the wishes of grassroots members to their national leaders.

6. No Valentine For Bolkestein: the Directive on Services in the Internal Market¹⁴⁵

“..if you ask me, no directive has ever seen such a high level of conscience as the Bolkestein directive. You can take the whole history of Europe, you won't find a level of conscience so high, there isn't any, never has been.” (interview 18)¹⁴⁶

The campaign on the Directive on Services in the Internal Market, better known as the 'Bolkestein Directive' has been hailed as one of the strongest instances of cross-national and European level mobilisation in the history of the EU thus far. The campaign was visible not only at the EU level, where a more traditional EU lobbying campaign was combined with protests and the mobilisation of national level groups, but also at the level of various member states of the Union, such as Germany, Italy, Belgium, and especially France (where the issue became entangled with the impending referendum on the European Constitutional Treaty). Most remarkably, the campaign ended satisfactorily for the European level groups, as significant changes to the legislation were made by the European Parliament and accepted by the Council.

In 2004, when Bolkestein's legislative proposal was published, trade unions (the major actors in this campaign) were caught somewhat off guard, since very little of the usual consultations that precede legislative proposals took place. This meant that several months passed by before the campaign really began to take off, as the EUSMOs trawled through the proposal and formed their positions. It then became clear that trade unions recognised a serious threat to social protection and even the right to strike in the directive, and a wealth of actions, including a sustained and strategic lobbying campaign at the European Parliament, well-attended demonstrations at both the European and national levels, and a web petition began to take place. The campaign was certainly strong, indeed the strongest of the case studies included here, in terms of its actions and awareness at both the European and national levels, which was paradoxically aided by the fact that the Commission was unwilling to talk. Yet it also met with a fortunate set of political opportunities, the most important of which was the debate over the Constitutional Treaty in France. French trade

¹⁴⁵ Versions of this chapter were presented at two conferences: the XX Congresso della Societa' Italiana di Scienza Politica, Bologna 12-14 September 2006, and the fourth annual ESPAnet conference in Bremen, 21-23 September 2006. I would like to thank the participants of both for their valuable comments and insights.

¹⁴⁶ My own translation from the original Italian: “..secondo me, il livello di coscienza su una direttiva non e' mai stato cosi' alto che sulla direttiva Bolkestein. Tu puoi prendere tutta la storia dell'Europa, non troverai un'altra dove il livello di coscienza e' stato cosi' alto, non c'e', mai stato.”

unions were against the Treaty and campaigning for a no vote in the then upcoming referendum. The Bolkestein directive provided a perfect example of the fact that the EU was going in the wrong direction in their eyes, and the fate of the directive became entangled with the fate of the treaty. A strong European Parliament seeking to carve itself a decisive role in the outcome of the controversy also aided the campaign, as actors in this institution dedicated themselves to finding a compromise acceptable to all.

The campaign is therefore an interesting ‘extreme’ case of campaigning in the EU, not only because of the level of mobilisation it caused, but also because of the near non-existent dialogue with the Commission before the draft legislation’s publication, and the rare atmosphere of the debate over the Constitutional Treaty during which it unfolded. For the purposes of this analysis the campaign is split into just two phases. This is because the analysis ends with the first reading vote of the European Parliament, which saw the adoption of extensive changes to the draft directive that were supported by most of the campaigning EUSMOs. Following this the campaign wound down significantly, since the second reading saw the swift and problem-free adoption of all but few of the Parliament’s amendments to the text, and preliminary analyses of this phase added nothing to the study. As with the other cases included in this study, different phases of the campaign are singled out according to relevant institutional actions. However, unlike the REACH case the phases of the Bolkestein campaign do not strictly follow the legislative process. The first phase stretches from the publication of the draft directive on 13 January 2004 until February 2005, when President Barroso of the European Commission announced that the directive would be altered in line with the European Parliament’s amendments. This phase was singled out because Barroso’s announcement coincided with a decrease in mobilisation levels in the campaign. The second phase lasts until the Parliament’s first reading vote, which took place on 14 February 2006, and saw the final large protest event of the campaign.

6.1 Mobilisation throughout the Union

On 13 January 2004 the European Commission, drawing to the close of Romano Prodi’s Presidency, presented its draft directive on services in the internal market. The draft directive came as a great surprise to many of the European actors interested in such legislative goings-on, as there had been very little of the usual consultation procedures that

normally precede the publication of proposed legislation.¹⁴⁷ The aim of the draft legislation, brainchild of the Commission's Internal Market Directorate General, then headed by Dutch Commissioner Frits Bolkestein (hence the popular name of the directive), was to achieve an open, common market in services.

The draft contained many points to which a number of interested groups objected. These groups were mainly composed of trade unions and services confederations, and especially their umbrella organisation, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). Social NGOs were also opposed, and mostly acted through their umbrella organisation the European Platform of Social NGOs (the Social Platform) led by that organisation's Treasurer, the Secretary General of the European Liaison Committee for Social Housing (CECODHAS).¹⁴⁸ The central point of contention was the 'Country of Origin Principle' (COP), which stated that service providers operating in other countries of the EU would only have to adhere to the laws governing their activities in their homeland, rather than those of the country in which they would provide their services. This idea is by no means a new one in the EU, but has thus far only been used in legislation related to goods, where the harmonisation of national legislation has already reached an advanced stage. In the opinion of the groups opposed to the project, employing the principle in relation to services would result in a 'race to the bottom' and 'social dumping', where service providers from states with lower levels of social protection would successfully force those states with stricter laws to loosen them or face the consequences in terms of lost business. In addition, the groups called for the exemption from the directive of various sectors, either because of potential clashes with existing European and international legislation, or because the directive treated "mobile phone contracts in the same way as the relationship between a

¹⁴⁷ Or, indeed, any consultation with the social partners, considered necessary by the trade unions and the CEEP (European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation and Enterprises of General Economic Interest) in this case as the proposed legislation, in their view, touched on matters of labour law. Parallel consultations had taken place on services of *general* interest, but these did not relate to the Services directive. Although some meetings with DG Internal Market and Services did take place at a late stage after significant efforts by the campaigning groups, these were seen as unfruitful since the DG appeared unwilling and patronising towards them (Fazi and Smith 2006:62-63)

¹⁴⁸ The interviews carried out for this study correspond to this assessment of the groups most active on the subject at the European level. There are actually four European service confederations at the EU level: the European Transport Workers Federation (ETF), the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE), the European Regional Organisation of Union Network International (UNI-Europa), and the European Public Services Union (EPSU). Of these, only the latter two organisations were interviewed. Attempts to arrange similar interviews with the remaining two were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the two interviews carried out concern the broadest of the four confederations, representing workers from several sectors, and appear (based on internet research) to have been more active in the campaign as a result of this. For the full list of interviews carried out, see the end of this article.

carer and an elderly person” (Social Platform:21/2/2005¹⁴⁹). The final major objection was that the directive risked impinging on national labour law – i.e. on national collective agreements, workers’ rights, and labour codes. Workers from other member states could be paid different amounts than their colleagues, and national authorities would find it difficult to check their status or treatment.

Unsurprisingly, the Commission did not agree with such an evaluation of the draft directive, maintaining that the groups had misunderstood the directive and declining to change any of the content (interviews 19 and 22). The arguments of the trade unions in particular were understood as blatant protectionism, and as lacking solidarity with workers in the less rich countries of the Union in central Europe. The media largely picked up on this negative image of the campaign, especially in light of the widely spread image of the “Polish plumber” originating in France (interview 22). Returning to a more chronological description of events, after the draft directive was so unexpectedly announced in January 2004, the first task of the groups was to analyse the proposal and come up with their positions. First off the mark was the ETUC (interview 19), closely followed by its affiliates. The social groups, on the other hand, were slower to develop positions and begin actions. Both sets of groups followed a common tactic in that most set up special working groups in order to deal with the issue. This, according to the ETUC, was a result of the lack of consultation – with no pre-planning the groups were caught by surprise. While trade union networks were activated extremely quickly, having decided as early as March 2004 that the directive represented a serious threat, social groups took formal positions only in 2005.

The earlier actions of the campaign thus belong to the trade unions. The previously mentioned working groups (with various names and structures) seem to have played some role in shaping the campaign. A good example is UNI-Europa’s ‘electronic network’ on services. Because of the urgency of the matter, partly due to the directive’s content and partly due to the lack of forewarning, normal nomination procedures were skipped and an open network disseminating information to all interested affiliates was established (interview 22). In addition, the normal position taking mechanisms of unions, through executive boards and congresses, always involve national members. This meant that the

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix II.

European and national levels worked together with greater synergy than usual, according to interviewees. For example, as the EPSU put it: “Things were different and more organic in the services directive. The campaigns only really work when they’re from the bottom-up. And that’s the case for two reasons: because you have direct member involvement, which is a positive thing in and of itself, but much more importantly you have local or regional pressure on MEPs, and on national parliament representatives as well. And particularly in our case, in this case study, the local or regional pressure on the MEPs was extremely important” (interview 17).

In addition at this early point in the mobilisation, the European level groups were also engaged in building coalitions. The EPSU, for example, recruited the support of many health groups (representing patients as well as professionals and employers) through its participation in a Commission working group (the European Public Health Forum) that was highly critical of the directive (Fazi and Smith 2006:65). CECODHAS cite the use of existing information networks established between social NGOs and trade unions, and working on joint statements with the CEEP. UNI-Europa, in another example of ‘covering the corners’ made several statements related to specific sectors alongside employers. The logic behind this is simple yet (hopefully) effective: “once you’ve got those three, the workers, the users, the employers saying more or less the same thing it’s a pretty strong message. And what exactly is the objection then?”¹⁵⁰ (interview 17). The only real bone of contention apparently came towards the end of the campaign between latecomers and the veteran campaigning groups, in particular the ETUC: “..in the end when everybody saw, OK, that is a big demonstration, Attac is going against it, then they all wanted to jump on the train.. let’s say we don’t like too much if people jump on the train when all the work is done, only for publicity reasons.” Coalitions in this campaign are nevertheless mostly permanent and formal, existing through the structures of the ETUC for trade unions, and the Social Platform for social NGOs.

Apart from formal coalitions, a strong link to the national level was seen in this campaign, as illustrated by the fact that the Belgian trade unions (together with the Belgian Social Forum) held their first demonstration against the directive as early as June 2004. In fact, Belgian activism played an important role at the European level as well. Through their

¹⁵⁰ That workers, (some) employers and users found common ground to object to the directive was cited as an unusual circumstance however.

official links to the bureau of the Belgian socialist party, Belgian trade unions had also sensitised this actor to the campaign in the months before their demonstration. By October, partly as a result of the sensitisation of the European Socialist Party (PSE), the party was 'furious' and took up the idea of launching a European level campaign (interview 18). The idea took form as a 'no logo' – that is belonging to no one apparent organisation – web petition under the title of Stop Bolkestein. This rather hard line text, first published in French, English, and Flemish, and spread through the Belgian socialist party's study institute, the Institut Emile Vanderwelde, gained notoriety at first in francophone Belgium and France.

In the meantime, the directive had been passed to the European Parliament under the co-decision procedure. The Parliament, because of the directive's broad connotations, chose to use the enhanced Hughes procedure, where more than one committee is allocated the draft with a view to drafting a lead report. The important committees in this case were Legal Affairs and Internal Market,¹⁵¹ and Employment and Social Affairs. Rapporteurs were quickly appointed, Evelyne Gebhardt and Anne Van Lancker respectively, both from the Socialist group. The campaigning groups now shifted their efforts from activating their own internal networks to targeting the European Parliament, and these two figures in particular – although the rapporteurs themselves also sought out opinions for their reports (Fazi and Smith 2006:65). Different opportunities and methods were adopted: while the ETUC concentrated on the two lead rapporteurs (interview 19), Uni-Europa (acknowledging a conscious division of labour with the ETUC) concentrated their efforts on those MEPs outside the PSE who, from previous votes, they felt could be persuaded by union arguments. The responsible committee's hearing on the draft directive, held in November 2004, provided an entry point for social NGOs into the campaign, with CECODHAS holding a special meeting with its members in order to prepare, and many other members of the Social Platform making presentations. The hearing was seen by many groups as a turning point. Here, in the words of the interviewees, expert after expert took the floor to condemn the same aspects of the draft directive, repeating the same arguments, and making it clear to one and all that worries were widely shared.

¹⁵¹ This committee was altered following the June 2004 elections, where internal market issues were moved to a newly created Internal Market and Consumer Protection committee.

Following a decision to postpone votes on the reports until after the elections, tactics targeted at the Parliament increased. Both the trade unions (interview 22) and the social NGOs (interview 15) make it clear that the main aim at this point was to ensure the subject remained high on the agenda, and therefore present in MEPs' minds. "The seminars, it's only a visibility event. It's just that there it's something again on the screen on social services, again in the Parliament there is a debate..." (interview 15). National contact is also cited as important (interviews 15 and 17) in convincing MEPs of the importance of the directive in their home constituencies (where such an electoral system exists). Finally, the kinds of positions brought to Parliament are highlighted. These, according to interviewees, must not be purely ideological, but based on legal arguments, concrete examples, and suggestions for amendments.

The Parliament was not the only target of the campaigning groups however. All those interviewed add that there were, from the beginning, contacts with Presidencies and thus the Council. This is stressed as unusual, and attributed to the fact that the Commission remained so closed to any kind of action. Demonstrations were also held by the European trade unions, first in November 2004, then again at the spring summit (the so-called Social Summit) of the European Council in March 2005, and finally at the European Parliament's first reading vote in February 2006. Many national demonstrations also took place throughout this period, some now using the Stop Bolkestein slogan launched by the Belgian socialists. The petition had now been translated into many more languages, and e-mail lobby campaigns directed towards the European Parliament, the Commission, and the heads of state and government of the member states had also been launched via the website.

The levels of opposition to the draft directive began to pay off in 2005. In February, the new Commission led by President Barroso had already decided to distance itself from the text. Barroso indeed went so far as to announce the Commission's intention to amend the text in line with the European Parliament's opinion. This was interpreted by campaigning groups as a ploy to stem the tide of protests springing up around the directive (although it did not work, the spring summit protest in March saw around 75,000 on the streets of Brussels), but may have contributed to the extraordinary effort the European Parliament's political groups then put in to securing a compromise agreement. Following the spring summit, the European Council reiterated the message, allegedly in order to bail out the

French President Jacques Chirac in his quest for a 'yes' vote in the referendum on the Constitutional Treaty, threatened by opposition to the directive which had become a central tenet of the 'no' camp.

Legal tactics were also employed in the campaign by Swedish, and later Finnish, trade unions. This was the 'Vaxholm' affair, which came into the eye of the media in October 2005 following some rather ill-judged comments by Commissioner McCreevy – Bolkestein's replacement.¹⁵² This served to highlight the legal problems in the directive as had been pointed out by many of the campaigning groups. The case centred around a dispute between Swedish trade unions and a Latvian company employed to build a school in the Vaxholm region of Sweden. Under Swedish law, the Latvian construction workers should have been paid according to the terms of a collective agreement between their employer and the Swedish trade union acting on the behalf of the workers. The Latvian company, in this case, refused to abide by such an agreement, and court proceedings began to solve the issue after Swedish unions took industrial action in protest. As is usual in such cases where EU law is unclear, the judge addressed a list of questions to the European Court of Justice. These questions highlighted problems within the directive about existing collective agreements as well as the respective strengths of the European internal market and social legislation. Interest in the case served to heighten interest in the directive, especially with new cases coming to light involving Viking Line, a Finnish ferry company, and Irish Ferries.

Moving towards the end of the campaign, the groups continued to target the European Parliament, attempting to secure the best outcome of the first reading vote as possible. The two main groups, the PSE and the European People's Party (EPP) were now negotiating a compromise package for the final plenary vote which had been set for February 2006. In order to drive their final message home, the ETUC began to plan a demonstration on the day of the vote, Valentine's day 2006 (hence the slogan borrowed in the title). The web petition had by now been signed by more than 100,000 individuals (although half of these came from France and Belgium) and more than 250 organisations from both national and

¹⁵² Commissioner McCreevy commented to the Swedish press that he would support the Latvian company's stance in a legal dispute, and that the Swedish position was in breach of EU rules. The Swedish government saw this as an attack on their social model. The European Parliament subsequently summoned President Barroso and Commissioner McCreevy to discuss these comments.

European levels (interview 18). However, splits (that had existed for some time¹⁵³) between some of the European campaigning groups and the petition signatories now came to the fore. The hard line text had, in the view of the ETUC in particular, placed the petition along the lines of groups opposed to the internal market and European integration per se (such as ATTAC, a group important in the debates in many national contexts including Belgium, Italy, and Germany, and France – where they have been named as responsible for the no-vote amongst left-wing voters in the referendum on the Constitutional Treaty, according to della Porta and Caiani 2007:2). They were therefore reluctant for the organisations linked to the campaign under the banner of Stop Bolkestein to demonstrate with them on the day of the vote. Much time and energy had been invested in the compromise package, for which they had pledged their support. A demonstration demanding the wholesale rejection of the directive would, in their view, now undermine the position of trust established with Parliamentary actors.

In the final event two separate demonstrations took place, although the organisers of Stop Bolkestein and their Belgian trade union associates took part in both. On Saturday 11th February 2006 the ‘social movement’ demonstration took place in Strasbourg, while the trade unions marched on the actual day of the vote, that is 14th February 2006. Turnout for the latter was high at around 50,000 considering the inaccessibility of Strasbourg and the fact that this was a working day. The Belgian trade union that had helped to trigger the Stop Bolkestein petition also used the march as an opportunity to present the petition to the President of the European Parliament. Many left wing MEPs went so far as to join the trade unionists in their demonstration (interview 15). The outcome of the vote, according to the reactions of the various campaigning groups, was favourable. The Country of Origin Principle was deleted, and many exemptions secured, amongst other changes. Reactions to the Commission’s re-drafting of the proposal published on 4 April 2006 were positive, as the latter respected the Parliament’s central compromise. The Council, led by the Austrian

¹⁵³ As detailed by Mathers (2007) in relation to earlier summit protests and other campaigns, “The ETUC offered a more moderate criticism of the lack of progress towards a ‘social Europe’ while the militant unions outside of its fold, as well as its internal critics, related more to the radical criticisms developed through the GJM [global justice movement]. The ETUC called its own demonstrations prior to several of the EU summits while the radical tendency participated in the European social Forums and the broader protests that coincided with the EU summits which continued to grow in size and scope.” (Mathers 2007:184). With the exception of the organising of the first European Social Forum in Florence in 2002, in which the ETUC was involved as an organiser, splits between more and less radical union groups were thus apparent prior to this campaign, and were also expressed during it through differing views on the Constitutional Treaty (see the following section on working with national groups).

Presidency, also respected the compromise in their common position, and the directive was quietly adopted in December 2006.¹⁵⁴

6.1.1 Showing the numbers: the role of national groups

Since the ETUC and the Social Platform's organisational links with the national level have already been dealt with in chapter four on the Lisbon agenda campaign, I shall limit comments here to the other more active trade union sectoral organisations, Uni-Europa and the EPSU.

Uni-Europa, which represents workers in the services and skills sectors (stretching from finance to hairdressers), is the European regional organisation of Union Network International, and a European Industry Federation of the ETUC. The organisation has a fairly classic trade union structure - it is governed by its regional conference, held every four years and made up of delegates from its members, who are national trade unions. More day to day business is managed by the Regional Executive Committee, which is made up of various leaders of member unions, members of the European staff and elected delegates. As seen in the text above, UNI-Europa also involves staff from its national member unions in thematic working groups and networks. The EPSU – the European Federation of Public Service Unions, also has a classical trade union structure, consisting of an annual Congress, an Executive Committee, a Steering Committee, thematic working groups, and a European secretariat. The EPSU is also considered to be one of the more active and successful sectoral organisations at the European level, in particular as a result of its willingness and previous experience in forming close alliances “with other social movements” including (in previous campaigns) the Social Platform and ATTAC (Bieler 2005: 476). Both of these trade union federations can be said to reproduce the involvement of their national members in much the same way as their national members organise the involvement of individual members. The federations are strictly there to serve the interests of their members, who have a great deal of control of their running as well as input into positions.

¹⁵⁴ The Austrian presidency was clear about wishing to involve the social partners in adopting the directive. Their quest for a balanced piece of legislation can be attributed to domestic circumstances (see Howarth 2007:95)

The most important scenario of national mobilisation over the Bolkestein directive was in France, as will be seen in the analyses below. A strong campaign against the Constitutional Treaty was already under way in France, made up of various different currents including the purely domestic issue of expressing dissatisfaction with the government, but also of an anti-European faction and dissatisfaction with an overly neo-liberal EU posing a threat to the French welfare state model (Brouard and Tiberj 2006). It was for this reason that French trade unions campaigned against the Constitutional Treaty, using the Bolkestein directive as evidence of their view. Very quickly the now notorious figure of the 'Polish plumber' came to symbolise the national debate (also spilling over into other countries) and fears of large numbers of foreign, cheap workers toppling national systems of social protection. The Bolkestein issue was thus seen as a way of focusing the debate against a neo-liberal Europe in France, and played a not insignificant role in the French 'no' (Howarth 2007:94; Brouard and Tiberj 2006:262; Taggart 2006:16), at least in terms of no votes from the left (della Porta and Caiani 2007:2).

In fact this caused problems between the ETUC and its French affiliates, whose linking of the two subjects led to tensions in that the ETUC supported the Constitution while it opposed the draft directive:

“And then France you were confronted all the way, all the time you were confronted with these arguments. Your own arguments that part III is not in our line, that this is a technical thing, which shouldn't be in the Constitution, and we agree to it. And then they all the time made links with the services directive, they said: the Constitution is as liberal as the services directive, and the services directive is only a distillation of the Constitution, all this kind of nonsense. And that made our campaign for the Constitution a real difficult task, a very difficult task, because we were always on the defensive, explaining we are against the services directive but that the services directive was on the basis of the Nice Treaty and had nothing to do with the Constitution. You can't win a campaign when you're all the time on the defensive. You have to be offensive and that spoiled it. I think not only our, but all people who were in favour of the Constitution who were confronted with this kind of situation that it was nearly impossible to go ahead with the argument due to the services directive. Or due to the publicity done around the services directive by people who are against internal market or who are against the European integration. Because the key players around this, *le Monde Diplomatique* or the Communist Party, were always against

European integration. This is a sort of left nationalism and it's clear that for them it was a gift, a wonderful gift they got" (interview 19).¹⁵⁵

To sum up, the Bolkestein campaign is a story of mass mobilisation the like of which is rarely seen at the European level. Protests and marches played a big role in the campaign at both the European and national levels. In France in particular the debate about Bolkestein was very lively, as it had been linked with the debate over the Constitutional Treaty. However, European level groups were also engaged in a thorough and carefully orchestrated lobbying campaign at the European Parliament, since the Commission had shut them out from the processes leading to the publication of the legislative proposal.

6.2 A common critique: shared frames in the Bolkestein Campaign

As may well be expected from the description already provided, no problems were met with when locating documents for the analysis of the Bolkestein campaign. Yet the picture painted regarding framing work is not quite as strong as may have been imagined considering the level of mobilisation achieved in the campaign, as will be seen below.

6.2.1 Frames among the European level groups

In the first phase of the campaign, the European level groups use a very high number of different frames, but only a very few of these are shared to any great extent – a fact that would seem to suggest a lack of dialogue. Indeed, the most common frame across the whole analysis, requiring the Commission to make a more in-depth impact analysis on the draft directive, is shared across only four of the eight documents analysed, with similar circumstances repeated for other high-ranking frames. Thinking back to how the campaign unfolded, this may partly be explained by the fact that the EUSMOs took some time to formulate their positions as individual organisations, and took some time to begin to build coalitions and consequently to work on shared frames. Nevertheless, the frames are not generally contradictory. Instead, they tend to closely reflect the particular concerns of each organisation. Thus, where the ETUC's position remains slightly more general, other organisations include different demands or diagnoses linked to their particular fields of

¹⁵⁵ See also Mathers (2007:188-192).

work, such as calls for the exemption of specific industries or services. For example, while the social groups seem most concerned about the need for an impact assessment and the exclusion of services of general interest from the scope of the directive, the trade unions are more preoccupied by threats to collective agreements, social dumping, and the relationship of the draft with the Posting of Workers directive.

Despite this split between the frames of social groups and trade unions, there are some frames that are shared by types of group, albeit not across the entire spectrum of documents. Worries about the country of origin principle, for example, are shared by both trade unions and social groups, although this frame does not appear as frequently as expected from its apparent centrality to the debate. Services of general interest are also a cause for concern for different types of groups, with calls for a halt to the Bolkestein directive until a framework proposal on these is delivered, as well as a general exemption for healthcare and social services from the directive. To a lesser extent, the more high-ranking frame expressing concern that the draft directive will lead to ‘social dumping’, or a ‘race to the bottom’ in terms of the quality of social protection, is also shared across both types of group. The first phase of the campaign thus sees rather scattered frames among the EUSMOs, and presents no evidence of framing work.

Later in the campaign, the European groups’ documents change their tone to match their more contentious approach, now – at least publicly - more based around demonstrations. The threat to collective agreements and workers’ rights remains high on their list of concerns, but is overtaken by the more general worry about the ‘race to the bottom’ in terms of social protection. Worries about the country of origin principle also come to the fore and (along with the ‘race to the bottom’ frame) are shared by both trade unions and social groups, although once again the extent of shared frames is limited, covering only four core frames. Apart from these, similar to the first phase of the campaign, we see a large number of organisation-specific frames, though none of these contradict the core of the shared argument centring around social dumping. All in all, the frames at this stage of the campaign bear a close resemblance to those of the first phase, with the exception of more ‘technical’ frames about impact assessments and the relationship with the Posting of Workers Directive. In fact, argumentation at this stage is more similar to that of national trade unions in the first phase, a signal that national frames are now working their way up to the European level rather than vice versa (see below). The one exception to this is the

Stop Bolkestein site. While the frames used by Stop Bolkestein bore some resemblance to those of other groups during the first phase of the campaign, in this second stage the split between the more organised trade union driven side of the campaign and the web petition becomes clear. The frames of Stop Bolkestein now become much more hard-line, and only two frames in the whole document are shared by any of the other groups.

