

A History of European Disability Campaigns

**Civil society, social movements and opportunities for
counterhegemonic change**

Claudia Harris Coveney

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctorate of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Sociology and Social Policy

November, 2022

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Assertion of moral rights (optional):

The right of Claudia Harris Coveney to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

© 2022 The University of Leeds and Claudia Harris Coveney

Acknowledgements

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 814249. I am very grateful to the PIs and managerial team of the DARE project for their training and support throughout the project. I'd also like to acknowledge the peer support of my fellow DARE ESRs throughout the project. Thank you to the University of Leeds Centre for Disability Studies directors and members for providing so many educative opportunities to post-graduate researchers.

I also want to extend my immense gratitude to my supervisory team at the University of Leeds: Professor Mark Priestley, Dr Alison Sheldon and Professor Roger Slee whose academic feedback and pastoral support have been faultless. I'm very grateful to the staff at the EDF, especially to Catherine Naughton and Loredana Dicsi for welcoming me and providing all manner of guidance and support. My particular thanks also goes to the DARE members attached to Maastricht University. I am very grateful to Professor Lisa Waddington for her contribution of her personal archives to the research. Indeed, I'm indebted to every activist who provided guidance, interviews, contacts, archives and support for this project. Thank you in particular to Stig Langvad, Erzsébet Földesi, Giampiero Griffo and the many contributors to the two 'Memories of Activism' events, which greatly helped to guide the research. It has been the aim of the project to provide a practical resource to the movement in return.

Thank you to many precious friends - in particular Christiana, Anna, Grace, George and Josephine - for endless phone calls, patience, timely distraction and encouragement.

Most of all my thanks goes to my family: thank you Mum, Dad and Max, whose support and love I can't quite do justice to here. Thank you for everything, always.

Abstract

Europe has proven itself to be an important site for disability activists as the European Union has developed into a body politic. As an experimental sphere of governance, it has been prone to periods of structural openness where gains have been made by the movement in terms of recognition, claims upon the state and legislation. Disabled people and their organisations have utilised windows of opportunity to campaign for legislative change and these mobilisations have produced varied results.

As the EU has expanded and deepened its competencies, a legitimating function for the formal EU civil society sphere has developed. Social movement organisations have been selected to participate in this sphere on behalf of the interests of their communities. Here they face a dilemma: participation in forums and consultations can lead to policies that better align with social movement interests, but such forums frequently lack accountability mechanisms to ensure that the claims of social movement organisations are taken up by decision makers. Understanding how these forums can best be utilised is of key importance to organisations with often limited resources.

The study builds an understanding of the types of campaigns that have been run in the past by the disabled people's movement at the European level. It analysed in detail three campaigns led by an umbrella organisation that represents the interests of disabled people in EU-level decision-making. This led to the creation of a collective action framework to aid disabled people's organisations in their future activities. It also shows how civil society acts as an enabler and constrainer of social movement organisations in realising their potential as historic blocs. While campaigns have been run with success, the dynamics of formal civil society forums also limit the potential of systemic change led by social movements.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Preface	xi
Introduction	2
The European Disability Forum.....	2
The DARE project.....	6
Research Questions	8
Terminology	11
Chapter 1 Disability, social movements and civil society	13
Defining social movements	13
Resource mobilisation	15
New social movements: histories and ideas	21
Social movements and their parts	24
Evaluating the outcomes of a social movement.....	26
Disabled people's movements and disability studies	29
What kind of movement is the DPM?	34
Civil society, hegemony and resistance.....	38
Civil society and Europe.....	40
What, then, is a European CSO?	44
Campaigns and frames	52
Conclusion	53
Chapter 2 Institutions and systems of governance	56
Institutions of governance	57
The promise of networks in the EU context.....	60
The risks of informal decision making	64
Frameworks of Policy	69
Multiple Streams.....	69
Political opportunities	72
Coalitions and campaigns in civil society	73
What does this mean for the disability movement? European CSOs and opportunity structure	76

The Treaty of Lisbon and the Charter of Fundamental Rights.....	81
The UNCRPD and the first European Disability Strategy	87
Conclusion	91
Chapter 3 Research position and design	92
Research approach and strategy	95
The emancipatory paradigm of disability research.....	98
Research method	101
Sampling campaigns for study.....	103
Generation of data.....	110
Documents.....	111
Observation	112
Interviews.....	113
Recruitment of interview participants.....	114
Ethical considerations	115
Overview of participants.....	116
Stages of analysis.....	119
Conclusion	122
Chapter 4 The Campaigns: Background, tactics, strategies	123
The EDF and its campaigns	123
Campaign 1: invisible citizens	126
The Amsterdam IGC	129
The impact of recognition.....	130
Addressing indirect discrimination	131
Repertoires of action	133
Key tactics	135
Campaign 2: 1Million4Disability	142
Increasing momentum: 2003-2007	143
1Million4Disability - strategic success?	145
Campaign conclusion and response.....	149
Campaign 3: a European Accessibility Act	155
Accessibility in the EU	156
Aims of the Free Movement campaign.....	158
Framing accessibility as opportunity.....	159
Following the EAA through the institutions.....	160
Conclusion	165

Chapter 5 Applying the Multiple Streams Approach.....	168
Creating windows of political opportunity.....	169
Campaign 1.....	170
Problem (re)framing as a campaigning objective.....	171
The politics of the Amsterdam IGC.....	172
The policy stream: Treaty recognition	173
Campaign 2.....	175
Problem perceptions – extending protection	175
Shifts in the political stream	177
The policy stream: competing solutions	178
Campaign 3.....	181
The problem of accessibility standards in the EU	182
The political impact of the UNCRPD.....	185
The EAA: policy solution	187
EDF as a policy entrepreneur.....	191
Conclusion: notes on governance from the field	194
Chapter 6 Barriers to forming counterhegemonic blocs: coalitions and conflict.....	199
Campaign 1: Creating the future.....	201
Campaign 2: Splintering coalitions and ‘going it alone’	205
Campaign 3: Technical successes.....	212
Frames	218
Conclusion	223
Chapter 7 Discussion and Futures	225
A typology of campaigns	226
Success and failure	230
Civil society	234
The collective action framework.....	237
Limitations.....	239
Conclusion: An agenda for future research	239
References.....	242
List of Abbreviations	265
Appendices	267
Appendix A: EDF statute requirements for full members	267
Appendix B: Chronology of campaigns.....	268
Appendix C: Sample information sheet and interview questions	285

Appendix D: Communication to webinar participants clarifying the purpose of the events and what was requested.....	288
Appendix E: Consent form	289
Appendix F: Anonymised inventory of archival documents from Campaign 1	290
Appendix G: Campaign 1 Newsletter.....	296

List of Tables

No table of contents entries found.

Table 1: Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigms of social research	96
Table 2: Campaigns considered for analysis	104
Table 3: Interviewee overview	117
Table 4: A typology of collective action campaigns	227

List of Figures

Figure 1. Visual diagram of EDF's structure	4
--	----------

Preface

This research has been undertaken as part of the Disability Advocacy Research in Europe (DARE) project. The project has sought to equip a 'new generation' of researchers in the field of disability rights with skills to respond to the contemporary global challenges disabled people face. The project consisted of 14 'early-stage researchers' (ESRs), each undertaking a PhD at one of the seven partner institutions of the European-wide training network. ESRs have been provided with training sessions on specific elements of disability research throughout the programme.

When applying for the position of 'ESR 12' on the DARE project, I was completing my Masters degree in Governance and Public Administration at Erasmus University, in the Netherlands. The project brief for the position called for historic collective action by the European disabled people's movement to be traced and contextualised and I proposed to connect this to current challenges by drawing on the strategies, successes and challenges of several past landmark campaigns conducted by the European Disability Forum, a leading disability advocacy organisation representing the interests of disabled people in EU-level policy and decision making.

I have combined my academic background of governance and public administration with the field of disability studies and emancipatory research to carry out this project. In doing so, I have placed civil society at the centre of the research and examined the space as an interface between the state and society.

Introduction

This research examines the types of tactics and strategies used in collective action campaigns by European disabled people's movements. It explores the objectives and approaches of these campaigns and their influence on decision making processes at the EU level of governance. This is done with the primary intention of improving knowledge about disability advocacy work, both for activist and academic audiences. The European Disability Forum (EDF) is the case study organisation for this research. This introduction presents the structure and history of the EDF as an organisation, as well as the focal organisational activity of the study before identifying gaps in current understandings of the operations of organisations like the EDF. It concludes by introducing the specific questions the research will answer.

The European Disability Forum

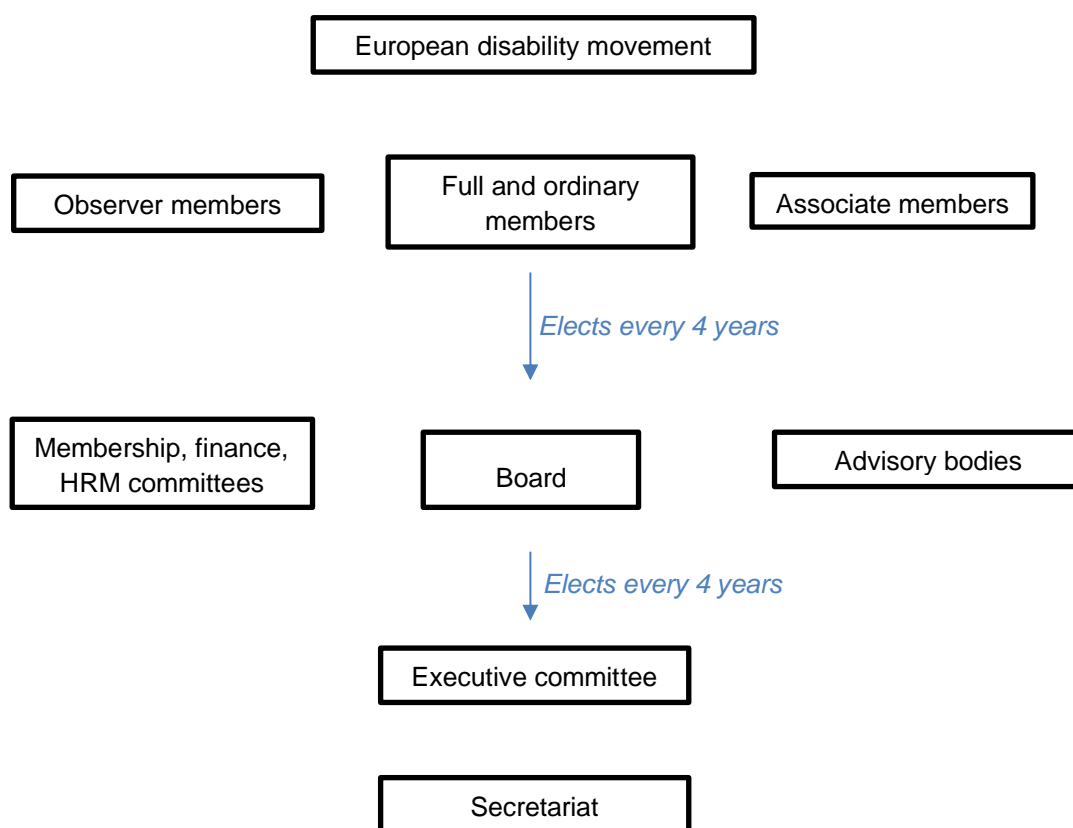
The EDF is an advocacy body, representing the interests of disabled people and their organisations at the European level. It receives funding from the EU to operate in the civil society space to ensure decision making concerning disabled people is undertaken with and by disabled people. The organisation's statutes set out the requirements for 'full members' – that is, member organisations with decision-making status. Full members are either national council disabled people's organisations (DPOs) representing the EU Member States or European disability network DPOs – for example the European Union of the Deaf (EUD). The statutes can be found in Appendix A.

The EDF structurally fits the definition of an 'umbrella' organisation of disabled people. From the EDF's strategic framework:

We are convinced that acting collectively, EDF, and its members and partners can fight together for a strong social and human rights-based Europe, where democratic, active civil participation is continuously practiced and improved. The European Union institutions themselves, and the European Disability Forum, should embody the human rights principles of participation, non-discrimination and ownership in the way that they work.

Alongside continued monitoring and reporting on the rights of disabled people across Europe according to conventions and legislation, targeted campaigns are raised to address specific issues. The campaigns employ a range of tactics and strategies to ensure the demands of disabled people and their organisations are being raised and dealt with. Some employ protest tactics to raise public awareness; others involved meetings with nation state representatives and EU officials, elected and otherwise. As of 2022, the EDF represents around 100 member organisations across over 30 states. The organisation has several branches. It has two types of 'full member' DPOs: a national council where Member States are each represented by one DPO, and organisations of disabled people that span across Europe representing specific impairments and issues. There are also several other status members that do not have voting rights, either because they are not European organisations or because they do not fulfil the defined 'DPO' requirements: ordinary, observer and associate. Elections are held every four years at the annual general assembly to elect a president, a board of directors, which in turn elects every four years an executive committee. There are also committees on membership, human rights monitoring and financial aspects of the organisation. The organisation's secretariat employs staff – not necessarily disabled – to carry out the daily, administrative operations of the organisation and is headed by a director. A visual representation of the organisation can be found in Figure 1. The following section describes the creation and history of the EDF.

Figure 1. Visual diagram of EDF's structure



The earliest iteration of the EDF appeared in the HELIOS II pilot programme, launched in 1993, 12 pre-existing national disability councils from EU Member States, and European non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) deemed representative that promoted the interests of persons with disabilities were included in the pilot programme as an internal advisory committee. This programme sought to create a 'Community-level' policy to complement national level actions aimed at equalising opportunities for persons with disabilities and increase co-ordination between Member States in the area. It also placed focus on increasing the capacity of pre-existing representative DPOs, carrying out applied research, and information campaigns.

In 1997 the new European Disability Forum was established. What started as an internal advisory group within the Commission became an independent civil society organisation, run by its DPO membership. The work of the umbrella organisation over its 24-year history has produced countless examples of tangible change for persons with disabilities all over Europe, and the world. The first President and director were both carried over from the internal advisory stage to oversee the evolution of the organisation into an

independent body. The membership at the beginning of the organisation consisted of twelve national councils and European DPOs [check numbers], each with an elected representative sitting on the board of the organisation.

