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della Porta: *The Europeanisation of Protest*

Europeanisation Series

The Social and Political Sciences Department of the European University Institute is committed to the study of Europeanisation in its broadest political and social terms. We do not treat Europeanisation solely as a process centred on the work of the formal European institutions, important though these are. Europeanisation refers to all processes whereby various European populations discover and develop shared ideas, cultures, institutions and approaches. Equally important for study are situations where such processes do not take place, or where previous divergences persist or new ones appear. This series of Working Papers is devoted to explorations of this extended sense of Europeanisation - and its limits.

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The Europeanisation of Protest:
A Typology and Some Empirical Evidence

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1. Protest, Movements and Europeanisation: an introduction

Protest usually addresses the national level of government. Historically, a new repertoire of collective action—whose main features survived until today—developed together with the nation state. It was in fact in the XIX Century that the old parochial and patronage-dependent repertoire was replaced by a national and autonomous one. As Charles Tilly notices, "The repertoire that crystallised in the nineteenth century and prevails today is, in general, more national in scope: though available for local issues and enemies, it lends itself easily to co-ordination among many localities" (Tilly 1986, 391). In the XIX and XX Century, social movements organised national protests, often mediated through political parties, contributing to the development of civil rights (and thus individual freedom), political rights (above all the right of the active and passive electorate) and social rights (some level of access to well-being) (Marshall 1950). Indeed, the concept of citizenship, including social citizenship, has taken on a central role in the legitimisation of the state as a guarantor of positive rights (Bendix 1964). Today, social movements have, however, to adapt to neo-liberal challenges to 'the mid-century compromise' made between the social state and capitalism, a compromise that has characterised European democracy since the Second World War (Crouch 2001). Also the nation state is no longer the exclusive point of reference for these movements. To the nation state other sub- and supra-national levels have been added that have become increasingly important above all through the process of European integration.


The relevance of these changes for collective actors working in the different member states of the European Union is clearly great. Yet research into the effects of the construction of European institutions on protest are still in their infancy. In fact, the first works have reproduced fairly faithfully the debate on Europe as it has unwound in other areas of the social sciences with two contrasting images of the Union: the inter-governmentalism of the realist approach; or transnationalism with institutional overtones. With respect to the institutional evolution of the EU, some scholars continue to emphasise its inter-governmental character, stressing that it is based on the agreement between member states' governments, directed, above all, towards the economic advantages that membership of the union guarantees to member states (for example, Moravcsik 1998). Institutionalist scholars have stressed instead the ability of emerging supra-national institutions to generate interests and resources for their own survival and even expansion. According to this approach, supra-national institutions create norms and loyalties that transcend member states. Very often the different visions of European integration end up being substantiated by empirical research on the institutions and the process of European integration. As Stefano Bartolini (2002, 1) has observed 'the results that they rely upon depend largely on the institution, on the policy, on the sector and on the process that is taken up for study. Studying the intergovernmental conferences and their outcomes one concludes that these tend to be intergovernmental; studying the sentences of the Court of Justice their supra-nationalism comes to light.' And, in fact, for those scholars who follow the realist line the principal institution of the EU is the Council of Ministers, an institution that is purely intergovernmental in nature. The "trasnationalists", instead, look towards the Commission (and its Eurocracy), the European Parliament and the European Courts as new and emerging institutions. Parallely, in the studies on protest, the emerging images are often influenced by empirically observed objects. So research on protests in the single states offers a realist-intergovernmental image of the dominant role of the nation-state, that 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 and the creation of a new politics. Simplifying somewhat, at the beginning research on collective action seemed to expect that protest at the European level had to reproduce the national pattern—as indicated in Figure 1: while national actors where expected to act at the national level, transitional, European actors were expected to form at the EU level.

If the power of the nation states remains important, it is, however, impossible to deny a growing Europeanisation as the result of both the expansion of European institutions and the complex effects of community decisions implemented at the national level. In fact, the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance has been noted (Risse, Green Cowles and

Caporaso 2001). In some areas the European Union has taken on legislative functions, that, in terms of hierarchy, stand above the norms of individual member states. The Treaty of Maastricht, in 1992, amplified community responsibilities, while reaffirming the principal of subsidarity according to which the Union must only intervene with issues that cannot be dealt with satisfactorily by the individual states. In many areas, decision-making processes are moving away from the principle of unanimity, dominant in international relations until now, towards the majority rule of national democratic institutions. Moreover, 'Europeanisation matters' in as much as it leads to 'distinct and identifiable changes in the domestic institutional structures of the member states' (Risse, Green Cowles and Caporaso 2001, 3). European institutions make an impact on domestic bodies and policies, as nation-states adapt to this pressure from outside, mobilising internal resources.

Figure 1. Europeanisation of Collective Action: the Nation-State Model
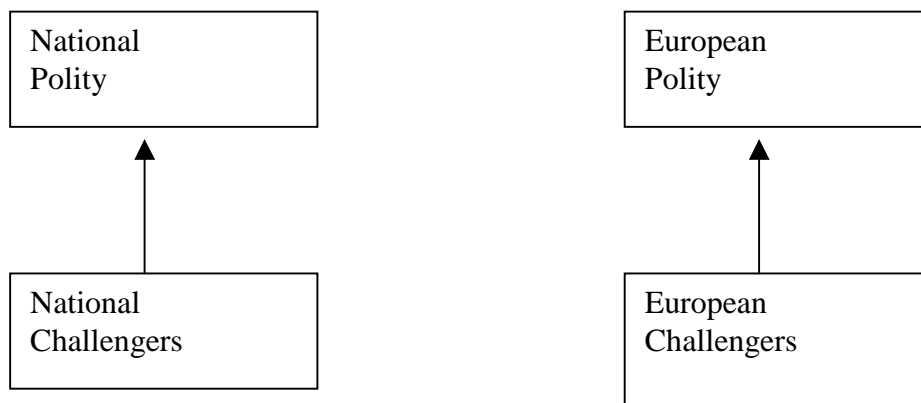
Taking recent trends into account, research on social movements has now begun to go beyond a debate that risked becoming a sterile battle between realists and supra-nationalists. To do this, however, it has had to take on the theme of Europeanisation, creating hypotheses that are both more specific and more differentiated on the question of the interaction between the creation of Europe and social movements. If Europeanisation is seen as a producing more decision layers, protest action should, then, adapt itself to a new form of multilevel governance – which includes variable networks of both territorial and functional actors. Concepts such as 'condominium Europe', or a Europe with 'variable geometry' and 'different speeds' certainly suggest the presence of many Europes: a series of different nets of member states that act on specific common problems. As I will argue in the course of this paper, for social movements a 'Condominium Europe' means different opportunities depending on the type of problem that is the object of mobilisation. The coming together of Europe has had the predictable effect of multiplying both restrictions and opportunities for the various

movements. It has pushed them into increasing their own range of intervention so as to overcome the first and take advantage of the second.

There is no sense then in looking only at the nation for acts aimed to influence the national level and only at Europe for actions that aim to influence the European level. As I shall argue in this paper, protest is in fact used according to different paths. Social movements, as well as other actors using protest, seem in fact, to adapt their strategies so as to communicate with the various territorial levels of government at the same time. To do this they have developed strategies of 'crossed influence', that is to say pressure at the national level to change decisions at the European level, or pressure at the European level used to change national decisions. In the next two paragraphs we will analyse the characteristics of two types of 'crossed' mobilisation: i) Mobilisation at the national level to change decisions at the European level (section 2); ii) The use of the European level as a source of resources for modifying national decisions (section 3). Pressure has certainly been put on national governments to change decisions at the community level (for example, decisions relative to agriculture). Likewise, EU institutions – in particular the European Parliament, the Commission and the European Court of Justice – have been targets of pressure on behalf of collective movements, whose aim has been (also) to change national policy (this is particularly true of women's rights and the environment). It is, however, necessary to add that iii) the construction of community institutions, as with the policies chosen by the EU are increasingly the object of lively responses by loose networks of local, national and transnational actors (section 4). As Hooghe and Marks (1995), among others, have observed, European integration does not work any longer under a technocratic cover. There is, instead, an explicit and continuous political conflict between coalitions of governments, supra-national bodies and national interests. European integration is discussed within a sort of centre-periphery frame: there are nationalist movements that question the practicability of Europeanisation; and there are movements that push for more European integration. What is more, however, a critique of the specific policies and forms of the EU is expressed by a growing European-wide movement.