6.2.2 Frames at the European and national levels

As would be expected from the conclusion that European level groups were working on their individual positions during the first phase of the campaign leading up to the March 2005 spring summit, the national documents analysed show that frames are widely shared between the European and national levels.¹⁵⁶ European trade union organisations necessarily involve their national members in the formation of their positions, and therefore we can say that there was real dialogue between the European and national levels at this point. This is shown in the frame analysis by the fact that, with the exception of the frame condemning the Commission's lack of proper impact assessment (a frame too specific to the Brussels arena to be of much sense at the national level) the concerns expressed by national confederations exactly match those shown at the European level, albeit in a different order of frequency. Social dumping, the threat to collective agreements and workers' rights, the relationship with the Posting of Workers directive, services of general interest, and the country of origin principle are all highlighted in the national level documents, and subsequently seen in the European documents of the second phase of the campaign, indicating dialogue between these levels through trade union organisational apparatus.

Two frames in particular are shared by both national and European organisations in the first phase of the campaign. These are concerns about a 'race to the bottom' or 'social dumping', and the idea that the proposal threatens collective agreements and national

¹⁵⁶ The documents analysed for the national level are position papers or similar statements made as early in the campaign as available by national trade union confederations who are members of the ETUC. Trade unions are focused on since according to interview and documentary data they drove the campaign at the national level. Confederations are selected since they theoretically represent more national sectoral unions. Finally, the four countries included (Belgium, France, Italy, and Germany) were selected on the basis of interview data. Interviewees were asked which, if any, national campaigns or actions had contributed the most to the overall European campaign? The answers were surprisingly uniform, focusing on these four countries.

labour codes. In this, national priorities reflect European ones, with the exception of the call for the Commission to carry out a proper impact assessment, and a crossing over in the relative importance of one frame with the other. The lack of calls for a Commission impact assessment on the part of the national groups is in addition understandable in terms of their distance from this body, and the fact that these documents are certainly not aimed directly at it. Other frames at the national level are also found at the European, although wording is admittedly different. There are concerns about the future of national social services (SGI), the relationship between Bolkestein and other European directives and such like. The main difference between these less common frames at the national level, likening the documents to the Stop Bolkestein petition, is the larger presence of the idea that the EU is 'ultra-liberal', or cares only about the market and competitiveness rather than social aspects.

Turning to the national level frames for the second phase of the campaign. Here the general aim and tone of the documents shifts towards mobilisational framing, consisting of more general arguments for 'more and better jobs' and the need to demonstrate against the Bolkestein directive. The plight of social services and the country of origin principle follow these new frames however, and therefore remain high on the agenda, and shared across the board by all the organisations. The most frequent frames now are 'more and better jobs' and 'demonstrate against Bolkestein'. Both of these frames come, for the most part, from the ETUC's call to demonstrate at the 2005 spring summit, diffused amongst its members in early February 2005. The fact that the ETUC's call was the only document found for this phase in two of the national settings studied (Belgium and Italy) is in itself a good indicator of the dialogue taking place between the national and European levels. While these mobilisational frames are not repeated at the European level, those that follow in frequency are. The mobilisational frames make sense in the context of the national documents, whose aim is after all to get members to turn out for the march. The substance of the arguments against the directive remain shared with the European level.

To sum up, we may say that from the frame analysis alone there is evidence that trade unions and social groups share central understandings of the problems with the directive, while there is a split between these groups and the Stop Bolkestein initiative. Although high numbers of very sector-specific frames are seen, a core group of frames linked with services of general interest, the COP, and social dumping, are shared across the board. These ideas are borne out by interview evidence, where a basic level of contacts between

the trade union and social groups are confirmed. Even where these two types of group are not involved in the joint planning of events, their positions share core features, and the social groups were invited to participate in trade union marches. Indeed, the president of the Social Platform was invited to speak at the spring summit demonstration (interview 11). The frame analysis also provided some evidence of frame diffusion from the national to the European level during the campaign, a finding that is confirmed if we consider the evidence on the involvement of national members in European level trade union work. In the second phase of the campaign, the ETUC's call for action was also widely diffused at the national level, providing evidence of some top-down diffusion as well. There is therefore good reason to suppose a lively dialogue between EUSMOs and their members, especially amongst the trade unions.

6.3 Transforming threats: political opportunities in the Bolkestein campaign

The first port of call for groups wishing to influence processes at the European level is the Commission, as the drafter of legislation, and it is to this institution that the variable rules on dialogue with 3rd parties mainly refers. Unusually in this case, however, the Commission was seen as completely closed to dialogue, and efforts were almost entirely transferred to the European Parliament (interviews 15, 17, 18, 19, 22) and, to a lesser extent, the Council of Ministers and European Council – a tactic which may be interpreted as exploiting the opportunities offered by the EU's strict separation of powers.¹⁵⁷ Where attempts were made to meet with the leading DG internal market, groups felt that this service considered them unsophisticated and unable to understand the directive (Fazi and Smith 2006:63-65). In other words, where contact with the Commission was made groups were not dealing with their 'natural' Commission partner DGs, and this spelled a serious threat to the carrying on of dialogue. The Commission's general attitude was extremely important to how the campaign then unfolded: with its institutionalised rules and mechanisms for dialogue, its (apparent) openness, and its need for specialist knowledge, the Commission has been said to contribute greatly to quashing protest and other more public actions in the EU arena (Marks and McAdam 1996:102; Imig and Tarrow 2001:8). Yet the Bolkestein campaign demonstrates that when this interlocutor is removed, campaigns at the EU level begin to look more like 'traditional' national campaigns in that

¹⁵⁷ Comments in the data regarding the variable 'inclusive towards differing opinions' all relate to the fact that the Commission was closed, and therefore no further discussion of this variable is included here.

they return to repertoires of contention more usually seen at this level. The European Parliament, the only directly elected European institution, the Council of Ministers and the European Council, both of which are composed of national politicians, are targets that may appear closer to home than the Commission. This is qualified by the relatively high levels of turnout for European level demonstrations during this campaign. As was said about the final Strasbourg demonstration: “the fact that so many people were willing to go to the least accessible place in Europe on a working day is really testament to an effective mobilisation, but also to basic concerns of people” (interview 10).

The European Parliament is the primary target in this case. Comments on tactics employed here mainly fall into two of the categories of the EU’s political opportunity structure as it was described in chapter one: professionalism and resources of the administration, and coalitions in institutions. As already seen, the groups tended to rely on legal arguments (interview 10), propose amendments (interview 18), and wherever possible concrete examples of problems the draft directive would create (interview 17). This may be interpreted as a response to the Parliament’s need for information from third parties, since individual MEPs must follow multiple dossiers and internal services are relatively small, leading them to rely on others to fill information gaps (interview 10). There are two aspects to exploiting this opportunity. First, effectively lobbying the Parliament means providing relevant information at the right time, which contributes to making an argument convincing; second, groups must seek to provide information that cannot be easily accessed by Parliamentarians, for example “a document from the Council working group, which is a really meaty document that shows you exactly how the different member states are thinking” as “then you're helping on a very basic level, you're reducing the pressure on an MEP's office” (interview 22). This, that is providing timely information to the European Parliament / MEPs / rapporteurs, corresponds to what Keck and Sikkink (1998:16) call “*information politics*, or the ability to quickly and credibly generate politically usable information and move it to where it will have the most impact” – a tactic they consider an important one in determining the impacts of transnational campaigns. Smith, for example, highlights how research carried out by Greenpeace filled a gap in the knowledge of those negotiating a ban on the trade in toxic waste (1999:182), while Caniglia highlights the importance of holding informal contacts with institutional actors in order to acquire such information (2001:44). Proposing concrete amendments and providing information of affiliates’ views – through lobbying by affiliates themselves (see below) - has also been an

important element of other European level campaigns (see Hellferich and Kolb 2001:155, Warleigh 2000:233). Unlike the information provided in the REACH campaign in this study, which appeared to simply add to an already saturated field, the information provided in this campaign followed the rules of information politics – it was timely and sought-after.

Finally, the multi-level system variable leads to the conclusion that ideology – conspicuous by its absence from the actions employed at the European level (see the following section on discursive opportunities), is a resource left to the national groups, and therefore employed at the European level through national groups' lobbying and other actions in the Council and Parliament. All of those interviewed confirmed that national groups' actions are indispensable when the Council of Ministers, or the European Council, is a target. Their links with national governments and knowledge of national systems are deeper, and their actions are more likely to be effective. The importance of multi-level actions is also noted by other scholars of EU campaigns, for example Hellferich and Kolb (2001:151). Again, because the Commission was closed to dialogue, groups confirmed that they had earlier and more frequent contacts than usual with the Council and Presidencies, and underline the need for national members' support for this. The participation of national groups is also seen as crucial for working with the Parliament, since territorial links between regional members and MEPs can help to convince of the justness of an argument (interview 17), as well as reinforce the link between the national and local level and the otherwise apparently dislocated European office (interviews 15 and 22). Briefly put, because normal channels for European level dialogue remained closed, exploiting the EU's multi-level nature through a campaign including the close involvement of national groups took on an all-important role for the EUSMOs who were faced with a reduced scope for more conventional types of actions.

The campaign in terms of the exploitation of structural political opportunities and threats can be summed up as follows: a closed Commission forced the groups to exploit the opportunities offered by the Parliament and, to a lesser extent, the Council as much as possible. These efforts were combined with the exploitation of the multi-level system by using national members to lobby and carry out other actions aimed at national governments

(and thereby the Council)¹⁵⁸ and the Parliament (including demonstrations) – thus bringing ideology back in and backing up arguments with physical demonstrations of national support. The conclusion of this brief analysis of the few categories of fixed political opportunities that apply in this campaign means we may now turn to examine the all-important *dynamic* opportunities and threats. Table eleven summarises the situation.

The majority of comments about intra-elite conflict concern conflict *within* the Commission – either between different Directorates General (DGs), or between Commissioners and DGs. Although this does not directly spell either a threat or an opportunity for the campaigning groups it did lead some sympathetic sections of the institution to allow leaks and drop other hints to interested groups with whom they were in regular contact, as is affirmed, for example, by Stop Bolkestein (interview 18).¹⁵⁹ Another result of internal conflict was that, since the Commission as a whole must defend draft legislation once it has been published, dissenting members of staff resorted to encouraging campaigning groups to do their lobbying (interview 15). Little evidence of how great an opportunity this afforded the EUSMOs could be gathered, since these are necessarily invisible allies – members of staff of the Commission cannot openly give information to some groups but not others, or of course show their personal preferences for one group's opinion over another's. However, it provides an interesting insight into the webs of interest representation in the EU arena. As UNI-Europa put it so succinctly: "in Brussels, there's a lot of lobbying on lobbyists on lobbying" (interview 22).

¹⁵⁸ Recalling Smith's observation that domestic opposition can inhibit international cooperation even where a government (France springs to mind in this case) would favour it. She uses the example of the effects of strong domestic opposition to US participation in the NATO mission in Bosnia, and Greenpeace's campaign to clinch an international convention banning the trade in toxic wastes (Smith 1999:178-9).

¹⁵⁹ "Quindi, gennaio 2004 viene fuori questa direttiva. Quando viene fuori, immediatamente noi al livello del partito siamo stati avvertiti da persone che ci sono favorevoli, per dirlo così, al livello tecnico dentro la commissione europea, che ci hanno direttamente avvertito, che ci hanno detto, guardate lì, che succede qualcosa che al livello del funzionamento dell'Europa potrebbe avere un effetto molto in controsenso con una funzione progressista, socialista, o di sinistra."

Table 11: Dynamic political opportunities in the Bolkestein campaign

Intra-elite conflict	Between DG Employment and DG Enterprise within the Commission, differing positions but no real <i>conflict</i> between Commission and other institutions (following change in Commission).
Proximity of elections	Close at the beginning of the campaign, elections held mid-2004.
Electoral Instability	Right-wing slightly weaker before elections, stronger afterwards. However, position generally stable.
Contingent events	Debate on and subsequent rejection of the Constitutional Treaty (mid-2005), enlargement.
Position held by ally	European Parliament strong in an exceptional climate of weak Commission and Council.
Ability of ally to fulfil promises	Able to secure significant changes as co-legislator alongside the Council.
Hostile elites	Commission at the beginning of the campaign.
Presence of counter movements	Role of industry lobby slightly unclear, but certainly did not mount a strong counter-campaign.

The Commission then was seen as closed and, in the view of many groups, weak in this campaign. Following the common evaluation of this institution as open to dialogue and so forth from third parties, this should have constituted a serious threat to the campaign. Instead, however, the Commission's situation was exploited successfully by concentrating efforts on the other European level institutions. The Parliament was also important in exploiting the Commission's position however, as was hinted earlier. This deserves further comment in that it appears, along with efforts on another controversial piece of legislation,¹⁶⁰ to signal a new push by the European Parliament for increased power in the institutional triangle.¹⁶¹ Several contingent circumstances apart from the Commission's position combined to prompt the European Parliament's actions. First, the enlargement of the Union: "because of 25 EU member states now so the Council doesn't know really how to work yet. The Parliament then have seen that if they really want to show their importance it's the moment for them.." (interview 15). In the sense that the uncertainty created in the Council by the presence of the new member states was an opportunity for the

¹⁶⁰ Legislation on the Registration, Evaluation, and Authorisation of Chemicals, or REACH, involving a less public (in terms of street demonstrations) but even more acrimonious debate due to a particularly vocal and present counter movement in the form of the chemicals industry.

¹⁶¹ The Parliament's power in shaping this piece of legislation in the absence of a strong Commission recalls Burns' findings on the latter's receding levels of influence under the co-decision procedure (2004).

campaign, this issues could also be discussed under the heading of elite allies (see chapter seven). Second, the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty, which took place during the Parliament's consideration of the directive, pushed the Parliament to try for a compromise, since they felt some duty to reconcile the Union and its citizens in some way: "because if we simply duplicate this model then we exclude for 4 years half of Europe from all the work to be done" (interview 19).¹⁶²

This cocktail of circumstances thus led the Parliament to carve itself out a new role in the legislative process. More precisely, in terms of opportunities and threats, the Parliament's attempt to seek a 'grand coalition' compromise¹⁶³ on the Services directive meant a serious opportunity for the campaigning groups in terms of the acquisition of a powerful ally (bearing in mind that President Barroso of the Commission had announced that the draft would be amended in line with the Parliament's report) that, although not necessarily always sympathetic, was willing to negotiate compromises and listen to all views for the greater prize of a stronger institutional role in the future. In order to properly exploit such an opportunity, the campaigning groups ensured that their arguments were not only tailored to various MEPs, but also that public pressure was kept up through a string of public actions, making the duty for a compromise ever present in Parliamentarians' minds (interview 22).

Moving back in the story of the directive, the proximity of elections, in this case not only to the European Parliament but in a number of member states as well, was exploited by campaigning groups at the national level by linking the directive to electoral campaigns (interviews 19, 22). This was helped along by the fact that the Parliament decided to postpone the voting of reports in committee until after the summer 2004 elections. Other contingent events apart from those already mentioned in connection with the European Parliament's activism also shaped the campaign. As already mentioned, the Vaxholm case provided some opportunity in terms of a concrete example of a potential legal problem arising from the directive's application, as well an embarrassment for Commissioner McCreevey and President Barroso, hauled up by the European Parliament to explain the

¹⁶² Considering the campaign's role in promoting the Bolkestein issue in connection with the Constitutional Treaty in France, the campaign actually contributed to creating its own opportunities here.

¹⁶³ In this sense these comments also count for the variable electoral instability, including considerations of how many groups are needed to form an absolute majority.

former's comments against Sweden.¹⁶⁴ However, media reporting of the case, and indeed the directive as a whole, created threats for the campaign led by the trade unions. The case, although according to unions "very clearly a question of equal treatment" was "turned on its head" by the media who "turned it into an issue of protectionism.." (interview 22). An image was thus created of western European trades union fighting against a directive that would bring employment and economic benefits to workers in the eastern and central Europe.

Efforts to dispel this image, mostly by actively involving central and eastern European affiliates in press conferences and the like in order to underline their unity in opposition, were not taken up by the press (interview 19), perhaps because the image of the 'Polish plumber' had by then taken root in the much publicised French debate on the Constitutional Treaty (for a similar example of attempting to dispel the image of protectionism through transnational coalitions see Foster 2005:216). Indeed, many interviewees point out that this linkage between the French debate and the Bolkestein directive was exceptional in that never before had a piece of European legislation encroached to such an extent on a national debate (interviews 17 and 19 in particular). The linkage has also been named as the reason for Barroso's announcement that the directive in its current form would be amended according to the Parliament's report (interview 15).¹⁶⁵ The Treaty, enlargement, and Vaxholm mixed together to increase media coverage of the fact that many central and eastern European member states felt that long transition periods for full rights for their workers would be remedied by the Bolkestein directive, "and so they felt somewhat betrayed and wanted to have the pure Bolkestein" (interview 19). In the end, although a good amount of the press was far from complimentary of the unions, the publicity contributed to the increased salience of the directive, and thus indirectly to the final outcome.

The remaining categories of variables are related to the presence of elite allies and enemies, as well as counter movements. The actors considered as important and influential allies by the campaigning groups are all from the Parliament. The first is the socialist group, considered important for their role in shaping the debate in general (due to the fact that they

¹⁶⁴ See note 8.

¹⁶⁵ The new enterprise Commissioner McCreevy had also distanced himself from the legislation. The Commission thus turns from a hostile elite at the beginning of the campaign into at least a neutral party with the advent of the Barroso presidency.

held both of the key reports) from an early stage, and especially in issuing invitations to hearings (interview 15). This view of the socialist group as an important ally is shared by the unions, although with some reservations in that they perceive a more general erosion of the link between unions and socialist parties in some member states, and many members as obliged to support unions rather than union sympathisers (interview 22). Similarly, the rapporteurs (Evelyne Gebhardt and Anne Van Lancker) are also viewed as powerful allies (interviews 14 and 19). Other political groups seen as sympathetic and reliable are the far left political groups (interview 22), and the Greens (interviews 14 and 15), although these are not seen as particularly useful in that their bargaining power in forming compromise amendments is limited (interview 15). Other Parliamentary allies were found in the small negotiating team of MEPs from the socialist and people's party groups charged with hammering out the compromise package of amendments to the draft directive. The group consisted not only of people that the campaigning groups had long been in contact with, but the conservative members were among those most sympathetic to the campaign.¹⁶⁶ The Belgian member had long been clearly sympathetic to the unions' position, while the French member was obliged to tow Chirac's line against the directive.¹⁶⁷ The Austrian member had been convinced by Austrian trade unions, and even the UK member had, over time, at least come to accept that issues did need to be resolved (interview 22). Here again, however, the public side of the campaign was seen as important. The conservative member was also persuaded by "...the groundswell of feeling about the directive [that] put a lot of weight on their shoulders" (interview 22).

Finally, confirming the view of polarised but very much separated opinions during this campaign, come some comments on the counter movement, or indeed the lack of it. The main protagonist here, where seen at all, is UNICE, the European Employers' Association. Opinions on this group's work differ however. For example, according to CECODHAS there was no counter movement. Similarly, UNI-Europa also dismiss the idea of any strong counter movement in UNICE, on account of their internal divisions (interview 22). According to the EPSU, however, the groups were "extremely aggressive" in their "very

¹⁶⁶ The length of the campaign thus also weighs in here, at this point two years of work with the Parliament had passed, leaving ample time for entrenched positions to slowly change.

¹⁶⁷ Chirac had come out against Bolkestein in an effort to salvage the 'yes' campaign in the French referendum on the Constitutional Treaty, the debate around which was very much linked to the directive.

discreet lobbying” at the Commission (interview 17).¹⁶⁸ This discrepancy between the groups on the subject of a counter movement may be explained by the following:

“I think they [UNICE] realised too late that the Parliament was the key player. They focussed on the Commission, they put a lot of pressure on the Commission not to revise before the Parliament. And then they were somewhat taken by the time, when it was over they saw our press release, victory for the workers, and they were totally upset and told the Commission you can't accept this, you can't accept this, and they told the same to the United Kingdom and some other key players and they tried to build up a coalition against the compromise” (interview 19).

If counter movement efforts were indeed focussed on the Commission, which remained closed to the campaigning groups, this would explain why some groups simply did not notice their presence. If so, the counter movement made a serious misjudgement, since the directive's fate ended up in the hands of the Parliament. In sum, this 'counter movement' proved an ineffective threat to the campaigning groups. To sum up this section, the circumstances peculiar to the campaign against the Bolkestein directive were for the most part conducive to the campaign's success, albeit counter-intuitively in the case of the closed Commission. The directive's outcome fell to the European Parliament, which had chosen socialist rapporteurs sympathetic to the campaigning groups. Most importantly, the Parliament sought a compromise on the directive in the wake of enlargement, a weak Commission and Council, and the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty, thereby hoping to carve a more influential role for itself in the institutional triangle. Contingent opportunities thus played a strong role in setting a context favourable to the outcome of the campaign, a fact that has also been noted in other transnational campaigns (Juska and Edwards 2005:193).

¹⁶⁸ This is linked to a view that employers and industry in general have privileged access to the Commission, and that there is an increasing tendency to ignore the formal channels of access such as the social dialogue, and a 'de-formalisation' of lobbying.

6.4 'Unashamedly neo-liberal': discursive opportunities in the Bolkestein campaign

Political and discursive opportunities are closely linked to similar issues in this campaign, particularly in the case of dynamic opportunities. Beginning with the fixed categories for discursive opportunities in the EU area concerning social policy, it is important to note the chances arising from the prominence of the European Parliament as a main target in the campaign. Because the Parliament is the only directly elected EU institution, groups that are able to show they represent actual EU citizens may have a better chance of gaining MEPs' attention. By working through well-known and organised coalition structures, such as the Social Platform, and by providing real life examples of what the directive could do, as well as by actively involving national level members, the campaigning groups were able to hold the attention of key members of the Parliament (interview 15). A most eloquent summary of why such tactics, including demonstrations, attract the attention of MEPs is provided by the EPSU. "When MEPs saw that it wasn't just a Brussels specialist issue, that it was actually causing genuine anger on their home turf, in their own territory. So seeing people with banners with Frankenstein, Bolkestein or logos in their own territory showed that the issue really had permeated down and the anger was still there" (interview 17). And once the attention of the Parliament has been seized, they are more likely to act according to these actors' wishes, since they "...are much nearer to these opinion trends, they want to be real actors, they thought we can't now push through a piece of legislation which is seen as an ultra-liberal Trojan horse to destroy the European social model. And so they were much more open to social demands" (interview 19).¹⁶⁹

The earlier section describing how the campaign unfolded underlined the fact that for the European level groups the main tactic in relations with the Parliament consisted in providing relevant information at the right time. In terms of discursive opportunities, ideology is conspicuous by its absence from this formula. All the interviewees are aware that they cannot rely on one political group alone, as was demonstrated earlier by the fact that UNI-Europa concentrated their lobbying efforts on all groups *except* the European Socialists and the Greens. This implies that the trade unions and social groups at the European level live a paradox: while they may rely on their historical partners, the socialists, as well as the Green party (according to interview 6, in matters of social policy at

¹⁶⁹ We may recall Burstein's (1999) arguments, mentioned in chapter one, about the essential preoccupation of MEPs with re-election at this point.

least) to support their positions and therefore remain connected to their left-wing roots, on the outside they must to some extent hide their history and left-wing sympathies in order to woo the centre and right-wing political groups. This view of ideology as a threat to movements seeking to secure broad support is also noted by Ruzza in his work on the anti-racist movement coalition in the EU, who were to some extent marginalized following the adoption of their discourse by the EU left (Ruzza 2003:144). In more general terms, many of the interviewees also comment on the general lack of ideology in the European Parliament (as they do in the REACH case). For example: “That again for me it's quite ideological. But not ideology in the sense of right or left, it's ideology when you meet people from the internal market [committee in the European Parliament] that they really believe anyway it will be good for social services to be completely open” (interview 14). MEPs are seen to assume the priorities of the committees on which they sit, or more likely choose those committees accordingly. In both cases, however, groups at the European level are obliged to steer clear of ideology if they wish to secure majority support in the Parliament, whose very elected make-up imposes the rule of coalition. However, as seen in the previous section, ideology may be seen as being reintroduced into the campaign via the national level.