The priority in the early years was establishing a unified voice of persons with disabilities around Europe that the newly independent organisation would use to campaign for change. This meant forging alliances between groups of people with different types of impairments and overcoming national cultural differences. A fragmented front would weaken the capacity of the organisation, common goals were prioritised. The understanding that a united coalition and voice is necessary for the organisation to influence social change is an oft-cited strategy of the organisation. This remains the approach of the EDF although more recently the organisation has increased its focus on specific challenges faced by some groups of disabled people, including refugees, people with intellectual disabilities (to use EDF's wording) and young disabled people.

The EDF engages with the European institutions through multiple channels. The present research examines three targeted campaigns that the organisation has run with its partners and members at specific areas of policy. These campaigns have been selected due to their significance and the varying impact they have had on EU legislation, internal EDF dynamics and European civil society more broadly. The first, named the 'Invisible Citizens' campaign, was conducted from 1995-1997. This campaign was named to emphasise the position of disabled people as European citizens as revisions of the European Treaties began to increase the social element of the Union, or, as it was previously named, the Community. The campaign argued for specific mention of disability in the European Treaties to provide a basis for dedicated legislation. '1Million4Disability' is the second case study campaign. This was run in 2008 with the goal of introducing a disability-specific non-discrimination Directive, following the successful introduction of a reference to disability in a non-discrimination clause in the Treaties. The campaign was named to reflect its strategy: over a million signatures were to be collected from the European public to reflect their support for the Directive. According to a new instrument, the European Commission would be obligated to respond if an organisation

succeeded in the target of 1 million signatures. The third campaign was launched in 2011 and followed the prior campaign's unsuccessful bid to introduce a disability-specific Directive. The third campaign, titled the 'Free Movement' campaign, focused on the fundamental right of European Citizens to the free movement of goods, services and themselves around the Union. The campaign, arguing the inaccessibility of many goods and services to disabled people denied them this right, framed the issue as one of market distortion. The campaign supported a strong 'European Accessibility Act', announced by the European Commission in the previous year, that would address this distortion and ensure that the right to free movement would extend to disabled citizens of the Union. These campaigns display a range of tactics and contexts that are analysed in the study. They illustrate the dialectic of structure and agency in social movement activity at the civil society level.

The DARE project

The project has been a collaborative pursuit, undertaken with input and guidance from the EDF, the Brussels-based disabled people's organisation (DPO) described above. The DPO acts as an 'umbrella' organisation, representing the interests of disabled Europeans.

The project is funded through the wider Disability Advocacy Research in Europe (DARE) project, a European-wide training network for early-stage researchers in the field of disability rights. The project has received €4.1m in funding from the European Commission's Marie Curie programme. The DARE Project is co-ordinated by the Centre for Disability Law and Policy at the National University of Ireland, Galway, with the collaboration of seven partner institutions: the Institute for Social and Political Sciences (Portugal), Maastricht University (Netherlands), the University of Leeds (UK), the European Disability Forum (Belgium), the European Association of Service providers for Persons with Disabilities (Belgium), the University of Iceland and Swiss Paraplegic Research. The 14 projects within the DARE network fall under one of three themes: voice, power and change. This project falls within the change cluster.

In the context of governance, civil society has been activated in recent decades as an increasingly formal policy actor. Scholarly attention has been paid to the transformation of governments and the inclusion of new societal actors, but questions as to *how* certain organisations gain a 'seat at the table' remain largely unanswered in this field. Social movement literature studies the dynamics and operations of collective action groups. Questions as to how and why movements form have received attention. So too have the dynamics of protest movements and contentious forms of collective action. The organisations that represent social movements in state-sanctioned spaces engage in different forms of activism and benefit from further study. Civil society, a contested space in which selected organisations represent social movements to inform policy and decision making, raises questions of representativeness, co-optation and cooperation.

Europe is the focal site for the research: the formation and evolution of the Union itself is closely linked to the specific story of advocacy and claims-making by civil society organisations (CSOs). This type of activity receives less attention from social movement scholarship. Researchers interested in the functioning of the European Union as a body politic have shown interest in civil society from the perspective that it is used to address the so-called 'democratic deficit' of the Union. Scholars are divided over the legitimacy afforded to the EU by civil society consultation. In turn, the EU has been a vital player in disability advocacy: the movement has been successful in prompting legislative change and action at this level where at (Member) state level policies have been harmful and negligent. The story of the EDF, disability advocacy and civil society more broadly is tied firmly to the history, and future, of Europe itself.

Questions about *how* organisations operating in this sphere can most effectively influence decision making to the benefit of the interests of their communities are of crucial importance to understanding the function of European civil society. Is its role to hold the institutions accountable for their decisions and supplement the representation of citizens via the parliament? Or do the institutions consult civil society to legitimise their decisions without mechanisms to ensure the interests of the organisations are 'heard'? The EDF

engages the institutions via participation in civil society forums, consultations throughout the legislative process, lobbying key parliamentarians and ministry figures, and targeted campaigns aimed at specific policy goals. These campaigns can take a variety of forms. Scholars have afforded less attention to the impact of such campaigns: how they were carried out and their impact. A better understanding of the conditions and characteristics by which campaigns have achieved their aims benefits organisations like the EDF in future advocacy activity. The research also aims to shed light on the mechanics of European civil society: its purpose, its form and its future.

Research Questions

The main research question is:

- How can disabled people's organisations achieve greater influence through collective action in Europe?

The specific research questions addressed in the research are:

- What kinds of collective action campaigns have been conducted in the past by DPOs at the European level? What were their approaches and objectives?
- According to the actors involved, how successful was the campaign in reaching its objectives, and which characteristics and conditions of the campaigns are thought to have contributed to this success? What types of barriers did they face?
- How are claims selected and prioritised? Are they contributing to a wider counterhegemonic movement?
- How can future collective action campaigns by European DPOs be strengthened?

The thesis is organised as follows:

Chapter 1 draws on social movement literature and positions the research in the context of what is known – and not known – about the dynamics of collective action and the disability movement in Europe. It lays the ontological grounding for the research around the European Disabled People's Movement

which can be conceptualised as a well-founded social movement with a diverse history of collective action. The focal point of this research is the European Disability Forum (EDF), a pan-European civil society organisation (CSO) representing the movement in the European governance sphere. The chapter argues that civil society is a contested space that simultaneously provides a field for social movement organisations to engage in counterhegemonic practices but constrains their potential to act as historic blocs.

Chapter 2 builds on the interests outlined in Chapter 1 by outlining a framework for the research using concepts of institutions of governance, networked decision making and the opportunities for social movements within this, as well as potential challenges. Analytical frameworks that allow the dissection of policy processes are introduced, specifically the Multiple Streams approach. The chapter explores the possibilities for collective action in relation to contemporary governance frameworks.

Chapter 3 introduces the research design and methods. It establishes the ontological grounding of the research and its epistemological approach. The research begins from the premise that political opportunities for change through the sphere of civil society do exist. These opportunities are not limitless but constrained by macro-level, institutional factors affecting the agency of individual and collective actors in the policy process. The chapter outlines the purpose of the research, the approach and strategy, and engages with the collaborative principles of emancipatory disability research – the selected paradigm for the research. It then turns to the procedures for data generation, processing and analysis. It concludes by discussing the dissemination and impact of the research findings.

Chapter 4 outlines the three campaigns selected as case studies for the research: these campaigns were selected from the organisation's history, spanning the timeline of its organisation. The chapter responds directly to the first sub-question of the research: *What kinds of collective action campaigns have been conducted in the past by DPOs at the European level? What were their approaches and objectives?* It details the background and context to these campaigns, as well as their structure. The tactics and strategies are

examined and the chapter concludes by drawing out the key points of similarity and difference between them.

Chapter 5 applies a 'Multiple Streams' approach to analyse the political opportunities addressed by these cases. It examines the strategic activity by the organisation and its campaign partners in each campaign in the wider context of the policy process. This is used to explain the windows of opportunity for policy entrepreneurs like the EDF, and shows how the campaign actors seized on them, to varying degrees of success. In doing so, the chapter attends to the second sub question of the research: *According to the actors involved, how successful was the campaign in reaching its objectives, and which characteristics and conditions of the campaigns are thought to have contributed to this success? What types of barriers did they face?* The chapter concludes with a discussion and evaluation of the EDF as a policy entrepreneur, an agent of change in constrained political circumstances.

Chapter 6 considers the opportunities and barriers to forming counter-hegemonic blocs for collective action. It focuses on the potential of civil society to articulate counterhegemonic projects of change by forming historic blocs, using evidence from the campaign case studies. The third sub question is interrogated: *How are claims selected and prioritised? Are they contributing to a wider (counterhegemonic) movement?* The composition and creation of campaign coalitions is analysed to interrogate the possibilities of social change in this way. In seeking political resources and attention, to address the specific interests of their constituent populations, social movement organisations operating within the formal sphere of civil society face competition with one another, which can interrupt the formation of broader, intersectional coalitions of change. The chapter concludes with a discussion of frames, how they are used in campaigns and their potential role in creating changemaking historic blocs.

Chapter 7 discusses and synthesises the findings from the three case studies. Key themes are drawn out to explicitly answer the research questions. The chapter introduces a new typology of campaigns developed from the research, and a framework of collective action based on the findings. This concluding

chapter looks ahead to the future of collective action in Europe for social movements, not only for the disabled people's movement. The chapter discusses the relationship between civil society and states and what types of change might be possible. It outlines a future agenda for research to interrogate the questions raised by the thesis.

Terminology

Before turning to the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis in Chapter 1, a brief discussion on terminology follows. In the present research I use the term 'disabled people' in keeping with the tenants of the social model (unless quoting others). I refer to the disabled people's movement (DPM) when discussing the movement for full emancipation by disabled people and their organisations. I also refer to the 'disability rights movement' in some discussions which I argue is a more accurate description of the movement of DPOs; allied members of European Parliament (MEPs), Commission officials and national ministers; service providers and other organisations whose goal is the realisation of the rights enshrined to disabled people under the UNCRPD and other legislation. 'Disability rights' are defined by Vanhala (2015: 833) as 'a broad range of protections and entitlements to ensure equality and respect for people with disabilities'. I make this distinction because seminal figures in the field have; Finklestein (2001) was resolute in his warnings about a purely rights-based activism, arguing that its approach enabled the accessing of rights in an existing competitive market society, rather than aiding the construction of an alternative. Barnes (1995) and Oliver (1990) have emphasized the role of the social model alongside a comprehensive legislative programme. Degener (2014: 6) has posited the human rights model of disability as a 'foundation for disability policy' based on morals and values. It is not the intention of this research to enter the debate on models of disability any further than this; merely to acknowledge distinct terms and how they are used in the field.

Additionally, the thesis discusses social movement organisations (or SMOs) and European civil society organisations (CSOs). Social movement organisations here refer to all organisations within a social movement

community. Civil society organisations refer to organisations that are utilising formal civil society platforms provided by institutions of governance, in this case, the EU. The crucial distinction made here is that not all SMOs are granted access to formal civil society platforms, and not all CSOs represent social movements. In the European Economic and Social Committee (an explanation of which can be found in the following chapter), the membership also gives significant representation to business interests. The overlap between the two types of organisation exists in that some social movement organisations are selected to represent their community interests by institutions of governance and become civil society organisations themselves. The EDF is an example of this. CSOs are referred to by some interviewees as non-government organisations (NGOs), or European NGOs (ENGOS).

Chapter 1

Disability, social movements and civil society

This chapter lays the ground for the research conducted on the European disabled people's movement and their campaign activity at the EU level. Civil society provides a space for social movements to organise as blocs and engage in counterhegemonic practices through collective action. The chapter explores the possibilities of this collective action in relation to social movement literature. First, relevant social movement literature is considered, including a discussion of definitions by key thinkers. From this consideration, I provide a working definition of social movements to ground the research. An examination of the two primary approaches to the study of social movements follows and the utility of each of these approaches to the research is discussed. A discussion of how the 'outcomes' of a social movement can be measured follow, with a consideration of the shortcomings of policy creation to do this. The chapter then turns to the focal social movement of the research, the disabled people's movement. The section will elaborate on the history of disabled people's movements and the global collective consciousness that arose amongst disabled people in the 1970s and 1980s. This led to the creation of a unified political movement at a time when the European Union was expanding its competencies as a regional actor. The chapter provides definitional clarification on terms like disabled people, the social model and how these have impacted institutional discourses in recent decades. I then turn specifically to the space of civil society and its purposes for social movement organisations (SMOs). I end the section by connecting the concepts to the European context, particularly in relation to the organisations of disabled people operating in the sphere of European governance.

Defining social movements

Social movement theory extends from the idea that society can be transformed through the liberation of social groups from exploitative relations (Touraine, 1981). Initial social movement scholarship from the US built on the perspective that 'relative deprivation' primarily mobilises protest activity, via alienated members of society and their impassioned feelings of

disenfranchisement (Blumer, 1969; Kitschelt, 1987; Smelser, 2011). From the early collective behaviour thinkers, Smelser (2011) distinguishes between types of collective behaviour, from panic responses to norm-oriented or value-oriented movements stemming from 'structural strain'. Blumer (1969: 199) considers that:

Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand ... hopes for a new system of living. The career of a social movement depicts the emergence of a new order of life.

Blumer's definition covers some useful points in relation to the DPM – a movement that very much sprung out of dissatisfaction with the status quo. In comparison, McCarthy and Zald (1977:1217-1218) provide an alternative, more passive understanding of social movements as '[A] set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of a social structure or reward system in a society'. In this interpretation, the possession of a specific viewpoint is enough to warrant membership of a social movement, rather than any consideration of mobilisation, or conditions leading to a call for change. It also remains unclear as to what could constitute a social movement in terms of activity and nature. In a much more activity-oriented definition, Castells (2004: 3) defines social movements as:

[P]urposive collective actions whose outcome, in victory as in defeat, transforms the values and institutions of society.

This definition is useful in capturing the essence of social movements and their power, and it usefully demarcates the success or failure of activities. The present research explores successes and failures of social movement activity carried out by disabled people and their organisations in the European Union activity from the perspectives of social movement actors. It builds on the definitions of social movement activity provided above, specifically dissatisfaction with current forms of life; hopes for a new order of life via a preference for changing some structural elements of society; and purposive

action based on this dissatisfaction and hope that, successful or not, transforms society.