I shall discuss these three paths of Europeanisation of protest reviewing first of all the growing literature on protest and/in Europe, as well as the action of social movements (considered as those actors that rely more on protest as a form of political participation), but also presenting some new empirical findings. In particular, in the analysis of the emergence of a European movement, I shall refer to the results of a survey conducted at the First European Social Forum (ESF), a transnational meeting of the movement for global justice hold in Florence in November 2002. During the ESF, the Gruppo di Ricerca sull'Azione Collettiva in Europa (GRACE) interviewed 2384 activists.[1] The semi-structured

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questionnaires have been distributed face-to-face, with a casual sampling of participants to various events at the Fortezza da Basso, where the forum took place.[2]

2. Double-level Games and the Domestication of Protest

Research on protest events, collected mainly from newspaper sources, all stress the paucity of protests targeting European institutions directly. Using Reuters World News Service and the Reuters Textline Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow (2002) – the first to analyse protest at the EU level – found a very limited number of such protests. Similarly, for Germany Dieter Rucht (2002) observed a low (and declining) proportion of protests aimed at the international level (with the high point coming in 1960-1964), including EU institutions, and/or whose actions were organised cross-nationally. So small, in fact, were the number of this type of protest that the author concluded that: 'as far as Germany is concerned, the Europeanisation and, more in general, Europeanisation of protest is a myth' (ibid., 185). Meanwhile Giugni and Passy (2002) noted how rarely protests on migrants rights target the EU, notwithstanding the increasing Europeanisation of decisions on migration at least in terms of quota of access and border controls. Even environmental action was only very rarely turned on Brussels: protests with EU targets ranged from 0.8% in Italy to 4.6% in Germany in the last decade, with no discernible increasing trend (Rootes 2002).

The low presence of protest at the European level might be explained by the political opportunities available at other territorial levels of government. The emergence, the development and the successes of social movements have been related, from the 1970s onwards, to the political opportunities available to them (della Porta and Diani 1999, ch. 8). Assuming close interaction between "challengers" and 'normal' political actors (Tilly 1978), it is often asked which characteristics of the established political system will affect protest. In synthesis, two types of opportunity are usually mentioned in the empirical research. First, the institutional characteristics: among which we find the functional and territorial divisions of power, but also the prevalent strategies in any interaction with challengers. These characteristics are often thought to be favourable to

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[2] We interviewed 1668 Italians, 126 French, 83 Germans, 106 Spanish, 143 British, the rest from other countries. The different size of country samples reflect the different share of national presence at the supranational meeting in Florence. However, when I have used the sample to refer to the European movement in general, I have weighted the responses in order to control for oversampling of the Italian population. For the cross-national comparison, we have balanced the presence of Italians by extracting a casual subsample. Moreover, in order to take into account the differences in the degrees of commitment of the subgroups of Italians living near to the event vis-à-vis the others, I have compared the Tuscan respondents with those living in other regions.. On the total number of interviewees, about half were born before 1977; 46% were women; 53% were students, 11% unemployed or underemployed, 25% occupied as dependent workers, 7% as independent.

collective mobilisation in as much as points of access to public decisions are differentiated and the political culture is tolerant (Kriesi et al., 1995). Second, an intensification of protest has been noted in relation to a growth in the availability of institutional allies, usually favoured under conditions of electoral instability and inter-elite divisions (Tarrow 1989).

Taking this hypothesis forwards, the limited number of protests to turn on the institutions of the EU could be explained by the undeniable deficit in representative democracy as well as the weakness of a European public sphere. As for the former, as is well known, the European Parliament is the only representative institution of the Union, being, from 1979, elected by citizens of each and every member state. And though it has recently increased its powers, the Commission has long been the only institution with the power of initiating legislature. Not only are the areas of responsibility of the parliament still very limited, but its electoral legitimisation is undermined by the low participation in its elections,[3] the absence of any European programmes and actors, as well as the secondary role that Europe has for many Euro-deputies (Blondel, Sinnot and Svennson 1998; Bardi and Ignazi 1999). The Commission and the Council have even less legitimacy in terms of representative accountability. The Council is composed of ministers of member governments, electorally responsible to citizens, but that, in fact, have rarely been given a specific mandate on EU issues. Traditional representative legitimacy that should ideally support the decisions of intergovernmental institutions (such as the Council of Ministers) becomes, moreover, less effective when decisions are not discussed in national parliaments. Additionally, with the 'conjunct decision-making' adopted for most issues of the first pillar, the Commission has gone beyond the power of an intergovernmental institution (Scharpf 2002, 28). The technocratic nature of many decisions and the complexity of the decision-making process have added yet more competences to the EU's bureaucracy.

Besides the weak electoral accountability of EU representative political institution, the weakness of the European public sphere was also emphasised. Representative democracy is legitimised not only through the election of representatives, but it also depends on the degree to which public decisions are subject to critical debate (Manin 1995). The Europeanisation of the public sphere has usually been considered as a delicate issue, in terms of both the flimsiness of the process (Gerhards 199) and the lack of research on the topic (Le Toree et al. 2001). It is true that a normative approach demands the formation of European public opinion. But the (very few) studies that we have on the Europeanisation of the public sphere describe Europe's media as being nationally oriented. In particular they observe the tendency of journalists to use traditional categories
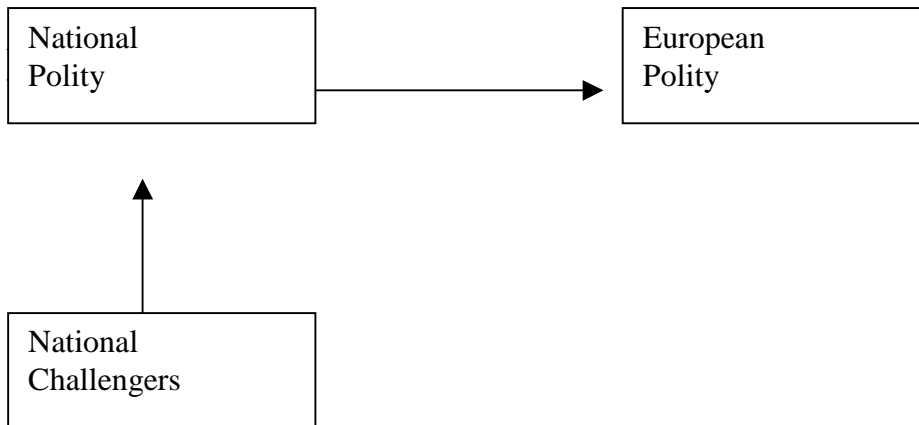
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[3] The level of participation at the European elections is particularly low. It remains at under 50% in 8 of the 15 countries.

and so miss the novelty of the European enterprise. They also point to the lack of a common language and the absence of a unified public; the prevalence of national networks among journalists; the dominance of national agendas even in the treatment of EU news; and the inter-governmental and elite-driven image of the EU. Most analyses have lamented the negative effect of the missing public sphere on the legitimacy of European institutions; the secretive working of EU-bureaucracy; and the lack of an institutionalised opposition (Gerhards 1993; La Torrec et al. 2001).