The national referendum campaigns on the Constitutional Treaty served the function of heightening the salience of the Bolkestein directive as an indicator of ‘social Europe’, as already seen in previous sections. The campaigning groups also worked to exploit this circumstance as much as possible, by holding up the directive as an example of the increasingly common accusation on the EU’s overly neo-liberal leanings (della Porta and Caiani 2007:1) in France, where this accusation was a central tenet of the campaign against the Treaty (Brouard and Tiberj 2006:262). Since this issue will be discussed further below, however, we shall move on to look at the discursive context of the global justice movement. Of all the cases presented in this study, the Bolkestein case is the only one to have attracted the involvement of elements of this movement, mainly through ATTAC and various national and local social forums. The no logo petition Stop Bolkestein also provided a rallying point for other groups sympathetic to the movement. However, rather than a link to a mass movement aiding the mobilisation, the trade union leaders of the European level campaign saw this link as a discursive threat to their carefully constructed compromise deal in the European Parliament (for similar findings see Lance Bennett 2005:215). Indeed, when ATTAC sought a joint campaign with the ETUC the latter

remained reluctant, since the group was seen to be virulently anti-internal market. Other trade union groups felt the same. “But the difficulty for us was the fact, and I think for the ETUC as well, this was always the debate around the demonstrations as well, was the fact that those organisations were largely calling for a halt to the internal market and a halt to all kind of market integration. And avowedly anti-capitalist, anti-globalisation. And our members aren't” (interview 22). The Stop Bolkestein petition was therefore seen to be useful only insofar as it “alerted the public in some countries”. It did not contribute to a better directive with its “nationalistic and protectionist attitudes” (interview 19), since according to unions the complete rejection of any legislation should not be seen as the first option.¹⁷⁰ This discursive threat was avoided through a conscious separation of the trade union campaign from the wider anti-Bolkestein mobilisation, with two separate demonstrations on different days taking place in Strasbourg before the Parliament’s first reading plenary vote.

The first of the more policy area-specific sources of discursive opportunities for EUSMOs in Brussels is the social dialogue. Here, comments related to the directive obviously focus on the fact that no social dialogue was initiated. In the view of the social partners, the Commission should have started the procedure, “because Article 138 says the social partners have to be consulted if [a directive is] related to social affairs, which was obviously the case, even if you deny it as the Commission did, that it has any impact on labour law, but there was Article 24 / 25 on posting, so it should have been consultation procedure” (interview 19). This specific threat was overcome by seeking dialogue elsewhere, notably with the European Parliament, and by making their message unavoidable by using protest tactics. More general comments about the social dialogue tie in with those from other cases. In line with the Lisbon agenda case, the EPSU comment that even where the social dialogue is employed, this tends to be a token gesture since the Commission have already agreed content. Meanwhile, in parallel to the REACH case, it is commented that the overall culture of consultation in the EU, particularly with reference to

¹⁷⁰ The Stop Bolkestein authors admit that they were often seen as overly radical or extreme as a result of who signed their petition, and were understanding about the attitudes of European level trades union. However, they valued the constancy of a strong message despite changes made to the legislative text. “Pero ognuno adesso, visto questo pluralismo, la vede un po' come.. o una cosa positiva o una cosa negativa. Per esempio l'ETUC, che nei confronti del voto del 14 febbraio ha avuto una posizione penso molto positiva e molto interessante. Non poteva firmare la petizione, e dopo dire questo. Per lui era impossibile. Era come dire bianco e due minuti dopo dire nera. E quindi al livello europeo.. e poi dico anche questo, per esempio il forum sociale mondiale, o europeo, non e' sempre visto bene della gente” (interview 18).

the Commission, is diagnosed as moving away from a formal one to a more informal, 'corridor' one. This means that groups are unaware of who exactly has been consulted and with what frequency, making campaign planning difficult. "So if you have higher access, better access, if it's still transparent you can say OK, that's the way of the world. But at least you can see it and at least you work out how you're going to deal with it" (interview 17).

The general swing to the right in terms of the make up of member state governments after 2000 throughout the EU mostly affected the lack of dialogue with the Commission.¹⁷¹ Even under Prodi, the internal market Commissioner Bolkestein was unashamedly neo-liberal - "Well, Bolkestein was overt, he was a liberal, he didn't care, he had his colours on his sleeve, he wasn't at all bothered if people thought that market liberalism was the way forward, he did, and that was the direction he took with his directive" (interview 22). Since the Commission must reflect the political spectrum of the member states, this right-wing outlook became even more pronounced following right-wing victories in several national elections that were reflected in the composition of the Barroso Commission. In the view of the campaigning groups, the Barroso Commission's main goals are "geared towards extending the reach and the efficiency of the internal market" (interview 17), and this approach is reflected in every text it produces (interview 15). As to how the groups overcame this discursive threat – they did not. Indeed, as the ETUC admit, "they [the Commission] thought that the tide in favour of liberalism was with them, and they didn't expect that there would be such a boomerang. And it was imprevisible [sic], even in the months before the vote I wouldn't have said to anybody that the Country of Origin would disappear. It's clear" (interview 19). The success of their own mobilisation surprised even the campaigning groups. Clearly, the salience of social issues grew fast and spontaneously around the time of the passage of this legislation in the shadow of the debate over the EU's general mission and its new Constitution.

Turning now to the dynamic opportunities that helped the campaign on its way. The first and most general of these lay in the directive itself: it was seen as easy to explain to national collective members and in turn by them to their individual members in terms of its

¹⁷¹ A similar swing to the right was also seen in the Parliament following the 2004 elections. However, the two leading rapporteurs were appointed before this, both from the Party of European Socialists, thereby avoiding the most serious potential discursive threat in that arena.

potential effects on everyday life. Several of the groups interviewed point out that usually they come up against the challenge of having to ‘sell’ European issues to their national members, which can often appear as abstract and distant. As the EPSU put it, “the proposal was so radical, it was actually in a way easier for us because we didn't have that barrier of explaining a complicated piece of legislation, what may or may not happen, or what it may or may not lead to in the future” (interview 17). This discursive opportunity thus contributed to the campaigning groups’ ability to effectively mobilise their national members. This mobilisation in turn contributed to creating another discursive opportunity – the intensity of the debate on the draft directive. By successfully mobilising national members and by carrying on their own relentless campaign at the European level, the groups were able to ensure a virtuous circle where continuous meetings, seminars, debates, marches and other events kept the directive foremost in everyone’s minds, which in turn fed the mobilisation.

Of course, other circumstances also contributed to the successful mobilisation, as was seen in the previous section on political opportunities. In discursive terms, the fact that the Commission sprung the draft directive on the groups with almost no prior warning or consultation was a threat that, in the manner in which it was tackled, also contributed to the effective mobilisation.¹⁷² The trade union representatives interviewed pointed out that because they had no warning their internal mechanisms for forming positions and the like were not ready for the directive. This led them, when faced with the challenge, to activate their networks in innovative ways, which contributed to a more effective mobilisation of national members. The Commission’s attitude to dialogue is also a discursive threat that led to political opportunities in terms of pushing the groups to concentrate their efforts on other institutions. While their efforts with the Parliament have already been described, the groups also sought – unusually – contact with the Council. “What was new in our work on the services directive is that we almost immediately also contacted the Council and we had regular meetings with the competitiveness Council chair, depending on the Presidency, Irish etc. But they all met us on a regular basis, even the UK, and tried to be friendly and we got some insights we would not had without these meetings. So for the first time we really established a contact with the Presidency” (interview 19).

¹⁷² The lack of prior consultation on the directive was exacerbated by the delay of a separate proposal on services of general interest which was already being discussed between the Commission and social groups. This proposal would have formed a solid basis for insisting that services of general interest be considered under a separate framework (interview 15).

The most interesting array of discursive opportunities in the Bolkestein campaign stem from the contemporary debate and subsequent rejection of the Constitutional Treaty. First, the debate over the Treaty drew out what the EPSU term as “a general malaise, or a general idea that citizens' needs aren't being catered for, that the EU is essentially a business project, that's the individual citizen's perception” (interview 17). As a result, governments were keen to be seen to be doing something with “a little bit of a social flavour” (interview 15), particularly where referenda were to be held on the Treaty – a circumstance also noted by Guiraudon in the run-up to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (2001:171), and therefore perhaps to some extent anticipated by the campaigning groups. This climate of clamour for a more ‘social Europe’ was exploited by the campaign in its successful attempts to link the directive to European elections and the debate over the Treaty, particularly in France. The result of this was an exceptional level of discussion of an EU issue in a national setting, which contributed to the widespread mobilisation over the Bolkestein directive.¹⁷³ This increased saliency of the Bolkestein issue also created a discursive threat. To some observers the trade unions’ line of argument against the legislation came across as overtly protectionist and to the detriment of workers from central and eastern European member states. Uni-Europa in particular mention the press portrayal of strong western unions betraying their weaker members elsewhere (interview 22). Essentially this threat was not resolved, despite efforts on the part of the unions to include eastern and central European members in press conferences and the like. Yet it did not, in the end, prove massively damaging to the campaign.

The high position of the Bolkestein directive on the European agenda, stimulated by the situations mentioned above, in turn contributed to the eventual announcement by President Barroso of the Commission in February 2005 that the directive would not pass in its current form.¹⁷⁴ As already seen, this inspired the Parliament to play the role of broker and

¹⁷³ Bush and Simi provide another example of the French government suffering an electoral defeat following a strong protest campaign on a European issue, this time by farmers protesting the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy in 1992 (Bush and Simi 2001:112-4). Indeed, they suggest that “the extent to which government officials defend their citizens’ interests in Brussels is a function of the level of domestic political opposition at a given time.” (*ibid*:118). This would appear to be the case for Chirac’s actions in the European Council prior to the referendum. The Bolkestein campaign is thus by no means an unprecedented phenomena for the French context.

¹⁷⁴ As with campaign effects, the mixture of circumstances that led to this announcement is complex. Chirac’s need for a boost to his yes campaign in France also played a role, for example. Yet the high profile of the Bolkestein directive in the member states can certainly be said to have contributed.

champion of the citizens in the delicate issue of the directive, an important political opportunity for the campaign. However, this announcement was interpreted by some of the groups as a discursive threat to the campaign, designed to convince mobilised citizens that the Commission had in fact scrapped the directive, when in reality it had already been passed to the European Parliament for scrutiny and eventual adoption. Whether this was intended by the Commission or not, the consequences were a de-mobilisation that required much work to reverse according to the campaign and liaison officer of the EPSU, as detailed in the following quote.

“When the Commission said that the message that was taken by ordinary members was we've beaten this thing. And to a very significant degree the momentum stopped, because people thought we've mobilised, we've talked about it at national level, we've understood to a significant degree what this means, and the Commission has said OK, we hear you. Now the Commission was extremely cynical in doing that, because at that stage they had already officially handed over [the directive to the European Parliament]. So it wasn't the Commission's right at that stage to do anything about it, they had to respect the legislative process. It was in the hands of the Parliament, it was up to the Parliament to assess. The Commission of course knew that. They were just signalling political reality. But also taking the opportunity to puncture some of the opposition by giving the false impression that they themselves were going to take on board, knowing full well that it was up to the Parliament to change” (interview 17).

This threat to the campaign was not, however, mentioned by all interviewees, and the mobilisation continued despite the lull. The groups now continued to exploit the opportunities presented at the European Parliament by employing tactics more usually seen at the national level, i.e. demonstrations, in order to ensure that the Parliament took notice of them as representatives of citizens' wishes. The discursive opportunity of being seen as doing something social also increased following the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty, strengthening these opportunities in the Parliament. Discursive tactics towards the Parliament also included more subtle lobbying moves following the institutions' realisation of its potential role in the affair. In the negotiations of the compromise amendments between the major political groups, for example, CECODHAS mention manoeuvring away from their earlier demand for the wholesale exemption of social services, politically unacceptable for the European People's Party, towards the proven tactic of requesting

sectoral exemptions, ending in the same outcome but without the perceived political backtracking of allowing a blanket exception (interview 15). Tactics such as these ensured a compromise package acceptable to all but a few MEPs (interview 19).

The EUSMOs active in the Bolkestein campaign essentially created many discursive opportunities for themselves through their reaction to the apparent discursive threat of the closed Commission. By turning to the European Parliament they were able to make effective use of the legitimacy discourse opportunities, whilst carefully avoiding the traps of falling into ideological discourses, and by mobilising grassroots members (also aided by the radical nature of the directive) they were able to link the issue to debates on the Constitutional Treaty. The fortunate coincidence of the latter was an especially important boon to the campaign during a generally right wing period and widespread preoccupation with the EU's economy. This campaign thus provides examples not only of an abundance of discursive opportunities, but also of their creation.

6.5 A toothless directive: campaign outcomes

At first glance the Bolkestein campaign has only one outcome – the sanitised version (in the view of the EUSMOs) of the legislation that was the result of the European Parliament's first reading vote of Valentine's Day 2006. However, as was noted in the above analysis, it is unlikely the Parliament would have worked so hard to secure the compromise it did without the certain knowledge that the Commission was to re-draft its proposal in line with the outcome of that vote. Barroso's announcement in February 2005 to this effect, which marks the beginning of the second phase of the campaign for analytical purposes in this study, may also be classed as a policy outcome. Table twelve summarises the analysis of the campaign in terms of shared frames and political and discursive opportunities for each of these campaign phases, and serves to highlight the differences in the quality of the campaign leading up to these two policy outcomes.

Table 12 – Summary of the Bolkestein campaign by phase

Phase	Extent of shared frames	Political Opportunities	Discursive Opportunities
1	Many different frames, with few shared to any great extent. Frames are not contradictory – tend to reflect precise sector of author organisation and a split between trade unions and social groups, although most share worry about COP, SGI, social dumping. National level share frames with European, with exception of call for Commission impact assessment – national members involved in union position formation.	Commission closed to dialogue, efforts mostly transferred to the European Parliament, less so to the Councils. Campaign draws on less conventional tactics identified with national level such as demonstrations, combined with provision of timely and useful information to the EP plus strategic lobbying. Issue linked with electoral campaigns and debate over Constitutional Treaty. Lack of counter movement.	Prominence of EP as a target heightens importance of legitimacy opportunities and involvement of national members appealing to ideological beliefs. Constitutional Treaty (linked to issue by campaign) increased salience of issue. No social dialogue. Directive a clear threat to unions and social groups, easy to mobilise.
2	EUSMO frames reflect contentious approach, and recall national frames from first phase. Frames on social dumping and COP come to the fore, and the split between social and trade union organisations disappears with the exception of the Stop Bolkestein action which has a much more radical outlook. High number of single, but non contradictory, frames continues. National frames focused on mobilisation, phase sees wide diffusion of ETUC call to action. EU arguments follow calls to action and are shared by national groups.	The weak Commission and Council (in the wake of enlargement) and rejection of the Constitutional Treaty pushed the EP to seek the role of broker / grand coalition. EP / PSE / rapporteurs therefore a powerful ally to the campaign - Strategic lobbying. Vaxholm case highlighted legal problems with legislation. Lack of counter movement.	Barroso announcement threatens mobilisation levels. Prominence of EP as a target heightens importance of legitimacy opportunities and involvement of national members appealing to ideological beliefs. Global justice movement seen as discursive threat. Rejections of Constitutional Treaty heightens salience of campaign. Directive a clear threat to unions and social groups, easy to mobilise, debate intense. Media coverage of protectionist campaign apparent threat, but increased salience of issue

The earlier stages of the campaign leading up to Barroso's pronouncement were driven by the fact that the Commission remained closed to all dialogue. This meant that the EUSMOs did not begin their full campaign immediately, since they were obliged to spend time digesting the text of the proposal. When they had, however, the threat to their constituents was clear. This discursive opportunity helped not only in terms of the fact that despite the lack of time yet devoted to forming campaign coalitions the groups shared their core frames criticising the directive, it also helped them to quickly mobilise their national and grassroots members over the issue. This tactic, not the usual path followed by these groups when campaigning at the European level (as was noted in chapter five), was a response to the Commission's unwillingness to engage in any dialogue, and a logical choice for campaigning at the European Parliament and Council. Table twelve also registers the wide range of political and discursive opportunities that aided the campaign, the most prominent of which were related to the contemporary debate on the Constitutional Treaty. The strong and public campaign mounted at both the European and national levels helped to link the former with the Bolkestein directive, which was used as an example of the EU's overly neo-liberal leanings, particularly in the French referendum debate.

It was this combination that led to the policy outcome observed at the beginning of the second phase of the campaign, i.e. Barroso's announcement that the directive would not 'fly in its current form'. The campaign, like the Lisbon campaign analysed in the previous chapter, also had the advantage of drawing on ready-made coalitions and therefore framing work was not necessary to start the campaign off - national groups contributed to and thus shared the views of EUSMOs, especially amongst the trade unions. The majority of the political and discursive opportunities may be linked with the providential circumstance of the contemporary debate on the Constitutional Treaty. Unions were on the alert for what they perceived as further attacks on 'social Europe', and the Treaty also increased the saliency of social issues. Linking the two debates also provided concrete political opportunities in the EU since all member states as well as EU institutions were keen to see the Treaty adopted, and therefore came out against the draft directive which was seen as hurting its chances. The responsibility for this outcome is thus balanced between the campaign and the Constitution – the strong campaign was necessary to link the issues, but without the opportunities the Treaty provided it is unlikely the Bolkestein campaign would have convinced the Commission President to make such a statement, no matter what ulterior motives he may have had.

The overall policy outcome of the campaign means that we must also take into account the second phase, where the European Parliament came into its own. To recap, the frame analysis as a whole showed that the EUSMOs shared their core understanding of problems in the text. In the second phase, there was also evidence of dialogue between the European and national levels, with the priorities of national level trade union groups being reflected later on at the European level, and European documents being found on the websites of national level groups. This phase also saw an increase in motivational framing (especially at the national level) calling for participation in direct actions. As the strong turnouts at these events suggests, there was enough unity and purpose among the groups to effectively mobilise their members and keep the directive high on the public agenda – even if this unity was sometimes more apparent than real, as illustrated by the split between the trade unions and their French members, as well as with the groups that adopted the Stop Bolkestein initiative.

Political opportunities were more numerous than political threats, and the most obvious of these – the closed Commission – was turned to the advantage of the EUSMOs, who instead turned their attention to the European Parliament and, to a lesser extent, the European Council to great effect. The groups were able to coordinate their lobbying, and organise many debates and meetings in order to keep the directive foremost in Parliamentarians' minds, and in the second phase of the campaign the Parliament became crucial as a result of Barroso's announcement. The institution rose to the challenge, and its activism in the face of a weak Commission and Council, the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty and the importance of the debate on the directive in many national settings, and in particular for the French referendum, added an important factor to the previous mix of a strong campaign and the debate over the Constitutional Treaty.

The structural discursive opportunity structure offered by the EU to social campaigns turned out, in this case, to be more of a hindrance than a help in this case. With the democratic deficit discourse and its links with the European Parliament aside, the other variables provided precious few opportunities. The social dialogue was never activated and in any case viewed pessimistically, a right-wing climate should not have allowed left-wing trade union arguments to flourish, the strength of the global justice movement led to a split in the heart of the anti-Bolkestein campaign. The dynamic opportunities, on the other

hand, were more favourable as already seen in the above discussion. The background of the debate on the Constitutional Treaty provided many opportunities for the campaign, but more emphasis should perhaps be placed on the fact that the combination of the intensity of the campaign and the context of the Treaty ended in the creation of dynamic opportunities in the form of a ‘virtuous circle’ where a lively debate continued to contribute to widespread mobilisation. By ensuring that discourses on Bolkestein were repeated as often and in as many contexts as possible, the campaigning groups ensured that the issue remained high on the European agenda and the focus of attention.

In order to trace the path that led to the policy outcome of the final legislation, the main elements of which were the strong campaign, the Constitutional Treaty and the activist European Parliament, a fundamental question is to what extent were favourable political opportunities *created* by campaign actions? Or were they contingent or due to the actions of other actors? In order to be as explicit as possible in the conclusions on this case, I shall discuss each of the major political opportunities of the campaign in turn. The fact that the Commission closed itself to all dialogue with the campaigning groups, and their subsequent focus on the European Parliament, pre-dates the campaign itself and must therefore be attributed to the wish of the directive’s architect to speed up its adoption as his mandate drew to its close.¹⁷⁵ The nature of the European Parliament as a campaign target is itself a structural feature of the EU arena and in that sense cannot be affected by a single campaign. The activism of the European Parliament in terms of its seeking an effective compromise on the other hand is rather more complicated. The perceived weakness of the other two major institutions, both in some way due to enlargement, is another factor out of the campaign’s scope. That the campaign’s intensity and widespread nature made the Parliament see this directive, rather than another, as an opportunity for such activism is however true, if we accept the conclusions drawn about the first policy outcome, i.e. that without the noise created around the directive by campaigning activities, Barroso would not have made it clear that the Commission would stick to the European Parliament’s version of the draft.

Similar arguments also apply to the role of the directive in national debates, especially in France (which caused President Chirac to withdraw his support for the directive). Without

¹⁷⁵ As mentioned in the section on tactics, the groups took several months to react to the draft for this very reason – they had little prior knowledge of its content.

the campaign, it is unlikely that national groups would have had so heightened an awareness of this legislation. The structures of the European groups representing national members are such that they are responsible for monitoring issues of interest at this level. This is less true for the ETUC, many of whose affiliates run their own offices in Brussels and monitor European issues for themselves in addition to their membership of the ETUC. Yet even they must then work to gain the attention of national structures preoccupied with often more pressing national and local issues. In any case, the professed unity in opposition of the unions gives the same result – strong shared frames and a strong campaign at both the European and national levels. It may also be hazarded that many of the smaller, nationally-based, groups active in the debate would also have remained unaware of the situation if it were not for the alerts sent by the unions in particular.

Nevertheless, the debate over the Constitutional Treaty was not a result of the actions of the campaigning groups. Yet the campaign shows that a strong campaign is needed if such contingent opportunities are to be effectively exploited. In terms of *dynamic* opportunities, a strong campaign (and thus collective identity), was necessary to link the directive to the debate on the Constitutional Treaty in France. Fixed opportunities also played a role in sparking this strong campaign and are also not affected by the actions of groups, at least in the short term. EUSMOs must have the knowledge required to exploit the structural opportunities of the EU arena. In this case, this meant overcoming the apparent threat of a closed Commission by successfully targeting other institutions and by employing tactics more suited to these.¹⁷⁶ While the strong EUSMO campaign combined with the fortunate circumstance of the debate over the Constitutional Treaty, which in turn prompted Barroso's announcement and the activism of the European Parliament are the major elements that led to the final policy outcome in this campaign, it was a structural threat that started the ball rolling. Paradoxically, had the Commission remained open as a channel for dialogue on this draft directive instead publishing the directive without consultation, the campaign may have been a more 'normal', that is a quiet, European level one, remaining mostly invisible to the public at large.

¹⁷⁶ In this case, the campaigning groups needed to know to turn to the Parliament in order to influence the directive. This may seem obvious but for the fact that industry groups were evidently *not* able, or misjudged the importance of, this alternative opportunity.

6.6 Conclusions

The radical nature of the directive on services in the internal market, combined with the fact that the Commission failed to carry out any real consultation prior to publishing the draft, meant that the Bolkestein campaign saw unprecedented levels of mobilisation. The main groups involved in the campaign at the European level were trade unions and trade union federations, as well as some social groups. In a cross-national perspective, an initiative begun in Belgium also spread throughout Europe in the form of a no-logo petition. The frame analyses showed evidence that trade unions and social groups shared central understandings of the problems with the directive, but also of a split between these groups and the Stop Bolkestein initiative. These ideas were corroborated by interview evidence, where a basic level of contacts between the trade union and social groups were confirmed. Even where these two types of group are not involved in the joint planning of events, their positions share core features, and the social groups were invited to participate in trade union marches. In addition, there is evidence of dialogue between national and European level groups, both in terms of shared frames and in terms of diffused documents.

In terms of fixed political opportunities and threats, the campaign can be summed up as follows: a closed Commission forced the groups to exploit the opportunities offered by the Parliament and, to a lesser extent, the Council as much as possible. These efforts were combined with the exploitation of the multi-level system by using national members to lobby and carry out other actions aimed at national governments (and thereby the Council) and the Parliament (including demonstrations) – thus bringing ideology back in and backing up arguments with physical demonstrations of national support. This campaign thus corroborates Lahusen's assertion that "while the national level remains an important frame of reference for international campaigning, this context does not exclude but rather fosters a complementarity between local events and internationally coordinated action" (1999:201). In addition, this role of national groups recalls Imig and Tarrow's (2001) hypothesis of the national government as a broker between citizens and the EU. In apparently national actions, actors are in fact demanding better representation in the European Council of their demands. This idea is also (partly) confirmed by findings on farmers' protests by Bush and Simi in the same volume (2001:103). The label of 'domestication' applied to such events will be further discussed in the conclusions of this study, yet it should be noted that the combination of national and transnational action in the

Bolkestein campaign tends more towards confirming Passy's assertion that "Social movements take advantage of supranational opportunities for protest without turning their back on the national ones. Therefore, we may speak of a multi-level game played by social movements" (1999:152). Combined with this situation of a strong multi-level campaign was the debate over the Constitutional Treaty. The campaign successfully linked the Bolkestein issue with the latter, which led to the first outcome of the campaign – Barroso's announcement. In the second phase of the campaign, power over the directive's fate thus fell to the European Parliament, which responded with gusto to the opportunity by working hard to achieve a 'grand coalition' compromise on the directive.

The conclusions drawn on the overall policy outcome of the campaign focused on several points. First, the campaign overcame the apparent threat of a closed Commission by launching a strong, multi-level campaign, using widely shared and repeated frames throughout that was able to take advantage of both political and discursive opportunities provided by the European Parliament and by national arenas (in line with the statement by della Porta and Rucht that campaigns may become "more dramatic when the political opportunities are closed" (2002:8)). One of the most important opportunities exploited in the campaign was the linking of the issues of the directive to the contemporary debate on the Constitutional Treaty in France, leading to the intertwining of domestic and European issues (della Porta and Caiani 2001:2). This in particular led to a host of other opportunities for the campaign's message, but most importantly it galvanized the Parliament to act as a broker, diffusing tensions around the issue. The role of the campaign in the outcome was therefore significant – without the noise created around the directive, these linkages may never have been made and powerful actors would not have felt the duty to reach a compromise.