Early concepts like relative deprivation hold use for the analysis of social movements today. Many mobilisations stem from detections of inequalities within a demographic, be it specific material conditions or rights. Touraine (1985: 752) helpfully distinguishes between 'defensive' and 'offensive' types of social conflict, the former being a reaction to the threat of destruction or 'invasion' of a community and its values, and the latter a community's pursuit of collective interests. Both types of conflict, Touraine explains, respond to or pursue a perceived change in a system (or 'organisational change', as Touraine formulates). A third type of conflict aims at changing the rules of the game, not the distribution of resources within a system (1985: 753). His vision of social movement focuses on conflicts surrounding the *normative* organisation of society, and the control of cultural values (1985: 755).

Following early scholars, two main approaches have been taken to the analysis of social movements: simply put, social movements are explored either through their ability to mobilise resources or through the histories and ideas that bind them as collectives and prompt action. The following sections will discuss these two primary streams of social movement thought and will begin to relate these concepts back to the social movement activity of disabled people and their organisations. It is important to note that, although useful in distinguishing approaches to social movement theory, these approaches are not mutually exclusive and both approaches are utilised in the present research.

Resource mobilisation

Mancur Olson's (1974) *Logic of Collective Action* posits that collective action in the form of social movements is primarily the result of the strength and capacity of a group to mobilise, with the content and grievances of a movement a secondary factor in its success. Resource mobilisation theory grew from this early approach and examines social movement activity through the concrete interests, resources, skills and strategies that rational, calculating actors bring to bear on collective protest (Oberschall, 1973; McAdam, 1982).

It grounds itself in the basic premise that resource availability enhances the likelihood of collective action (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004: 116). The approach focuses primarily on the resources with which social movements could realise their interests, and the context in which the activity takes place. It accepts that, given the correct combination of resources and strategies, and the correct 'political timing', a social movement can make political gains in the interests of its people. Classical scholars from the resource mobilisation theory approach assert that the addition of resources to a disenfranchised movement by hegemonic elites activates a previously 'powerless' group (e.g., Oberschall, 1973; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977). McAdam (1982) disputes this framing of social movements as powerless without the assistance of elites and argues instead that the successful mobilisation of a movement mobilised resources. Despite different conceptions of this relationship, resource mobilisation theory scholarship focuses on movement interactions with 'elites' and the state through its interest in the role of resources.

Resource mobilisation theory provides a useful framework to understand when and how a movement might gain and utilise its resources to push for targeted social change. In the case of the EDF, resource mobilisation is a major explanatory factor in its creation (as outlined in the Introduction). A series of pilot programmes were created by the European Commission in response to the United Nations International Decade of Disabled Persons 1982-1993 and disabled people agitated for meaningful inclusion in these, gaining an advisory council position in the third and final programme. The role of the advisory body was described in the action programme thusly: 'Before consulting the committee, the Commission ascertains the views of a European disability forum made up of representatives appointed by the Commission...'. (European Council, 1993). A more comprehensive discussion of Community initiatives leading up to the establishment of an independent EDF followings in Chapter 2. It is mentioned here for its relevance to resource mobilisation efforts of the disabled people's movement in Europe. In 1996, Helios II, the third pilot programme for integrating and equalising opportunities for disabled people in Europe, ended. By the end of the programme in 1996, the internal advisory group had lobbied the Commission to provide funding for it to establish itself as an independent organisation separate to the Commission.

European Parliamentary allies were integral to ensuring the separate, independent budget line for the organisation illustrating a movement's successful mobilisation of both material resources and the moral legitimising resource of institutional support (McCarthy & Edwards, 2004). Resource mobilisation theory frameworks can also be useful in answering research questions like *when* a particular type of collective action campaign achieved its objectives in a certain context. Since its formation, campaign activity of the organisation has been based on strategic calculations: its repertoires of collective action range from 'behind the scenes' negotiations with political actors, to formations of coalitions with other civil society organisations, to public displays of protest and garnering of public support.

At this point in the discussion of resource mobilisation theory, the resources referenced in this approach deserve explicating. Edwards and McCarthy (2004: 125-129) outline a typology of resources that social movements may mobilise in their activity: moral, cultural, social-organisational, material and human. Moral resources include solidarity, legitimacy and sympathetic support. Legitimacy has received particular attention as a resource, with scholars claiming that social movement actors that can mimic the 'institutionally legitimated' features of a political context gain a relative advantage to groups that cannot reflect the 'template' (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004: 126; Powell and DiMaggio, 1992). An example has already been mentioned above in the establishment of the EDF, made possible in part by support from allies in the EP and Commission for an independent budget line for the organisation. Such resources are usually bestowed on movements and their organisations by external sources and access can be removed. Cultural resources include strategic know-how and specialised knowledge: skills and competencies that not all members of society have access to. Examples include knowledge of specific tasks like enacting a protest event, engaging with media, or participating in consultations and other legislative processes via position papers and lobbying. The EDF frequently utilises expert legal knowledge to make legal arguments in favour of its policy goals in position papers, lobbying communications and public-facing campaign activity. Social-organisational resources spread the message of social movement goals, intentionally or unintentionally. Access to social (media)

networks or formal organisations are examples, as are public systems of general use like social media platforms, or the built environment. These resources vary in their accessibility: use or access to non-public resources can be 'hoarded by insiders' (ibid). Through social media networks like Twitter and Facebook, the EDF publicly disseminates its messages. It also utilises non-public resources of communication granted by its position on the European Economic and Social Council (EESC) or as the secretary to the Parliamentary Disability Intergroup. Material resources include financial and physical capital, like office space, money, equipment and the means to hold conferences, general assemblies and board meetings. Human resources are contributions that can be provided by individuals, rather than wider cultural or social structures: labour (voluntary or professional staffing), experience, skills and leadership. These last two types of resources are noted as being more tangible and often more fungible than the former three. While some authors have made a distinction between resources as 'fungible and specifiable' (see Gamson et al., 1982: 22; Steinberg, 1999) and more abstract skills or processes like 'know-how', Holzer (2008: 198) joins Edwards & McCarthy in arguing that many resources – material or immaterial – can be simultaneously utilised by multiple actors. Resources for social movements, then, also include discursive frames, defined by Holzer (2008: 197) as 'specific vocabularies imbued with systems of meaning that actors can use to accomplish strategic action'. A more comprehensive discussion of frames follows in proceeding sections of this chapter. They are mentioned here as a specific resource: a key indicator of social movement influence is the adoption of movement frames by decision makers or the wider public. An example of this could be the dissemination of the social model of disability: its terminology has been adopted by many international organisations and national governments. Rarely is the definition of the social model used as its original authors described: see the WHO classification of disability, for example. In analysing movement-elite relations, Holzer (2008) importantly adds that movements also *provide* resources to be mobilised by others: so-called 'fighting words' and other discursive elements can bolster the legitimacy of state institutions. In Holzer's example of a landmark European Court of Justice decision in 2000 regarding the exclusion of German women from the military, the women's

movement did not instigate the case, nor rally around it; rather the Court utilised feminist discourses to argue its decision, which was landmark in establishing a new level of intervention into Member States (Holzer, 2008: 196).

Decisions around which resources to mobilise are made based on the type of change the organisation is seeking. The EDF's origins and operations illustrate the activation of 'elite' resources in favour of a social movement. It also underlines McAdam's argument, cited earlier, that mobilisation can prompt the resourcing of a movement. Holzer's argument that movements can provide cultural and discursive resources to other actors for legitimation is exemplified in the consultation of social movement organisations by European institutions of governance like the Commission. Such consultations require organisations to provide specialist knowledge to add to decision-making processes. The EDF and its members are often the source of disaggregated data about disabled people in EU Member States, conducting surveys through its membership on the situation of young disabled people during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns for example. Resource mobilisation aids understandings of why certain repertoires of collective action are selected by social movement actors at certain times. In the case of the EDF, resource mobilisation is crucial in understanding both the creation and operation of the organisation. As a SMO frequently working with the European institutions, the EDF underscores Holzer's argument that social movements can legitimise other actors through resource mobilisation.

Resource mobilisation theories focus primarily on the ability of a movement to prompt a response from the state to institutionalise a form of social change (della Porta and Diani 1999; Tarrow, 1998). A consideration of the impact of this institutionalisation is important (McAdam, 1982). Among social movements and their organisations there are a range of views on the movement's relationship with the state. Diani (1997: 133) describes social capital as the "social relations through which resources circulate, and trust and norms are generated and reproduced". As well as identifying the types of resources social movements may utilise, recognising the 'particular ties' through which they can be mobilised is also necessary in social movement

analysis. Analyses of social movements should take account of why a movement, specifically a movement organisation, might be more or less inclined to select certain types of strategies, particularly those that engage with the state (Vanhala, 2009). In discussing the incorporation of British disabled people's organisations into state-sanctioned negotiating spaces, Colin Barnes (1995: 115) comments:

To get too close to the Government is to risk carrying out their proposals rather than ours. To move too far away is to risk marginalisation and eventual demise.

Suh (2011) frames movement institutionalisation as more of a logical strategic step for social movements when they have reached a level of influence with decision makers. To focus solely on the resources and opportunity structures at a movement's disposal reduces the movement to an interest group, operating on the calculation of costs and benefits. For some, social movements exist as much for purposes of solidarity and the politics of identity as they do for the creation of external change (Shakespeare, 1993: 249). Social movements differ from interest groups primarily in that they challenge power structures and value systems, rather than just try to influence political decisions (Melucci, 1996). To ensure the agency and purpose of a movement are not lost, and its internal dynamics can be examined, the motivation and ideas that create and sustain them should be considered.

This section has introduced the resource mobilisation theory approach to analysing social movements. I have outlined the utility of this approach as it pertains to the present research: namely, the approach allows an analysis of the strategic calculations that social movements and other actors make regarding resources and timing. I have introduced examples of strategic decision-making the EDF employs in its activities to underscore this point. The EDF also highlights the way in which SMOs provide resources to other actors. resource mobilisation theory is helpful in creating an understanding of the strategic decisions used in social movement campaigns and their impact on campaign outcomes. This in turn provides lessons for future activism. The following section turns to the new social movement approach.

New social movements: histories and ideas

This section turns to European social movement scholarship and the 'new social movement' approach. This approach to the examination of social movements tends to focus less on the mobilising capacity of a movement and more on the internal dynamics and nature of social movements that emerged from the 1960s onwards. Alongside traditional labour movements a new form of politics grew dominant, articulating goals of social change often unconnected to the relations of production (Crossley, 2002: 11; Melucci, 1996: 233). The label 'new' social movement has endured despite the 60-year lifetime some of these movements have sustained, and the fact that some 'newer' movements return to a more Marxian cause (Tarrow, 1998). The section will discuss the key ideas from literature analysing these 'new' social movement and how they are used in the present research: namely, new social movements, reach into a 'proliferation of sites of antagonism and resistance' (Hall and Jacques, 1989: 17). This approach to social movement analysis examines the ideas driving movements.

Collective action falling under the banner of 'new social movements' acknowledges the production of culture by the ruling class, as well as its control over resource distribution (Touraine, 1985: 774). They, like other social movements, seek to address and transform 'relatively enduring sets of social relations' (Bagguley, 1992: 42). They create organisational and cultural resources in their collective action that are taken on by related social movements (Bagguley, 1992). However newer forms of social movements have been distinguished from others for their challenge to cultural assumptions to alter the structure of power relations in society (Melucci, 1996: 5). This shift is conceptualised as a blurring of the line between the 'personal' or 'private' aspects of identity and 'public' or 'political' aspects. The 'newness' of these movements stems from the types of conflict they organise around (Habermas, 1981; 2015; Fraser, 2013: 56; Boggs, 1986: 51). According to scholars, these movements serve to emancipate groups by addressing issues of cultural production, diversity and cultural capital (Habermas, 1985; Bourdieu, 1973), and drawing attention to the normative nature of interests and issues deemed 'private', shaped in opposition to a 'public' that was

distinguished by a bourgeois, masculinist ideology (Fraser 1990: 77). The public space, *Öffentlichkeit* has increasingly expanded and politicised problems associated with 'private life' previously (Touraine, 1985: 779). New social movements interrogate cultural attitudes left unexamined by traditional labour movements, and therefore the potential to enact wide ranging social change. This view of New social movements disrupting the exclusive bourgeois *Öffentlichkeit* and debating the role of state and market systems is pertinent in the case of the struggle for emancipation by disabled people's movements as this sphere is responsible for many disabling structural and attitudinal barriers (Oliver, 1990: 129).

Offe (1985) notes that this has led to an examination and challenging of institutions previously accepted as neutral, the evidence of which has been a backlash from parts of society, seeking to restore the infallibility of institutions like the problem-solving abilities of capitalist market logic. The questioning of cultural cornerstones can be resisted by State actors or supporters of the status quo. Seeking a legislative response from the State that reflects the challenging by new social movements can help cement attitudinal or cultural shifts – anti-discrimination legislation or signing onto global rights conventions like the UNCRPD for example. In this way, New social movements can be seen to break the limits of compatibility with a system and trigger change (Melucci, 1996). Touraine (1985: 780) contrasts the 'sociocultural nature' of new social movements with previous movements:

The continuity from social movement to political party is disappearing ... The main risk is no longer to see social movements absorbed by political parties ... but a complete separation between social movements and State.

Carroll and Ratner (2001: 606) elaborate on the challenges new social movements are posed; arguing that the separation between social movements and state is not necessary a deliberate decision by the movement:

[B]eyond the initial phase of social-movement formation lies the challenge of maintaining and elaborating that culture as a vibrant

lifeworld, in the face of both colonising and marginalising moves by capital and the state.

Other authors have noted the impact of era on the aims of social movements. Fraser (2013: 57; 2020: 218) has termed the current age in which social movements operate as a 'post-socialist' one, marked both by neo-liberal hegemony and by the primacy of cultural recognition over material redistribution. The domination which is challenged by new social movements controls not only 'means of production' but the production of symbolic goods, of information and culture (Touraine, 1985: 774).

These observations from new social movement scholars are useful in analyses of social movements: the context in which social movement activity takes place is often an environment resistant to systemic change. Institutional forces work to limit change to the smallest amount and social movements are working against this current (Lowdnes, 2005). New social movements make these claims upon the State to enact meaningful societal change at a variety of levels. They are characterised by fluidity – once change has been achieved in an area of focus, the movement will evolve and collectivise to engage with other frontiers (Bagguley, 1992: 42; Carling-Jenkins, 2016: 70).