The relative inaccessibility of the supra-national level to protest and the weakness of the European public sphere explain just why the target of social movements continues to be predominantly national governments. Eisinger (1973) had suggested in his research on social movements in American cities that the political opportunities for protest diminish when governing bodies are not elected by citizens (for example, in 'reformed' local government in the U.S. where the mayor is a bureaucrat). And opportunities grow when the institution is accountable to the electorate. In this light we can affirm that opportunities at the level of the EU are formally limited precisely because of the low level of control on the part of the citizen-elector as well as the underdevelopment of a European public sphere. Movements that want to put pressure on the EU in favour of national interests, in direct competition with other national interests represented in the EU, may well choose to 'play at two levels'. Robert Putman has observed that 'the strategy of a lot of international negotiations can be usefully conceived as a "two-level game". At the national level domestic groups chase their interests putting pressure on the government to adopt policies that are favourable to them, while the politicians get power by putting together coalitions between various groups. At the international level, national governments attempt at maximising their ability to satisfy internal pressure, minimising negative consequences from abroad. Neither of the two games can be ignored by decision-makers while their countries remain interdependent yet sovereign' (1983, 434). In their analysis of protest in Europe,[4] Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow (2002) stressed that most EU related events (406 out of 490) were cases of *domestication*. As indicated in figure 2, there is in fact protest against EU-decisions, but run at the national level: domestic actors target their national government, in order to push them to address the EU institutions. According to Imig and Tarrow, this represented an increase from about 5% of all protest events in 1992 to 10% in 1997. Domestication characterises in fact many mobilisations of European farmers (Bush and Imi 2001).

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[4]The typology of Europeanised protest, proposed by Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow (2002), crosses over the national-international dimension both in terms of the actors of the protest and their targets.

Figure 2. Domestication of collective action

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┌─────────────┐              ┌─────────────┐
│ National    │─────────────▶│ European    │
│ Polity      │              │ Polity      │
└─────────────┘              └─────────────┘
       ▲
       │
       │
┌─────────────┐
│ National    │
│ Challengers │
└─────────────┘
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Such mobilisations might be seen as being proof of the dominant position of the nation state. However, a more careful look shows the emergence, in the course of these campaigns, of innovations both in the organisational structure and in the frames of the protest. To see this more clearly we can take the campaigns against EU milk quotas imposed in Italy in the middle of the 1990s.[5] The mobilisation began because dairy farmers objected to the way in which the Italian government chose to implement community policies on milk production control. In particular, there was concern about the activity of the Italian institution in charge of quota implementation.[6] For diary producers who protested the most relevant political level was the national state—that was expected to protect its farmers. It was, in fact, asked whether 'any authority in our national Government concretely look after the interests of producers—together with those of the consumers—in a world dominated by the globalisation and before that, by Europe' (in Cocca 2001, 191). The movement against fines on milk quotas led, however, to a new organisational structure of representation, with a form of direct democracy coming out of the traditions of social movements of the past.

In 1996 the protest moved beyond the traditional structures of representation of agricultural interests. As an activist explains 'At the beginning we had meetings with eight or ten dairy farmers at someone's house. The fines had already arrived and some had paid up. We talked together and weighed up the problem. The idea of getting together came about because of a need to know, to find out what each of us thought. Here in Mantua we began spontaneously, a bunch of guys in their thirties. It was only after that we found there were similar groups that met in

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[5] The reconstruction that follows is based on Cocca 2001

[6] In January 1997, the dairy farmers asked the government to suspend the collection of fines relating to the years 1994/5 and 1995/6. The request was justified because of the supposed irregularities committed by institutional organs responsible for the matter, UNALAT and AIMA. Irregularities were subsequently admitted by a government commission.

Crema, thanks to friends from other provinces. And so we decided to see whether they had perhaps decided to do something or even whether we could do something together' (in Cocca 2001, 64). It was with the first 'public' assemblies, and then the first protests (that included motorway blocks using tractors and cows) that a new organisational structure emerged. In the statute of one of the organizations founded during the protest, the 'Spontaneous Committee of Milk Producers' (*Comitati Spontanei Produttori Latte*—or COBAS), direct democracy is picked out as one of the inspirations of the movement. And this was direct democracy with a decentralised structure organised around assemblies that are open to all with no reliance on official membership.[7]

Not only the policy of the government, accused of unfair and clientelistic management of the quotas, but also the very representative value of the traditional parties and unions came under discussion. In fact, the movement came out of the crisis of faith in the political mediation of the local subculture that had once been organised around catholic associations close to the DC (Democrazia Cristiana). Indeed, these spontaneous committees developed above all in areas of Catholic 'white' subcultures (in particular, the provinces of Padua and Verona). Many of the activists were members of Coldiretti, an organisation that represented farmers' interests, and that had also been close to the DC. Trust in these organisations had collapsed in particular with the emergence of the corruption scandals of the early 1990s. As an older activist explained: 'those of my age believed in the unions. We were all proper members, active and a lot of us, me included, lent a hand in local politics as well. But after *Mani Pulite* ('Clean Hands') we all left. I left politics, the union, everything. I just closed that part of my life down and I couldn't believe I had time to go to dance in my free time' (ibid 159). For the youngest the membership of Coldiretti was kept up at the beginning, but it lost its subculture connotations, that of sharing a way of looking at the world and common values. 'No one believed any longer [in Coldiretti], above all the young. But we kept going, partly because it was easier that way, partly through habit and also because our parents wanted it, because they believed that without [the union's] help it was practically impossible to sort out all the norms and laws that were changing every couple of minutes' (ibid.). The activists soon came to believe that the political institutions and the unions were incapable of understanding the claims of the farmers and channelling them into the decisions-making process. 'There was the provincial assembly. Whoever organised the assembly was straightaway made president of the committee and then they started to get the telephone numbers. Everything was done to talk it out with the Community assessors but they didn't seem to know anything about the

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[7] As Lara Cocca (2001, 68) wrote 'decisions were made by a majority vote of hands, even if mostly unanimity was reached very easily even on what in other situations would have been controversial decisions; this thanks to the state of 'collective excitement' that encouraged the farmers in the first phase. Discussion was guided by those who devoted more of their energy to collective action and it was precisely for this reason that they were made leader or spokesperson of the committee.'

problem. You could ask for a regional assessor for a meeting, but they wouldn't give it to you. The ones from the union found face to face encounters hard-going and after a couple of times they hadn't the courage to go through it again' (ibid. 69). Therefore, 'Unlike the others we decided to represent ourselves, not to get ourselves represented'.

Along with the construction of a new organisational structure attention was given to a new collective identity. The point of reference of the movement were the small and medium diary farms, above all, the dynamic ones.[8] Those who were protesting then were not the losers of Europeanisation. 'Those who at the start decided that something had to be done and that it was necessary to fight together, were not those who had to pay the most, or who had the greatest risk of failing. The dairy-farmers who got the protests going first and with most determination were essentially from the farms with long productive histories, thriving and recently inherited or anyway taking off on the backs of the most dynamic members of the family. Usually there was some kind of corporate agreement between brothers and/or cousins. In other words, they were traditional or 'historic' farmers as they loved to define themselves who at the beginning of the 1990s had invested hundreds of millions or even billions [of Lira] in the hope of being able to take on international competition in an efficient manner' (ibid. 145). Protest then had mobilised a new generation of farmer-business men. 'The first were those who had a certain predisposition and mentality for looking that little bit further. Or the owners of farms of a certain size or those who wanted to give a different twist to their operation. For them it was normal to get interested, read, look at things, write... And it's to the credit of these people, generally in their thirties or forties, that there has been a generational jump' (ibid. 149). [9]

The protestors proposed agriculture policies that were critical both of protectionism and neo-liberalism. Faced by Europeanisation and globalisation, they ask for 'appropriate state and community care and promotion of the quality, cleanliness and freshness of the products, especially when covered by marks with a protected origin' (ibid. 188). This would allow the modernisation of diary farms as well as protecting 'the environmental and qualitative peculiarity of our productions' (ibid. 189). If the liberalisation of the markets leads to price-competition, the mobilized farmers propose a protection of product-quality. An

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[8] As one activist put it: 'The great majority of the protesting farmers had invested to produce in a certain way about five years ago. These are farmers that have produced milk, traditionally, and they've done what was necessary to increase their numbers of cows. We too – not knowing everything that was to come about – would have thought ''if we put a lot of cows by, we are not going to starve. There is a future'' (ibid. 146).