The outcomes of the Bolkestein campaign could thus reflect the beginnings of a pattern in EU campaigning – another more recent and visible campaign to have a serious impact, the anti-GM campaign of the late 1990s, has also been described as unusually successful because (among other things) of "an EU splintered between a technocratic Commission, a divided Council, and a Parliament searching for an identity and a role as democratic tribune." (Imig and Tarrow 2001:30). The campaign for the insertion of a clause on gender equality led by the European Women's Lobby in 1996 also, according to the scholars Hellferich and Kolb, owed its impact to the combination of multilevel campaigning and the

favourable opportunities offered by enlargement to the Nordic countries, the crisis over the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, and the victory of the Labour party in the UK – another set of circumstances that recall those seen in the Bolkestein campaign (Hellferich and Kolb 2001:146). Finally, it may be argued that the campaigning groups contributed to creating their most important discursive opportunities through their reaction to the apparent discursive threat of the impossibility of engaging with the Commission. By turning to the European Parliament they were able to make effective use of the legitimacy discourse opportunities, whilst carefully avoiding the traps of falling into ideological discourses, and by mobilising grassroots members (also aided by the radical nature of the directive) they were able to link the issue to debates on the Constitutional Treaty.

7. Conclusions: the paths to success in EU campaigning¹⁷⁷

Before looking at the possible conclusions that may be drawn from a comparison of the cases presented in this study, and evaluating the theoretical conjectures outlined in chapter one, it is useful to briefly recall each of the cases, their outcomes, and the factors that led to these. I shall also draw attention to the similarities that may be observed between the cases in each policy area. The subsequent sections of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of what the cases tell us about the analytical model presented in chapter one, especially in terms of which combinations of variables appear to end in which outcomes. To this end, a table including the ‘scores’ for each case on each of the variables is presented. This table is also useful in that it highlights interesting points to be discussed in relation to each of the theoretical approaches. Finally, some broader suggestions about the nature of campaigning in the EU are discussed. Although the conclusions presented in this chapter are of a limited nature, given that they are based on just four cases, these do find confirmation in existing literature and are, if nothing else, useful for guiding future larger N research.

7.1 The environmental cases

The first of the cases was about genetically modified (GM) crops and coexistence with normal and organic crops – that is what rules and regulations are needed to keep one kind of plant from cross-pollinating the other. In this campaign, a number of environmental groups worked to convince the Commission of the need for strict EU level legislation on this issue. Starting from a Commission communication on the issue in 2003, reactions came from a hard core of three environmental NGOs – Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, and the European Environmental Bureau. By the time the Commission confirmed their approach in an official recommendation, these groups had begun to widen their campaign coalition to include other types of actors encompassing the ‘stakeholders’ in the issue: farmers groups and retailers / consumers.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, other kinds of groups were also mobilising on this subject – local and regional governments. This mobilization began at the instigation of the Upper Austria and Tuscany regions, who worked to create a

¹⁷⁷ Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the 8th Annual Conference of the European Sociological Association and at the CINEFOGO workshop ‘The Governance of the European Union: theories, practices, myths’. Many thanks to the organisers and participants of both for their insightful comments and input.

¹⁷⁸ Through EuroCoop – an organisation representing cooperatives across the EU. This organisation sees itself as representing consumers as well as retailers.

Network of European GM-free regions. The environmental groups, and in particular Friends of the Earth, were soon alerted to their work and created a bridge between the two branches of the campaign by working with the Assembly of European Regions, and by setting up a website providing information on how to convince local and regional governments to declare themselves ‘GM-free’, www.gmofree-europe.org. The campaign now assumed an additional goal – the legal recognition of regional and local bans on GM cultivation. The frames of the campaign reflect this story, with the main demand of the campaign, for EU legislation, incorporating that on GMO-free zones. Frames emphasising the widespread nature and strength of the GMO-free movement also became prominent.

At the beginning of the campaign, the main target was of course the Commission, as the institution with the power to draft legislation, and also as the main decision-taker on GM-related issues in light of the Council being unable to produce a qualified majority on the subject. Here the groups stuck for the most part to more traditional lobbying actions and press releases. The European Parliament was used as a venue to help the visibility of various actions, mostly conferences, but was otherwise largely overlooked as a relevant campaign target. The national level of the EU was the most important to the campaign, which focused on the more hands-on path of securing local and regional bans on GMO cultivation. Here, apart from those regional and local governments already ‘on side’ and taking part in the Network of European GM-free regions, local environmental groups were encouraged to convince their local authorities to make similar declarations and bans where possible. The following coordination of these smaller-scale, local achievements into different networks, conferences, and finally Europe-wide days of objection, make it clear that in this case the local as well as the national melded with the European arena. This work eventually led to an apparent opening up in the relatively new Commission, which finally seemed to be coming around to the campaign’s ideas.

Two outcomes were identified in the campaign – a policy outcome following the first phase of the campaign where the Commission backtracked on their previous assertions on liability and an access outcome following the second phase of the campaign in the shape of the recognition of the Network and the GM-free movement in an official communication. Using the process tracing method outlined in chapter two, I showed that while the first of these could not be traced to any of the actions taken by the campaigning groups, the second was very much linked to their work, although the Commission had already begun to take

note of the movement before it was expressly picked up by the EUSMOs. As for the stated goal of the campaign, to secure European legislation and, later, the legalisation of local bans, this was attributed to a negative ruling in a WTO dispute – after assessing all other possible paths to this outcome, including the dissipation of the campaign’s message in the final stages of the campaign, this remained the most plausible and logical conclusion.

The second environmental policy case study was the campaign on the REACH (Registration, Evaluation, and Authorisation of Chemicals) legislation. The proposed REACH legislation followed from a White Paper published by the Commission in 2001, but was only adopted as a concrete proposal in 2003 following extensive consultation. Environmental groups had been relatively satisfied with the White Paper, but this was substantially changed following consultations with interested parties, and the actual legislative proposal prompted them to build a wide coalition in order to make their demands about what the legislation should contain heard. This coalition included not only environmental groups (the WWF, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the European Environmental Bureau), but also public health (the European Public Health Network) and women’s (Women in Europe for a Common Future) organisations. Three of the organisations, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and the European Environmental Bureau, also built a campaign site for gathering information on actions as well as for organising on-line campaigning, named Chemical Reaction. Faced with an extremely strong industry lobby with demands often directly opposing their own, however, the campaigning groups mentioned here were unhappy with the legislation finally adopted in December 2006, which they felt left too many loopholes for the continued use of allegedly dangerous chemicals in the EU.

The campaign’s logic followed the EU legislative process – in this case co-decision. Initially, therefore, the groups attempted to bolster their position vis-à-vis the Commission by submitting opinions and petitions to the latter’s several consultation fora on REACH. As the draft legislation was passed to the European Parliament, this became the number one target of the campaign, which used (scientific) reports, letters, lobbying (including actions by national members to their respective MEPs) and other more media-oriented actions (mock fashion shows, blood and office-dust testing for example) to put forward their point of view. As the legislation moved on to the Council reading, the European groups shifted their attention to this institution. However, rather than working from the European level to

target the Council the idea was much more to leave this job to national members,¹⁷⁹ although in comparison to the other case studies there is not much evidence of a widespread mobilization at national levels on the subject. There are many examples of lower-scale protests and stunts, however, as well as of more classical lobbying tactics, in particular in the Netherlands and Germany.

At the end of the day, however, the groups were disappointed with the legislation adopted. Indeed, there are few positive outcomes from the analyses. The frame analysis shows that no strong argument was carried constantly throughout the campaign, although the coalition was strong and unified in terms of shared frames, since almost all documents were jointly authored. The major threats to the campaign all stemmed from the presence of a strong counter-movement in the shape of the European chemicals industry, able to exploit the opportunities offered by the Commission and other institutions more effectively than the coalition, thereby creating threats for the environmental campaign. The industry lobby also disposed of more resources than the environmental coalition – in terms of expertise, staff, and finances. In particular they were able to prolong the publication of the legislative proposal at the beginning of the campaign, lobbying hard for further consultation. This led to the substantial revision of what had been included in the White Paper. The coalition was faced with a hostile DG Enterprise, especially under Commissioner Verheugen, and with a more right wing European Parliament more receptive to industry arguments, to name just some of the political threats. An extremely important discursive threat was also attributed to the industry campaign, namely their tactic of creating and building on fears of widespread unemployment in the sector as a result of the originally proposed rules. In addition, the highly technical nature of the legislation made it difficult for the European level groups to mobilise their grassroots members.

To conclude these short descriptions, we can note three major similarities between the cases. Firstly, both cases see environmental coalitions faced with hostile DGs within the Commission, and an important role for the latter in determining the outcome of the issue. Secondly, both cases see delays on the issues concerned in the Commission, either through seemingly endless meetings, or through extended consultations. Thirdly, for both cases the technical nature of the issue makes it hard for the groups to translate the importance of the

¹⁷⁹ National member groups are seen as better informed for targeting national actors, as well as having existing contacts etc.

campaign back to the national level. On the side of movement controlled resources, we can also note that both cases saw the building of strong and wide coalitions (i.e. they include groups other than environmental groups). There are notable differences between the cases in terms of levels of national mobilisation (stronger in the GMO case than in REACH), and the presence of a counter movement. Finally, in terms of outcomes, neither of the environmental cases secured the policy goals they had explicitly set out to achieve.

7.2 The social cases

Which brings us to the two (broadly defined) social campaigns. The first of these concerned the Lisbon agenda. This campaign is much shorter in time span than the others, and looks at the actions taken mainly by members of the Social Platform and the ETUC after a move by President Barroso of the Commission to re-shape the Lisbon agenda around purely economic goals (growth and jobs), pushing social objectives (social protection and inclusion, as well as sustainable development) to one side. The focus of the actions against Barroso's suggestions was the 2005 Spring Summit, traditionally the 'social' summit of the European Council. Actions had to be planned in a matter of weeks, and the two main organisations involved drew on their well-established and organised coalition structures, the Social Platform and the ETUC, in order to achieve this. The Social Platform member Solidar designed and diffused a 'no-logo' web petition through the Social Platform network, gathering the support of around 7000 organisations by the time of the summit. The second main event of the campaign was a large (by Brussels standards – approximately 75,000 strong) demonstration led by the ETUC just before the summit. As this event is organised every year and is a fixed date on the organisation's calendar, and especially since turnout was high as a result of mobilization over the Bolkestein directive (see below), the Lisbon agenda argument was added on to the demonstration's agenda and contributed to the apparent success of the actions. A sympathetic President, Jean-Claude Juncker of Luxembourg, also meant that the groups met with the President prior to the Council (i.e. the groups were invited, rather than having sought, the meeting). Following the summit, the Communication reiterated the Council's commitment to the original wording of the Lisbon agenda. Whether words would then be followed up with actions was another matter, but the campaigning groups felt that at least the basis for subsequent demands had been retained.

The main target of the Lisbon campaign was therefore the European Council, and more precisely its Spring Summit of March 2005. Despite the fact that many of the documents available on the campaign were heavily critical of President Barroso, the European Council was clearly the real intended audience, as the institution holding the power to change the wording of the overall policy goals of the Lisbon Agenda. The main actions, although both directed at the European Council as a body, were of a kind more associated with the national level than the EU level (if we accept that the EU is perceived as a lobbying-heavy arena, while national arenas in the EU have traditions of public actions such as marches, petitions, etc.). We can therefore say that the decision of the campaigning groups, when faced with the European Council, an institution very closed to dialogue in terms of lobbying, was to rely on tactics most often used when seeking to influence the component members of the European Council, that is the heads of state and government of the member states. Referring back to ordinary citizens and citizens' organisations, to bottom-up approaches and shows of numbers and unity, was the choice.

The outcomes of this campaign can be summed up as follows. Strong and simple frames ('Save our Social Europe') were easy to carry through the campaign which was short and sharp, and tactics that relied on less wordy documents were used. Apparent threats to dialogue flowing from the fact that the institutions most open to this were relatively unimportant in this case were overcome by referring back to the national level, both in terms of gathering support and in terms of repertoire. Another opportunity was that the presidency at the time of the summit (Luxembourg) was sympathetic to the arguments of the campaigning groups, arranging for meetings with both the ETUC and the Social Platform (which also prompted Commission President Barroso to organise similar meetings). In terms of discursive opportunities, the atmosphere of opposition to the Bolkestein directive also contributed to a favourable context of high salience, in particular because of its being linked to the fate of the Constitutional Treaty (a contingent political opportunity). This tacking of the Lisbon issue onto another very much in the public eye contributed to the positive policy outcome in this case – although of course linking the issues in the first place was the work of the campaign. In this context, then, the more grassroots-oriented actions of the campaigning groups helped them to overcome apparent threats and exploit opportunities in order to contribute to their sought outcome.

The final empirical example of campaigning at the EU level concerns the Directive on Services in the Internal Market, more commonly known as the Bolkestein directive after the Commissioner who proposed it in early 2004. This piece of legislation saw a large wave of mobilization across the EU culminating in a demonstration in Strasbourg on Valentine's day 2006. The directive, which aimed at creating a free market in services similar to that functioning in the EU for goods through the Country of Origin Principle, was strongly opposed by European trade unions, affiliated at the EU level through the ETUC. Social groups were also set against the directive, although their actions were less important to the campaign. European citizens were also mobilized through movement organisations such as ATTAC and a no-logo online petition and cyber-action website named Stop Bolkestein (www.stopbolkestein.org). The campaign, which opposed the directive because it was feared the Country of Origin principle would lead to 'social dumping' and the successive reduction in levels of social protection in the Union, saw many direct actions taking place at both European and national levels. Several demonstrations, including that mentioned in connection with the Lisbon agenda and the final Strasbourg demonstration, were held to directly target the European institutions, along with numerous petitions, and e-mail campaigns directed at MEPs and national governments. Various European trade union offices also carried out intense lobbying activities in the European Parliament, while national counterparts did the same with their heads of state or government. In the end, the favourable results of the European Parliament's first reading vote were carried through the second reading of the legislation with little to do, and the bill – now perceived as more acceptable by the majority of the campaigning groups – was adopted in December 2006.

Two policy outcomes were identified in the case – Barroso's announcement at the beginning of the second phase, and the overall legislative outcome. Process tracing showed that a combination of a strong multi-level campaign and the favourable context of the debate over the Constitutional Treaty led to the first of these. The main opportunities that contributed to the overall policy outcome, on the other hand, resemble those of the Lisbon case in several ways – not least because this case itself contributed to the outcomes of, and provided the backdrop for, the latter. First was the apparent discursive threat constituted by the fact that the Commission remained entirely closed to dialogue during the drafting of the

proposal. This led the usually rather co-opted ETUC¹⁸⁰ to encourage a grassroots trade union mobilisation at the member state level in order to target the Council and Parliament, which in turn may be seen as mobilising the other organisations involved. The new Commission then explicitly stated that it would re-draft the proposal according to the European Parliament's first reading. The Commission's statement inspired an otherwise predominantly right-wing Parliament to attempt to fulfil a rather noble role, now in the wake of the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty and a seemingly weak Council. If it could carve out a reputation for itself as the body that resolved of the Bolkestein problem, a greater institutional role may follow. This tangled path to the main policy outcome of the campaign hinged, in my opinion, on the linking of the Bolkestein issue to the Constitutional Treaty which in France in particular forced a reaction from the head of State. However, without the strong campaign around the issue instigated by the ETUC and its members, this issue linkage would not have come about. A strong campaign thus saw victory clinched by a contingent political opportunity which then had a domino effect on the opportunities of the rest of the campaign (i.e. the Parliament's strong role).

Because they overlap and provide contexts for one another, many similarities can be noted between the two social cases. Unlike the environmental cases, the Commission plays a relatively small role in both.¹⁸¹ Conversely, while the role of the European Parliament varies across the cases, the role of the European Council is pivotal to both, in that members of national governments, or their heads, are strongly targeted and hold a great deal of sway over outcomes. Linked to this is a choice of more traditional, direct actions by the campaigning groups in both cases – with protest marches and popular petitions and letter writing campaigns featuring heavily (albeit alongside lobbying actions). This in turn is partly the result of the fact that both cases see the heavy involvement of the ETUC, an actor with some clout at the European level (as a social partner) and, arguably, able to tap into the national trade union movements and their traditions of demonstrations.¹⁸² Both of the campaigns thus concentrate their efforts on more citizen-based, grassroots events rather

¹⁸⁰ See Martin and Ross (2001). The main thrust of their argument is that because the ETUC was more created by the Commission itself than by national Trade Unions, the organisation is more geared to the needs of the former than the latter (i.e. for participation in the Social Dialogue).

¹⁸¹ While the Commission plays an important part in the outcome of the Bolkestein campaign, this is connected with its *lack* of activity rather than its strong presence.

¹⁸² This particular similarity, and the strength of the position the ETUC is seen to hold at the European level, was pointed out by Reggula Heggli, the Coordinator of the Civil Society Contact Group. My thanks for this input.

than on lobby-style information-producing techniques. The situation regarding the Constitutional Treaty also plays an important role in both cases, where it was successfully linked to the question of a more ‘Social Europe’ in the French context in particular. Indeed, the latter is perhaps the most important context-setting circumstance in both of the cases, since it led to reactions from the most powerful actors in the EU as a whole – the heads of State and government.

7.3 What do the outcomes of these cases suggest about campaigning in the EU?

At this point we may return to the analytical model presented in chapter one, and begin to look at what the cases tell us about the paths to outcomes in the EU. First, and most obviously we can conclude along with Giugni (2007) that the “joint-effect” model, whereby movement mobilisation and other actions must combine with relevant opportunities in order to have some (policy) impact, gives the best explanation for outcomes of movement campaigns. None of the cases showed EUSMO actors who believed they could secure impacts on the basis of their actions alone – nor did they feel it safe to leave their interests purely in the hands of institutional actors once expressed. The outcomes displayed in these cases cover only two of the three types of outcomes that were envisaged in the model: access and policy outcomes. However, only two access outcomes were seen in the cases, one at the end of the second phase of the coexistence campaign (hence its inclusion in the table as a separate case), and one in the Lisbon campaign. The first was mostly attributed to the campaigning groups’ actions, while the second was attributed to the Luxembourg presidency’s predisposition for the campaigning groups’ claims, since the meeting sought with the campaigning groups fell towards the beginning of the campaign. This means that conclusions cannot be drawn for access outcomes alone, since these two instances point in different directions. The second phase of the coexistence campaign will nevertheless be included as an instance of a ‘desired’ outcome in the following discussion.

Table 13: Campaign outcomes by variable

Variables		Campaigns					
		Coex t1	Coex t2	REACH	Lisbon	Bolkestein t1	Bolkestein t2
Shared Frames	Strong frame throughout?	+	-	++	-	+	++
	Dialogue with national level?	++	++	-	-	++	++
	Framing work?	++	++	-	+	-	-
Fixed and Dynamic Political Opportunities	Dialogue with 3 rd parties (natural partners)	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Information provision?	-	-	N/A	++	++	++
	Multi-level design exploited (national level campaign)?	++	++	++	-	++	++
	Separation of powers	++	++	++	++	++	++
	Coalitions within institutions	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	++	++
	Claims included?	-	++	++	++	++	++
	Intra-elite conflict	N/A	N/A	N/A	+	N/A	N/A
	Electoral instability	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	++	++
	Proximity of elections	++	++	+	-	++	++
	Contingent events	-	-	+-	N/A	++	++
	Elite allies	++	++	++	-	++	++
	Allies' ability to fulfil promises	-	-	++	-	++	++
	Hostile elites	?	-	+	-	+	+
	Counter Movements	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	N/A	N/A
Fixed and Dynamic Discursive Opportunities	Legitimacy discourse	++	++	-	+-	++	++
	Ideology	-	-	+-	-	+	+
	Past (or contemporary) events heightening salience	++	++	++	-	++	++
	Unknown risks	+-	+-	N/A	-	N/A	N/A
	Precautionary principle	+-	+-	N/A	-	N/A	N/A
	Social Dialogue	N/A	N/A	++	N/A	+	+
	Swing to the right across EU	N/A	N/A	-	N/A	+	+
Campaign Outcomes	Access outcome		++		++		
	Agenda outcome				++		
	Policy outcome	++				++	++

Key: ++ = Strong evidence / opportunity exploited / outcome; + = some evidence / threat overcome; +- = opportunity present but not exploited; - = no evidence / threat; N/A = not applicable to case / not observed; ? = unclear.

Before commenting on the paths to outcomes indicated by these cases, the above table also serves to highlight some other interesting points. First, the table highlights the fact that in

all of the campaigns, groups were able to overcome the problem of carrying on dialogue with DGs within the Commission that they did not habitually deal with, usually by seeking out alternative institutional partners for dialogue, or by expanding their coalitions to include groups more acceptable to these DGs (both of these being followed with varying degrees of success). Similarly, and obviously linked with these tactics, all groups were able to successfully exploit the EU institutions' separation of powers, by adopting tactics tailored to each institution, and, again, turning to others where faced with closed doors. This shows that no matter the outcome of their campaign, the groups campaigning at the EU level are knowledgeable and skilled in navigating the EU's political opportunity structure. Or, where some coalition groups are not so well-equipped to navigate the political opportunity structure of the EU, those groups that are offer their expertise. This is more usually the case for national and local groups, for example those that are helped to notify their local GM-bans with the information provided on the GM-free Europe website in the coexistence campaign, but is also seen to some extent for European level groups in the REACH case with WECF. The organisation of groups thus plays some role in achieving access outcomes in particular. They are also all aware of the discursive opportunity of the legitimacy discourse, and attempt to exploit it (with the exception of the Lisbon campaign¹⁸³). The fact that groups are well acquainted with the EU's political and discursive opportunity structures thus leads to the conclusion that it is dynamic opportunities and threats that make or break a campaign, as will be discussed below.

This approximative summary of the cases highlights a basic core path leading to a desired outcome (i.e. scores are positive in the 'successful cases' and negative in the 'unsuccessful'): strong shared frames, dynamic opportunities in the shape of some contingent event, elite allies with the power to fulfil their promises, and – rather counter-intuitively, the presence of hostile elites. On the basis of the cases presented in this study, no desired outcome is achieved without the presence of these factors. What this means in the most general terms is that both context and what campaigning groups do matters for campaigning in the EU: as sustained by Tarrow (1994), an opportunity alone is not enough, it must be *perceived* and *exploited* in order to count, and may equally be perceived and exploited by opponents to a campaign who may turn it into a threat, as was demonstrated in

¹⁸³ This is listed as a threat for the Lisbon campaign, where groups spoke of the various problems they had encountered in being enlisted as props to support the Commission's claims of wide consulting. Nevertheless, they did also speak about how this situation could be exploited (interview 13).

the REACH case. However, it also shows that political threats in particular are more important than the campaigning groups' efforts: even where strong shared frames and a national level campaign are present (I will argue that the latter is also important below) serious dynamic political threats render these impotent. The presence of elite allies as a necessary component in campaigning has also been widely proven in the literature (for example: Tarrow 1990; Kitschelt 1990; Giugni and Passy 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1998).

The cases included in this study also suggest that elite and powerful allies outweigh the presence of hostile elites. Indeed, the two social campaigns provided evidence for the premise that hostile elites may even be positive for campaigns. This is not likely to be a generalisable result, in that it is very much linked to the decision to launch strong national level campaigns with the aim of targeting the Council (see below). Without the contingent circumstance of the debates over the Constitutional Treaty, however, these national level campaigns may not have been so strong and, in any case, the coexistence case shows us that a strong national campaign without a supportive context is not enough to guarantee an outcome. In addition, the coexistence case also demonstrates that where hostile elites are not balanced with powerful allies, these contribute to scupper the campaign, usually pushed on by some contingent event.

Continuing this discussion of the factors that support this core path, the cases that attained their desired outcomes were also all characterised by the campaigners' ability to overcome problems with dialogue with the Commission (see above); by their strong national campaigns; their ability to exploit the EU's multi-level design and separation of powers; the exploitation of elections (whether imminent or distant); and by previous or contemporary campaigns that heightened their salience. Strong national campaigns have already been linked to both the ability to exploit the EU's political opportunity structure and as reactions to the threat of hostile elites. In this sense, they are in my opinion as well as that of the interviewees inextricably linked to successful campaigning in the EU arena.¹⁸⁴ Issue salience also comes up as an important boon to a campaign, in that all of those that saw outcomes also benefited from a heightened salience due to other campaigns, whether previous or contemporary – this point is bolstered by the REACH campaign's lack of an outcome if we consider the simultaneous counter campaign as a discursive threat in

¹⁸⁴ This also corroborates the comments by Hellferich and Kolb (2001) mentioned in chapter one.

this sense. These themes will be explored further in the text below, in which I will discuss in more detail the conclusions that may be drawn with reference to each of the variables employed in this study. Before tackling this, however, a word on the proximity of elections, which also appear as beneficial to campaigning. It is difficult to draw conclusions on this point, since for each campaign, and indeed within each campaign (as all, with the exception of the Lisbon campaign, include the summer 2004 elections and change of Commission) the proximity of elections was different – all of the cases bar Lisbon began before elections and finished after, while Lisbon took place almost one year on from elections. Other elections in member states also had repercussions for campaigns, for example the German elections that took place during the REACH campaign. All that can be said is that awareness of how to exploit the opportunities offered by an election, and perhaps even more so of a new and fresh Commission, is important in EU level campaigning. The comments made below on dynamic political opportunities also apply here.