To summarise, this section has discussed key ideas from new social movement scholarship and considered the elements this approach brings to the analysis of social movement activity. New social movements seek to unpick previously accepted cultural practices and values that contribute to the unequal participation between groups in society. In contrast with a resource mobilisation theory approach, new social movement scholars tend to focus on the ideas driving movements and argue that the collection of movements under this banner represent a cultural shift that explores social cleavages and conflicts unrelated to traditional labour-based struggles. Movements operating in a late-capitalist era face a system that shapes their activity as much as their principles. Movement organisations face a challenge in where to operate: balancing between absorption and separation. In analyses of social movements, both the driving principles behind movement activity and the environment in which it takes place should be considered; this is key to the methodological approach taken in the subsequent chapters. Bagguley's

(1992) argument that to analyse (new) social movements, the set of social relations under interrogation by the movement must be examined also informs the methodological approach of the research. Although movements can be described in their entirety as reformist or revolutionary, more frequently movements contain elements of both. The next section moves to the internal dynamics within a movement.

Social movements and their parts

So far, this chapter has examined the ideas and resources driving an entire movement but this assumed homogeneity is also problematic. The following section acknowledges the internal complexity of movements by discussing their constituent parts. Groups within a movement form based on perceptions of how best to realise their goals, what societal changes are needed or around issue-specific goals (Garrett, 2007: 211; Oliver, 1990: 105). Tilly (1999: 256) warns against a conception of social movements as coherent, homogenous groups. Rather, they should be viewed as 'bounded, contingent, interactive performances by multiple and changing actors'. With this in mind it is helpful to consider the roles of actors within a movement. Further to the idea that social movements are dynamic and composed of multiple and changing actors, the binary of 'traditional labour movements' and 'new social movements' exists in theory more than in practice (Tarrow, 1998). In their modern political forms, movements now often encompass the so-called identity politics of New social movements, and class-based struggles into their agendas. Social movements contain both transformative and affirmative factions (Carroll and Ratner, 2001). Social movement organisations (SMOs) often represent ideological factions within a movement. In navigating their claims through existing state apparatuses, some SMOs seek change to the current system relating to recognition and inclusion rather than its overthrow.

The EDF conducts its advocacy work in negotiation with EU institutions of governance and receives a stable budget line from the Commission, alongside membership fees. It holds a position on the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), the formal civil society advisory platform of the EU and has many internal contacts and alliances within the EU bodies of governance.

This type of SMO can be distinguished from one that operates 'further away' from the state, as can be the case with more radical organisations with aims unaligned with state agendas (Borsay, 1986). Differentiating between types of SMOs is a necessary step of analysing a movement's activities. It pertains to the question of which organisations are given platforms to represent a social movement. The EDF is called on by European institutions to represent more than 100 million disabled people in Europe and makes claims on behalf of their interests.

Social movements have been touted as vehicles to enact lasting social change in favour of structurally oppressed blocs. They can be conceptualised as collectives of people, drawn together to challenge an element of society at a political or cultural level and enact change through this challenge (Melucci, 1996; Touraine, 1981; Oliver, 1990). Importantly, as put by Melucci (1989: 30):

[Their] actions violate the boundaries or tolerance of a system, thereby pushing the system beyond the range of variations it can tolerate without altering its structure.

In practice, social movements encompass a vast range of groups and activities, stretching from a radical, subaltern level to highly institutionalised, bureaucratic ones (della Porta and Diani, 1999). Accordingly, their consequences manifest in different forms. The following section discusses the difficulties of measuring social movement activity. This research draws on several schools of recent thought to raise and answer questions about how disabled people and their organisations have realised their goals as a movement. The types of activity undertaken by this organisation will be referred to as repertoires of 'collective action'. Collective action can be defined as:

[A]n articulated structure of relations, circuits of interactions and influence, choices among alternative forms of behaviour

(Melucci, 1996: 22)

Collective action is a consciously selected set of actions by a representative group that engage with ideas and practices to further the agenda of a social

movement. When this repertoire targets a particular goal, to trigger a specific change according to a timeline, this can be referred to as a collective action campaign. Campaigns are the focal activity of the present research and can be distinguished from general social movement activity by their time allocation and targets. This section has considered the parts of social movements and their internal dynamics. Social movements should be understood as performances by multiple and changing actors, spanning across a spectrum of ideas and actions to achieve social change. Within a movement are both affirmative and transformative groups; in analysing a social movement this must be taken into account. The present research uses a case study approach that focuses on a single organisation, albeit one with an 'umbrella' structure and a wide-ranging membership, and recognises that this organisation is one among many voices in the European movement of disabled people – but a voice frequently called upon to publicly represent disabled Europeans collectively in policy processes at the European level.

Evaluating the outcomes of a social movement

The study of social movement activity 'outcomes' is neglected. This is in part due to the 'blurriness' of distinguishing what, and when, the outcomes of a social movement are (Tilly, 1999: xiv, 256). Recalling Castells' (2004: 3) definition of social movements as 'collective actions whose outcome, in victory as in defeat, transforms the values and institutions of society', a key element of social movements is their impact on society. Despite this, causal links are difficult to establish between long-term movements, with a wide-ranging membership and peripheral groups, and tangible outcomes in a complex system, particularly if following a definition like McCarthy and Zald's (1977) of social movement membership that does not require action. Further, 'change' could be interpreted in the internal dynamics of a social movement, as well as the impact on the lives of members (Klandermans, 1989). Often cultural changes precede policy changes as an indicator of claim recognition or structural transformation – movement objectives can gain a groundswell of legitimising support before they appear at a formal level of public policy (Gamson, 1998; Suh, 2012).

Although favourable policy change indicates congruence with or acceptance of a social movement's aims at a formal level of governance, some have argued this measure misses important subtleties, can easily be reversed, and might not fully encompass the motivations of the movement (Suh, 2012; Giugni, 1999; Giugni, 1998). Additionally, as Castells' definition indicates, a social movement has the potential to fundamentally change aspects of our social reality in failing to realise intended outcomes. Efforts to achieve influence in policy dynamics can be co-opted if state actors pay lip service to their demands but fail to meaningfully include them in the decision-making process (Gamson, 1991). Suh (2012) points out too that the passing of legislation does not always translate to enactment. These issues are exemplified in the EU legislative process, particularly the transposition phase where European law can be delayed or misapplied (Steunenberg and Rhinard, 2010).

Policy change, then, is not a complete indicator of the extent to which a social movement is affecting change in a society. It does, however, indicate recognition of a movement's objectives at a formal level. For this recognition to occur at a formal level, some process of cultural or political acceptance has often occurred prior to this, although political acceptance can precede wider social acceptance (Gamson, 1991). Offe (1987) distinguishes between three types of policy transformation that indicates social movement success: substantive, procedural and political. These refer, respectively, to the alignment of public decision making with movement demands, the participation of movements in decision making, and the recognition by state institutions of movement demands as 'collective interests'. This research will assess the substantive and procedural success of the disabled people's movement at the European level by looking at the representation of campaign aims in policy and the inclusion of the EDF in decision making processes. Political success has been demonstrably obtained in the establishment of funded representation of the movement by organisations like the EDF and its partners. Unaddressed in this conception of a movement's success (measured through policy change) is whether the demands of the campaign represent the interests of the movement as a whole. To return to the issue of diverse voices within a social movement, the question of which groups are

given legitimacy and platform to raise claims on behalf of a movement will be explored later. Scholars have noted that despite the limitations inherent in studying movement outcomes, research on movement impact that narrows the focus of analysis and by reducing the study of outcomes to specific mobilizations or campaigns has been effective (Lubitow, 2013; Diani 1997). The present research takes this direction, focusing on specific campaigns run by the EDF and its partners, and the outcomes of these collective actions.

Focusing on the outcomes of social movement activity in its legislated, formalised forms does not capture the full picture of a movement's impact. However, to reach formal decision-making processes often indicates a prior process of public galvanisation (Gamson, 1998). It is also suitable for the style of organisation that is presently examined: the EDF is an institutionalised, Brussels-based organisation that works to represent the interests of disabled people and their movements around Europe, specifically at EU-level decision making and policy. Therefore, much of the EDF's activity is focussed at this formalised level, aiming to prompt responsiveness from the institutions. The unintended consequences of campaigns should be considered alongside the resultant policy, or lack thereof – including impacts on the internal dynamics of the movement, such as capacity and alliance building or fragmentation for example. The research will use a working definition of social movements as the establishment of new orders of life, not simply a preference for change but, in Castells' (2004) words, 'purposive collective actions' that can be connected, in victory or defeat, with social transformation.

The research seeks to understand the successes and failures of the European disability movement in reaching stated goals, based on the perspectives of the actors involved in selected campaigns. It will examine the campaign activity of the European Disability Forum as an advocacy organisation that raises claims on behalf of disability movements across Europe. Although a reliance on legislative change as a measure has been rightly problematised, engagement with public policy debates and governmental institutions provides the key focus point for the empirical research. This includes, but is not limited to, an assessment of policy claims and gains, agenda setting, problem framing, and policy alignment with campaign goals. While there are risks to

incorporation of protest movements, the institutionalisation of their representative organisations is also an important mechanism for social change (Suh, 2006). As the impact of social movements tend to reach legislation last, using policy change as a measure indicates an institutionalisation of ideas, and potential longevity in a decision. The research will take a nuanced approach to the connection of policy and movement demands. Public institutions and governments may also co-opt movements, create policy that does not meaningfully engage with the demands of a movement or select an unrepresentative voice to speak on behalf of a movement (Suh, 2012; Tilly, 1995).

The preceding sections have introduced explanations of social movements to produce a working definition for use in the research. Social movements are defined by a constituency of multiple and changing actors coalescing around a set of beliefs; seeking a change in the social structure and carrying out actions that, in success or failure, transform society. Two main theoretical approaches to social movement analysis were introduced, those being resource mobilisation theory and new social movement approaches. Elements from both approaches will be used in a combinative approach to the present research, taking structural frameworks offered by resource mobilisation schools of thought along with more identity-based elements from new social movement theories. The research examines what is successful, and what 'success' means, from the perspective of the actors within a social movement. Public policy responses are not a perfect indicator of the impact of a social movement, but they do indicate a formal institutional acknowledgement of movement demands – even if the response remains imperfect or partial. The thesis will address the question of which voices from a movement are selected to represent interests in its empirical analysis and conclusions. The next section introduces the disabled people's movement, its history and contemporary forms.

Disabled people's movements and disability studies

This section will introduce the political movement of disabled people, or disabled people's movements. It begins with a brief history of the formation of

an international, politically conscious movement and the role of what has since been termed the 'social model' as a lens to examine the structural barriers and social oppression disabled people face. This social model has informed academic interest in disabled people's movements around the world and is a lens that unifies people in the collective fight against disabling oppression. The section then connects the disabled people's movement to social movement literature more generally.

In twentieth century Western societies, disability was often associated with 'personal tragedy', and a 'burden' for societies to deal with (Barnes and Mercer, 2003). Disabled people have faced marginalisation and segregation politically, economically, socially and culturally as a result (Oliver, 1990; Davis, 2013). The 1960s and 70s saw the birth of protest movements around the world by disabled people demanding social change to correct this marginalisation. Momentum built internationally following the UN International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981 – the official name itself reflecting protests from disabled activists, having originally been titled the International Year for the Disabled. Dreidger's (1989) formative organisational history of Disabled People's International (DPI) and Rachel Hurt's investigation of its European contingent inform the following section on the origins of Disabled Peoples' International (DPI) as an example of the organisational resource mobilisation of growing disability activism internationally, prior to the establishment of EDF.

A culmination of global collective consciousness occurred in 1980 when Rehabilitation International (RI), an international association of rehabilitation professionals that operated on the mandate of assisting disabled people, rejected a demand from disabled people for an equal say in the organisation's operations. Prior to the 1980 World Congress in Winnipeg, very few disabled people had access to the meetings of RI due to lack of funding and the inaccessibility of sites. Efforts by RI to establish a process of inclusion of disabled people and their organisations were ultimately seen as piecemeal by disabled delegates at the Winnipeg World Congress and the decision to set up an independent international DPO was made on Monday, 23 June 1980. Disabled Peoples' International (DPI), a global coalition of DPOs, was born in

Singapore the following year. DPI established regional programmes to suit various global contexts.

In Europe, a pre-existing regional disability coalition, Federation International des Mutilés, des Invalides de Travail et des Invalides Civils (FIMITIC), with consultative status at global governance organisations slowed the progress of DPI. Some member organisations of FIMITIC argued that the two organisations had the same goals and thus a second regional organisation was unnecessary. FIMITIC did not have input into the decade-long World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons organised by the United Nations, nor early European disability policy. In its early years, DPI Europe (DPI/E) also suffered from a lack of central funding, unlike DPIs other regional assemblies (Hurst, 2005). By 1990, DPI had been active in European and UN evaluations of the Decade of Action and secured some funding from the DPI World Council. It also lobbied with other European disabled people's organisations successfully in 1991 for a democratic consultative mechanism to be established within EU programmes for disabled people. Thus, in the 'Helios 2' pilot programme, the European Disability Forum was established as an internal advisory committee of DPOs within the European Commission (a more in-depth account of the EDF and its historical context is supplied at the end of this chapter).

DPI/E worked with the EDF and other European DPOs, seeking Commission funding to mark the first International Day of Disabled Persons on December 3 1992. One of the main events was a Parliament of Disabled People in 1993 (Hurst, 1995; 2005: 75). The attention from UN and EU governance institutions to disability as a human rights issue and the production of the UN Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities of Disabled Persons in the same year (the UN Standard Rules) increased public funds available for DPOs to organise and participate in projects. DPI/E as a grassroots organisation and the EDF as an 'insider' organisation worked with other disability organisations to change the EU approach to disability policy and secure some landmark gains, such as the legal recognition of disability as ground for non-discrimination in Article 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). This campaign is one of the case studies of the present research and

introduced formally in Chapter 4. Funding for DPI/E ended in 2002 and the headquarters closed the following year. EDF maintains its funding and continued to grow in influence and activity over the next decades. FIMITIC continues to hold membership within the EDF.