[9] And again: 'The greater part of the boys in the commission are the same age as me, between 27 and 35 years. You are a guy that is beginning to take a greater role in the firm and you are at the maximum of your passion. You have made investments, sacrifices and you want to see results. When they hit you there you go red with anger. It makes you not want to give up, as instead the older generation would have done' (ibid, 148).

activist put it as follows 'I don't believe that you can block a multinational just like that! But you can block it through comparison. Who wins in the world where quality is compared? Italy! Italy because it has its typical products. It has the culture of eating well and a producer cannot get away with bad products. But here there are no politicians who are up to the job, and we have to take the battle ahead ourselves. The thesis… is: 'Let's take control of the product' and produce as European businesses' (ibid. 6). In line with this is the search for quality, binding tradition to innovation. For this reason, in the construction of the movement a lot of attention was given to getting away from the image of the poor and ignorant *contadino* (lowest level of Italian farmer). 'We put effort into the image, to not be what some wanted us to be. ''They are peasants, they don't know how to speak, look how they dress'. We set about giving a stimulus to show who we really were, what we did and what we were saying' (ibid. 193).

If the protest against the "milk quotas" tended to remain mainly national, it however indicated also the limits of "domestication", which works in fact only to the extent that the national governments retain large autonomous power, plus for actors that are better protected at the national than the supranational level. The organization of a march of the Italian farmers (with their lively symbol, the Mucca Carolina) in Brussels indicated already the perception of the need to address also the EU level. In fact, the Italian farmers developed contacts with some colleagues from other European countries where too globalisation and Europeanisation have created new collective demands—and with these new organisational strategies and new identity discourses—relative to production in the primary sector. And these have facilitated transactional interactions. Not only did the Italian farmers protest in Brussels, but they also met other groups with similar concerns from other countries. Especially after the shift in agricultural policies (with Agenda 2000) from subsidies to market liberalisation and WTO-supported policies of competition, the Confederation Paysanne Européenne mobilised at the EU level against what they defined as neo-liberal stances (Delorme 2002): not only the perceived reduction in the protection of EU farmers via subsidies, but also the reduction of regulations that controlled the use of hormons, Genetically modified organisms, pesticides and the like.[10]

3. The Search for EU Alliances: An Externalisation of Protest?

Protest at the national level then is often the strategy that allows protestors to overcome the weak democratic accountability of EU institutions. However, in other cases organised interests look at the EU as an additional arena for the mobilisation of resources that may then be used at the national level. For instance, British environmental organisations paid increasing attention to the EU

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[10] On the discourse of the Confédération Paysanne, see Bové and Dufourr 2000.

(even playing a leading role vis-à-vis other environmental groups) when political opportunities were poor at home (Rootes 2002). A strategy of *externalisation* (Chabanet 2002) – defined as the mobilisation of national bodies targeting the EU in attempts to put pressure on their own governments – was the result. As Figure 3 indicates, in this case actors that feel weak at home attempt at mobilising additional resources at the supranational level: protest addresses the EU institutions in order to push them to intervene upon domestic governments.

Figure 3. Externazionalization of Protest

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┌─────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────┐
│ National        │ ◄───────────────── │ European        │
│ Polity          │                    │ Polity          │
└─────────────────┘                    └─────────────────┘
                                              ▲
                                             ╱
                                            ╱
                                           ╱
┌─────────────────┐                      ╱
│ National        │ ───────────────────╱
│ Challengers     │
└─────────────────┘
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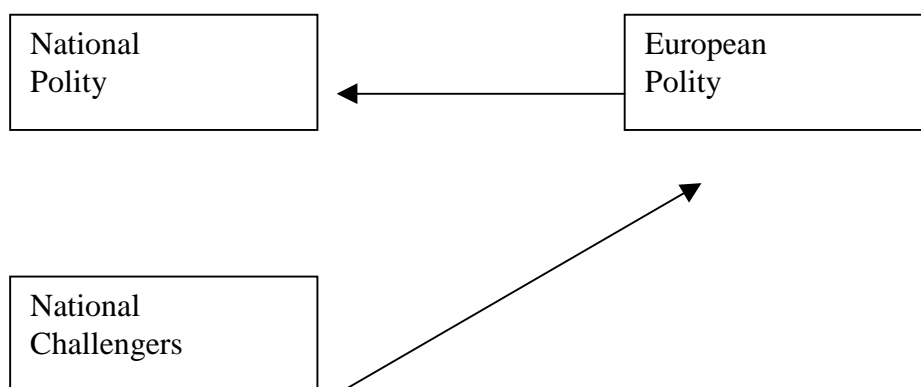
To give an example, with their Euro-strike in 1997, Spanish, French and Belgian Renault workers protested against the closing of the Renault factory of Vilvorde in Belgium. In particular, they accused Renault of having disregarded the right to consultation with the workers' representative, demanded by European legislation, attempting in the process to sensitise the European Commission to their concerns (Lefébure and Lagneau 2002). This strategy has been used above all by movements that tend to ally supranationally, and have in fact appealed to the kinds of discourse and identity legitimised at the European level.

In general interest groups – and among them movement organisations – can exploit the willingness of EU institutions to consult with the "civic society". The search for the legitimisation of EU institutions has pushed, in fact, a consensual model that stresses openness to various societal bodies. As European integration went on a chaotic and open system of lobbying has developed into a more formalised and structured system of interest mediation (Mazey and Richardson 2002, 124; Bartle 1999; Greenwood 1997). The European Parliament has worked as a main channel of access to various organisations, especially in areas where parliamentary committees are more active (for instance environmental issues). Traditionally the Parliament – with its public auditions of interest groups – was

more important for those groups that were weaker in their dealings with the Commission (environmentalists, feminists and consumers). Consultation of interest groups via specialised committees and informal meetings is a norm for the Commission (ibid.). If the Commission is the chief mediator and channel of participation for interest groups (Mazey and Richardson 1997) there is also 'venue shopping' – that is, a search for the most favourable institutions: 'European lobbying is a process with multiple strategies, multiple levels and multiple access' (ibid. 135).[11] In fact, while the principle of unanimity favoured a double-level game, with the lobbying of national representatives in the working groups, the principle of qualified majority makes the lobbying of national governments insufficient. In 1992, there were 3000 groups of specialised interest with 10, 000 employees in Brussels (as against 500 groups in 1985). Jumps in number followed each step in the process of EU integration: from the Acte Unique in 1986, to the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, to the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997.