7.3.1 Shared frames

In chapter one, three aims were described for the frame analyses. These were designed to uncover the presence of strong and durable frames, dialogue between the national and European levels enabling a multi-level campaign and, finally, evidence of framing work between groups through mechanisms such as frame bridging and diffusion. Frame bridging was described as the most important point for indicating the construction of collective identities, and therefore as positive for outcomes, following theories of national level social movements. In the event, however, framing work was not only a difficult trait to locate in the cases presented in this study (going against the assertions of, for example, della Porta and Rucht 2002:7), it also appeared, contrary to my expectations, to be relatively unimportant for the campaign outcomes. Following the logical path of the claim that collective identity (operationalised here as shared frames) is essential to the success of social movement campaigns in that it facilitates mobilisation (e.g. della Porta and Diani, 1999:14-16), it would be expected that evidence from the frame analyses showing that understandings were built between groups, would have a positive influence on the campaign outcomes sought by the protagonists. Yet the actual results of these analyses for each of the case studies appear to refute this hypothesis. The case that shows the highest levels of framing work between groups, the coexistence case, and that showing the most

close-knit *temporary* coalition, the REACH case, both lack positive outcomes defined as the goals sought by the campaigning groups. The ‘successful’ social cases, on the other hand, both demonstrate that while frames are essentially shared, there is no evidence of their being built, leading to the conclusion that they are the result of previous work through more deeply rooted and permanent coalition structures (the Social Platform and the ETUC). This apparent finding falls into line with the opinions of interest representation scholars, who rate shared values as relatively unimportant to short-term, issue-oriented coalitions (Warleigh 2000:240). However, a closer look at the case evidence shows that although the hypotheses are refuted, shared frames still play an important role in securing outcomes.

These observations lead to two possible, and not necessarily mutually exclusive, conclusions. The first has already been mentioned: that political and discursive opportunities are more important for these case outcomes than shared understandings within the campaign coalitions. In other words, without (creating) a favourable context, or in the presence of an unalterably hostile context, a campaign will not see the desired outcome. I shall discuss which political and discursive opportunities in particular seem to be the most important in the next section. In terms of conclusions relating solely to shared understandings, these observations also seem to point to the conclusion that building coalitions for separate campaigns is less effective than drawing on more permanent coalition structures – an observation that ties in with the importance attached to the presence of strong frames throughout a campaign. The environmental groups that spent more time on building coalitions and developing arguments did not do so well as the two campaigns that drew on existing coalitions based on many years of work towards developing shared understandings. Looking at the evidence in this light, it can be said that shared frames are in the end important for outcomes, but not so directly as hypothesised in chapter one. The years of work that the social groups put in to form their permanent coalition structures provided them with important resources that helped secure their desired campaign outcomes. Because they did not need to spend time building frames, they were able to mobilise quickly and effectively when faced with threats. Overall then, shared frames are important in securing outcomes – strong frames throughout the campaign were factors common to all three of the cases displaying outcomes, and dialogue enabling multi-level campaigns was present for two. It rather underscores the fact that shared understandings that can simply be tapped into seem to be more useful.

This conclusion goes against the reasoning of social movement theory developed for the national level, but corroborates findings in the literature about the difficulties of building a collective identity in transnational social movements (let alone a temporary single issue coalition). Here, theorists have stressed the point that the views of collective movement identities as described in much of the nationally based literature are too all-consuming and exclusive. At the transnational level identities that are more connected to individuals and more tolerant of differences, multiple organisational alliances and such like are important. Only such tolerant, or 'multi-layered' (Hunt and Benford 2004) identities will allow many organisations to come together in one transnational movement. In forging new, loose identities based on individual or organisational contributions and collectively constructed meanings, transnational movements of movements may be bound together (della Porta 2003b). In keeping with the findings on framing work presented here, Rucht (1999:207) has asserted that "Transnational movements hardly exhibit a distinct collective identity as opposed to national movements. It is best to conceptualize different layers of identities which are not mutually exclusive. Thus a single group can be at the same time part of a local, national and international movement.". Unfortunately, the limited frame analyses carried out here do not allow any more detailed conclusions – a wider study of identity formation between the European and national levels over longer periods of time, and including more national contexts, would certainly be a fruitful theme for further research.

7.3.2 Political opportunities

Turning to political opportunities, and their apparently pivotal role in determining the outcomes of EU campaigns (Hellferich and Kolb 2001:158), it is instructive to begin from a comparison between the environmental and social cases. Both of the environmental cases showed similarities in terms of important political threats - these came from hostile elites (DGs within the Commission), and from open - to the point of becoming endless - dialogue with third parties. Comparing these circumstances with the more effective campaigns in the social cases, hostile elites were also a factor for both of these, although obviously to a lesser degree. More interestingly, if we concentrate less on the *presence* of hostile elites and more on the *lack of elite allies*, then we can note that in the two social cases elite allies were indeed present, even if hostile (though less powerful) elites were too, whilst the reverse is true of the environmental cases. More explicitly, in the environmental cases,

hostile DGs in the Commission proved formidable threats to each because the Commission had an important role in both. Elite allies, on the other hand, were where present not 'able to fulfil their promises', in other words they did not dispose of the power to decide the outcomes of the campaign. In the two social cases, hostile elites were also present: the Commission President in the Lisbon case, and Commissioner Bolkestein in the case of the same name. However, allies were present in the institutions that mattered more for the outcomes of each of these campaigns: the presidency in the Lisbon case, and the socialist group in the European Parliament (as well as this institution more generally) in the Bolkestein case. In terms of the hypothesis posited in chapter one, which stated that where campaigns were dealing with their 'natural partner' DG in the Commission they would see a helping hand and vice versa, these findings belie such a simplistic statement. The cases show that a hostile DG in the Commission can sometimes kick start a national-style campaign with effective results where other powerful targets are available, underlining the importance of the *perception* of political opportunities and threats. Following the ideas presented by Gamson and Meyer (1996:283-7), the presence of a hostile elite can allow those arguing the benefits of a more extra-institutional approach to a campaign to frame their case more strongly – as the elites are already hostile, more will be lost by doing nothing extraordinary than may be lost by doing so. The more general finding that allies are more important than enemies, on the other hand, concurs with other studies using political process approaches which conclude that the presence of elite allies is paramount for a successful movement (albeit with the added condition that these elite allies hold the power to make the decision sought) (for example: Tarrow 1990; Kitschelt 1990; Giugni and Passy 1998).

Turning to the role of open dialogue with third parties, in particular with the Commission, it is first and foremost interesting to note that in both of the environmental cases, where the Commission played an important role, what was overall judged to be a structural political opportunity of the EU in chapter one (albeit with significant connotations in terms of knowledge production) turns out to be a threat. Similarly, the apparent threats posed by a Commission apparently closed to all dialogue as seen in the two social cases turn out to be blessings in disguise, as they prompt groups to use apparently more successful grassroots tactics. All of the cases also show that EUSMO coalitions also use many different types of tactics to target the EU in an attempt to exploit its multi-level structure, in line with recent findings by della Porta and Caiani (2007), who underline that SMOs tend to combine both

‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ strategies in such efforts. Together, then, the four cases provide some anecdotal evidence overturning the widely shared idea that the EU arena, with its Commission so open to dialogue, means that campaigns directed more towards lobbying actions and the Commission will be more effective in the EU arena.¹⁸⁵ This observation will be discussed at greater length below. A final point that I wish to make in connection with political opportunities and the EU arena is a more general one. Looking at the four cases presented here, it is also interesting to note that in all four not only can we only identify one pivotal political opportunity or threat that appears to have been a very important factor (albeit still one among several) in the outcomes of each campaign, but every one of these is a *dynamic*, that is a *case-specific* rather than a structural political opportunity or threat. The evidence presented here thus points to the conclusion that it is dynamic political opportunities that make or break a campaign although, as seen most clearly in the Bolkestein case, where this is an opportunity it must be exploited. Keck and Sikkink, albeit at the domestic level, posit a similar conclusion in their work on transnational campaigns (1998:202). In more straightforward terms, a healthy dose of luck is also paramount to a successful campaign outcome.

In terms of the theoretical contribution to the study of political opportunity in the EU, the nuanced approach to identifying these as laid out in chapter one of this study also draws attention to the importance of remembering that within the EU, as within the national state, different issues will meet with different opportunities according to a plethora of circumstances, and according to which institution, or even department or committee within an institution, they come up against (Warleigh 2000:236, Balme and Chabanet 2002:44). Just as national arenas should not be considered unitary, neither should the EU arena – attention needs to be paid to each individual institution as well as dynamic contexts in order to explain why apparently similar campaigns see different outcomes in apparently similar contexts. As Keck and Sikkink put it, “By disaggregating national states into component – sometimes competing – parts that interact differently with different kinds of groups, we gain a much more multidimensional view of how groups and individual enter the political arena. (...) These theoretical approaches travel well from domestic to transnational relations precisely because to do so, they do not have to travel at all. Instead, many transnational actors have simply thrown off the fictions of the unitary state as seen from the

¹⁸⁵ See in particular Marks and McAdam 1996, della Porta and Kriesi 1999, for a more general view Smith et al 1997

outside” (1998:32).

This said, one improvement to the categories presented for guiding the identification of dynamic political opportunities at the EU level presented in chapter one would clearly need to be made for future work. This is of course the rather vague category of contingent events. As seen in the case studies, many of the circumstance classified as contingent events could also be fruitfully discussed under other headings. The negative WTO and ECJ rulings of the coexistence case could be included in a new category of transnational hostile elites (accompanied by a partner category for transnational allies), while the unexpected attitudes of the new member states observed in both the coexistence and Bolkestein cases could also be discussed as elite allies. Nevertheless, the category still remains valid for those events that were both unexpected and are difficult to subsume under other headings. The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty and the nature of the debate over the same in France, for example, I would argue to be best classified as contingent events. Obviously further study is necessary in order to properly respecify this category and, if necessary, create other additional categories to be included in the indicators for dynamic political opportunities.

7.3.3 Discursive opportunities

In the social cases similarities were seen in the linking of arguments to the Constitutional Treaty on the one hand, and to the Bolkestein Directive on the other, and for both more generally to ‘Social Europe’. In the environmental cases however it was noted in that the technical nature of the issues made it difficult for the groups to translate the importance of the campaigns back to the national level. Mobilising the national level was difficult, whilst it was in comparison relatively easy for the social campaigns. Yet blaming this difficulty purely on the technical discourses of the environmental cases does not quite fit. While for the Lisbon campaign it was possible to use broader and less complicated slogans, even if the actual content of the Lisbon agenda is not entirely straightforward, this was certainly not the case (at least at the beginning) for the Bolkestein campaign. Here, the main complaint was the risk of social dumping as a result of the ‘country of origin principle’ – not exactly a crystal clear concept for most of us. The difference between the cases could suggest that discursive threats springing from technical language only hold where the Commission has a larger role. This interpretation also confirms the view of the

Commission as an institution that tends to break down complicated issues into series of limited, technical questions (Mazey and Richardson: 1993), thereby making it difficult to convey the 'bigger picture' of the Union's direction to its citizens.

The successful mobilisations enjoyed in the social cases also suggest an alternative (or additional) observation. While it must be noted that these cases are very unique in terms of a highly favourable context, it is also true that their outcomes concur with those who have noted a resurgence of social or traditionally left-wing questions in Europe more generally (della Porta:2007; Mathers 2007).¹⁸⁶ Continuing that line of thought, it is then also logical that issue *salience* is of fundamental importance. Indeed, a glance at the Eurobarometer surveys for the years covered by the four cases (from about 2001 to 2006) reveals that social questions and in particular fighting unemployment have consistently topped the list of the issues judged to be most important in Europe. Thinking in particular about the successful transferral of this social argument to the REACH case by the industry lobby provides anecdotal evidence that the generally higher salience of social issues in the EU during the period of the campaigns contributed to the case outcomes. Which also leads us to think about the possibility that the environmental campaigns, had they taken place today during a period of particularly high salience for climate change and other environmental issues, might have met with more favourable outcomes.

These reflections on traditionally left-wing questions and their salience bring our attention to the ideas introduced in chapter one about the role of ideology in the European sphere. The hypothesis here was that non-ideological subjects (i.e. the environmental/public health cases), that easier to split into series of small, technical questions, and to some extent stamp out the broader questions surrounding the subject, would have an advantage in that they would theoretically find a ready ear amongst actors of all political colours, with the reverse applying for the more traditional ideological issues (i.e. the social cases). The evidence about this hypothesis provided by the cases is somewhat confusing. The coexistence case

¹⁸⁶ Della Porta (2007) notes the reversion to contentious methods by trade unions in recent years in response to issues linked with globalisation, citing, for example, strikes in the UK, Spain, France, and Germany. Mathers (2007) asserts that the 1997 marches against unemployment marked the beginning of a new wave of contention by labour against the neo-liberal EU, a wave subsequently pursued through the European Social Forum. It is interesting to note that while these authors see the global justice movement as a new home for (national) organised labour, the cases presented here show that EU level organised labour considers this movement more of a threat than an opportunity. Mathers (ibid) does note that the ETUC's more timid stance vis-à-vis this movement comes despite its having been involved in the organisation of the first European Social Forum in Florence.

appears to overturn the idea, showing instead that environmental questions can be highly politicised, although not along the left-right continuum. REACH, on the other hand, while showing once again that allegedly environmental issues can easily be made ideological (as a result of the work of the industry lobby), refutes the idea that non-ideological issues may fare better. On the contrary, the industry lobby's work in placing the debate firmly in the ideological sphere is important to the outcome of their campaign. However, it was also noted that industry were careful to appeal to both left and right with different arguments. Turning to the social cases, Bolkestein was characterised by a carefully orchestrated attempt to avoid ideology at the European level, while ideology was 'brought back in' at the national level with more traditional left wing trade union marches. Lisbon, on the other hand, did not include any specific actions on ideology, since the broad nature of the Lisbon agenda appeals to all political parties – this almost equates to a lack of ideology once more.

The apparent conclusions that may be drawn from the evidence provided by the cases about the role of ideology is, however, not as mixed as may first appear. The importance of ideology, understood in the sense of ranging issues along the left-right continuum, in the REACH and Bolkestein cases (and, in a more passive way, in Lisbon) show that ideology does indeed provide a source of potential threats to European campaigns. In these two cases, the industry counter movement and the campaigning groups respectively worked carefully to ensure that their arguments would either appeal to both left and right wing actors, or to distance themselves and their arguments from their left-wing roots and beliefs. The fact that groups worked to overcome discursive threats proves the importance of ideology. That said, the hypothesis on the non-ideological nature of environmental and public health issues is disproved. The two environmental cases clearly show that such issues can become both ideological (REACH) and extremely controversial (GMOs) thereby politicising apparently small and technical questions. The final and more general assertion of the ideology hypothesis was that the nature of the policy area structures the debate around the issue, and the form of the campaign, in the sense that environmental cases would be limited to more technical issues, and social cases to broader questions of ideological import. Here, the cases provide limited support for such a statement, since despite the roles of ideology in the environmental cases, these can be said to have been shaped by more technical or scientific debates on detailed questions, with campaigning groups relying more on scientific reports and arguments than on protest. The opposite can be said of the social cases, both of which saw campaigns (again, overall) characterised by

the importance of mass mobilisation.

A final comment related to discursive opportunities that was raised by the social cases concerns the role of the ETUC, a social partner, in the outcomes of these. As noted above, this actor is viewed by other groups at the European level as an organisation with particular influence over the EU institutions as a result of its position as a social partner, and is therefore considered an important member of campaign coalitions (for similar findings see Hellferich and Kolb 2001:157). Yet interviewees either from the ETUC or from member and other interested organisations mention on several occasions that being a social partner means little now, since they consider that either their views are not taken into account or that the process is overlooked by policymakers. Partly as a result of this, the organisation is seen to employ protest as an important tactic in its repertoire at the European level, belying its image as a rather timid, or co-opted actor in the EU (Martin and Ross 2001; Mathers 2007; Balme and Chabanet 2008:243). This situation may suggest two things about this organisation: that it is becoming a more confrontational actor at the European level in that it is becoming more able to effectively mobilise individual members; and that to some extent it is taken more seriously by European institutions when it engages in these confrontational tactics alongside its more usual lobbying and participation in the social dialogue. In this sense, the organisation provides additional evidence on the relevance of the legitimacy discourse in that shows of numbers contribute to its levels of influence in the EU arena.

The cases also back up ideas about the kinds of ‘division of labour’ between more and less confrontational groups expressed, for example, in Gamson and Meyer (1996:288-9) in relation to the legitimacy discourse and access to the Commission. This division came to the fore most clearly in the coexistence case, where ample evidence showed that more confrontational groups, in this case Greenpeace, were less satisfied with their relationships with the Commission than less confrontational groups such as the EEB. Greenpeace, although they do not abandon their contacts with the institution, are aware and wary of their bureaucratic politics, noting that groups such as theirs, “which defend the general interest”, are placed in the same ‘stakeholder’ box alongside industry groups (interview 1) for the good of that institution’s reputation. The Lisbon case also showed that social groups were very aware of these politics, where groups are to some extent used to the Commission’s advantage in return for privileged access. Yet here again a similar division

exists between groups that see this as all fair and good, and those that see a threat of cooptation, and once more that division seems to fall along the lines of more and less confrontational groups. These observations on the legitimacy discourse provide further support the idea that different kinds of organisations, with different strengths in terms of repertoires of contention, are helpful in mounting multi-level European campaigns.

7.3 Broader conclusions: technical vs. political?

I shall now discuss some possible broader connotations of these conclusions on campaigning in the EU. While these comments are necessarily much more speculative, they are still interesting for discussion and open up potential paths for further research. In chapter one of this study an approach for looking at varying opportunity structures was described. One of the theoretical assumptions of this approach was that EUSMOs were likely to relegate the business of protest to other members of their extended networks, since this was a tactic seen in the literature to be more effective at the national or local level. EUSMOs would adopt tactics more suited to the European opportunity structure (i.e. lobbying), as the EU can be said to provide more opportunities for the latter, whilst presenting barriers to the former (della Porta and Kriesi 1999).¹⁸⁷ As already mentioned, when we look at the four cases together they seem to provide some evidence overturning this idea that the EU arena, with its Commission so open to dialogue, means that campaigns directed more towards lobbying actions and the Commission will be more effective in the EU arena (Marks and McAdam 1996, della Porta and Kriesi 1999), although it should be stressed that overall, the cases do not suggest that protest is a tactic used as often as lobbying – on the contrary, all interviewees stressed that both tactics may be useful, but neither on its own will secure an impact (see also Cornwall et al 2007, Beyeler and Kriesi 2005:107). A wide range of tactics are used in the campaigns studied here,¹⁸⁸ thereby

¹⁸⁷ Della Porta and Caiani (2007:2-3) draw an interesting parallel between these conclusions and the empirical focus of scholars. “..in the studies of protest, the emerging images are often influence by the empirically observed objects. Thus, research on protest events reported in the (national) press has supported the realist-intergovernmental image of the dominant role of the nation state, which remains the target of most protest. Research on the activities of public interest groups in the European institutions point, instead, to the emergence of a new polity.” This renders the current study, which looks precisely at the coalitions acting along both of these lines, all the more useful in providing a more nuanced and accurate picture of the roles of protest and lobbying in EU campaigns.

¹⁸⁸ “.. a closer look at campaigns reveals that their action repertoire is much wider. Depending on the campaign’s stage, they may focus on providing information, bargaining, lobbying, or seeking alternative

challenging the view of defined types of actions for different kinds of groups put forward by Balme and Chabanet (2002:89). Yet it should still be noted that lobbying is still the major tactic used at the EU level (e.g. della Porta and Caiani 2007, Marks and McAdam 1996, 1999), where levels of protest are low, albeit slowly increasing (Imig and Tarrow 2001, Balme and Chabanet 2002:52).

The evidence provided by the ‘successful’ social case studies instead points towards the idea that the most important political opportunities are still essentially provided by national actors within member states (an idea also expressed by many other scholars, for example Lahusen 1999:190, Rucht 2001:135, Imig and Tarrow 2001:18, Hellferich and Kolb 2001:156, Tarrow and McAdam 2005:121), and that more traditional mobilisations, in particular when carried out at different territorial levels, are therefore the most effective where the Commission’s role is smaller. In this sense the deduction that protest is an action more effective for national targets is not in any way shown to be untrue as a result of these studies. What is highlighted, however, is that it is wrong to assume that national targets are purely national, and not sometimes part and parcel of the European level itself. The cases, particularly Bolkestein, demonstrate that national protests and debates can in reality be a coordinated part of wider actions that are European in nature and scope. They also seem to provide evidence that partly refutes one of the hypotheses presented in chapter one, which stated that groups that do not engage with the Commission may face problems in that they have not brought their message to the European level sufficiently early on. On the contrary, the social cases show that more contentious campaigning brought their messages to the EU level with much greater force and more effect (therefore confirming the part of the hypothesis that stated they would have more opportunities at later stages as a result of a better relationship with their grassroots members).¹⁸⁹

This lesson can equally be transferred to the environmental cases. Returning to the hypothesis mentioned above, these provide some proof of the remaining part of that

solutions – a wide range of activities that cannot be subsumed under the label of protest. Research attention must be paid to the full array of activities in which the campaigners are involved.” (della Porta and Rucht 2002:8). The campaigns included in this study aim to pay attention to *all* the activities of the campaigning groups, even if conclusions about the role of protest are especially interesting.

¹⁸⁹ The social cases would also appear to provide proof to Burstein’s (1999) theory, also mentioned in chapter one, that groups with better relations with grassroots members may hold more sway in the Parliament and Council, both of whom are ultimately subject to re-election and thus more likely to be concerned about public opinion (Burstein 1999), represented to some extent by these groups. Keck and Sikkink also highlight the importance of including national and local groups in transnational campaigns (1998:206).

statement, that is that groups who become ‘partners in dialogue’ with the Commission may find it hard to maintain good contacts with their grassroots members. It was argued, particularly in the REACH case, that the resources sunk into engaging with the Commission in various dialogues did just this, pulling them too far away from their grassroots members, and sucking them into highly technical arguments hard to use when attempting to mobilise at the local and national levels. Or, more pessimistically, we may also suggest that the Commission purposely appears to be open in order to stifle more public voices in semi-closed discussion forums, pulling them away from grassroots activities and thus ensuring that they seem to listen to all whilst really following their own agenda. Either way, this would lead to the more radical conclusion that the Commission is the institution to avoid where significant change is sought by a campaign, implying that the national level and the Council(s) may prove a more fruitful path.¹⁹⁰

Coming back to the idea that the most important opportunities are still offered by the member states, the cases may also be said to begin to reveal a split between campaigns focussing on more technical issues at the EU level – i.e. the two environmental cases – and those focussing on more politically charged (in the sense of traditional ‘high’ politics affecting the distribution of goods) issues – i.e. the two social cases, in that they show some kind of pattern in types of actions for each of the categories. In the ‘technical’ campaigns, convincing various actors is seen as a matter of science rather than politics – many interviewees were careful to underline the fact that the subject matter was beyond left and right. This is certainly the case for the coexistence campaign, where the main target is the supposedly non-political Commission, but also for the REACH case where the main target is the European Parliament. Here, interviewees stressed that the real challenge in convincing MEPs was not their political affiliation, but their committee affiliation. While those sitting on the environment committee were seen as more or less on side no matter their ideological leanings, those from the internal market and industry committees were seen to be more sympathetic to arguments related to economic threats than human health or environmental ones. Another example may be drawn from the coexistence campaign, where the red-green controlled Upper Austrian regional government joined forces with the socialist Tuscan authorities. In addition, both campaigns feature the heavy use of scientific

¹⁹⁰ This also raises points about how engaging with the Commission can move groups away from the work they would like to carry out towards the kind of knowledge production or project work the Commission requires. There can be little choice for groups seeking funding between these two paths.

reports in campaigning efforts, rather than the more political tools of demonstrations and petitions.¹⁹¹ The two campaigns studied here may offer an additional explanation for the relative lack of protest seen at the European level by environmental groups (Rucht 2001), one that differs from the usual array of constraints also experienced by social and other types of groups. Rucht lists these as, among others, the continuing importance of national channels for mobilisation (also acknowledged here), the appropriateness of lobbying in the EU arena as opposed to protest (discussed above), financial support from the Commission, the career ambitions of lobbyists, the difficulties of transnational coordination, lack of material resources, the opacity of the EU system to ‘ordinary’ people, the lack of a pan-European public sphere, and the non-immediate threats posed in questions of European legislation (Rucht 2001: 135-9). These are all valid obstacles to protest at the EU level but, as Rucht himself points out, are not restricted to the experiences of environmental groups.

However, the technical nature of legislation is not restricted to environmental issues. The real contrast lies in the fact that the social campaigns both sought to target more traditional political actors at both the European and national levels. The Lisbon agenda campaign concentrated its efforts on governments in the sense that its main target was the European Council. Tellingly, the tools it used to achieve this were very linked to the national level, as already mentioned.¹⁹² The Bolkestein campaign, on the other hand, is a highly interesting (although not a common) example of political work at both European and national levels together. Interviewees stressed that since the socialist group in the European Parliament could be more or less relied upon to support trade union positions, much lobbying work was directed to convincing the centre and centre-right groups of the Parliament. At the same time, political parties as governments were targeted from the national level, and the European Council from the EU level, in various demonstrations. Thus, both of the most successful campaigns presented in this paper were careful to mirror the structure of the EU itself – a structure in which the member state, and by knock-on effect the political party – is still perhaps the most powerful entity.

¹⁹¹ It is interesting to note that the split between working on technical EU policy and working on campaigning is often reproduced in the staff structures of EU environmental groups - those working on policy do not campaign, those who campaign do not work on policy. In light of the conclusions drawn here, this raises the problem of reconciling these two crucial aspects.