It is important to distinguish here between some commonly used terms that refer to movements of disabled people and supporting disabled people. Disabled People's Movements (the DPM) here refer to movements *led by* disabled people themselves fighting for their emancipation. National cultural differences ascribe slightly different terminology to these movements and the thesis adopts the term commonly used in literature and activism based in the United Kingdom. These differences extend to how disabled people describe themselves: in the United Kingdom political self-identification as a 'disabled person' has been used to indicate the active, external disablement of the person by societal barriers (this will be returned to in detail later in the chapter). The term was used by early activist organisations to recognise that their oppression was rooted in social structures and their treatment in society (UPIAS, 1975; Abberley, 1987). It was adopted internationally in the naming of Disabled People's International and DPI/E but has been equally contested by the widespread adoption of 'people first' terminology in public policy debates. This understanding of disablement turned the focus away from a medical, individualised understanding of disability. In the UK, Paul Hunt first articulated this distinction and went on to found the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) (1975: 4). As the organisation's fundamental principles state:

Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group. It follows from this analysis that having low incomes, for example, is only one aspect of our oppression. It is a consequence of our isolation and segregation in every area of social life, such as education, work, mobility, housing, etc.

Similar ideas were emerging among activists in other countries too and this political awakening has been articulated as the 'social model' of disability, a

shift that has taken place around the world in disabled people's perception of their social position and disablement as an experience formed by societal responses to a perceived impairment. Through the social model, a 'Politics of Disablement' has been articulated, as outlined in Oliver's (1990) seminal text of the same title. This refers to the process of disablement occurring outside of individual bodies and rather through social, cultural and environmental barriers. The solution to this oppression is that barriers must be broken down and society transformed. In international and EU parlance, activists and institutions alike have settled on 'persons with disabilities' in recent years. Earlier EU policy materials from the 1970s refer paternalistically to 'the disabled' and the challenge to this passive framing by the burgeoning global DPM is reflected in the change of terminology to 'disabled people' in the 1980s and 1990s. Current international agreements, themselves a product of disabled people's activism, use the terminology 'persons with disabilities' and many DPOs and advocacy organisations, including the EDF, have adopted this language. Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) asserts:

Persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others.

The UNCRPD (or the Convention) is an international Treaty enshrining the rights of disabled people. As of 2022 there are 185 state parties to the Convention. State parties are obligated to adhere to the principles of the Convention by implementing legislation and monitoring mechanisms that realise the rights of disabled people protected in the Treaty. It is returned to for further discussion in later chapters. The focal point for much disability activism following the Convention has been that of human rights. Armed with an international Treaty ratified by 185 countries, many parts of the movement have called on state governments to realise the inalienable rights afford to disabled people and set out in the Convention (Degener and Quinn, 2002; Degener, 2014).

This section has introduced the historical context of the international DPM and the early organisation of European DPOs. As a political consciousness emerged throughout disabled people's movements globally, it was understood that disabled people and their organisations had to be involved in decision making processes if they were to achieve emancipation. Conceptions of the disabling impact of societal barrier spurred political action. Alongside a burgeoning international movement in DPI, regional programmes were emerging. By the 1990s, following several decades of ineffectual, individualised policy solutions, disabled activists in Europe succeeded in obtaining participation as an advisory council to the European Commission. While other regional DPOs faltered in the EU, the EDF maintained its funding and became a key advocacy organisation. The nature of the DPM in terms of social movement literature is turned to next.

What kind of movement is the DPM?

Debates have long waged within the DPM and the field of disability studies as to the nature of the movement and the approach it should take to enacting change. Scholars have pointed to other specific barriers to the politicisation of disabled people: self-identification is not the only condition for forming a social movement; nor is exclusion. Disability is an individualised experience for many (Scotch, 1988; Beckett, 2006). Debates as to whether the movement can be classified as a 'new' social movement continue. Shakespeare (1993: 256) confirms the process of forming group consciousness which leads to social movements occurring among groups of disabled people with examples from the UK and North America: personal problems become political demands and lead to a growing collective identity. Many activists call for attention to economic concerns of disabled people, like the allocation of and contribution to society's resources; other groups within the movement seek to affirm and celebrate disabled identity as a liberation from the drudgery of nondisabled life (Barnes and Oliver, 2012; Shakespeare, 1993; Swain and French, 2000).

Conceptualisations of which types of activity prompt change is culturally dependent. In the US, following a civil rights approach, a 'minority model' is utilised, with disabled people seeking to articulate and claim their full rights to

citizenship (Hahn, 1986; Bickenbach et al., 1999). This approach has informed other national movements, notably the independent living movement in Japan (Mayashi and Okuhira, 2008). Noting the strong adherence to family and communal ties in Sub-Saharan African societies, Haang'andu (2020: 289) critiques an activism based on 'individual rights supremacy', arguing that transnational activist tools based on litigious measures will be ineffectual in such a context. Contemporary debates surrounding disability activism note the crucial role that local context plays. As Haang'andu (2020) aptly puts it:

[M]eaningful activism should be based on a coherent and contextual understanding of institutions, their structures and operations.

Covering the populations of 27 EU Member States and many more peripheral countries, the European DPM contains factions of revolutionary activists who seek to redesign the political, cultural and physical structures of society to eradicate the disablement experienced by those with impairments, as well as more reformist groups who wish to work with the State to improve standards for disabled people within existing conditions (Griffiths, 2019). The binary of reformist styles of organisations working with the State and revolutionary organisations limited to peripheral input is well documented and perhaps reflects DPI's experience in Europe. For example, Borsay (1986: 16) notes, of the reformist style organisations:

[T]he status which flows from their long traditions and connections with the establishment give them a credibility and "aura" in government circles which more ... radical groups cannot easily imitate.

This research does not seek to add to the debate as to whether the DPM can or should be conceptualised as a new social movement, rather to highlight the range of views and standpoints relevant to the research. The focal organisation of the research primarily seeks to enact change through legislative influence and lobbying, so can be considered reformist. It has in its ranks, however, member organisations that adopt a more radical approach and demand structural changes.

The question of how disabled people's organisations – that is, organisations of disabled people (DPOs), as social movement organisations (SMOs), can strengthen their movement and access policy processes to influence change for the benefit of the bloc they claim to represent is crucial. According to Oliver (1990: 99) and others (e.g., Finklestein, 2007), service provision from the welfare State has reinforced the construction of the dependent disabled person in an era of dependency reduction; these processes have only accelerated since Oliver's diagnosis in his seminal text, *The Politics of Disablement* (1990). Participation as citizens in the political system poses additional structural challenges for disabled people: transport and physical access to polling stations, inaccessible voting materials and inaccessibility of constituency headquarters all hinder their ability to fully exercise their rights (Degener, 2014). Structural divisions can prevent disabled people from becoming a powerful, politically unified voice – disability runs across many societal cleavages, and many do not see their impairment as a defining feature of their identity (see Oliver, 1990: 106; Beckett, 2006). Charity group activity is damaging if the interests of disabled people are represented by salaried professionals who assume that disabled people cannot speak for themselves and frame their situation as one of tragedy, requiring the benevolence of non-disabled people. For Oliver (1990: 135) and others (see for example Priestley, Waddington and Bessozi 2010) the answer to challenging this construction lies in civil society organisations (CSOs) and their potential for counterhegemonic practices. One form of protest that the DPM and the disability rights movement have taken is the launching of targeted campaigns at public institutions, drawing attention to the disabling barriers, attitudes and physical inaccessibility of their environments and demanding a corrective legislative response (Oliver, 1990; Davis, 2013).

To enact change, reformist social movement organisations need to engage with structures of power (Melucci, 1996: 316; Powell and Di Maggio, 1991). European institutions of governance have drawn in stakeholder groups through formalised civil society organisations like the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC). Additionally, and particularly pertinent to the present research, the EU as a party to the UNCRPD is obligated under Article 4(3) to involve disabled people in the development of laws and policies that

concern them. The UNCRPD is explored in-depth the following chapter as a governing framework for disability policy in the EU. Research that reflects on how European disabled people's movements have strengthened their presence in formal governance settings can provide lessons for the future about meaningful involvement in decision making processes and activities that have strengthened the movement.

The European DPM has successfully campaigned for reform through these practices, and lessons for future collective action can be drawn. As such, it is important to consider the perspectives of actors on the 'other side' of the interface between civil society and the State. The research at hand assesses how some opportunities presented in recent evolutions of governance were seized on by disability activists to engage in counterhegemonic practices. This research will do so through the lens of targeted collective action campaigns conducted by the EDF as part of the EU disability rights movement levelled at formal governance bodies, although not all social movement activity takes this form. Indeed, the movement in Europe spans beyond the borders of the European Union. This research is an examination of the emergence of EU-level governance and the potential it holds for DPOs as SMOs in their campaigns for social change. Thus, its focus is on DPO activity within the boundaries of the EU (as these boundaries have morphed over the course of the past 25 years); specifically, activity aimed at EU level governance and institutions.

Current and historic debates within the disabled people's movement give insight about the nature of social movements and the impact of cultural specificity on styles of activism and theories of change. By introducing a contextual history of the emergence of a global disability movement and the specific case of Europe, I have begun to locate the research theoretically and empirically. The EDF, is a reformist-style social movement organisation representing the interests of disabled people to the European institutions of governance. Operating in this sphere, it is also a civil society organisation. It attained its position via the application of pressure by disabled activists for inclusion in EU civil society, its previous presence as an internal advisory committee within the Commission and maintains itself with funding from the

Commission. The following section further contextualises the research by looking at the sphere in which EDF conducts much of its work: European civil society. It assesses the potential opportunities and challenges held in the civil society space, grounded in a Gramscian notion of State power.

Civil society, hegemony and resistance

This section introduces the concept of civil society as a sphere that can be utilised by social movement organisations (SMOs). It holds potential for resistance and social change as a platform for SMOs. It is also the formal platform that institutions of governance use to communicate with non-government organisations – to some extent an apparatus of the state. The following section features a working definition of civil society, primarily grounded in Gramsci's concepts of hegemonic order and counterhegemonic resistance. It also utilises Fraser's feminist appraisal of civil society and Habermasian notions of the 'public sphere' with as a sphere historically constructed for an 'emergent elite' (Fraser 2020: 68). In other words, civil society has always been a risky terrain for structurally oppressed groups, not created to explicitly include them. It is also one that has been strategically navigated by these groups to make political gains. The section demonstrates how the example of EDF's emergence from the broader European Disabled People's movement raises questions of representativeness and the accountability of CSOs to their wider social movements. Following a broader discussion of conceptualisations of civil society, the section then focuses on the formalisation of European civil society and its operation in processes and institutions of governance.

Gramsci's (1971) approach to understanding structures of power considers three elements: the economy, the state and civil society. The economy refers to the dominant mode of production, the state is 'all state-funded institutions' – encompassing the political, bureaucratic and means of violence, and civil society includes all institutions that are run and supported by people outside of the other two spheres (Bocock, 1987). These three areas are bound by what Gramsci (1971) refers to as hegemony – domination of the ruling class through a worldview that becomes the accepted terms of reality for society.

Leadership of the people can be located in the spheres of the state and civil society rather than just dominance in the economic sphere alone (Gramsci, 1971; Melucci, 1996, 233; Jessop, 2002: 6). Opportunities for resistance appear in the space of civil society, rather than just the economic sphere. The power of an institution is often reflected in the influence it holds in the minds of the population. Hegemony enables the state to rule by legitimacy, not force alone (Gramsci, 1971). The tension between the creation of 'the new' in tandem with the pull of hegemony is constant in social relations. Often the ability to permeate comes from cultural as well as economic and political power: defining the boundaries of 'reality' and common sense either by ignoring views outside those boundaries or by labelling deviant opinions 'tasteless' or 'irresponsible' (Williams, 1980). As put by Lears (1985: 570):

Vocabulary helps mark the boundaries of permissible discourse, discourages the clarification of social alternatives, and makes it difficult for the dispossessed to locate the source of their unease, let alone remedy it.

Rose and Miller (2010: 277) connect civil society to contemporary forms of neoliberal governance. Civil society becomes a rationalising function in current mentalities of liberal governance (Foucault, 1991; Rose, 1996). The modern, liberal state rules through 'governmentalisation' (Foucault, quoted in Rose and Miller 2010: 273). This is a network of state and non-state institutions and organisations; an interdependent complex of discursive rationalisation (moral justification) and intellectual machinery (language) deployed through governmental technologies (administrative programmes and procedures) (281). Political power does not constrain citizens; rather it equips them with a certain type of freedom (272; Cruikshank and Cruikshank, 1999). Simultaneously, it is also the task of the state to nurture the self-organising capacity of the space. This is a key element in the governing at a distance approach of the modern State (Rose, 1996; Rose and Miller, 2010). Whether civil society can be seen as an extension of the state or an independent space is a crucial distinction. Traditions from the US tend to take a 'safeguarding' view of the sphere: Tocquevillian perspectives view civil society to be necessary for a healthy functioning of a democracy (Putnam,

2000; Tocqueville, 2003); a barrier to unwanted state encroachment that includes all voluntary associations between 'the governor and the governed' (1). The conviction that the state and its incursions into the 'private sphere' must be kept in check constructs civil society as 'distinct from and opposed to' the state (Buttigieg, 1995: 5). Civil society here acts as a normatively 'good' protective layer for democracy, in itself neutral and distinct from the state. Its aim is to restrict state power, but not extinguish it.

Civil society and Europe

Returning to European traditions, most definitions recognise some kind of relationship between civil society and the state beyond a protective barrier. Stemming from the thought of Habermas (2015) is another conception of civil society: the 'third sector' (Enjolras & Sivesind, 2018). This too depicts civil society as free from the exploitative and administrative logics of the market and State. Civil society is a communicative sphere in which public opinion is shaped and issues shifted onto the political agenda accordingly (Habermas, 2015). This definition is one favoured by international NGOs, describing civil society as a sphere beyond that of the market or State. According to the United Nations office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR) *Handbook on Civil Society* (2008: 2):

Civil society actors are individuals who voluntarily engage in forms of public participation and action around shared interests, purposes or values that are compatible with the goals of the United Nations.