As far as social movements are concerned, the organisations that adapt to the rules of the game obtain routine access, though usually of an informal nature, to supranational organisations (Marks and McAdam, 1999; Guiraudon 2001 on migrant organisations). Community institutions represent in fact – as do some other international organisations (Chatfield, Pagnucco and Smith 1997) – arenas for the articulation of collective claims. At the EU level the creation of epistemic communities was noticed, with interest groups providing specialised expertise. This proved important in the implementation of policy decisions and was particularly relevant for a relatively weak EU bureaucracy. The Commission has biannual meetings with all NGOs involved in the social platform. The commission also holds weekly meetings with the environmental 'group of 8', plus various groups of experts. The largest environmental groups of the so-called 'gang of four' – Greenpeace, WWF, Friends of the Earth and the EEB – have close relationships with the DG XI that give all but Greenpeace financial support (Rootes 2002). Feminists, environmentalists and unions have also been able to obtain favourable decisions from the Court of Justice, especially with the increasing competence of the EU on environmental and social policies (Dehousse 1998; Balme and Chabanet 2002).

In their dealings with the Community, social movements receive material resources from the EU (above all finance for specific projects) and symbolic resources (like recognition). For example, in 1992 the Director-General for Environment, Nuclear Safety and Civil Protection spent 6.5 million ECUs to finance NGOs that dealt with the environment (Rucht 1993, 87). Through ECHO (European Commission Humanitarian Office) the EU is an important sponsor of

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[11]Even the most closed, the Council of Ministers, can be made object of external pressure, above all through the national representatives on the Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER).

NGOs that work with human rights (Eberwein 1997). After launching the Social Charter, the European Union (especially the DG V) provided support for the European Trade Union Confederation. Indeed, so strong was this support that the Europeanisation of trade unions has been described as "a story of interactions between European institutions seeking to stimulate Euro-level interest representation, a small number of unionists who perceived Europe as important, and the growing significance of European integration itself" (Martin and Ross 2001, 57). The relationship between ECHO and NGOs were especially intense during the humanitarian interventions in the Ex-Yugoslavia (Baglioni 1998).

European institutions need these NGOs. They benefit, for example, from low cost work from voluntary associations; information; access to local populations; as well, of course, as legitimisation. In fact, it has been noted that, in particular, the European Commission is an 'avid consumer of knowledge and advice' (Marzey and Richardson 1998, 10). For the institutionally weak Parliament, alliances with NGOs provide resources for legitimisation vis-à-vis the more powerful European Commission and the Council. In general, the search to legitimise EU institutions has pushed a consensual model, one that has given access to societal actors. In fact, it is increasingly emphasised that the theme of democracy in EU cannot be dealt with only, or principally, in terms of the construction of representative institutions that are electorally responsible to their citizens.[12] In a system of multilevel government, next to the question of electoral responsibility, are the increasingly relevant 'checks and balances between different parts and levels of government, authentic guarantees of free communication and association. As well as a series of intermediate organisations, competitive political parties and means of mass communication that are autonomous and credible. Wherever such conditions exist, political power is exercised in the view of public opinion and public debate' (Scharpf 1999, 21). For this reason, among others, it is important to construct pluralist *policy networks* that favour agreement, as well as stimulating the growth of a European public sphere that is free and allows participation.

As for functional representation within other government institutions, the relevant question for assessing the democratic quality of interest representation in the EU is the relative equality of access for contrasting interests. In particular, do European institutions balance or strengthen the unequal domestic representation of interest? If European institutions work as an additional level of opportunity, it is debatable whether the participants who are powerful at the national level are powerful also at the supranational level. Or whether instead European institutions offer more leverage to actors that are powerless at home. Actors that are

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[12]According to some scholars (for instance, Majone 1998) the EU is in fact a regulatory agency, with principles of legitimisation that differ, therefore, from those of the liberal representative state (Beetham and Lord 1998).

relatively well placed nationally and have established access to national authorities (e.g., labour unions in corporatist countries) have been critical of Europeanisation and/or remain more strongly nationally-orientated when they make claims.[13] On the other hand, actors who can use the EU-level of government to compensate for relative weakness or marginalisation at the national level (e.g. regional minorities, immigrants) might gain new resources since Europeanisation allows them to overcome a hostile national executive (Schmidt 1997; Green Cowles 2001). However, an equally plausible counterhypothesis is that power is cumulative. It might be the case that the EU will strengthen those who are already nationally strong while, in fact, marginalising the weak even more than they have already been left marginalised at the national level.[14] Interest representation varies at the European level for different groups and different countries: in particular there are more difficulties to act in a multi-level way for groups whose domestic tradition of interest representation differ from the EU one. The ability of collective bodies to access supranational levels depends upon their 'regulative, jurisdictional and material resources'–and 'European integration distributed these opportunities of access to extraterritorial resources… in a differential and unequal way' (Bartolini 2002, 8). It is reasonable to start from the assumption that 'just how far domestic actors are able to exploit new opportunities depends on their previous resources and identities provided by domestic institutions' (Risse, Green Cowles and Caporaso 2001, 11-12).

Empirical research certainly indicates that there are movements that have achieved some success at the EU level. With regards to regionalist movement, Hooghe (2002) observes the increasing power of the Commission of Regions. After the amended article 146 of Maastricht regional ministers can represent and vote for their country at the Council of Ministers. It has also become easier to lobby the Commission, especially for the most politically entrenched and ethnically distinct regions with shifting alignments between subnational, national and supranational actors. For the women's movement, Mazey (2002) stresses the central role of the Court of Justice and the Commission in producing norms supporting equal opportunities. The labour movement too, after initial difficulties, seems more able now to organise at the European level. Very weak until the late 1980s, when the EU commission started to address the 'social dimension' under Jacques Delors, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) strengthened in the next decade. In fact, in 1991, the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederation of Europe (UNICE) accepted a set of new

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[13]It was the case, for instance, that the unions that were stronger at the national level (in particular Northern European ones) were more critical of Europeanisation being afraid of losing bargaining powers (Branch 2002, 290).

[14]For instance, it has been observed that Europeanisation strengthens the national executives that, because of their institutional resources, are the most important players in EU institutions (Moravcsik 1994).

procedural provisions for legislation in the social field. These included not only the rights of consultation for social partners. It also enshrined the option of suspending the legislation process during the second round of consultation in order to give interest groups the possibility of negotiating an agreement as substitute for any EU draft proposal (Branch 2002, 283).

In general, however, research suggests that some groups were more effective than others in organizing and influence EU institutions. It is true that the search for legitimacy forced open channels, diffusing interest, and that the structure of interest at the EU level does not resemble the hierarchical structure typical of neocorporatist system. But nevertheless business found it much easier 'to go European' than labour. In 1991, there were in fact, at the EU level 583 business association as against 112 of workers, artisans, professionals and consumers (cited by Rucht 2002, 170). According to other sources, 67% of EU pressure groups represent sectors of economic interests, 9.6% the organised interests of professions, business and labour and only 23% public interests (Balme and Chabanet 2002, 59). The growing power of the Parliament was also reflected in increasing lobbying on the part of established groups (Kohler-Koch 1997) intent on developing multilevel pressure strategies. Some diffuse interests appeared as able to defend themselves at the EU as at the national level – if not better (Pollack 1997)—but business groups were better able to master 'free rider problems'.

In contrast to business organisations, movements active at the EU level – such as Platform of the European Social NGOs, European Anti-Poverty Network, Human Right Contact Group, European Migrant Forum, United (against racism), European Network of Women – are usually loose and poorly staffed networks. EU-level environmental movement organisations are, for the most part, little more than transnational alliances of different national groups. Although they are successful in raising issues and concerns, they have only very limited resources: 'environmental movement networks within the EU are neither very dense nor very active. Most are highly specialised and most EMOs [Environmental Movement Organisations] remain primarily oriented toward the national rather than the European stage' (Rootes 2002, 382).