¹⁹² In this sense, the social campaigns also seem to disprove the impression that “EU social policy is notable for its commitment to social dialogue, its promotion of social partnership and the involvement of civil society actors” (Daly 2006:464). They seem to provide further proof of the ETUC’s new role as a more contentious EU actor as suggested by Bieler (2005:479) rather than the co-opted social partner (Martin and Ross 2001).

In a nutshell, it would appear that where the EU issue in hand is to do with ‘low’ politics, i.e. more technical issues, it is difficult for EU social movement organisations to exploit the mobilisation opportunities offered by the national arena.¹⁹³ Or, it may be that the national level is more easily exploited in social campaigns because of previous social mobilizations at the national level on related issues, using similar types of actions. The strong trade union movement traditions in some western European countries spring immediately to mind here. The same mobilizing potential does not exist – or at least not to the same extent or manner, where more ‘technical’ campaigns are concerned (these being mostly the preserve of the more recent and qualitatively different ‘New Social Movements’). The salience of the issue at stake, as discussed earlier, also comes into play here – referring once again to Rucht, this author notes that in comparing farmers’ and environmental campaigns on EU issues, the immediacy of the effects of the issue under debate was a central difference that could explain the higher levels of protest among farmers (Rucht 2001:139). This is also reflected in the structure of EU decision-making itself, where the intergovernmental institutions have the most power over decisions with immediate effect in the member states. Other high-profile campaigns that have known a high impact have also targeted the intergovernmental aspects of the EU, such as the integration of a gender equality clause in the Treaty of European Union, which also saw “multilevel action coordination” (see Helfferich and Kolb 2001). A broader conclusion than observing that the most important opportunities are still offered by the member state level could thus be that social movement campaigns at the EU level are shaped (more than any other factor) by the institution that is the most powerful or active on the subject concerned. Sikkink (2005) posits a similar conclusion in her finding that domestic structures continue to shape transnational interaction, while Tarrow and della Porta (2005) also note that international opportunities can be expressed in domestic arenas. This idea would also fit well with the observation made earlier about the importance of *dynamic* political opportunities as compared to political opportunity *structure*. If a campaign is molded by the institution it must logically target in order to gain the outcome it seeks, then of course dynamic opportunities become paramount.

¹⁹³ This may be related to Keck and Sikkink’s finding that deforestation campaigns that moved away from a definition of the issue in technical and scientific terms towards one focussing on social relations ultimately had a greater impact (1998:141-50, 161).

These comments concerning dialogue with the Commission as a threat and the split between technical and political campaigning are of course cautious, but they do raise questions that are certainly worth investigating. Overall, although the conclusions presented here are difficult to generalise because they are based on such a limited number of cases, they do find confirmation in the existing literature on both EU and wider transnational campaigns, and provide at least some preliminary response to those who lament the lack of studies highlighting the causal mechanisms leading to movement impacts (e.g. Cornwall et al 2007, Caniglia 2001). The conclusions drawn at the end of their edited volume on transnational movements by Smith and Bandy (2005), for example, recall many of the points made throughout this study. Beginning from a concept similar to the EUSMO, the transnational movement network, the authors also point out the validity of IGOs for encouraging such organisations (*ibid*:233), as well as the advantages of proximity for regular communication between movement organisations (*ibid*:234). More specifically, concerning the national level, Bandy and Smith also draw attention to the importance of pre-existing national movements and mass mobilisation, a point that was underlined in this study as central to the outcomes of the coexistence, Bolkestein, and Lisbon cases, and as one of the reasons behind the non-outcome of the REACH case. Issues of cooptation at the EU level as a threat to mobilisation are also mentioned, as is the finding echoed here on the potential backlash against such co-opting efforts from grassroots groups (*ibid*:235). Finally, while many of the authors' comments centre around the problems arising in coalitions involving groups from both the global north and the global south, the advantages of open, flexible, more permanent coalition structures that allow ample time for the discussion of controversial points and the slow but steady formation of common understandings and frames between groups who nevertheless retain their specific identities are expressly underlined (*ibid*:238, 244-5).

Ruzza's (2004) findings on EU level campaigning are also mirrored in some of the comments mentioned here. Although this author aims to explain the long term fortunes of three distinct European level 'movement advocacy coalitions' (environmental, anti-racist, and regional), his descriptions of how these coalitions work in the EU arena, as well as of the peculiarities of the EU institutions resemble those included in this study. Ruzza also analyses impacts by paying attention to framing and other decisions internal to movements as well as contexts understood as political opportunities (2004:139), and concludes that issue salience (especially in national contexts), the presence of elite allies (termed

institutional activists), and “institutional set-ups” were paramount in the different outcomes achieved by the three movements he considers (*ibid*:140). Ruzza also underlines the relevance of the member state level as part of the European level, stating that without public support at this level movement issues are unlikely to be picked up in the EU sphere, where movement organisations are used by institutions as conduits to acquiring greater legitimacy. This leads to the observation that the EU can never be considered as a simple sphere where the relation between an institution and an impact is obvious – an interaction between national politics, EU elites, and EU policy communities is a necessary combination where change is seen (*ibid*:166). The point that the EU, or indeed its institutions, must not be considered as simple units of analysis, is also one of the main conclusions drawn here.

In lieu of a more traditional conclusion, it seems to me to be more appropriate to note that as I finish writing, fishermen from Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Portugal are protesting in Brussels, giving another indication that protest is possible in the bureaucratic monolith of the EU, even if lobbying is still the main tactic employed by most groups active at that level. The possible role of EUSMOs in making the EU a less distant and incomprehensible, or even a more democratic, institution is another avenue of research that gains merit in light of the current study. As Warleigh (2000:231) has noted, if such groups have no influence on policy, they are unlikely to have any role in such processes. The fact that some of the cases included here show that a European issue can mobilise the national and local levels of membership of these organisations means that there may be some role for them in ensuring at least input legitimacy in the EU. In another perspective, Eder and Trenz speak of the kinds of EUSMO coalitions studied here as agents that increase deliberation in the EU. The kind of collective claims making observed in the cases included in this thesis, it is argued, constitute a strong public that not only provokes deliberation in EU institutions, but also contribute to forming new epistemic communities amongst citizens. These ever stronger publics also cause EU institutions to reflect on their own democratic credentials, and invent new ways of including the public will – the Convention on the Future of Europe which was formed to draft the Constitutional Treaty is cited as the most striking outcome of this process to date (Eder and Trenz 2008:172). In the same volume, Kohler-Koch also discusses EUSMOs’ potential contribution to participation and citizenship. Despite reservations, especially about the real levels of individual engagement in European campaigns, she argues that where a group is dependent

on its members' expertise, carries out campaign actions at both the EU and the national levels, and uses both conventional and unconventional actions, then proper member participation can be achieved (Kohler-Koch 2008:264). The social cases detailed here both fulfil these requirements, adding another piece of empirical evidence to support the possible role of EUSMOs in EU democracy. Indeed, the high turnouts at the protest marches described in the Bolkestein case even provide evidence of some level of individual engagement. If nothing else, the accounts of the relatively recent cases contained in this study increase our bank of knowledge on European campaigns.

Appendix I – Frame Grids

European level T1 – Coexistence campaign

Document		PR FoEE, GP, EEB 3/3/03	FoEE Biotech Mailout 05/03	TOTAL
Frame				
D	Condemn Commission Communication – avoiding responsibility or breaking law by not legislating.	Title; Para. 1; Para. 4	Title; Para. 1; Para. 3 Para. 7	7
P	EU level co-existence legislation demand	Para. 2; Para. 3; Para. 4; Para 5	Para. 1; Para. 7	6
P	Polluter Pays principle / establish liability for GM growers	Para. 3; Para. 4	Para. 5; Para. 9 Para. 10	5
D	Contamination risks / contamination inevitable / Contamination irreversible	Para. 2; Para. 2; Para. 5	Para. 1; Para. 2	5
D	Increased costs (farmers / non-GM products)	Para. 3; Para. 5; Para. 5	Para. 9	4
D	Environmental damage / threat to biodiversity	Para. 5	Para. 2; Para. 7	3
D	Consumers / farmers rights to choose	Para. 2	Para. 2; Para. 8	3
D	Seed Purity	Para. 2	Para. 9	2
M	Member States have asked Commission for EU legislation	Para. 1	Para. 4;	2
M	Majority consumers do not want GM	Para. 5		1
D	Coexistence not only an economic issue (health and environment)	Para. 1		1
D	Labelling and traceability laws will become meaningless	Para. 4		1
P	Keep moratorium until rules in place		Para. 11	1

European level T2– Coexistence campaign

Document		PR FoEE, GP, EEB 23/07/03	Declaration of the Network of GM- free Regions 4/11/03	PR FoEE and AER 14/9/04	Conference conclusion manifesto AER, Genet; FoEE 23/1/05	Petition to the Commission GMO- free Europe (FoEE) 4/2/05 ¹⁹⁴	TOTAL
Frame							
P	Allow / create GM free zones / regional bans	Para. 1; Para. 3; Para. 4; Para. 5	Para. 2; Para. 13	Para. 1; Para. 2; Para. 2	Para. 1;	Para. 4	11
D	Contamination risks / contamination inevitable / Contamination irreversible	Para. 1; Para. 2; Para. 3; Para. 4	Para. 9; Para. 10	Para. 6; Para. 7		Para. 2	9
D	Quality food products / organic / products of designated origin		Para. 5; Para. 6; Para. 7; Para. 9	Para. 6; Para. 9	Para. 7		7
P	EU level legislation demand		Para. 11	Para. 1; Para. 2	Para. 9	Para. 4	5
P	Polluter Pays principle / establish liability for GM growers	Para. 2; Para. 4	Para. 12	Para. 2; Para. 8			5
D	Regional right to choose				Para. 2; Para. 7; Para. 8; Para. 9	Para. 4	5
D	Regional particularities		Para. 8; Para. 13		Para. 4; Para. 9		4
D	Seed Purity		Para. 13		Para. 3	Para. 5	3
D	Environmental damage / threat to biodiversity		Para. 5		Para.5	Para. 2	3
D	Consumers / farmers rights to choose	Para. 3; Para. 5			Para. 2		3
D	Distortion of competition / internal market		Para. 11; Para. 13	Para. 1			3

¹⁹⁴ Date the petition began to be circulated for signature, not date of submission to the European Commission.

D	Criticise opacity of GM authorisation process			Para. 3; Para. 4; Para. 5			3
D	End of organic / non-GM food and farming if current approach taken	Para. 3	Para. 9				2
D	Uncertainty of scientists / information on safety of GMOs				Para. 6	Para. 2	2
P	Keep moratorium until rules in place			Para. 2		Para. 5	2
P	Urge Member States to go against Commission advice	Para. 1; Para. 3					2
M	GM-free movement widespread and widely supported			Para. 6		Para. 1	2
M	Majority consumers do not want GM	Para. 5			Para. 7		2
P	Precautionary Principle			Para. 2	Para. 6		2
P	Subsidiarity principle		Para. 3; Para. 11				2
D	Condemn Commission Recommendation – avoiding responsibility or breaking law by not legislating.	Title; Para. 1;					1
D	Increased costs (farmers / non-GM products)					Para. 2	1
P	Clearly defined safety measures			Para. 2			1
D	Co-existence nearly impossible				Para. 8		1

European level T3 – Coexistence campaign

Document		PR EEB, FoEE, GP, EuroCoop, IFOAM EU 21/3/05	Conference statement of support AER FoEE 17/5/05	Conference PR Consumers International 9/9/05	Genet, AER, Foundation on Future Farming Conference report web page 15/1/06	TOTAL
Frame						
M	GM-free movement widespread and widely supported	Para. 2		Para. 6	Para. 1; Para. 1; Para. 3	5
P	Allow / create GM free zones / regional bans		Para. 3	Para. 2	Para. 2; Para. 4	4
D	Contamination risks / contamination inevitable / Contamination irreversible	Para. 5		Para. 1; Para. 3		3
M	Scientific evidence / examples of GM contamination			Para. 3; Para. 4	Para. 4	3
D	Reject concept of co- existence as possible			Para. 1; Para. 3	Para. 4	3
D	Condemn Commission recommendation – avoiding responsibility or breaking law by not legislating.	Para. 1; Para 4; Para 4				3
D	Regional right to choose		Para. 3		Para. 3	2
D	Consumers / farmers rights to choose		Para. 3	Para. 1		2
P	Keep moratorium until rules in place		Para. 1	Para. 2		2
D	Seed Purity	Para. 7	Para. 3			2

P	EU level legislation demand		Para. 1; Para. 2			2
P	Polluter Pays principle / establish liability for GM growers		Para. 3; Para. 3			2
D	Quality food products / organic / products of designated origin (must protect or more important)		Para. 3			1
M	Majority consumers do not want GM	Para. 7				1
D	Environmental damage / threat to biodiversity				Para. 3	1
D	End of organic / non-GM food and farming if current approach taken				Para. 3	1
<u>P</u>	EU co-existence legislation including right to GM-free zones	Para. 6 ¹⁹⁵				1
D	Increased costs (farmers / non-GM products)		Para. 3			1
P	Clearly defined safety measures		Para. 2			1
P	Precautionary Principle		Para. 3			1
M	(New) Commission should listen to public opinion and change (old) Commission approach	Para. 1				1
D	Threats to organic farming jobs	Para. 8				1

¹⁹⁵ NB – Comment in a quote by EEB representative

National level T1 – Coexistence campaign

Frame				TOTAL
Document		PR FoE France ¹⁹⁶ , EEB, GP 4/3/03	PR FoE UK 5/3/03	
D	Condemn Commission Communication – avoiding responsibility or breaking law by not legislating.	Title; para. 1; para. 3;	Title; Para. 1;	5
P	Polluter Pays principle / establish liability for GM growers	Para. 2; para. 5; Para. 6;	Para. 2; Para. 6	5
D	Majority consumers do not want GM	Para. 6; para. 9	Para. 3; Para. 5	4
P	EU level co-existence legislation demand	Para. 4; para. 4; Para. 6; para. 9		4
D	Increased costs (farmers / non-GM products)	Para. 5; para. 9;	Para. 5	3
D	Environmental damage / threat to biodiversity	Para. 9	Para. 2; Para. 5;	3
D	Coexistence not only an economic issue (health and environment)	Para. 3;	Para. 2;	2
D	Contamination risks / contamination inevitable / Contamination irreversible	Para. 1; Para. 4;		2
D	Consumers / farmers rights to choose	Para. 2; Para. 4		2
D	End of organic / non-GM food and farming if current approach taken	Para. 4; para. 5		2
P	Clearly defined safety measures	Para. 2; para. 7;		2
P	Seed Purity	Para. 4		1
D	Member States have asked Commission for EU legislation	Para. 2;		1
D	Labelling and traceability laws will become meaningless	Para. 8		1
M	GM-free movement widespread and widely supported		Para. 2	1
D	European Commission say contamination should be allowed.		Para. 3	1
D	Studies showing problems created by GM		Para. 2;	1

¹⁹⁶ Reproduces (but changes wording and order slightly) of EU-level document.

D	No impact assessment		Para. 4	1
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National level T2 – Co-existence campaign

Document		PR FoE UK (FoE, GP, EEB ¹⁹⁷) 23/7/03	Petition FoE France, BioCoop 06/03 ¹⁹⁸	PR FoE UK 29/10/03	Leaflet Comuni Antitransgenici Italy 2 nd National Conference 16/4/04	PR FoE UK 22/4/04	Newsletter 'Les avancees de la lutte contre les OGM Attac France 4/8/05	PR FoE UK 23/2/05	TOTAL
Frame									
D	Contamination risks / contamination inevitable / Contamination irreversible	Para. 8	Para. 11; para. 12; para. 13; para. 15; Para. 11; para. 13; para. 15			Para. 5; Para. 7		Para. 3; Para. 4	12
M	GM-free movement widespread and widely supported / growing	Para. 4; Para. 7		Para. 1; para. 3; Para. 5		Para. 1; Para. 1; Para. 2; Para. 4	Para. 1; Para. 2		11
P	Polluter Pays principle / establish liability for GM growers or biotech	Para. 9	Para. 18; Para. 21; para. 27; Para. 27					Para. 4	6
D	End of organic / non-GM food and farming if current approach taken	Para. 6	Para. 1; para. 3; para. 15; para. 25						5
P	Allow / create GM free zones / regional bans	Para. 8				Para. 1; Para. 5	Para. 4		4

¹⁹⁷ FoE UK press release referring to press release by FoEE, EEB, and GP.

¹⁹⁸ The petition is accompanied by a 4 page document – hence the great number of frames. The document is much longer than the others. This is taken into account in the analysis.

P	EU level legislation demand		Para. 27; Para. 27			Para. 1; Para. 5			4
D	Consumers / farmers rights to choose	Para. 6; Para. 10						Para. 1; Para. 4	4
D	Studies showing problems created by GM		Para. 7; Para. 8; para. 8; para. 14						4
M	Majority consumers do not want GM	Para. 10				Para. 7		Para. 3	3
D	Should not expose people or land to unknown risks / preserve health			Para. 5	Para. 2; Para. 3				3
D	Uncertainty of scientists / information on safety of GMOs		Para. 4; Para. 7; Para. 8						3
D	Increased costs (farmers / non-GM products)		Para. 3; Para. 15; para. 16;						3
D	Examples GM growers losing licence and not gaining compensation		Para. 19; para. 20; para. 24						3
D	Condemn Commission Recommendation – avoiding responsibility or breaking law by not legislating.	Para. 1	Para. 22						2
D	Environmental damage / threat to biodiversity		Para. 3			Para. 6			2

D	GM produced by logics of power and profit		Para. 6				Para. 8		2
D	Legitimate opposition of citizens and local authorities should not be / is being ignored						Para. 5	Para. 4	2
D	Need to promote agriculture that respects the environment, farmers, etc.				Para. 1		Para. 8		2
P	Keep moratorium until rules in place		Para. 27; Para. 27						2
P	Urge Member States to go against Commission advice	Para. 2; Para. 6							2
D	European Commission say contamination should be allowed.	Title; Para 2;							2
P	European Commission open door to regional bans	Para. 3; Para. 7							2
D	(Economic value of) quality food				Para. 1; Para. 1				2
M	Commission under pressure to allow GM free zones					Para. 3			1
M	FoEE have launched gmofree-europe.org to highlight initiatives					Para. 4			1
D	Against GMOs				Para. 1				1

D	Regional right to choose	Para. 10							1
D	Cite other health scares (BSE etc.)				Para. 1				1
D	Seed Purity	Para. 9							1
D	Protect biodiversity				Para. 1				1
P	Use European legislation to create GM-free zones			Para. 4					1
P	Precautionary Principle		Para. 4						1

<u>D</u>	Organic Farmers will have no protection from contamination		Para. 3						1
<u>D</u>	Studies show GM crops do not give higher yields / reduce need for pesticides etc.		Para. 5						1
<u>D</u>	No longer any proof of benefits of GMOs						Para. 8		1
<u>D</u>	GMOs damage local economy					Para. 6			1
<u>D</u>	French govt. must stop field trials						Para. 5		1
<u>D</u>	French govt. must oppose GMOs in EU meetings						Para. 6		1
<u>D</u>	Call for proper implementation of the Cartagena Protocol						Para. 7		1
<u>M</u>	Attac supports all local initiatives against GMO open field trials						Para. 9		1
<u>D</u>	US trying to force GMOs on EU through WTO dispute							Para. 2	1
<u>D</u>	UK govt. will allow GMOs without proper safeguards							Para. 4	1
<u>D</u>	Call for stricter rules							Para. 4	1

National level T3 – Coexistence campaign

Document	French Coalition AlterCampagne ¹⁹⁹ Open letter to MPs for GM referendum 18/6/05	PR Which?; FoE UK; SA; GP UK; 5 Year Freeze; GeneWatch UK. 21/3/05	Legambiente (Italy) PR GMOs – Coexistence Impossible 22/03/05	ICPPC (Poland) – PR Polish Marshals want GMO free Poland 9/9/05	TOTAL
Frame					
GM-free movement widespread and widely supported	Para. 5	Para. 6;	Para. 7	Para. 6	4
Contamination risks / contamination inevitable / Contamination irreversible	Para. 1	Para. 2		Para. 3; Para. 4	3
Quality food products / organic / products of designated origin (must protect or more important)	Para. 3		Para. 3; Para. 4	Para. 2	3
Regional right to choose	Para. 5		Para. 7	Para. 7	3
Majority consumers do not want GM		Para. 6	Para. 1;	Para. 5	3
Coexistence recommendations legally flawed		Title; Para. 1; Para. 3			3
EU level legislation demand		Para. 6	Title; Para. 1;		2
Polluter Pays principle / establish liability for GM growers	Para. 3; Para. 3				2
Call for withdrawal of recommendations		Para. 1; Para. 6			2

¹⁹⁹ AlterCampagne day of action against GMOs. Letter from coalition made up of Agir pour l'environnement, Confederation Paysanne, Greenpeace, Federation Nationale de l'Agriculture Biologique, Attac, Friends of the Earth France.

Call for national referendum on GMOs	Title; Para. 5				2
Allow / create GM free zones / regional bans	Para. 4				1
Consumers / farmers rights to choose		Para. 7			1
Environmental damage / threat to biodiversity				Para. 4	1
End of organic / non-GM food and farming if current approach taken		Para. 8			1
EU co-existence legislation including right to GM-free zones			Para. 3		1
European Commission say contamination should be allowed.		Para. 9			1
Majority Member state governments against GMOs			Para. 3		1

European Level T1 – REACH Campaign

Document		Joint Letter to Commission EEB BEUC FoEE Greenpeace WWF 25/10/02	PR EEB FoEE Greenpeace WWF 7/5/03	PR EEB FoEE Greenpeace WWF BEUC EPHA WECF 8/7/03	TOTAL
Frame					
D	(Angry) Commission delaying reform	Title; Para. 2	Title; Para. 1; Para. 2; Para. 4; Para. 5		7
P	Substitution and / or Phasing out of hazardous chemicals	Para. 3	Para. 6	Para. 3; Para. 5	4
P	Public wants hazardous chemicals phased out / protection from hazardous chemicals		Para. 5; Para. 7	Title	3
M	Recall EP and Council support for White Paper	Para. 4	Para. 3		2
D	Evidence of accumulation of chemicals in people and environment		Para. 1	Para. 4	2
D	Concerned by influence of business	Title; Para. 2			2
D	Concerned radical reform will not take place	Para. 1; Para 2			2
D	NGOs blame President for failing to take leadership		Para. 1; Para. 4		2
D	Commission failing to act on hazardous chemicals		Title; Para. 1		2
M	Submit most widely supported contribution to consultation			Para. 1; Para. 6	2
P	Insist on legislation applying to all chemicals	Para. 3			1
M	Recall EU heads of state and govt. request for leg. By 2004	Para. 4			1

M	OSPAR convention commitment to cease emissions of hazardous substances by 2020	Para. 4			1
M	Water Framework Directive requires phase out of hazardous substance within 20 years	Para. 4			1
M	Further delays will compromise commitments	Para. 5			1
D	Oppose internet consultation (but support public consultation in general)	Para. 5			1
D	Oppose futher impact analysis	Para. 6			1
D	REACH must not become subject to 'paralysis by analysis'	Para. 6			1
D	Call for publication without further delay	Para. 7			1
D	No compromise of original proposal	Para. 7			1
D	Text fails to endorse key components of regulation		Para. 1		1
D	Human health and environment at stake		Para. 1		1
D	Delay caused by internet consultation will lead to delay of at least a year		Para. 2		1
D	Internet consultation a result of industry pressure		Para. 2		1
D	Commissioners have backed down on crucial components of reform		Para. 3		1
D	Proposed system will not encourage a sustainable industry		Para. 3		1
D	Hazardous chemicals found in common consumer products		Para. 6		1
D	Call on Commission to protect health and envi from hazardous chemicals			Para. 2	1
D	Demand Commission listen to the people			Para. 3	1

P	Hazardous chemicals should only be used temporarily where use essential and no substitute available			Para. 3	1
P	Full right to know what chemicals are in products			Para. 3	1
P	Imported products must conform to EU safety standards			Para. 3	1
D	Recent scientific report endorses need for reform			Para. 5	1
M	Declaration in favour of REACH by US organisations			Para. 6	1

European Level T2 – REACH Campaign

Document		PR EEB FoEE Greenpeace WECF EPHA 29/10/03	PR EEB EPHA EEN FoEE Greenpeace WECF WWF ??/09/04	PR EEB FoEE Greenpeace EEN WWF 17/1/05	PR EEB EEN FoEE Greenpeace WECF WWF ??/03/05	PR FoEE Greenpeace 23/09/05	PR EEB EEN EuroCoop FoEE Greenpeace WECF WWF 17/11/05	PR EEB EEN FoEE EuroCoop WECF Greenpeace WWF 13/12/05	PR EEB EEN EuroCoop FoEE Greenpeace WECF WWF 27/6/06	TOTAL
P	Need substitution and / or Phasing out of hazardous chemicals	Para. 3	Para. 5; Para. 7		Para. 2; Para. 3		Para. 2	Para. 5; Para. 5		8
P	Industry information to be audited independently		Para. 5; Para. 9		Para. 2; Para. 5; Para. 5					5
P	Hazardous chemicals should only be used temporarily where use essential and no substitute available		Para. 5; Para. 7		Para. 2; Para. 3					4
P	Sufficient information must be publicly available		Para. 5; Para. 11		Para. 2; Para. 4					4
P	Imported products must conform to EU safety standards		Para. 5; Para. 10		Para. 2; Para. 6					4
D	Statement against ‘adequate control’	Para. 3; Para. 5	Para. 7		Para. 3					4
D	Proposal excludes many chemicals from proper safety assessment		Para. 8		Para. 4	Para. 6				3
D	Proposal waters down White Paper	Para. 6	Para. 4			Para. 6				3
D	Proposal waters down White Paper in response to business demands / pressure	Para. 2	Para. 4					Para. 5		3
P	Import rules to protect consumers and prevent distortion of competition		Para. 5; Para. 10		Para. 6					3