Similarly, the World Health Organisation describes it as 'the space for collective action around shared interests, purposes and values, generally distinct from government and commercial for-profit actors' (WHO, 2007). In the lexicon of the European Union, civil society comprises all 'social action carried out by individuals or groups who are neither connected to nor managed by the State' (EU, 2020). Currently, Article 15 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) recognises civil society's role in the EU's good governance and Article 11 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) emphasises the need for the EU to have 'an open, transparent and regular dialogue' with civil society organisations, for example when preparing

proposals for EU legislation. Despite the broad definition of civil society adopted by the EU, these specific dialogues take place in a formalised arena. The official platform for EU communication with civil society is the European and Economic Social Committee (EESC) (returned to the following section of this chapter). The European Commission provides funding for groups to operate in these spaces. The style of a political system impacts the functioning of civil society. The European tradition – that is, the tradition of EU-level governance and its Member States – operates on a cooperative structure.

Civil society can be defined, then, as a societal space for the generation of ideas and addressment of interests that are not met through economic or administrative means. Importantly, formal civil society in the EU context is a sanctioned societal space. It is not synonymous with all non-business and non-government related collective activity – more precisely, civil society is a space consisting of organisations that have been granted access by the state (Fraser, 1990: 60; Rose and Miller, 2010). It is a formal arena in which ‘private’ interests can be translated into the public institutions of the state (Melucci 1996: 219). Civil society is an integral element *of* the functioning state.

Gramsci’s conception of civil society is a crucial component of his theory of hegemony: ‘The historical unity of the ruling classes is realised in the State ... the fundamental historical unity, concretely, results from the organic relations between state ... and ‘civil society’” (Gramsci, 1971: 52). This depiction is not dissimilar from more recent Foucauldian analyses by Rose and Miller (2010; Rose 1996), mentioned above. Although Habermas (1989) acknowledges the production of consent in his vision of the public sphere, critical perspectives further emphasise this production of legitimacy for the ruling class. Similarly, in discussing the exclusionary nature of the historic liberal public sphere, Eley (1992) notes that civil society was ‘the soil that nourished’ the elite classes. It produced the shift from rule by domination to rule by hegemony; governments are now not run by brute force alone – they are also legitimised. Civil society provides this legitimation by working with institutions of governance to pursue social change (Melucci, 1996: 219). It is the sphere of cultural and ideological hegemony: through these organic relations, the state gradually evolves and adapts in response to civil society without relinquishing its essential and

underlying dominance and essentially neutralises threats to its legitimacy through inclusion of 'mild' groups within social movements and adapting when necessary (Habermas, 2015; Gramsci, 1971; Buttigieg, 1995). Lombardo (2004) substantiates this empirically in noting a bias in favour of 'mild', often EU-funded organisations in consultations with civil society during the EU constitution writing process. Alliances and partnerships among different 'social forces' are desirable and sometimes necessary political strategies in the struggle for hegemony, however they may reinforce the dominant social power and weaken subaltern actors. The process of neutralising hostile interests to conform to the dominant group is what Gramsci termed '*transformismo*' or transformism (Gramsci, 1971: 167). The conception of civil society as a space where consent and moral authority are created is further complicated by the opportunities Gramsci conceived in this space for 'subaltern' groups in their struggle for hegemony. For Gramsci, the capture of hegemony is the key societal power struggle. Achieving hegemony is the process when:

[O]ne's own corporate interests ... become the interests of other subordinate social groups. This marks the decisive passage ... to the sphere of complex superstructures bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also an intellectual and moral unity ... thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental group over a series of subordinate groups.

- Gramsci, 1971: 181

Importantly, Gramsci's conception of ideology is a positive one, rather than the traditional Marxist negative portrayal of distortion. For Gramsci, ideology is a tool to be used by all in the struggle for hegemony between social forces. It is a lens that can be utilised as political strategy by subaltern forces like social movements to counter prevailing hegemonic logics (Hunt, 1990: 310). Ideas are filtered up through organisational networks and translated by reformist organisations to a language that becomes acceptable to government bodies. Here is a key departure from more traditional Marxist notions of power, marking a trajectory towards conceptions of its fluid nature as expounded by Foucault (1976: 93). Civil society, for Gramsci is a sphere with relative

autonomy from the economy and the state in which gains can also be made by subaltern forces to disrupt prevailing hegemonic truths. The approach of new social movement activism in questioning hegemonic norms and values works in the sphere of civil society.

This interdependent relationship between movement organisations, within a social movement community is not without tensions – fragmentation within a movement can occur when the distance between the aims and activities of factions becomes too wide (Bresser-Pereira, 2010). In campaign activity, Kleidman (1993: 201) notes there may be conflicts between immediate campaign goals and larger movement goals. Both short-term gains and losses through campaigns can ‘decrease momentum’ for longer-term goals (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). Lombardo and Verloo note in their exploration of institutionalising intersectionality in Europe (2009):

At a recent Social Platform meeting called to discuss priorities, commonalities and specificities, it could be observed that ILGA was most active (also chairing the discussion), as was [European Network Against Racism] ENAR, while the [European] Disability Forum was accentuating its specificities about reasonable accommodation and AGE taking a consumer interest perspective. The [European Women’s Lobby] EWL, in contrast, seemed blocked, neither stressing the specificity of gender nor building coalitions with others during the meeting.

CSOs may not organically come together to campaign if their common interests are overshadowed by specificities. Rolandsen Agustín (2008) argues that the Commission prioritises positions of ENGOs that already align with the integrated approach frame. However counterhegemonic activity starts ‘from that which exists’ (Hunt, 1990: 311). This process has been described by Gramsci as ‘welding the future to the present’ (1977: 65; Carroll, 2010). Existing activities are renovated and ‘made critical’ (Hunt, 1990: 311; Gramsci, 1971). Civil society has presented SMOs with sites of counterhegemonic resistance (Jessop, 2002: 8). Extensions of rights or social changes achieved thus far have emerged through a process of application of pressure to the State and garnering of widespread support (Fraser, 2013). SMOs pursuing a

transformative agenda within a movement serve a purpose to inspire conversation, engage in symbolic, emotive acts, and generate the beginnings of discursive change by questioning prevailing notions of universal truths (Carroll and Ratner, 2001).

Habermasian accounts view the sphere as a public, deliberative one where ideas and opinions are discussed to produce consent over time (Bee and Bello, 2009; Habermas, 1989). More critical explanations emphasise the exclusivity of the sphere, and its role in legitimating the actions and rule of institutions of governance (Rose and Miller, 2010). While institutions of governance describe civil society in broad, normatively positive terms, the way they engage the sphere is often formalised and explicit. The present research looks at the visible manifestation of European civil society through the lens of a CSO representing a social movement. analysing the EDF's campaign activity, it follows the organisation through its navigation of the mechanisms and dynamics of EU civil society in practice. It will empirically address whether the Habermasian notion of a public deliberative sphere described by the EU is the reality experienced by organisations operating in the sphere and the extent to which civil society enables or constrains the organisation's potential to impart influence.

What, then, is a European CSO?

This section will distinguish between types of social movement activity – specifically between 'contentious' and non-contentious repertoires with the aim of identifying the characteristic types of activity of a European CSO. Repertoires of contention and discourse refer to the shared behaviours of a social movement as they make their claims upon the State (Tilly, 1998; Steinberg, 1998). These phenomena can be used to describe the collection of tactics and approaches used by a movement in a particular time. Much social movement scholarship focuses on contentious forms of collective action (see for example della Porta and Diani, 1999; 2015; della Porta, 2020; Tarrow, 2005; Tilly, 1998). Whether SMOs select a repertoire of collective action that is contentious or non-contentious will predicate their levels of interaction with the state (Suh, 2001).

The inclusion of non-government organisations representing certain stakeholders in European decision-making has historically been in the interest of the EU institutions. Their increasing presence in policy can be tracked, as Kohler-Koch (2012) describes, via the changing terminology used in Commission documents about its relationship with these organisations – from ‘involving civil society’ to ‘co-production of policy’ (see also Greenwood, 2007; Garcia and Greenwood, 2014). Part of this involved creating Commission-funded spaces for non-government groups to interact formally and informally with the European institutions. This progression has been described as the ‘Europeanisation’ of a movement, or ‘playing the Brussels Game’ (Patternote, 2016; Van Schendelen, 1998). From Marks and McAdam (1996: 102):

Organizers are also very likely to tailor their efforts to the specific kinds of changes they see taking place in the political systems they seek to challenge. In particular, where and how they seek to press their claims will reflect their view of where the system is newly vulnerable or receptive to their efforts.

The term emphasises the evolution that SMOs undergo when they enter the European governance sphere and the semi-institutionalised process of lobbying and exchanges between non-government groups and the state. The origins of input from social actors in the European Union can be traced to the ‘social partners’, being the organisations representing employer and employee interests, and the women’s movement.

Trade unions and other economic interest groups have been represented in the European governance process initially through the Economic and Social Committee (EESC), established in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 (an explanation of the EESC is returned to in following paragraphs). By virtue of the Social Protocol annexed in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, the EU established a new playing field for trade unions and employer organisations, titled the ‘social partners’, through the practice of ‘social dialogue’ (Streeck, 1994). Since then, EU-level organisations representing labour and management have played an increasingly legislated role in EU labour legislation (Elomäki & Kantola, 2020). The social dialogue is described by Tricart (2020: 71) as:

[T]he institutional arrangements and system of actions and relationships via which European-level employer organisations, trade unions and European institutions interact to set labour standards and come up with policies and initiatives linked to economic and social developments in the European Union.

In the single market integration process, a political need was seen to give a 'social dimension' to the market (Prosser, 2016). Equal treatment and non-discrimination are the most developed components of the social dimension of European integration (Mabbett, 2005). The so-called 'social partners' were introduced via dialogues to meet this social dimension and establish shared social standards. Alongside the social dialogue the Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers was introduced in 1989. Following this the Treaty of Maastricht enshrined a 'corporatist pattern' to social policy, establishing the position of interest groups in decision-making. Social partners were granted a legal position as 'formal co-actors' (Falkner, 2000: 705). The social dimension of the single market both promoted certain social rights and policies which were 'European' in nature, and through political rhetoric afforded legitimacy to the integration process. Tricart (ibid) notes that new paradigms emerged at the turn of the 21st century, prioritising more flexible forms of political co-ordination rather than legislation, dubbed the 'Open Method of Co-ordination' (OMC) (Prosser, 2016: 464). This, alongside austerity policies and the Euro crisis, impacted the collective bargaining power of the social partners and their dialogue with the institutions in the first decade of the 2000s to the point that the social dialogue was 'relaunched' in 2015 by the Juncker Commission. The social partners were joined by other EU-level civil organisations with the introduction of funding programmes for NGOs in in the 1990s (Quittkat and Finke, 2008). Networks of the CSOs have established forums like the 'Platform of Social NGOs' (or the Social Platform), of which the EDF is a member. The social partners and Social Platform work in forums like the EESC as advisory figures for the institutions, in particular the Commission (ibid). They have established a legitimising dialogue between the European institutions and civil society. Given a legislated position in the Maastricht Treaty, the social partners' collective power was diminished under the 'retreat' of European social policy (Prosser, 2016). The announcement in 2017 of the

European Pillar of Social Rights (the Social Pillar) followed a broad consultation with civil society and the social partners, and the highlighted need for a 'stronger balance' between economic and social policy objectives (Carella and Graziano, 2021). Despite the renewed attention to the social partners in the Social Pillar consultation process and its departure from the primacy of economic objectives, it finally took the form of a 'joint declaration' between the three European institutions – a characteristically 'soft' decision informed by the OMC (ibid). Whilst social rights are increasingly referenced after a period of economic primacy in EU policy processes, the social partner" input remains consultative and flexible, similar to that of CSOs in the Social Platform.

Labour standards and legislation prompted the first social considerations of the economic union of the Member States. An early example of the contention by new social movements, alongside the work of trade unions to secure labour standards for workers in the European Member States, another group was seeking confirmation of equal labour rights for all. The first references to equal opportunity principles can be found in the Treaty of Rome, prohibiting discrimination based on nationality and Article 119 of the founding Treaty of Rome 1957, providing that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work (Hoskyns, 1992). Article 119 existed for several decades without significant enforcement until women's political activism both inside and outside the European institutions in the 1970s, following individual complaints brought to the European Court of Justice and amidst growing calls from feminist movements across Member States, prompted its enactment. Three Directives established a legal framework on gender equality, covering equal pay (1975), equal treatment at work (1976) and equal treatment in social security (1979, implemented in 1984) (Duncan, 1996). These directives have been followed by 'softer' instruments like mainstreaming approaches to gender equality (Lombardo and Meier, 2008; Hoskyns, 1996). Despite these falling firmly in the lap of industrial relations, the social partners did not play a significant role in the battle (Cockburn, 1996). A strong lobby combining MEPs, an official Parliamentary Committee on Women's Rights, the European Women's Lobby (EWL) and grassroots organisations ensure works to ensure gender equality remains a priority of the Union (Booth & Bennett, 2002). The

EWL itself was formally set up in 1990 to hold a place in forums like the EESC, prompting the inclusion of a wider range of organisations alongside the social partners (Hoskyns, 1992). Despite the historic gains made by the women's movement, authors have noted an ongoing dismantling of gender equality policies with the advent of the Eurozone crisis and a general strengthening of the EU's economic goals over its social ones (Elomäki & Kantola, 2020). Achieving gender equality is increasingly framed as a profitable decision: increasing labour market participation and investing in domestic violence prevention as a means of saving costs in social and healthcare systems (Elomäki, 2015). This has consequences for social movement organisations. This observation is reflected in the EDF's decision to pivot to an internal market-based campaign in 2011 (discussed as Campaign 3 in the present research), following the Euro crisis and blockage of non-discrimination legislation (following Campaign 2). European formal civil society has grown alongside the development of social aspects to labour legislation and then of European social policy independent of economic integration (Verdun & D'Erman, 2020: 41).

The EU holds several forums for a selection of 'social partners' and other civil society actors as consultative partners, the most visible of which is the EESC. Mentioned earlier, the EESC consists of employers' representatives, trade unions, and CSOs, meaning this forum houses both organisations representing a common position within the division of labour and organisations representing a common interest respectively (Cawson, 1982). Several focal studies on specific movements have confirmed the phenomenon of Europeanisation: for example Monforte (2009) and Patternote (2016) each describe the 'NGOisation' of migrant movements and the LGBT movement respectively, noting a replicated structure of the movements' organisations as they move to NGO (or CSO) status: 'their main resources relate to high-level expertise and an extended network within EU institutions ... these organizations are structured on the model of a professional Brussels secretariat often relatively independent from national member organizations' (Patternote, 2016: 390). These organisations are granted some degree of access to civil servants and elected officials, transforming their activities from 'banging on the door', demanding to be listened to; instead, the groups provide

important resources like expert knowledge, legitimation or consent on behalf of a social or political group (Beyers, Eising and Maloney, 2008). Similar conceptualisations of DPOs operating at the European level have yet to be performed.