The network governance of the EU favours in fact a model defined as 'liberal EU corporatism'. This model depends on the active participation of interest groups in policy making and the quest for social cohesion using dialogues and formal selection. It is also defined by the kind of centralisation that is typical of neocorporatism with pluralism features such as competition, multiple access, and lobbying (although ultimately more of a bureaucratic than political type) (Balme and Chabanet 2002). It is true too that corporatist assets tend to dominate in policy areas such as agriculture, social politics, regional, environmental. Yes

pillarisation that empowers policy networks; increased qualified majority voting; and the growing power of the European parliament push movement organisations to address the EU institutions. But the more important these institutions become, the more structured and less accessible they seem to be for weakly organised interests (Rootes 2002).

Even with these limits, one effect of 'externalisation' has been the creation of supra-national organisational structures and identities. The European arenas offered in fact to representatives of different EU countries the opportunity to meet each other, put together organisational networks, co-ordinate activity, construct supranational discourses. Growing interaction facilitates the growth of common identity, and therefore reduces national particularism--and, indeed, one of the effects of cross-national exchange seems to be the emergence of a European identity for movements. There is no doubt that Europeanisation has encouraged the creation of common organisational structures for common campaigns of protest.[15] So for ecologist groups 'of whatever size, structure or aim… there seems to be a general trend towards (a) working together (though this co-operation is not always defined in a formal way); (b) greater specialisation and professionalism that then results in an implicit division of work' (Rucht 1993, 87).
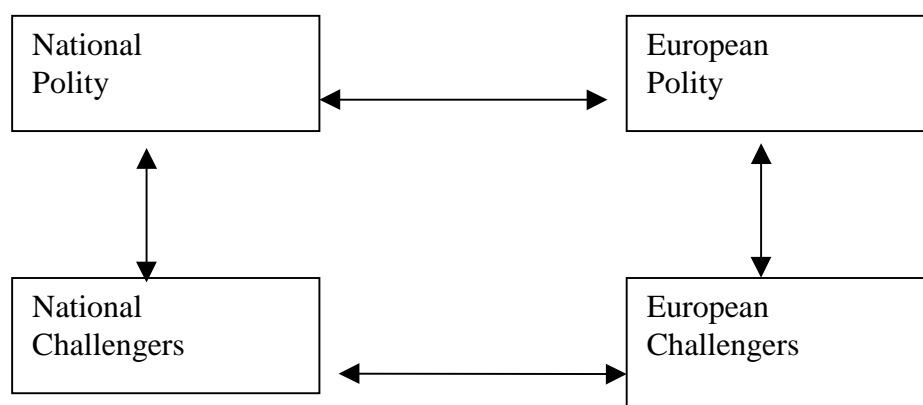
4. The Emergence of European Movements?

Processes of externalisation have been said to moderate movement organisations: if social movements are to work with success in supranational arenas, they must develop cross-national resources and global strategies becomes more moderate, while attempts to exert pressure moves from the streets to the corridors of international organisations (Smith Pagnucco and Romeril 1994, 126). As far as organisational structures go, the very need to be 'recognised' by the EU and the ordering of growing finances means the adoption of statutes for the organisation, based on rules of formal accountability. The need for participation at conferences and meetings leads – at least to some extent – to the acceptance of the principle of delegation. Then too the commitment to intervene 'in the field' in situations of international emergency means that efficiency is favoured over spontaneity. Ideologies become more pragmatic and commitments more concrete in a realistic strategy of small, practical steps as opposed to utopias and global revolutions.

There is, however, a type of conflict directly linked to the characteristics of the European Union that is expressed increasingly through unconventional forms of protest involving loosely structured networks of European activists. And the

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[15] Research on protest in Belgium, France and Germany, for instance, has indicated the existence of important contagion effects (Reising 1999, 333).

objectives of these protests tend to be more and more general, with the participation of national and supra-national actors that turn simultaneously to various governmental levels. As indicated in the Figure 4, protest targets different levels of governance and involves loose networks of national (often local) and transnational groups.

Figure 4. European Social Movements

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┌──────────────┐                    ┌──────────────┐
│ National     │◄──────────────────►│ European     │
│ Polity       │                    │ Polity       │
└──────────────┘                    └──────────────┘
      ▲                                    ▲
      │                                    │
      ▼                                    ▼
┌──────────────┐                    ┌──────────────┐
│ National     │◄──────────────────►│ European     │
│ Challengers  │                    │ Challengers  │
└──────────────┘                    └──────────────┘
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Europeanisation creates new problems, against which collective actors work; but Europe too has increasingly to respond to the problems of globalisation. Since its origins the EU has been in fact a reaction to the weakening of the European nation state in certain key areas: from the military defence of the frontiers to the expansion of markets. As Bartolini put it, the process of territorial de-differentiation that is at the base of European integration 'finds its initial inspiration in two elements of the new international constellation that followed on from the Second World War. The first was the evidently intolerable expense of historical rivalry between the European states in an era when the destructiveness of war technology had grown out of all proportion to what was at stake in said rivalry. The second was the growing pressure coming from the potential economic marginalisation of Europe in the world economy' (2002, 6). The deterritorialisation of defence and the market at the foundations of European construction stood, however, in contrast to 'persistent territorial, political and redistributive confinement' (Bartolini 2002, 7). European integration demands in fact, 'a commitment to construct a system, that involves the creation of at least a level of cultural identity and of citizenship able to sustain the principle of social sharing of risks and mechanisms of legitimate political decisions' (ibid, 11). The EU's launch of campaigns on general ethical issues (such as gender equality, anti-racism, human rights) (Trenz 1999) are evidence of the search for a moral basis for collective identity: such a moral basis would be an equivalent to what the nation had represented in the construction of the state. It is a legitimisation in

terms of deliberative democracy, instead of the representative equivalent (Joerges and Neyer 1997). There remains, however, a problem: the advocacy at the European level of the tools of political economy, necessary for the implementing of social policies, but not those policies themselves.

The coming together of Europe has meant a definition and a redefinition of community institutions, of their legitimisation, of settling of the range of their competence, and of the populations and territories involved. In the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 the so-called 'first pillar' – where common policies are created for agriculture, transport and currency – was added to a 'second pillar' for co-operation in foreign and security policy and a 'third pillar' for co-operation in justice and internal affairs. Still today the 'negative' policies of integration – the abolition of internal frontiers and the free movement of citizens and goods – remain dominant. Though gradually 'positive' policies of integration, aimed to help social integration, in particular through incentives for development in the most disadvantaged areas are gaining some relevance (Scharpf 1999), greater space begins now to be given also to social cohesion policies, considered necessary for economic development (Fitoussi 1997).

In fact, it is precisely against European economic and social policies that mobilisations are starting now at the supranational level, with some early protests that though rare, represent nevertheless an important signal of change (Balme and Chabanet 2002). One of them was the European Marches against unemployment, insecurity and exclusion in 1997. Then two years later 30,000 mobilised on the same issues at the EU summit in Cologne (Chabanet 2002). The resources for these protests came from a heterogeneous, cross-country coalition, including Trotskyites and Catholic groups, new social movements and trade unions. Among the latter were numbered the French Confederation General du Travail, the Italian Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, the German magazine 'Express' (close to the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund); the British Trade Union Congress though refusing to participate. Notwithstanding the high costs of mobilisation, the emerging debate on the social dimension of the EU was perceived as a window of opportunity. With few exceptions, the organisations that participated in the march were not rejecting European integration. Instead, they were asking for a EU with different social and political characteristics.

The search for 'another Europe' is most in evidence in the movement for globalisation 'from below' that called for various demonstrations against EU summits (the one in Gothenburg in 2001 among them), but also organized the first European Social Forum in Florence in November 2002.