D	Failure to provide information will make substitution impossible						Para. 3; Para. 5	Para. 4		3
P	Strengthen registration procedures (close gap in safety information)		Para. 5; Para. 8		Para. 4					3
P	Health and environment must be aims of REACH		Title; Sub-title 1; Para. 1							3
D	Regret exemption of many chemicals from need to provide information						Title; Para. 1; Para. 4			3
D	Commission compromise would slash safety data requirements for even more chemicals, duty to provide info etc.					Para. 2; Para. 3; Para. 4				3
D	Criticise UNICE's proposals for REACH			Title; Para. 1; Para. 2						3
D	Council leave door open for many toxic chemicals even where safer alternatives exist							Para. 3	Para. 2	2
D	Council vote to reduce safety data requirements and many dangerous chemicals will remain on the market							Para. 4	Para. 3	2
D	REACH provides opportunity for industry to take responsibility for chemicals safety		Para. 9		Para. 5					2
D	Speed up procedure for obtaining information / current procedure slow		Para. 11		Para. 7					2
D/P	Proper information..or safer alternatives will be sidelined		Para. 7		Para. 3					2

D/P	Proper information..or consumers will continue to be exposed to unacceptable risks		Para. 7		Para. 3					2
D	Proposal will allow continued accumulation of chemicals in people and goods	Para. 3	Para. 6							2
D	Proposal does not stop use of hazardous chemicals in goods	Para. 7	Para. 6							2
D	Statement against Commission paper for a compromise on REACH					Title; Para. 1				2
D	Council ignore EP on substitution								Title; Para. 2	2
D	First reading REACH will not improve current system								Para. 1; Para. 2	2
D	EP vote an important step towards substitution						Title; Para. 1			2
D	Disappointed with Council decision							Title; Para. 1		2
P	Full right to know what chemicals are in products				Para. 2; Para. 7					2
D	Commission puts producers' interests before public health and environment	Para. 1; Para. 4								2
P	Citizens' health must come first	Para. 5; Para. 8								2
D	Call on EP / MEPs to strengthen proposal	Para. 8	Title							2
D	(Angry) Commission delaying reform	Para. 2								1
P	Substitution needed to prevent build-up of chemicals in our bodies and environment						Para. 2			1
D	Currently lack information on 90% substances						Para. 3			1

D	REACH following EP vote will not deliver health and environmental protection						Para. 5			1
D	Council have unique opportunity not to be sacrificed for business interests						Para. 6			1
D	Council rejection of EP decision will mean little change from current flawed system							Para. 2		1
D	Urge EP to reaffirm substitution at second reading								Para. 3	1
P	Only with substitution, duty of care and access to information will environment benefit								Para. 4	1
D	Lack of safety data will mean more scares like baby milk scare							Para. 4		1
D	Commission watering down own proposal					Para. 1				1
D	Commission giving way to industry pressure					Para. 1				1
D	Accuse Verheugen and Barroso of sabotage of REACH					Para. 2				1
D	New Commission paper upturns principle of REACH					Para. 3				1
D	Paper would mean risks remain unknown					Para. 3				1
D	Paper would mean an overburdened chemicals agency					Para. 3				1
D	Verheugen happier to defend polluters than health and environment					Para. 5				1

D	Verheugen / Commission holding democratic process in contempt					Para. 5				1
P	Substitution will cut costs for treating diseases							Para. 5		1
P	Substitution needed to protect health and environment							Para. 5		1
P	System must be transparent				Para. 2					1
P	Improved procedure for access to information throughout the supply chain				Para. 7					1
P	Presence of chemicals should be labelled				Para. 7					1
P	NGOs' 5 points crucial for protection of health and environment				Para. 1					1
D	Many chemicals may not carry enough safety information	Para. 3								1
D	Proposal overturns existing EU principles in other legislation (workers' protection and envi. Legislation)	Para. 3								1
D	Right to live and work in a healthy environment must not be compromised	Para. 8								1
D	Call on Council to strengthen proposal	Para. 8								1
D	Public believes chemicals matter for health and environment		Para. 2							1
D	Research has linked chemicals to diseases		Para. 2							1
D	Current legislation fails to regulate		Para. 2							1
D	REACH is the right framework for regulation		Para. 3							1

D	Without strengthening proposal will not benefit environment and health		Para. 4							1
D	UNICE proposal would reduce scope of legislation – allow use of hazardous chemicals			Para. 3						1
D	UNICE proposal on risk-based prioritisation no better than current system			Para. 4						1
D	UNICE against mandatory data-sharing, bad for SMEs			Para. 5						1
D	UNICE attitude to authorisation would lead to ongoing accumulation of chemicals in humans and environment			Para. 6						1
D	First reading REACH will not protect people and the environment								Para. 1	1

European Level T3 – REACH Campaign

Document		Key priorities EEB EEN EuroCoop FoEE Greenpeace WECF WWF ??/07/06	PR EEB EuroCoop FoEE Greenpeace HEAL¹ WECF WWF 10/10/06	PR WWF FoEE Greenpeace EEB 14/11/06	PR WWF EEB FoEE WECF EuroCoop HEAL Greenpeace 1/12/06	PR WWF EEB FoEE WECF EuroCoop HEAL Greenpeace 13/12/06	TOTAL
Frame							
D	Council text / Council EP deal allows continued use of dangerous chemicals even where safer alternatives exist			Para. 1; Para. 6; Para. 7	Para. 1; Para. 4		5
P	Need substitution and / or Phasing out of hazardous chemicals	Para. 2; Para. 8				Para. 5	3
P	Chemical industry responsibility for safety / duty of care	Para. 4; Para. 8	Para. 3				3
D	Statement against 'adequate control'				Para. 2; Para. 2	Para. 5	3
D	REACH risks failure due to Commission indecision			Title; Para. 2; Para. 5			3
D	Deal confirms substitution for persistent and bioaccumulative chemicals				Para. 3	Para. 2	2
D	Deal allows public to request information				Para. 3	Para. 2	2
D	First reading / deal REACH will not improve current system			Para. 7	Para. 5		2
D	Call on decision-makers to improve the text	Para. 6	Para. 4				2

ⁱ Health and Environment Alliance, previously the EPHA Environmental Network (EEN).

D	EP vote leaves REACH alive but in critical condition					Title; Para. 1	2
D	Denounce EP Council deal on REACH				Title; Para. 1		2
D	Urge Commission to take an active role			Para. 4; Para. 8			2
D	Finnish compromise ignores EP demands			Para. 1; Para. 6			2
D	Verheugen supports substitution			Para. 3; Para. 8			2
P	Provide information sufficient to identify dangerous chemicals and safer alternatives	Para. 3; Para. 8					2
D	REACH and chemicals agency need intensive care to ensure protection of the public					Para. 4; Para. 6	2
D	Proposal waters down White Paper	Para. 1; Para. 6					2
D	Proposal waters down White Paper in response to business demands / pressure	Para. 6	Para. 4				2
D	EP committee vote an important step towards protecting health and environment		Title; Para. 1				2
P	Full right to know what chemicals are in products	Para. 5; Para. 8					2
D	Leaders must choose to protect health and environment of waste the opportunity	Para. 1					1
P	Hazardous chemicals should only be used temporarily where use essential and no substitute available	Para. 2					1
D	Legislation a first modest step to regulation					Para. 2	1

D	Commission only institution to not debate substitution			Para. 3			1
D	Growing discontent with Barroso's passive approach within the Commission			Para. 3			1
D	REACH risks failure after Finnish presidency's compromise solutions			Para. 1			1
M	Call on EP to strengthen proposal				Para. 1		1
D	Deal on substitution (companies provide plan when alternative discovered) encourages companies to ignore safer alternatives				Para. 4		1
P	REACH should close knowledge gaps and manage chemicals effectively				Para. 5		1
P	Authorisation of hazardous chemicals should be limited to 5 years	Para. 2					1
P	Authorisations should take alternatives and substitution plans into account	Para. 2					1
P	Provide information on long-term effects	Para. 3					1
P	Provide good quality use and exposure information	Para. 3					1
P	Define risk management measures	Para. 3					1
D	Adequate control premised on a risky gamble					Para. 5	1
D	Adequate control championed by chemicals industry				Para. 2		1
M	Hazardous chemicals found in dust, blood etc.				Para. 2		1

D	Legislation means companies will have to provide information for large volume chemicals					Para. 2	1
D	Loopholes leave REACH vulnerable to further manipulation by chemicals industry					Para. 6	1
D	No guarantee that 3 rd party information on safer alternative will be considered					Para. 6	1
D	Exemption of low volume chemicals (60% chemicals covered by REACH)					Para. 3	1
D	Previous system allowed sale of almost all chemicals and only case-by-case restriction					Para. 2	1
D	Loopholes allow continued use of dangerous chemicals					Para. 3	1
D	Council ignore EP on substitution		Para. 2				1
D	Bad REACH will fail to protect health and environment				Para. 5		1
D	Bad REACH will decrease public trust in chemical industry and EU				Para. 5		1
D	EP committee vote an important step towards substitution		Para. 1				1
M	Cross-party support for substitution		Para. 2				1
M	Strong EP message to Council on substitution		Para. 2				1
D	Call on EP / MEPs to strengthen proposal				Para. 4		1

P	Substitution needed to prevent build-up of chemicals in our bodies and environment		Para. 2					1
P	Substitution needed to protect health and environment		Para. 4					1
P	Improved procedure for access to information throughout the supply chain	Para. 5						1
P	Citizens' right to ask about substances present in goods	Para. 5						1
P	Presence of chemicals of very high concern should be labelled	Para. 5						1
P	Extend list of non-confidential information to cover all information relevant to health and environment	Para. 5						1
P	Industry should give transparent justifications when applying to keep information confidential	Para. 5						1
P	NGOs' 4 points will deliver minimum level of protection for health and environment	Para. 1						1
D	Many chemicals will not carry enough safety information	Para. 6						1
D	Lack of safety information will mean registering without proper assessment	Para. 6						1
D	Little information negatively affects duty of care	Para. 6						1
D	Important decisions delegated to comitology excluding democratic oversight	Para. 6						1

D	Chemicals agency bureaucracy increased without assessment of ability	Para. 6					1
P	Consistent authorisation in place for bioaccumulative and persistent chemicals	Para. 6					1
P	Substitution essential to drive innovation of safer chemicals		Para. 2				1
M	Happy EP committee voted for more information for consumers		Para. 3				1

National Level All T – REACH Campaign

Document		Letter from Dutch NGOs to Dutch MPs Greenpeace de Noordzee Stichting Rainwater WECF MNGM FNV Milieu Defensie Natuur en Milieu Waddenvereniging 22/12/04	Women and Chemicals Action Berlin AAK BUND BUNDjugend BPW DNR FUE NUT Greenpeace Grune Liga Berlin Hamburger Umewltinstitut IGUMED ⁱ 9/03/05	PR REACH Under Attack FoEE Greenpeace Quercus (Portugal) 1/7/05	PR FoEE BUND Friends of the Earth Europe and Friends of the Earth Germany urged the Environment Committee to vote for a toxics free future 4/10/05	WECF Clean-up Greece Greek children demand a toxic-free future! 24/10/05	PR Greenpeace Germany, BUND, WECF REACH: just born, already weak 13/12/06	TOTAL
Frame								
P/D	Make / health and environmental concerns should be at / the centre of REACH	Para. 1		Para. 4	Para. 2; Para. 3		Para. 2	5
D	Call for a toxic free future				Title; Para. 3	Title		3
D	Adopted REACH weak						Title; Para. 1	2
D	Adopted REACH will allow continued use of dangerous chemicals even where safer alternatives exist						Para. 1; Para. 2	2
	100 gnomes carrying toxic symbols gathered by the European institutions				Sub-title; Para. 3			2
D	Verheugen sabotage attempt to push polluter-friendly plan			Title; Para. 4;				2
D	Environment groups criticise Verheugen			Para. 1; Para. 4				2

ⁱ Key: AAK = Arbeitsgemeinschaft Allergiekranke Kind; BUND = Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland (Friends of the Earth Germany); BPW = Business Professional Women; DNR = Deutscher Naturschutzring; NUT = Frauen in Naturwissenschaft und Technik; IGUMED = Interdisziplinäre Gesellschaft für Umweltmedizin.

D	Verheugen plans to water down an already weak REACH			Para. 1; Para. 8				2
D	Adopted REACH weak because of German industry and government						Para. 3	1
D	Public will learn of dangers of chemicals through disasters						Para. 3	1
D	Industry has no incentive to develop safer alternatives with adopted REACH						Para. 3	1
D	Adopted REACH offers scarce protection from chemicals						Sub-title;	1
D	Risky chemicals allowed if adequately controlled under adopted REACH						Para. 4	1
D	Scandalous that chemicals damaging foetuses allowed to be used under adopted REACH						Para. 4	1
D	Positive that very persistent and bioaccumulative substances will be replaced						Para. 5	1
D	Positive that high level production chemicals will have information						Para. 5	1
D	Positive that information will be available to consumers						Para. 5	1
M	Groups will closely follow implementation of REACH						Para. 5	1

D	Blame German government for blocking substitution principle						Para. 1	1
D	REACH was at least passed						Para. 2	1
D	20,000 tests for 30,000 chemicals covered weakened as a result of industry pressure						Para. 3	1
M	Greek children demanded a 'clean up the world' decision					Para. 1		1
M	Greek event attended by mayor of Athens					Para. 2		1
D	Greek actions aimed at decisions scheduled for end of November by EP and Council					Para. 3		1
M	Clean-up Greece published a brochure explaining the importance of REACH					Para. 4		1
D	REACH heavily under attack from chemical industry associations					Para. 4		1
D	Demant EP to resist pressure from industry and vote for a strong REACH					Para. 1		1
D	Fear Envi committee will give in to influence of Chemicals industry					Para. 2		1
D	Verheugen proposal an act of vandalism					Para. 8		1
D	Barroso says he wishes to promote human health and environment through the Lisbon strategy					Para. 9		1

D	If attack on REACH succeeds will show Commission more concerned with the chemical industry than the quality of life of EU citizens			Para. 9				1
D	Sabotage plan would provide data on only 6% of chemicals			Para. 1				1
D	96% chemical today have no or insufficient data			Para. 5				1
D	Verheugen moved to force Dimas to accept major rollback of Commission proposal			Para. 2				1
D	Proposal would require data on only 30% of chemicals			Para. 6				1
D	Verheugen proposal would exclude 25,000 of the 30,000			Para. 7				1
D	REACH doesn't demand enough safety data on low volume chemicals and has too many exemptions			Para. 6				1
D	Proposal will not come into force until 11 years after adoption			Para. 6				1
D	Verheugen proposal would delay implementation by another 2 years			Para. 7				1
D	Verheugen acting while Parliament still discussing proposal			Para. 2				1
D	UK Government wants a political agreement			Para. 3				1

D	Many toxic chemicals accumulate in the bodies of women, leading to diseases among women and their children		Para. 2					1
M	Women made a huge chemical cross		Para. 3					1
M	German Minister for Environment presented new WECF publication Women for a Toxic Free Future		Para. 4					1
M	German Minister for Environment confirmed working in support of REACH		Para. 4					1
M	German Minister for Environment would favour chemicals produced under 1 tonne per year included in REACH		Para. 4					1
D	White Paper was sufficient to protect environment and health	Para. 2						1
P	Need substitution and / or Phasing out of hazardous chemicals	Para. 3						1
D	Proposal waters down White Paper in response to business demands / pressure	Para. 2						1
D	Proposal will not protect health and environment	Para. 2						1
P	Pre-registration of chemicals	Para. 2						1
P	Strong registration procedures	Para. 3						1

P	Independent quality control	Para. 3						1
P	Equal safety requirements for imported products	Para. 3						1
P	Public access to safety information	Para. 3						1
P	One substance, one registration: i.e. information sharing	Para. 3						1
P	Civil society organisations on the management board of Chemicals Agency	Para. 3						1

European Level – Lisbon Campaign

Document		PR Social Platform 9/2/05	ETUC Call for Demonstration 16/2/05	Social Platform Resolution for European Council 21/2/05	EAPN PR Day of Action 3/3/05	Social Platform, EEB, ETUC letter to Commission 9/3/05	Social Platform PR Meeting with Barroso 15/3/05	ETUC PR Euro-Demonstration 16/3/05	EAPN PR European Council 16.3.05	SOS Europe Petition in European Voice 17/3/05	Autism Europe Call for Action 21/3/05	TOTAL
P	Balanced approach on all original pillars	Para. 2	Para. 2; para. 3	Para. 2		Para. 1; Para. 5; Para. 9; Para. 9; Para. 9	Para. 2	Para. 3		Para. 2; Para. 3	Para. 3	14
P	Put social / envi back into Lisbon Strategy			Title; Para. 1; Para. 4;	Para. 3	Para. 7; Para. 9; Para. 9		Para. 1; Para. 4		Para. 4		10
P	Lisbon pillars mutually reinforcing	Para. 3; Para. 8		Para. 3		Para. 5; Para. 6	Para. 2	Para. 3				7
P	Reaffirm EU commitment to social inclusion strategy / social cohesion / social agenda (or these are missing)	Para. 2; Para. 3		Para. 2; Para. 4					Para. 1; Para. 3		Para. 3	7
D	Growth-first approach will fail to gain citizens' confidence / affect referenda	Title; Para. 2				Para. 3	Para. 3		Para. 2			5
P	Social cohesion and fight against poverty must remain top priorities			Para. 5	Title; Para. 1; Para. 2	Para. 9						5

D	Growth-first hampers social agenda / social will be left behind	Title; Para. 2; Para. 4; Para. 7								Para. 1	5	
D	Oppose spread of neo-liberalism / free-trade agenda / de-regulation		Para. 3; para. 4			Para. 8; Para. 9; Para. 9					5	
D	Commission approach says economic growth will automatically lead to social cohesion – not true	Para. 8				Para. 7	Para. 4			Para. 3	4	
M	Support ETUC demonstration		Para. 1		Para. 4			Para. 1			3	
P	Fundamental Rights		Para. 11					Para. 2		Para. 3	3	
M	Support SOS Europe				Para. 3					Para. 6	Para. 5	3
D	Need more (secure) jobs		Para. 6;			Para. 7		Para. 2			3	
D	Commission shift of priorities / change from original Lisbon strategy / dropping various pillars	Para. 3				Para. 1; Para. 3; Para. 6					3	
M	Oppose Bolkestein Directive		Para. 8					Para. 2; Para. 5			3	
D	Social Policy / Environmental policy pushed aside for growth-first approach - against	Para. 1					Para. 1				2	
M	Social Europe (support, fight for, save)					Para. 7		Para. 5			2	

P	Need high level of social security		Para. 4			Para. 7							2
D	Approach abandons the poorest EU citizens	Para. 4											1
D	Citizens losing confidence in decision-makers	Para. 5											1
P	Reaffirm commitment to gender mainstreaming			Para. 6									1
D	Growth first other worries later outdated					Para. 4							1
P	More investment in research and training		Para. 5										1
M	Support social dialogue		Para. 11										1

National Level – Lisbon Campaign

Document		Belgium Social Forum Call to Demonstration 02/05	CGT (French Trade Union) Call for participation 11/2/05	Concord Member to Member Call for support 03/05	Syndicats (Belgian Trade Union Newsletter) 11/3/05	ACLI (Italy) Editorial 15/3/05	TUC (UK Trades Union Congress) PR 19/3/05	EAPN Ireland Newspaper article 21/3/05	TOTAL
Frame									
M	Oppose Bolkestein Directive	Para. 3; Para. 3	Para. 1		Title; Para. 3; Para. 6; Para. 7	Para. 2	Para. 1; Para. 2		10
M	Social Europe (support, fight for, save)	Para. 3			Para. 3	Title; Para. 6	Para. 3	Para. 15	6
D	Need more (secure) jobs	Para. 3; Para. 3	Para. 1		Title; Para. 3				5
P	Balanced approach on all original pillars			Para. 1; Para. 3; Para. 4			Para. 2	Para. 10	5
M	Support ETUC demonstration	Para. 4	Para. 1		Para. 4		Para. 3		4
D	Oppose spread of neo-liberalism / free-trade agenda / de-regulation	Para. 1; Para. 2			Para. 4	Para. 2;			4
D	Commission shift of priorities / change from original Lisbon strategy / dropping various pillars					Para. 3; Para. 4		Para. 8	3
D	Social Policy / Environmental policy pushed aside for growth-first approach - against			Para. 1		Para. 2			2
P	Put social / envi back into Lisbon Strategy	Para. 3		Para. 5					2

M	Support SOS Europe			Para. 7		Para. 1			2
P	Fundamental Rights			Para. 4					1
P	More investment in research and training				Para. 3				1
P	Reaffirm EU commitment to social inclusion strategy / social cohesion / social agenda (or these are missing)							Para. 7	1
D	Growth first other worries later outdated							Para. 11	1

European Level T1 – Bolkestein Campaign

Document		Joint Letter to Prodi ETUC; EPSU; UNI; ETUCE; ETF 17/2/04 ²⁰⁰	ETUC position paper 17-18/3/04	UNI Initial Orientations 17-18/5/04	EPSU Congress Resolution 15/6/04	www.stopbolkestein.org Introductory text to the petition AND argumentation ²⁰¹	CEEP Oninion 1/2005	CECODHAS Position on SGEIs 2005 (not dated) ²⁰²	Social Platform Common Position ²⁰³ 21/2/05	TOTAL
D/P	Commission must (or notes they do not currently) provide a more in-depth impact assessment.		Para. 8; Para. 11; Para. 17; Para. 17; Para. 19	Para. 63; Para. 65; Para. 82			Para. 3; Para. 3; Para. 5		Para. 2; Para. 7	13
D	Proposal threatens collective agreements and national labour codes / workers' rights. These must stand.		Para. 19	Para. 9; Para. 12; Para. 35; Para. 41; Para. 42; Para. 47; Para. 79	Para. 6; Para. 8	Para. 4; Para. 27				12
D	Race to the bottom in terms of social standards as a result of directive / social dumping.		Para. 4	Para. 45; Para. 47; Para. 56; Para. 74; Para. 78	Para. 6	Para. 24			Para. 5	9
D/P	Clarify relationship with Posting of Workers Directive; Exempt / Affects / Weakens Posting of Workers		Para. 8; Para. 11	Para. 12; Para. 10; Para. 11; Para. 12	Para. 5	Para. 26	Para. 6			9
P	SG(E)Is should be excluded from the scope of the directive / COP	Para.5		Para. 15; Para. 16			Para. 4; Para. 8; Para. 9	Para. 2; Para. 6		8

²⁰⁰ Relevant paragraph (5) only.

²⁰¹ These two documents, available through the website www.stopbolkestein.org, together provide the most comprehensive view of the signatories' position. The two documents are considered as one and paragraphs are numbered accordingly. The text of the petition provided on the site is the 'introductory text' analysed here.

²⁰² This document is not dated, either on the CECODHAS website, or on the document itself. Nevertheless, based on interview data, it can be placed in early 2005.

²⁰³ Main title: "Keep Services social: urgent action needed on the services directive!". This title, and the style of the argumentation, may suggest that the document is aimed at members not yet active or aware of the draft services directive. Although this document falls slightly after the first 'phase' identified in the campaign, it is retained here as the first position to come from the Social Platform, making it more comparable to the documents in the first, rather than the second, phase.

D/P	COP risks abuses without accompanying harmonisation meaning negative economic and social consequences.		Para. 4	Para. 33; Para. 34; Para. 39; Para. 81		Para. 21	Para. 3; Para. 5			8
P	Exempt healthcare (and / or social) services from the scope of the directive.		Para. 7	Para. 18; Para. 20; Para. 80			Para. 4; Para. 13		Para. 1; Para. 10	8
P	(No legislation until) framework proposal on SGI delivered / draft pre-empts SGEI debate		Para. 6	Para. 16	Para. 7	Para. 17		Para. 5; Para. 6		6
D	Services directive will / could adversely affect SGI	Para.5			Para. 2; Para. 2		Para. 2; Para. 4		Para. 4	6
D	Doubts about feasibility of monitoring service providers from the country of origin.		Para. 11	Para. 43; Para. 45; Para. 46	Para. 4; Para. 5					6
D	Worried by / against the Country of Origin Principle.		Para. 4		Para. 5	Para. 23	Para. 2; Para. 5			5
P	Labour and social standards should not be considered barriers to trade.	Para.5		Para. 40; Para. 83	Para. 3; Para. 6					5
D	Support Lisbon strategy, Commission should not ignore sustainable growth, better jobs, cohesion			Para. 4; Para. 7; Para. 77	Para. 3				Para. 6	5
D	Object to all services being treated in the same way, SGIs or not / insist treated differently					Para. 15; Para. 16	Para. 4; Para. 10		Para. 1	5
P	Demand stronger social guarantees for workers (and consumers) / protection		Para. 1; Para. 19	Para. 6			Para. 2			4
D	Demand quality SGI		Para. 19				Para. 9		Para. 1; Para. 10	4
P	Member States should maintain the right to decide conditions for right of establishment / regulate service activities			Para. 25; Para. 84		Para. 19	Para. 10			4

P	Temporary workers should be guaranteed same treatment as received by employees in country where they work / regulated separately / excluded		Para. 15	Para. 52; Para. 56; Para. 85						4
D	Demand proper consultation (with Trade Unions and Social Partners)		Para. 17; Para. 18				Para. 3; Para. 7			4
D	Recalls importance of SGI for Social Model.		Para. 6		Para. 7				Para. 8	3
D	Opposed to including national healthcare systems.		Para. 6	Para. 18	Para. 4					3
D	Solidarity must take precedence over competition			Para. 1 ²⁰⁴	Para. 2	Para. 28				3
D	Calls on EU institutions and Member States to reject draft in its current form / group cannot support draft as it stands	Para. 19			Para. 8	Para. 15				3
D	No trade or competition in SGI / directive will expose SGI to competition				Para. 8	Para. 2; Para. 16				3
D	Supports measures aimed at reducing administrative costs and simplifying procedures.		Para. 3				Para. 1; Para. 10			3
D	Difficult to predict all the / wide-ranging consequences of COP.		Para. 4				Para. 3; Para. 8			3
D	EU gives priority to market liberalisation, not social model.			Para. 1	Para. 1; Para. 4					3

²⁰⁴ For EPSU, actual quote is “EPSU and ETUC are increasingly frustrated at the way that “competitiveness” is the yardstick against everything is measured and with the lack of progress on social Europe” (www.epsu.org/a/634).