Other scholars have honed in on the actual influence afforded to CSOs with their 'extended networks' with European institutions. Butler (2008) examines the operation and influence of CSOs in European decision-making. Looking at CSOs concerned with 'social policy' (broadly those CSOs involved in Europe's 'Social Platform') he examines the available opportunities for interaction with EU institutions and the degree to which these interactions are regulated or legally framed. The closest 'formal avenue' for CSO representation is the EESC. Two-thirds of the EESC is given over to business interests, and social interest groups are given limited representation to begin with (Greenwood, 2007). Within this Committee, CSOs undergo a selection process by Member States and non-binding opinions from the Committee are released only upon approval. This limits the extent to which the EESC can reflect all aspects of civil society, or public opinion. Although access to institutions is possible through various and increasing channels, in return, CSOs accept the terms of engagement offered by the institutions (Anderl, Daphi and Deitelhoff, 2021). These terms are not immune from change: as the position of the social partners demonstrates, recent preferences for 'flexible' decision-making mechanisms departing from legislation have lessened the collective power of some aspects of European civil society. The 2008 financial crisis, subsequent Euro crisis and decade of pro-austerity sentiment from the European institutions of governance have pivoted attention and efforts away from social policy as a priority for EU legislation (Plehwe, Neujeffski & Krämer, 2018).

As formal avenues sometimes hold little prospect for actual impact, informal avenues of influence are, then, vitally important. Hallstrom (2004) argues that the role of informal negotiations in policymaking processes often exclude non-business CSOs. Negotiations that take place around the formal structures and institutions determine policy outcomes. One of the key access groups are the 'middle range interior officials', such as desk officers and Commission

officials (p. 177). Commission consultations do not guarantee influence on resultant policies. Further, the informational preferences of the European Commission places limits on the roles available for non-business CSOs. While social movement organisations in this sphere are utilised for their setting of 'utopian' policy ideals, technical knowledge is still more likely to inform policy (Ruzza, 2011). The drafting of directives and incorporation of legal expertise in much of the EDF's campaign activity exemplifies how social movements operate to suit this preference for technocratic decision-making. The most successful lobby groups are those who can put forth the most technical, rational arguments that align with Institution interests. CSOs are often included in decision-making not to provide input on behalf of a group but to transmit information out to groups— as outputs of information rather than inputs of decision-making (Hallstrom, 2004). They are given symbolic or formal access to decision-making but not necessarily to the negotiations around the formal structures.

In discussions of mobilisations, Kitschelt (1986) suggests a typology that includes political parties, interest groups and social movements. Political parties operate within the electoral system, interest groups operate outside but lobby MPs and legislative executives, social movements stay outside the boundaries of the political system entirely. Within the specificities of European mobilisations, such distinctions draw arbitrary boundaries between actors. The activity of European CSOs and coalitions often slips between the gaps of literature in this field. Low levels of contentious protest activity are aimed at European institutions (della Porta, 2003). Drawing on literature looking at the potential for civic action in Eastern-European states (Tarrow and Petrova 2007, Rose 2001, Crotty, 2003), we find the term 'transactional activism'. This can be defined as the 'development of lateral ties among civil society groups and vertical ties between these groups and public officials' (Petrova and Tarrow, 2007: 79). This is a useful term for European civil society activity and the specific forms of lobbying that suit formal EU civil society arenas. European advocacy organisations are geared towards these insider, largely non-contentious strategies. Transactional lobbying refers to 'relational forms of collective action in interorganisational networks – or the ties (temporary and enduring) among organised non-State actors, and between them and political

parties, power holders and other institutions' (Petrova and Tarrow, 2007: p.79). DiGregorio's (2011) study of environmental lobby groups in Indonesia noted the particulars of SMOs operating with insider tactics, such as targeting receptive elites for lobbying, rather than the most powerful. Lobbying can provide avenues to expand political opportunities – not just immediate policies. This style of activism is non-contentious and characterises much of the activity between CSOs operating in the formal sphere of European civil society. While much scholarship on social movements frames them as disruptive collective action, Suh (2016: 443) notes the process of 'movement institutionalisation' as:

[T]ravelling the official terrain of formal politics and engaging with authoritative institutions such as the legislature, the judiciary, the state, and political parties to enhance their collective ability to achieve the movement's goals.

Counter to normatively negative portrayals of close ties between SMOs and the State, and the dangers of transformism, Suh draws on findings that make the case for movement institutionalisation as a strategic choice once disruptive tactics have granted access to the State – in other words when the State is 'listening'. Institutionalisation and the strategies that come with it – moderate collective action repertoires that persuade governments to enact policies reflecting movement priorities – can also sit alongside more disruptive tactics from other movement organisations (Suh, 2016; Prujit, 2003). The relationship between SMOs and the state can be conceptualised here as interdependent, rather than an absorption of opposition to State hegemony. Formal civil society in the EU has become an established element of the field of EU governance (Bourdieu, 1976). Characterised by unique institutions, norms and logics (for example the 'Europeanisation' of social NGOs), it is also a space of struggle (Pinto, 2020: 316). The present research looks at the struggle of social movements as they are represented by CSOs in their collective activity to influence decision-making within the field of EU governance.

Campaigns and frames

Social movement campaigns can be defined as ‘temporally bounded and strategically linked series of events and interactions directed at common goals’ (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009: 164; della Porta and Rucht, 2002: 3; Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 6; Marwell and Oliver, 1984: 12). Tilly (2008) argues that subsequent campaigns are affected by altering political opportunities, available models of contentious action repertoires, and connections between activists. Campaigns concentrate movement energies on specific goals, providing success or measurable failure, which in turn impacts movement networks and subsequent campaigns. Staggenborg and Lecomte (2009: 177) find that:

Previous campaigns and structural characteristics of movement communities, as well as strategies and tactics, affect the ability to mobilise new collective campaigns.

Campaigns impact the structure of movements themselves by creating new frames, issues, and tactics to subsequent campaigns. They also leave behind new coalitions, connections among constituents, and activists who join and strengthen organisations after participating in campaigns. These impacts in movement infrastructure have been found to result in political and cultural changes regardless of the success or failure of the campaign itself (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). Not all impact from campaigns is positive: while a successful campaign can revitalise a movement community, a failed campaign can create divisions and misunderstandings that carry over into subsequent campaigns and efforts at coalition work. The second case study campaign of the present research examines the efforts of the EDF and its campaign partners to introduce a disability non-discrimination Directive. Requiring the mobilisation of the EDF’s networks from EU to local levels, the 2007 1Million4Disability campaign succeeded in prompting a response from the Commission. The proposal was for a comprehensive directive combatting discrimination on a range of grounds. This proposal remains ‘stuck’ as of 2022 and, as the empirical section of research demonstrates, raised significant feelings of resentment for some activists.

Successful framing by a movement can shift societal perceptions of a problem. Frames can be conceptualised in terms of conscious strategic action and more intrinsic worldviews. In their discussion of pan-European social movements, Scholl and Freyberg (2018) select 'frame alignment' between actors as a vital tool to create political coalitions. Frames, defined by Snow et al (1986; 2014) as the way social actors interpret reality, diagnose problems, suggest solutions and how to realise solutions, are a lens through which social movement aims and activities can be understood. 'Master-frames' can be formed amongst movements, aiding the creation of historical blocs by unifying disparate movements under common banners of injustice. Networks of movements can face fragmentation that limits cooperation between activists in disparate movements. Networks involving many intersections of mutual support cross-membership, fosters interdependence and provides a basis for collective action (Carroll and Ratner, 1996; Diani, 1992, 116). The examination of frames and their role in campaign outcomes is a key point of investigation in the present research.

Social movements select from two types of frames: one based in a particular identity politics around the claims and experiences of specific groups and another based in the more universalist politics of a general sense of injustice (Adam, 1993). Carroll and Ratner (1996; 1994: 608) found that a broad frame of injustice that propels cross-movement activism is 'elemental' to counterhegemonic politics, moving beyond conventional movement politics towards a common language that emphasises the systemic character of inequality and injustice. The establishment of counterhegemonic momentum between social movement organisations is a wider goal of social movements, alongside the immediate aims of specific campaigns. This research examines both the success of the EDF in achieving the aims of its campaigns as well as determining its participation in counterhegemonic efforts.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out the theoretical grounding of the research in social movement literature. It has introduced social movement scholarship, its

historical origins and the two primary approaches to analysing social movements. Social movements encompass a vast spectrum of collective action. The types of collective action that have been analysed in the present research are largely 'noncontentious'. Trying to measure the impact of social movement activity is a challenge: enduring change can appear even after a movement has not reached its objectives, and this change may not take an institutionalised, legislated form (Suh, 2012; Tarrow, 1998). However, one way for a movement to secure meaningful social change is through policy reform that corrects marginalising social structures (Jessop, 2002: 47). The chapter placed the disabled people's movement in this discussion, turning specifically to the case of Europe. In doing so the chapter has connected both resource mobilisation and new social movement approaches to the empirical case of disabled people's movements. The EDF's emergence as a key voice of disability advocacy resulted from the wider context of a burgeoning global disabled people's movement and demands by disabled people to be included in policy debates, as well as the successful mobilisation of resources by the EDF in a period when both social policy and coordination with NGOs were receiving more attention from the European institutions of governance (this discussion is continued in the following chapter). Civil society can be conceived as a contested space where social movements can attempt to make gains through their involvement with decision making processes, as well as external-facing campaigns aimed at the public. The organisation operates within the interface of civil society, facing the governing institutions of the EU and also mediating between disabled people's organisations and the EU institutions. The empirical section of the present research will examine the EDF, in particular its concentrated efforts to push for specific policy change via collective action campaigns, from a historic and contemporary perspective, to understand the real mechanisms of formal EU civil society and its role in decision making. The chapter finally discussed social movement literature examining campaigns and their role. Campaigns concentrate the efforts of social movements to specific goals. Their operation and outcomes affect the future activity of social movements and their structure. The present research uses a selection of case study campaigns to examine the level of influence the EDF has managed to exert on EU decision making. It also looks at the

effect of campaigns on the organisation itself as a social movement organisation.

The following chapter provides further theoretical grounding to the research by introducing contemporary debate in governance. It discusses developments in governance over recent decades and explores the opportunities and risks these changes have for SMOs. It then introduces several models through which policy processes can be examined. It concludes with an explanation of relevant treaties that oblige the EU to consult its civil society partners and commit to the realisation of rights for disabled people.

Chapter 2

Institutions and systems of governance

This chapter introduces contemporary debates around systems of governance and their institutions. It situates the present research within these debates, pointing to the fragmentation of governance and introduction of new actors into these processes. Organisations like the EDF face opportunities and risks in this environment: CSOs serve several functions in decision making processes and by participating can advance social movement interests. Several frameworks can be used to analyse the activity that occurs within such systems: understanding the process of policy making by 'pulling apart' the contextual streams of activity can aid an understanding of key moments and structures of political opportunity for CSOs. Finally, the chapter further contextualises the research by providing a brief history of social policy in the EU, the evolution of EU treaties and the introduction of the UNCRPD to the EU. The terms governance, government and state hold distinct and important meaning in this field. Governance has very broadly been described as the 'directed influence of societal processes' (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000: 136). Many complex mechanisms are involved and do not only originate from public actors (Kooiman 1993). Governance thus refers to the co-ordinated efforts of public and private actors operating in networks of interdependence that interact with markets and hierarchies in the governing of society. Hierarchies refer to more traditional institutions like formal levels of government. The state refers to the body politic of a nation. A more detailed definition is provided by the Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World (Hall, 2004):

First, a state is a set of institutions which possess the means of violence and coercion ... Second, these institutions in principle control a geographically bounded territory, usually referred to as a society. Crucially, the state looks inward to its own society and outward to larger societies in which it must make its way; its behaviour in one area often can only be explained by its activities in the other. Third, the state monopolizes rule-making within its territory.

This definition is useful for several reasons: it stipulates the sole possession of a means of violence by the state; it references the physical territorial nature of the state; and its monopolistic rule-making ability. Accordingly, the EU is not in itself a state: it does not control the means of violence and coercion within its territory. States within the EU have submitted a level of rule-making ability to the EU institutions, of which Member States themselves contribute to via the Council. The term state is used here is also used in connection with the Gramscian conception of governing. For Gramsci, the 'integral State' is a 'socio-political order characterised by a hegemonic equilibrium constituted by a "combination of force and consent which are balanced in varying proportions"' (Fontana, 2002: 159; Gramsci, 1977). This order consists of two overlapping spheres: political society, being systems of policing, law and political institutions; and civil society, being the legitimating sphere where consent is produced.

Institutions of governance

The term 'institution' in governance and political science can refer to either formal or informal social organisation. Established formal institutions constituted by binding laws, regulations and legal orders which prescribe what may or may not be done. Informal institutions can be conventions, norms, values and accepted economic, political or social 'ways of doing things', embedded in social practices and culture. These can be as or more binding than formal institutions (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013; March and Olsen, 2005). Institutions here refer to instruments of governance like the EU but also the less tangible 'ways of doing things' that have emerged in European governance in the past decades. The following chapter looks at emerging trends and cultures in governance at the EU level, and how the EDF has emerged and been shaped as a result of these institutions. As Haang'andu (2020: 289) describes:

Institutions and their enforcement build on and reinforce informal norms and beliefs. They create, because of repeated human behaviour in response to them, reciprocal expectations and standards. In other words, they create a culture.

Using the concept of institutions provides a lens to observe the changes and trends that have amounted to the EU's multi-level system of governance. Jessop (2005: 111) describes the 'discovery' of governance ... 'the complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions, and systems that are both operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled through various forms of reciprocal interdependence'. Systems of governance play a crucial role in the shaping of societal relationships, norms and values (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015; Jessop, 2002). A range of governing structures, institutions and mechanisms result from and contribute to the interactions between actors, and these structures take material and less tangible forms (Cilliers, 2001; Rose and Miller, 2010; Melucci, 1996: 181).