The large success of the initiative—with 60,000 activists from all over Europe participating in three days of debate and between half and a million activists in

the closing march--was in fact the result of networking between groups and individuals with, at least, partly different identities. The activists interviewed in Florence were indeed well grounded in a web of associations that ranged from Catholic to Green, from voluntary social workers to labour unions, from human-rights interests to women's organisations: 41.5% are or have been members of NGOs, 31.8% of unions, 34.6% of parties, 52.7% of other movements, 57.5% of student groups, 32.1% of squats for the young, 19.3% of religious groups, 43.1% of environmental associations, 51.3% of charities, 50.9% of sport and recreational associations (Andretta, della Porta, Mosca and Andretta 2003). To a heterogeneous social base and multigenerational participation was added the coming together of different ideologies and in part reciprocal tension. The attempt to keep these different groups together is the gamble of a movement that, significantly, defines itself as 'a movement of movements'.

The multiform composition of the movement expresses itself in the differentiated attention to 'globalisation' themes: human rights, gender issues, immigrant conditions, peace and ecology. But they converged on their demands for social justice and "democracy from below" as the dominant interpretative scheme, able to recompose the fragments of distinct cultures. In various ways the activists at Florence were, in fact, demanding a 'new politics': a politics that is participative, working within arenas open to citizens who become the subjects and makers of politics itself. A multilevel public intervention able to reduce inequalities produced by the market and the search for a new democracy are the central themes of the emerging European movement.

The platform of the first European Social Forum held at Florence in November 2002 took up just these themes. The Forum presented itself, in fact, as the first moment in the construction of a critical public sphere for the discussion of the European Convention and the limits of its proposals. Together with the democratisation of the European institutions, they demand a charter of social rights that goes beyond the commitments given in the Treaty of Nice. The policies of the EU are criticised because they are believed to be essentially neo-liberal: the privatisation of public services and the flexibility of the work market with resulting growth in work insecurity. Under the banner 'another Europe is possible' various policies were demanded including 'taxation of capital' and of 'financial transactions'. There were also claims for more reduction of indirect taxes with intervention to help the weakest social groups, as well as the strengthening of public services like school and health.

The relationship with institutionalised politics was problematic. In Florence there were too–in contrast to the anti-G8 protest in Genoa–the biggest union confederation (CGIL) and the main party of the left (Democratici di Sinistra). But even so on the debates on the European Social Forum European social democracy

was criticised for having allowed the hegemony of neo-liberal doctrines, adopting policies of this type when in power ('Le Monde' 10-11/11/02). The activists accuse centre-left governments and parties of having supported economic policies of privatisations and deregulation of a neoliberal type. In fact, the level of trust in representative institutions is tendentially low, with however notable differences among the institutions. The scarce faith in the parties comes out too in questions about party loyalty. The activists of the European Social Forum in Florence located themselves mainly on the Left (45.7%), with an additional 29.7% on the far Left and 10.2% on the Centre-Left. However, their level of trust in national representative institutions was very low: only 20.4% trusted sufficiently political parties, 6.1% national governments, 14.5% national parliaments. Finally, in Florence, notwithstanding the participation of the main left-wing party, DS, in the organisation of the event, European socialist parties were harshly criticised for their acceptance of neoliberist policies.

If we look at what the activists wish and expect for Europe, the image of well informed, networked and committed, but sceptical activists is confirmed: the movement against neoliberist globalisation presents in fact a challenge and an opportunity for institution-building at the European level. First of all, activists from different countries, express a strong criticism of the actual politics and policies of the European Union. As it is indicated in table 1, there is consensus among activists from different countries that the European Union strengthens neoliberal globalisation, and a shared mistrust in the capacity of the EU to mitigate the negative effects of globalisation and safeguard a different social model of welfare. If the Italians (in particular, those coming from Tuscany, and therefore, including also less "committed" militants) have a higher trust in the EU, and the British activists confirms their euro-scepticism (followed by French and Spanish activists), the differences are however altogether small. The data about trust in institutions (see table 2), confirms this strong criticism of the European institutions, with about half of the sample declaring a total mistrust in the EU, and a tiny minority expressing high trusts. On all these questions, small differences emerge between the Tuscan subsample and the Italian one—with the Tuscan activists being just a little more confident in European institutions.

Table 1. How much do you agree with the following statements?

*a) The European Union attempts to safeguard **a social model** that is different from the neo-liberal one (equilibrated sample)*

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	46.7	50.7	47.4	51.4	68.3	(53.7) 321
a little	43.7	35.8	43.6	38.5	26.1	(36.8) 220
enough	8.9	8.2	7.7	6.4	4.2	(7.0) 42
very much	0.7	5.2	1.3	3.7	1.4	(2.5) 15
Total	135	134	78	109	142	598

Cramer's V= 0.13 significant at 0.05 level.

*b) The European Union **mitigates** the most negative effects of neo-liberal globalisation*

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	31.7	50.0	29.7	44.0	59.4	(44.4) 267
a little	51.1	27.9	48.6	40.4	21.7	(36.6) 220
enough	15.1	13.2	14.9	10.1	5.6	(11.5) 69
very much	2.2	8.8	6.8	5.5	13.3	(7.5) 45
Total	139	136	74	109	143	601

Cramer's V= 0.18 significant at 0.001 level.

*c) The European Union **strengthens** neo-liberal globalisation*

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	3.6	3.0	2.4	1.5	6.1	(3.6) 22
a little	18.7	6.0	4.9	6.3	5.4	(8.6) 53
enough	43.2	32.8	35.4	38.7	15.0	(32.3) 198
very much	34.5	58.2	57.3	53.2	73.5	(55.5) 340
Total	139	134	82	111	147	613

Cramer's V= 0.19 significant at 0.001 level.

*Table 2. How much do you **trust** the European Union*

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	21.8	41.2	41.3	35.2	67.6	41.9
a little	56.3	46.3	48.8	54.6	29.0	46.3
enough	19.0	10.3	10.0	9.3	2.8	10.3
much	2.8	2.2	-	0.9	0.7	1.5
Total	142	136	80	108	145	611

Cramer's V= 0.20 significant at 0.001 level.

Lack of trust in the EU is explained by the perceived democratic deficit, but also the European economic and trade policies defined as neoliberist in nature. The emphasis on free market and privatisation, as well as the restrictive budgetary policies set by the Maastricht parameters are in fact stigmatised as jeopardizing welfare policies. The activists also criticize the European position on foreign policies as well as ecological issues, denouncing subordination to the USA leadership.

We have to add, however, that the activists of the European Social Forum express both a high affective identification to Europe and a general support for the building of a European level of governance. First of all, about half of the activists feel enough or strong attachment to Europe, with also in this case less support from British and Spanish activists and more support instead by French, Germans and Italians. As for the potential intervention of multilevel governance institutions (see table 4), the activists express little support for a strengthening of national governments and instead a strong interest in the construction of regional institutions. In this sense, they represent a "social capital" of committed citizens that, although critically, might represent an important source for the building of a European citizenship.

*Table 3. To what extent do you feel **attached** to Europe?*

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	17.9	9.1	12.8	20.7	27.8	(18.2) 110
a little	29.3	31.8	29.5	49.5	31.9	(34.2) 207
enough	45.7	43.9	37.2	28.8	26.4	(36.5) 221
very much	7.1	15.2	20.5	0.9	13.9	(11.1) 67
Total	140	132	78	111	144	605

Cramer's V= 0.18 significant at 0.001 level.