P	Public service obligations should not be considered barriers to trade / MS allowed to define	Para. 5					Para. 4			2
D	Recognise growth potential in these sectors (esp. for new ms).		Para. 2		Para. 1					2
D	Notes negative effects of outsourcing.		Para. 2	Para. 37						2
D	Supports establishment of single points of contact.		Para. 3				Para. 1			2
D	Supports measures designed to protect workers, consumers, users, environment.		Para. 3				Para. 1			2
D	Supports provision of safer services of higher quality.		Para. 3				Para. 1			2
D	Directive contravenes the Treaty (various Articles).		Para. 5		Para. 4					2
D	Directive has repercussions for labour law.		Para. 8			Para. 25				2
D/P	Clarify relationship with / no compatibility with Rome Convention		Para. 8				Para. 3			2
P	Clarify relationship with national industrial relations / collective bargaining		Para. 8	Para. 82						2
D	Unacceptable to ignore the Social Dialogue.		Para. 18	Para. 66						2
D	Member states will be unable to check status of migrant workers / working conditions		Para. 12			Para. 26				2
P	Directive should contain guidelines for educating workers / provide for LLL		Para. 16	Para. 77						2
D	Economic development must come hand-in-hand with social development.			Para. 6					Para. 6	2

D	Proposal encourages bogus self-employment / fake companies			Para. 36; Para. 37						2
P	No freedom to provide services in the private security sector without framework licensing principles			Para. 48; Para. 51						2
P	Must clarify relationship with GATS			Para. 72	Para. 7					2
D	Directive will commercialise all services in the Union					Para. 3; Para. 9				2
D	Merchandisation (sic) would deteriorate pension systems, welfare, healthcare in favour of private insurance.					Para. 4; Para. 20				2
M	Certain political parties and many groups have called to fight against the draft directive					Para. 5; Para. 10				2
D	Very large majority of member states appear to favour rapid adoption					Para. 6; Para. 11;				2
P	Exclude transport services						Para. 4; Para. 11			2
P	Exclude postal services						Para. 4; Para. 12			2
P	Exclude audiovisual services						Para. 4; Para. 14			2
D	Directive includes legal uncertainties on definitions of economic and non-economic activities						Para. 7	Para. 1		2
D	Commission has at best sketchy knowledge of social services sector								Para. 2; Para. 3	2
P	Incorporate WP on SGI						Para. 7			1
D	Supports establishing transparent procedures.		Para. 3							1

P	Demands priority to be given to the improvement of labour law.		Para. 8							1
P	Temporary agencies and posting of workers should be excluded.		Para. 10							1
D	Directive will limit MS control over product information		Para. 14							1
D	Proposal would lead to more deregulation and social insecurity		Para. 19							1
D	Establishing an internal market in services indispensable for completing Lisbon						Para. 1			1
P	Make it impossible to circumvent rules on establishment			Para. 31						1
P	Exempt gambling			Para. 60						1
D	Proposal will lead to strong negative reactions from people of Europe to integration process			Para. 74						1
M	No to a socially retrograde Europe, no to an educationally regressive Europe						Para. 1			1
D	Directive will deregulate education systems and end any kind of cultural exception						Para. 4			1
M	Group will approach institutions with demands.			Para. 76						1
M	Will build alliances to counter directive's proposals				Para. 8					1
M	Only concerted effort by civilian (sic) society can prevent adoption						Para. 6			1

M	Sign and forward Stop Bolkestein petition					Para. 7				1
D	Proposal needs to be coherent with proposals on temporary work, recognition of professional qualifications and diplomas						Para. 7			1
D	Public authorities and service providers are subject to public procurement obligations						Para. 9			1
D	Legal uncertainties between COP and obligation to define SGEIs through legal act of public power							Para. 3		1
D	Draft ignores schemes for prior authorisation, ECJ case law.							Para. 4		1
P	Directive must be modified to ensure social standards are not undermined								Para. 5	1
D	Directive undermines European social model at a time when charter of fundamental rights being included in Constitutional Treaty								Para. 7	1
M	Note that thousands of citizens have discussed and demonstrated against the directive								Para. 6	1
M	EP, MS, and Commission have a responsibility to respond to citizens' concerns								Para. 9	1

European Level T2 – Bolkestein Campaign

Document		ETUC PR European Trade Unionists to demonstrate on 19 March in support of employment and social rights 19/3/05	ETUC Call for the Euro- Demonstration on 19 March 2005	EPSU Position The EU Directive on Services – a wholesale attack on basic services in Europe 7/4/05	www.stopbolkestein.org News Headlines Bolkestein Returns... It's Time for Action! 30/9/05	Social Platform Explanatory Paper The Services Directive, Services of General Interest (SGIs), and Social Services 3/05 (relevant parts ²⁰⁵)	TOTAL
D	Race to the bottom in terms of social standards as a result of directive / social dumping.	Para. 5	Para. 10	Para. 7; Para. 33; Para. 37; Para. 40		Para. 39	7
D	Proposal threatens collective agreements and national labour codes / workers' rights. These must stand.	Para. 5	Para. 12	Para. 7; Para. 24; Para. 33	Para. 3		6
D	Worried by / against the Country of Origin Principle.		Para. 10	Para. 7; Para. 39		Para. 38	4
P	SG(E)Is should be excluded from the scope of the directive / COP		Para. 14	Para. 38		Para. 1;	3
D	Reject Bolkestein proposals for liberalisation	Para. 5	Para. 9; Para. 10				3
D	Oppose further deregulation (of labour markets)	Para. 4	Para. 3; Para. 4				3
D/P	More and better jobs, not longer working hours		Para. 2; Para. 7; Para. 9				3
M	Trade unionists will demonstrate in support of employment and social rights (call for support)	Title; Para. 1; Para. 7					3
M	Demonstrate against Bolkestein Directive	Para. 1	Para. 20				2

²⁰⁵ Only the key points of the document relating to the Services Directive are coded, since the very detailed nature of the document would contribute little to the grid as a whole were all points to be coded – this would result in a very long list of unique frames, whereas coding the general thrust of each point allows a better comparison.

D	Support completion of the internal market in services (potential job creation)	Para. 5	Para. 10				2
P	Europe needs greater investment in training, LLL, research and innovation	Para. 4	Para. 6				2
P	(No legislation until) framework proposal on SGI delivered / draft pre-empts SGEI debate			Para. 42		Para. 29	2
D	Services directive will / could adversely affect SGI			Para. 34		Para. 28	2
D	Object to all services being treated in the same way, SGIs or not / insist treated differently			Para. 20	Para. 2		2
P	Europe needs flexible reform of the Stability Pact	Para. 4	Para. 8				2
D/P	Proposal deliberately vague in defining services / SG(E)Is – need clear definition			Para. 20; Para. 38			2
D	Distinction between economic and non-economic services problematic					Para. 6; Para. 10	2
D	Reject any reduction of the Lisbon goals in favour of business		Para. 4				
D	Proposal advances cause of liberalisation			Para. 20			1
D	Oppose erosion of social rights		Para. 2				1
D	Oppose spread of neo-liberalism		Para. 2				1
P	Demand a Social Europe		Para. 2				1
D	Protection of employment and social rights must be EU policy priority	Para. 3					1
D	COP assumes a comparable environment (harmonisation) – this is not the case					Para. 39	1

D/P	Clarify relationship with Posting of Workers Directive; Exempt / Affects / Weakens Posting of Workers			Para. 36			1
P	Since Posting of Workers not binding single market not possible			Para. 40			1
D	Concerned about impact on quality services, esp. for accessibility and suitability for vulnerable groups					Para. 1	1
P	Creation of an internal market for services must also achieve social objectives		Para. 13				1
P	Need fundamental rights to strengthen social Europe		Para. 15				1
P	Need trade union rights, information and consultation of workers, collective agreements, social dialogue		Para. 16				1
P	Social Europe must include goal of full employment, equal opps. And non-discrimination		Para. 17				1
P	Europe needs a pro-active social policy agenda		Para. 18				1
M	Group will continue to fight for a Social Europe		Para. 19				1
P	Exempt social services from the scope of the directive.					Para. 28	1
D	Contradicts WP on SGIs by including SGIs in draft directive					Para. 26	1
D	Draft endangers MS' freedom to define public services and how to organise them					Para. 27	1

D	Including social services in the directive fails to implement the subsidiarity principle					Para. 30	1
D	Companies will be able to set up letter box companies to avoid laws			Para. 35			1
D	Doubts about feasibility of monitoring service providers from the country of origin.					Para. 40	1
D	COP will negatively affect the quality of services					Para. 3	1
D	Voluntary codes of conduct will not guarantee quality services					Para. 44	1
P	Labour and social standards should not be considered barriers to trade.						
D	Support Lisbon strategy, need balance between sustainable growth, better jobs, cohesion		Para. 4				1
D	Any service of a certain size includes an economic dimension					Para. 7	1
D	A social service can be considered economic depending on the context in which it's provided					Para. 8	1
D	Social service providers could also run economically productive activities					Para. 9	1
D	SGIs a common value in the draft constitution					Para. 11	1
D	SGIs part of states' obligation to ensure fundamental right to lead a dignified life					Para. 11	1
D	SGIs a central element of the European social model					Para. 11	1
D	SGIs crucial to providing a base for the creation of wealth					Para. 11	1
D	Member states' rules on SGIs vary widely					Para. 12	1

D	Directive contradicts the WP on SGIs					Para. 25	1
D	Directive would lead to deterioration of welfare				Para. 3		1
P	Demand stronger social guarantees for workers (and consumers) / protection	Para. 4					1
M	Stop Bolkestein petition strong, thank for support				Para. 1		1
M	Barroso gave impression that Bolkestein has been quietly dropped, but is making a comeback				Para. 4		1
M	Outright rejection of directive off the agenda				Para. 5		1
M	Signals sent by the European Parliament will be of paramount importance				Para. 7		1
M	Urgent to put Bolkestein back on the agenda				Para. 8		1
M	Pass Stop Bolkestein petition to as many people as possible				Para. 9		1
M	Send Stop Bolkestein model e-mail to MEPs				Para. 10		1
D	Requirements for freedom of establishment could negatively affect quality of SGI					Para. 32	1
P	Member States should maintain the right to decide conditions for right of establishment / regulate service activities					Para. 33	1
D	Draft directive will create legal uncertainty for service providers					Para. 37	1
D	Demand proper consultation (with Trade Unions and Social Partners)	Para. 6					1
D	Europe must aim for full employment, trade union rights	Para. 6					1

D	Directive would deteriorate pension systems, welfare, healthcare in favour of private insurance.				Para. 3		1
P	Exclude energy sector			Para. 22			1
D	No assessment of impact on social services or on fundamental rights					Para. 31	1
D	Directive will deregulate education systems and end any kind of cultural exception				Para. 3		1
P	Professional qualifications must be comparable against EU			Para. 41			1

National Level T1 – Bolkestein Campaign

Document		FGTB & CSC (BE) Non a la directive Bolkestein! PR 7/5/04	CGT (FR) Declaration on the draft services in the internal market directive²⁰⁶ 11/5/04	CGIL (IT) Directing committee document on the Bolkestein directive 15/12/04	DGB (DE) Position on EU Services Directive 06/06/04	TOTAL
Frame						
D	Race to the bottom in terms of social standards as a result of directive / social dumping.	Para. 3; Para. 4; Para. 6; Para. 11	Para. 9	Para. 13; Para. 18		7
D	Proposal threatens collective agreements and national labour codes / workers' rights. These must stand.	Para. 11	Para. 7	Para. 8; Para. 13; Para. 15	Para. 17	6
D/P	Clarify relationship with Posting of Workers Directive / other EU legislation; Exempt / Affects / Weakens Posting of Workers	Para. 5		Para. 15	Para. 5; Para. 13; Para. 14	5
P	(No legislation until) framework proposal on SGI delivered / draft pre-empts SGEI debate	Para. 8	Para. 4		Para. 6; Para. 26	4
D	Doubts about feasibility of monitoring service providers from the country of origin.	Para. 5; Para. 6		Para. 15	Para. 30	4

²⁰⁶ This statement is contained in a newsletter on the Services directive which also contains extracts from the Belgian document also analysed in this grid, proving some cross-national work here.

D/P	COP risks abuses without accompanying harmonisation meaning negative economic and social consequences.	Para. 7			Para. 4; Para. 34; Para. 36	4
D	Object to all services being treated in the same way, SGIs or not / insist treated differently	Para. 2		Para. 11	Para. 37	3
P	Demand stronger / directive undermines social guarantees for workers (and consumers) / protection	Para. 11	Para. 3		Para. 38	3
D	Calls on EU institutions and Member States to reject draft in its current form / group cannot support draft as it stands	Para. 11	Para. 1	Para. 8		3
D	EU / directive gives priority to market liberalisation, not social model.	Para. 3		Para. 8; Para. 16		3
D	COP threatens social protection (and right to quality SGI)			Para. 13; Para. 13	Para. 15	3
D	No definition of / need definition of public services or SGI			Para. 9	Para. 11; Para. 26	3
D	Healthcare systems under threat – public authorities unable to guarantee.	Para. 4; Para. 7; Para. 11				3
D	Supports measures aimed at reducing administrative costs and simplifying procedures / freedom of establishment				Para. 2; Para. 9; Para. 28	3
D	Commission has not carried out a / call for a proper impact assessment in terms of social protection etc.				Para. 10; Para. 15; Para. 18	3

D	Demand quality SGI	Para. 11	Para. 4			2
D	Support Lisbon strategy, (Commission should not ignore / which includes) sustainable growth, better jobs, cohesion			Para. 2	Para. 2	2
D	Will adversely affect social rights – lower wages, longer hours etc.	Para. 3		Para. 8		2
D	(Support ETUC campaign to) allow MS to guarantee rights of people before the market	Para. 11	Para. 4			2
P	Directive should contain guidelines for / threatens schemes for educating workers / provide for LLL	Para. 4			Para. 35	2
D	Proposal needs to be coherent with proposals on temporary work and recognition of professional qualifications and diplomas	Para. 8			Para. 15	2
P	Directive must be part of a package deal ensuring regulation of other areas				Para. 21; Para. 27	2
P	Need harmonisation to achieve social goals of EU				Para. 3; Para. 32	2
D	Need balance between / point out both single market and social and ecological aims of EU				Para. 7; Para. 8	2
D	Health, education, culture, and audiovisual services will be subject to rule of market	Para. 3; Para. 11				2
D	Services directive will / could adversely affect SGI			Para. 4; Para. 13		2
D	Proposal encourages bogus self-employment / fake companies / bad companies	Para. 6; Para. 7				2

D	Will destructure the European labour market	Para. 11				1
D	Privatisation and liberalisation of public services with no possible return	Para. 3				1
D	Directive threatens democratic decisions by MS	Para. 11				1
D	Do not question the internal market in services, but how this will be achieved			Para. 19		1
P	Need to look for points allowing harmonisation between national standards			Para. 9		1
D	Commission deny positive common standards while intervening in social services			Para. 10		1
D	Scope of directive vast and not clear in exemptions			Para. 11		1
P	Exempt healthcare (and / or social) services from the scope of the directive / clarify position	Para. 8				1
<u>D</u>	Market and competition ideas are negative for EU of 25.			Para. 4		1
<u>D</u>	Directive undermines principle of equality for workers			Para. 15		1
D	Worried by / against the Country of Origin Principle.			Para. 13		1
M	Necessary to inform members about directive in order to mobilise			Para. 20		1
M	Invite members to mobilise at European and national levels			Para. 20		1

M	Request ETUC to carry out a hard pressure campaign			Para. 20		1
M	Make trade union position known by elected bodies both European and national			Para. 20		1
M	Ask government to oppose the draft directive			Para. 20		1
M	Need a strong ETUC able to push union views at the European level	Para. 11				1
D	Cannot accept an ultra-liberal Europe that treats workers as commodities	Para. 11				1
P	Must clarify relationship with GATS				Para. 39	1
D	Demand social cohesion and fundamental rights be taken into account		Para. 10			1
D	Companies will be able to set up letter box companies to avoid laws				Para. 30	1
P	Member states must retain power to deliver high quality SGI				Para. 26	1
D	Directive will commercialise / deregulate / liberalise all services in the Union	Para. 1				1
D	Other legislative proposals risk being lost behind this directive	Para. 8				1
D	Attempt to reintroduce the rejected liberalisation of port services directive	Para. 10				1

D	Directive undermines European social model at a time when charter of fundamental rights being included in Constitutional Treaty			Para. 3		1
M	Note that thousands of citizens have discussed and demonstrated against the directive			Para. 17		1
M	Protest wave from London social forum, students, some states and local authorities, employers, has slowed down path through EP			Para. 17		1
M	Mobilisation against the directive must continue			Para. 18		1
D	Support completion of the internal market in services (potential job creation)				Para. 2	1
D	There are positive effects from the single European market				Para. 2	1
P	Need to be sure that abolishing national laws doesn't result in problems for health and safety				Para. 29	1
D	Support clauses strengthening consumer rights				Para. 9	1
P	Demand national rights on public employment				Para. 11	1
D	Creation of single market cannot be based solely on market values				Para. 12	1
P	Directive must guarantee minimum labour and living conditions				Para. 19	1

P	Demand regulation of posting of workers				Para. 23	1
P	Demand regulation of living conditions for temporary workers				Para. 24	1
P	Demand guarantee that present European rules on labour rights be further developed				Para. 25	1
P	Free market in services must be accompanied by more not less social regulation				Para. 5	1

National Level T2 – Bolkestein Campaign

Document		FGTB (Belgium) Call for Demonstration 19 March 2005 ??/02/2005	CGIL (Italy) Call for Demonstration 19 March 2005	CGT (France) Press Release Bolkestein Directive halted: initial success of social mobilisation 24/3/05	DGB (Germany) Call for Demonstration 14 February 2005 Strasbourg ??/01/2005	TOTAL
Frame						
D/P	More and better jobs (not longer working hours)	Para. 2; Para. 3; Para. 7; Para. 9	Para. 2; Para. 3; Para. 7; Para. 9			8
M	Demonstrate against Bolkestein Directive	Para. 1; Para. 21	Para. 1; Para. 20		Para. 3; Para. 12	6
D	Race to the bottom in terms of social standards as a result of directive / social dumping. Against social dumping.	Para. 11	Para. 11	Para. 2	Para. 1; Para. 5	5
D	Worried by / against the Country of Origin Principle.	Para. 11	Para. 11	Para. 2	Para. 7	4
D	(ETUC) Oppose further deregulation (of labour markets)	Para. 3; Para. 5	Para. 3; Para. 5			4
P	Creation of an internal market for services must also achieve social objectives	Para. 13	Para. 13		Para. 2	3
D	SGIs must not be subject to market rules	Para. 14	Para. 14	Para. 2		3
D	Reject Bolkestein proposals for liberalisation	Para. 11	Para. 11			2
P	More social cohesion	Para. 2	Para. 2			2
P	Demand quality services	Para. 9	Para. 9			2
M	No to the Bolkestein directive	Para. 9	Para. 9			2
P	Call for a Social Europe	Para. 2	Para. 2			2

P	(ETUC believes) Need intelligent modernisation with a high level of social security	Para. 5	Para. 5			2
D	(ETUC) Support completion of the internal market in services (potential job creation)	Para. 10	Para. 10			2
P	Europe needs greater investment in training, LLL, research and innovation.	Para. 6	Para. 6			2
P	(ETUC believes) Europe needs flexible reform of the Stability Pact	Para. 8	Para. 8			2
P	Stability and growth must be encouraged by efficient economic and employment policy	Para. 8	Para. 8			2
D	Oppose erosion of social rights	Para. 2	Para. 2			2
D	Oppose spread of neo-liberalism	Para. 2	Para. 2			2
P	Need fundamental rights to strengthen social Europe	Para. 15	Para. 15			2
P	Need trade union rights, information and consultation of workers, collective agreements, social dialogue	Para. 16	Para. 16			2
P	Social Europe must include goal of full employment, equal opps. And non-discrimination	Para. 17	Para. 17			2
P	Europe needs a pro-active social policy agenda	Para. 18	Para. 18			2
M	Group will continue to fight for a Social Europe	Para. 19	Para. 19			2
P	Exempt social services from the scope of the directive.	Para. 14	Para. 14			2

D	(ETUC) Support Lisbon strategy, need balance between sustainable growth, better jobs, cohesion	Para. 4	Para. 4			2
D	(ETUC) Reject any reduction of the Lisbon goals in favour of business	Para. 4	Para. 4			2
D	Spring summit important for Lisbon Strategy	Para. 2	Para. 2			2
D	Internal market in services must not have negative consequences on labour law and social legislation	Para. 12	Para. 12			2
M	Council decision proof that stopping ultra-liberal policies is possible through trade union action (at both EU and national level)			Para. 1	Para. 6	2
D	Proposal threatens collective agreements and national labour codes / workers' rights. These must stand.				Para.	1
D	Proposal will create unequal competition and uncontrollable national markets				Para. 5	1
P	SG(E)Is should be excluded from the scope of the directive / COP				Para. 12	1
D	Proposal will erode national labour legislation				Para. 5	1
<u>P</u>	Exempt temporary workers from directive				Para. 11	1
D/P	Proposal deliberately vague in defining services / SG(E)Is – need clear definition			Para. 2		1
D	Proposal will liberalise SGEIs				Para. 5	1

D	Proposal will disenfranchise temporary workers				Para. 5	1
D	Proposal against Social Europe				Para. 5	1
P	Demand a directive on SGIs			Para. 2		1
P	Demand stronger social guarantees for workers (and consumers) / protection				Para. 8	1
D	Bolkestein has not been withdrawn			Para. 2		1
M	Must continue to mobilise on Bolkestein			Para. 2		1
M	Pleased the European Council decided to reconsider Bolkestein			Para. 1		1
M	Council decision a first success for the March demonstration in Brussels			Para. 1		1

Appendix II – Documents used in frame analyses²⁰⁷

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- 12) Vice-President of the Platform of European Social NGOs and Director of the European Anti-Poverty Network. Brussels, 15 September 2005.
- 13) Social Affairs Co-ordinator, Solidar. Brussels, 16 September 2005.
- 14) Policy Officer, secretariat of the Platform of European Social NGOs. Brussels, 20 September 2005.
- 15) Secretary General of CECODHAS (European Liaison Committee for Social Housing) and Treasurer of the Platform of European Social NGOs. Brussels, 15 March 2006.
- 16) Member of staff responsible for the Safer Chemicals campaign, Friends of the Earth Europe. Brussels, 15 March 2006.
- 17) Campaign and Liaison Officer, European Public Services Union. Brussels, 16 March 2006.

- 18) Coordinator of the Stop Bolkestein web petition, Institut Emile Vanderwelde. Brussels, 16 March 2006.
- 19) Advisor on the Services Directive, European Trade Union Confederation. Brussels, 16 March 2006.
- 20) Policy and Information Officer, European Public Health Alliance Environment Network. Brussels, 16 March 2006.
- 21) Policy Officer for Chemicals and IPPC, European Environmental Bureau. Brussels, 20 March 2006.
- 22) Policy Officer, Uni-Europa. Brussels, 21 March 2006.
- 23) Project Coordinator, Chemical Reaction. Brussels, 22 March 2006.
- 24) Policy Officer, Women in Europe for a Common Future. Brussels, 23 March 2006.

Appendix IV

List of Abbreviations

AER – Assembly of European Regions

ATTAC – Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions to Aid Citizens

BEUC – European Consumers' Organisation

BUND – Freunde der Erde (Friends of the Earth Germany)

CECODHAS – The European Liaison Committee for Social Housing

CGT – Confederation General du Travail

CPE – Coordination Paysanne Europeenne

DNR – Deutscher Naturschutzring

EAPN – European Anti-Poverty Network

EEB – European Environmental Bureau

EEN – European Environmental Network (parent organisation of EPHA / HEAL)

EPHA – European Environmental Network Public Health Alliance

EPSU – European Public Services Union

ETUC – European Trade Union Confederation

EuroCoop – European Community of Consumer Cooperatives

EWL – European Women's Lobby

FfFF – Foundation for Future Farming

FoEE – Friends of the Earth Europe

GENET – European NGO Network on Genetic Engineering

Greenpeace – Greenpeace European Unit

HBF – Heinrich Boll Foundation

HEAL – Health and Environment Alliance (formerly EPHA)

IFOAM – International Federation of Organic Farmers

The Network – Network of European GM-Free Regions

Social Platform – Platform of European Social Non-Governmental Organisations

UniEuropa – European Division of Uni-Global, Union for Skills and Services

WWF – Worldwide Fund for Nature

WECF – Women in Europe for a Common Future

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