Table 4. In your opinion, to achieve the goals of the movement it would be necessary to

*a) build new **institutions of world governance***

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	24.1	15.3	31.3	11.4	21.3	(20.3) 123
a little	15.6	4.4	13.4	10.5	6.4	(9.7) 59
enough	24.8	27.7	21.7	23.8	7.1	(20.8) 126
very much	35.5	52.6	33.7	54.3	65.2	(49.3) 299
Total	141	137	83	105	141	607

Cramer's V= 0.18 significant at 0.001 level

b) to strengthen the EU and /or other international super-national institutions (Mercosur, Arab League, etc.)

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	33.8	32.8	44.4	34.6	85.2	(47.5) 281
a little	28.1	18.0	22.2	28.0	5.6	(19.8) 117
enough	27.3	25.4	14.8	25.2	4.9	(19.5) 115
very much	10.8	23.8	18.5	12.1	4.2	(13.2) 78
Total	140	123	81	107	142	591

Cramer's V= 0.27 significant at 0.001 level

c) to strengthen the **United Nations** (giving them power to make binding decisions)

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	27.7	29.4	27.4	27.4	76.9	(39.1) 234
a little	18.4	12.7	14.2	14.2	7.0	(13.9) 83
enough	29.8	26.2	31.1	31.1	6.3	(23.2) 139
very much	24.1	31.7	27.4	27.4	9.8	(23.9) 123
Total	141	126	83	106	143	599

Cramer's V= 0.26 significant at 0.001 level

d) to strengthen **national governments**

	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Great Britain	Total
not at all	57.3	49.6	56.3	48.5	87.9	(61.4) 362
a little	26.6	18.7	27.5	25.2	4.3	(19.5) 115
enough	14.0	20.3	11.3	15.5	5.7	(13.2) 78
very much	2.1	11.4	5.0	10.7	2.1	(5.9) 35
Total	143	123	80	103	141	590

Cramer's V= 0.21 significant at 0.001 level

Although attachment to Europe, trust in the EU institutions, and agreement with the proposal of a strengthening of regional intergovernmental organizations (such as EU) are obviously correlated, there is however a high percent of participants to the ESF that, although feeling attached to Europe or believing that EU level governments should be strengthened, do not trust EU institutions (respectively, see tables 5 and 6). Trust in the EU does not vary with either gender or educational level and is only weakly correlated with age (declining with age). Those who trust the EU (but not those who feel attached to Europe) tend to be slightly more trustful of political parties; parallely, those who identify more strongly with the new global movement are more mistrustful of EU institutions, but feel only slightly less attached to Europe. Location at the extreme left has a stronger impact on trust and desire of a stronger EU, than on feeling of attachment to the EU.

Table 5. Trust in EU per Feeling attached to Europe (row)

Feeling attached to Europe	Trust in EU		Total
	Not at al/little	*Enough/ much*	
Not at all	96.6	3.4	293
A little	89.1	10.9	539
Enough	67.4	32.6	533
Much	59.8	40.2	184
Total	(79.5) 1232	(20.5) 317	1549

Cramer's V= 0.34 significant at 0.001 level.

Table 6. Trust in the European Union per Agreement with the sentence: to achieve movement's goals we need to strengthen the European Union (row).

Strengthening EU: agree	Trust in EU		Total
	Not at al/little	*Enough/ much*	
Not at all	96.1	3.9	619
A little	82.9	17.1	356
Enough	60.9	39.1	353
Much	54.1	45.9	209
Total	(79.2) 1218	(20.8) 319	1537

Cramer's V= 0.41 significant at 0.001 level.

Whatever the outcome of the construction of a Europe-wide movement, the recent protests in favour of the welfare state mark the failure of the 'permissive consensus' based on the assumption of the effectiveness of the EU. This assumption had allowed for a bureaucratic legitimacy – that characterised in particular the activity of the European Commission. As Klaus Eder noticed (2000, 179-180) the development of critical public spheres – even in the 'elite' form of social movements – is making the 'Arkanpraxis' of commitology quite risky. Together with the growth of protest that target the EU, a declining trust in European institutions is an indicator of the failure of EU legitimisation 'through output' (that is the efficacy of the policy outcomes, instead of the representativity of the input procedures) based on the 'expertocracy' of the Eurocrats (ibid.

172).[16] Moreover, they indicated that European integration produces increasing occasions for Europe-level protest. At the same time, however, similarly to what happened with the construction of the Nation-State, also for European institution building the presence of a critical social capital works as a challenge and a resource.

5. *Social movements and Europeanisation: provisional conclusions*

In summary: there appears to be two ways of looking at the evolution of protest and European integration. On one hand, looking, above all, at protest reported in the national press, several studies have emphasised the persistent targeting of national or even sub-national levels of governance. From another direction research on pressure groups has shown the mobilisation of social movement organisations at the European level. As we have shown in this article the characteristics of Europeanisation bent on the construction of a multi-level *polity* are reflected in the multi-level strategies on the part of social movements. In particular, we have described cases of domestication of collective action, where the exercise of pressure on national governments is used to change Community policies. We have seen too externalisation, that is protests at Community level the aim of which is to change national policies. In both cases we have seen, however, that the development of multilevel strategies also effects the social movements in question. They create new structures and new frames for collective action. The intensification of the interactions produces both transactional organisations and identities. Indeed, we observed the emergence of a transnational movement addressing EU politics and policies.

Europeanisation, therefore, has consequences for social movements. It will be for future studies to determine to what extent the characteristics of the family of national social movements and domestic political opportunity reflect the characteristics of the movements 'for another Europe'. However, it is possible to delineate already some elements of an emerging European movement, in which a series of organisations and discourses interweave in extremely flexible organisational structures with identities that are tolerant of difference. Common denominators of such mobilisations that seem anything but a 'passing fad' include demands for social rights and a democratisation of European institutions not least through the creation of a supranational, critical public sphere. It is true that the specific proposals resonate with the traditional approach of the economic policies of the left. However, the critique of the European socialist parties for not

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[16] Opinion polls have signalled a decline in citizen satisfaction with the development of EU institutions. About half of Europeans are dissatisfied (Pache 2001; Méchet and Pache 2000). In fact 'European institutions are regularly criticised for being bureaucratic, inefficient and for lacking transparent procedures' (Le Torrec et al. 2001, 8).

having fought the neo-liberal hegemony carries through to the forms of politics, through the quest for a 'politics from below'. A European social movement seems to be emerging in the guise of loose networks of organisations and individuals that increasingly organise common protest campaigns.

If multilevel mobilisation presents the great challenge for European social movements, it seems also that the recent protests represent a challenge for European institutions. The plans for European integration, moved initially through objectives of economic co-operation, have become slowly more ambitious. While the internal market was being liberalised, regulations emerged that were more and more complex and with them institutions that were more and more powerful – though not comparable to those of the nation states. The growth of competition, the introduction of mechanisms of qualified-majority voting for decisions and the dominance of European laws in many areas are all elements that reinforce European institutions. But they also make their legitimisation more problematic. Due to the weakness of a supranational public sphere the relative strengthening of the responsibilities of the European Parliament is hardly an effective solution for the deficit of democratic accountability in community institutions. However, the organisations of functional representation of interests, through mechanisms of consultation and dialogue is not sufficient to legitimise, given in particular the different organisational capacities (in particular at the supra-national level) of the different actors. The search for an output legitimisation, at least in the technocratic sense of consensus obtained thanks to economic success, seems less and less credible when one thinks of the growth of unemployment and, in general, of inequality in Europe.

By explicitly pointing to this failing, attributing it to a political system that is hardly democratic and that relies on neoliberal policies, an emerging European social movement seems to have flagged up one of the central problems of European integration. That problem is the weakness of a European identity that is able to carry out the function that the nation carried out in the construction of nation states. Looked at from this point of view much will depend on the ability of European institutions to construct civil, political and social rights that can stand as the foundations of supra-national citizenship.

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