In recent decades, scholars have observed a shift from government to governance (Rhodes, 1996; Sørensen, 2006; Koppenjan and Klijn, 2015; Benz and Papadopoulos, 2006; Jessop, 1998). Many of the collective challenges faced today by society are being navigated by complex networks of actors from public, private and societal spheres. This is a departure from direct power exercised by traditional nation state institutions, towards the involvement of market and civil society actors alongside traditional hierarchies (Rhodes, 1996: 652). Sørensen (2006) describes the exercise of sovereign rule by a 'parliamentary chain' of governing making way for a host of stakeholders and private actors who have gained the ability to partake in public decision-making. This can be distinguished from more traditional forms of government in the ways that new actors are involved: newer forms of public governance are said to consciously incorporate non-State groups into decision making, rather than heeding to the loudest external lobby groups, as was the case with traditional interest group politics.

Governance as a subject of study examines the 'institutional legacy of neoliberal reforms of the State' referred to by some as New Public Management (NPM) (Rhodes, 1996: 34). NPM reforms were instated towards the end of the twentieth century, including throughout the European region to varying extents (Levy and Kaplan, 2008; Christensen and Lægreid, 2010). These reforms were centred around the use of 'market-like mechanisms' that were assumed to improve government effectiveness, accountability and

efficiency, like privatisation, performance assessments and contracting out provision of public services: vertical chains of service delivery where decision-making remained the domain of State actors (Brown and Osborne, 2011: 1337; Osborne, 2006). Although these reforms are very visible today, the tide has somewhat turned against their underlying assumptions as resource distribution according to market logic is called into question (Osborne, 2006; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). The legacy of NPM reforms remains, and governance systems continue to evolve. The past twenty years have seen a 'horizontalisation' of decision-making chains, a move to networks based on interactions between policy actors, rather than vertical chains of command, and an expansion of these networks to include non-government actors, citizen groups and other stakeholder representatives (Peters and Pierre, 2000:18; Rhodes, 2012: 33; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). In this shift from government to governance, public officials no longer possess the requisite authority and resources to create policy on their own (Benz and Papadopoulos, 2006: 512). Other actors close to policy issues are considered legitimate experts able to contribute. In the European context, these shifts hold further significance: national-level public officials are not only sharing power with private and civil society actors, but they are also governed by the supranational legal framework of the European Union. Multi-level governance (MLG) describes the division of decision-making across several 'politico-administrative' institutions and is an important dimension of European governance specifically (Marks, 1993). In MGL horizontal chains of activity are also emphasised: 'no level of activity being superior to the other ... therein, a mutual dependency through the intertwining of policy-making activities' both across government and non-government actors, and across supra-national national, regional and local government (Stephenson, 2013: 817). The importance of informal connections within these institutional networks has been studied by a subset of governance scholars (e.g., Bache, 2008; Heritier and Rhodes, 2011).

Scholars have taken note of these changes in more or less critical terms (for critical analyses see for example Jessop, 1998 and 2005; Fung and Wright, 2003; Osborne, 2006; less critical approaches can be found from Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Teisman, 2008). However, this scholarship tends to focus

on the governance networks themselves as the unit of analysis (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Some attention has been paid to the specific role of State actors in their steering duties, also termed 'meta-governance' (cf., Sørensen and Jacobs, 2006), but the role of civil society actors remains relatively unexamined. The following section will define governance networks and outline the potential opportunities and risks to be found in these dynamic networks of decision making for civil society actors.

The promise of networks in the EU context

Rhodes (2007: 1244) describes policy networks as 'sets of formal and informal institutional linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared interests in public policymaking and implementation'. The networks are characterised by interdependence and: actors within the networks rely on one another for certain resources and must exchange resources to achieve their goals. Governing occurs within and through these networks, hence the terms 'governance networks' and 'networked governance'. While scholars note a horizontal character to these networks, Rhodes (2007: 1245) notes the retention of dominance by a particular coalition. This coalition employs strategies with an acknowledged set of 'rules of the game' to regulate the resource exchange process. In the context of EU governance, these networks include (unexclusively) formal actors from the institutions, actors with formally legislated roles like the social partners and actors with consultation status, including civil society organisations like the EDF. Networked decision making has long been an element of governance in the Union. Governance actors within the EU experience a dual process of integration, in the formation process of a single market and legislative cohesion, alongside a fragmentation of government power with actors from multiple levels of government forming an interdependent decision-making network (Scharpf, 1997; Eising and Kohler-Koch, 1999: 5). EU social policy is characterised by "the coexistence and entanglement of governmental negotiations and collective bargaining" (Falkner, 2000: 705). For many decades, interest group participation has been the essence of EU social policy. Corporate statism was established as the governing system of

European social policy in the Treaty of Maastricht, in 1992 (Obradovic, 1995). Corporatism is defined by Cawson (1985a: 8) as:

[A] specific socio-political process in which organisations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange with state agencies over public policy outputs. This involves those organisations in a role that combines interest representation and policy implementation through delegated self-enforcement.

Initially connected to the collective bargaining of industrial relations, policy making in dialogue with interest groups is now a wider feature of the Union. The social partners, or trade unions and organisations representing employers have been joined in forums such as the EESC by newer organisations representing social movements like disabled people, women, the LGBT+ community and racial minorities, among others. This inclusion began with the formation of the EWL in 1990 to build structures of influence between organisations representing the interests of women and European institutions of governance.

The role of civil society organisations as stakeholders differs from the role of interest group representatives from the private sphere (e.g., business interest groups or labour groups), as are the resources that connect them to a policy issue. Recalling the previous chapter's discussion of resources, Holzer's (2008) argument about the bi-directional process of legitimation that can occur between social movement actors and governments. In this case, civil society organisations like the EDF participate in decision making networks at various levels to represent the interests of societal groups. Combining the knowledge and skills of actors from many different levels and sectors of society (local or national government, community, civil society) can be said to give a more comprehensive understanding of their nature and their solutions (Sørensen, 2006). Much discussion of these networks can take place before democracy is mentioned: A structure of government composed of shared sovereignty and different levels of negotiated decision making conducts a significant portion of its activities away from publics. Scholars have dedicated considerable thought to the democratic potential of a polity like the EU.

Modes of governance are said to hold promise for democracy in a number of ways. Such networks present more channels of communication for stakeholders as policy processes increasingly involve discursive forums and points of input (Sørensen, 2006). When successfully used, collaborative governance provides a mechanism for utilising the fragmentation of society and weakening of state authority — an embodiment of participatory democracy (Papadopoulos, 2012: 513). Bee and Bello (2009: 141) note the link between the network government approach and stimulating better involvement of citizens in EU Commission working papers. Decentralising can be a fundamental element of citizen engagement: a flexible, ‘horizontal’ governance strategy connected to civil society representatives and the general public would engage civil society as one of the mediators between policy networks and the citizenry.

Separate from traditional party politics, the political dimension of civil society activity between state actors and non-governmental, non-profit actors is one where ideas can be introduced by organisations representing the interests of specific societal groups to influence policy debates, discourse and direction (Fraser, 1990; Habermas, 2015). This role for civil society actors aims to address the much discussed ‘democratic deficit’ that the EU faces as a government (Greenwood, 2007; Katz, 2001). Organised civil society represents an additional participatory opening for citizens to democratically engage with, as well as a monitoring function. As discussed in the previous chapter, following a critical Gramscian perspective of civil society it is a state sanctioned space for self-organisation (Cruikshank, 1999; Rose and Miller, 2010). These mechanisms can be observed in action at the ‘actual’ level through changes in problem and solution definitions in policy (Bhaskar, 2014; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). The impact of civil society organisations on policy debates can be examined in part by tracking their interactions with State actors and the extent to which their interests appear in subsequent policy discourse. In this context, the opportunities for SMOs to participate in networks on behalf of the groups they represent begin to emerge. Indeed, this has been a key strategy of the EU in recent decades. Civil society organisations are given mention in the Treaty of Lisbon: Article 11 calls on the institutions to ‘give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to

make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union action’; to maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society’; and on the European Commission specifically to ‘carry out broad consultations with the parties concerned to ensure that the Union’s actions are coherent and transparent’.

Although they are explicitly independent actors, SMO engagement with institutions of government raises questions about the framing, harnessing and alignment of their goals with those of government structures (Foucault, 2008; Rose, 1999: 54). Commission funding of these groups protects these groups from needing to seek their budgets elsewhere and is in part purposed by an expectation that CSOs will perform an accountability function for the institutions (Greenwood, 2007: 346). The recent changes in systems of governance have fundamentally changed decision making processes, opening new points of influence for civil society. While informality is emphasised in much literature tracking these changes, the role of civil society is increasingly legislated and formally acknowledged (Greenwood, 2007). The EU is both an agent of these changes and subject to them. This section has outlined the potential opportunities to be found for SMOs in EU civil society. Acting as mediators between governance processes and citizens, they provide legitimating resources to policy networks. As legislated consultants on decision making, they encounter structural opportunities to influence policy.

European civil society is said to hold a potential role in the development of a *critical* public sphere (della Porta & Caiani, 2009: 20). An aspect only recently addressed is the construction of a European public sphere through ‘contestation of public decision-making’. In participating in decision making, civil society, representing European communities, may play a part in this development. The EDF, for example, lends legitimacy to the institutions when they are seen to be responding to the issues the EDF outlines in its campaigns. Through its monitoring activity the EDF serves an accountability function, highlighting issues in a complex governance context of sometimes low transparency.

The network approach to understanding governance processes here can be distinguished and connected to Actor-Network theory (ANT). ANT, an analytical approach that affords equal agency to all human and non-human nodes in a network, is premised on the argument that nothing exists outside of the enactment of relations between the nodes (Latour, 2007). Suitable for a holistic examination of the process that seeks to understand the precise role of all actors, the focus of the present research is on one type of actor (CSOs in EU governance) and the extent to which their influence changes over time. ANT does not consider pre-established structures of power, but rather sees these structures as emergent from within the network. The present research argues that CSOs hold a specific role in decision-making processes with unique resources. Their ability to influence decision making should be considered in the context of the network of social relations surrounding the governance processes, as ANT states (Law, 2009). The research forms concluding recommendations for future activism, a task that ANT as an explanatory mechanism is not suitable for (Bloor, 1999).

The risks of informal decision making

The phenomenon of networked governance challenges a traditional representative democracy model because the sovereignty of rule by elected politicians has been diluted with the addition of new actors with governing abilities. Eriksen (2005; 2007) proposes that a 'post-national' democracy in the EU depends on a communicative space that operates as a public sphere (Habermas, 2015). The institutional hardware of the EU instead might consist of what Eriksen terms 'segmented' and 'strong' publics, rather than a general public (2005: 349). Segmented publics describe the transnational policy networks of the EU. These publics have some communicative contact with the European citizenry through public campaigns propelling discourses and communication amongst publics. The policy network connected to the 1Million4Disability campaign (termed Campaign 2 in the research) is an example of this external outreach to citizens via campaigns concerning a policy debate. Strong publics reflect the fact that the public sphere also comprises institutionalized deliberation close to the centre of the political system that is legally regulated. Fraser (1992) defines strong public spheres

as parliamentary assemblies and discursive bodies in formally organised institutions that have obtained decision-making power; sites in which justification is required and where there is a 'stronger regulation of discourses' (Eriksen, 2005: 348). These publics are insufficient in criticising and deconstructing hegemonic 'truths' and prevailing consensuses.

While some scholars have highlighted the potential these structures hold for actors, including SMOs, and in addressing issues of accountability and legitimacy in European institutions, others are less optimistic about fluid, less formal governance structures. The Commission's 'consultation regimes' have evolved to enhance the space for cooperation and consultation with CSOs (Quittkat and Finke, 2008: 184). Many actors within networks of governance are beyond democratic reach. Harlow and Rawlings (2006) recognise an 'accountability deficit' in MLG which had itself become organised around self-organising, self-regulating networks. With governance essentially about co-operation and co-ordination, traditional government control systems were 'undermined' in efforts to locate responsibility (Kohler-Koch and Rittberger, 2006). Papadopoulos (2008) criticizes the scholarly focus in MLG research on managerial concerns of performance and efficiency. MLG is 'uncoupling' governance from the democratic circuit owing to its weak visibility and poor presence of citizen representatives: MLG 'inhibits' accountability, which requires political, administrative, fiscal and legal control (Papadopoulos, 2008: 40). The fragmentation of power resources between levels has rendered technocrats politically unaccountable accountable (Stephenson, 2013). CSOs potentially play a role as actors or facilitators of EU accountability.

Specific diagnoses of MLG as applied to the EU finds that '[t]he EU allegedly lacks legitimacy ... because of a democratic deficit in the institution's design, the lack of a European identity, [and] the inadequacies of the European public sphere' (Starke and Lünich, 2020: 163). Stephenson's (2013) review of MLG literature and suggestions for future scholarship calls for an examination of actors inside institutions to see how ... 'identities are asserted, forged and transformed through functional processes of problem solving and *task distribution*'. Indeed, focusing on earlier stages of policy-making rather than implementation would suggest an approximation with the agenda-setting

literature on images and venues (Baumgartner and Jones, 1991). Scholars have called for more attention to be paid to mapping administrative interactions *throughout* the policy process, and identifying what practical types of decision-making are involved. Scharpf (1997) notes a variance between policy fields of MLG effectiveness and suitability in the EU, indicating the strength of field-specific examinations of networked governance.

Further, some literature on networked governance could be seen to be at odds with findings from some scholars of European governance who question the actual impact of civil society organisations on policy processes (Kohler-Koch, 2010; 2017). MLG and the move to less regulated, formal decision-making procedures therefore pose threats to democracy and accountability of decision makers to citizens if civil society representatives are not functioning as mediators. Ensuring access can be equalised to governance networks is difficult to manage due to their distorted chains of command and accountability. The EU as a structure of governance is obligated to demonstrate responsiveness to citizens' concerns (also called 'input legitimacy'), and recent changes to the EU's governance strategy includes civil society organisations as crucial partners 'as they are the closest to the populations on the ground and thus best placed to know their needs' (Scharpf, 1999; Starke and Lünich, 2020). As explicated by Scharpf: 'it is hard to see how informal networks of interest intermediation and anonymous expert committees could be considered satisfactory substitutes for the democratic accountability of representatives whose mandate is derived, directly or indirectly, from general elections based on the formal equality of all citizens' (cited in van Kersbergen and van Waarden, 2004: 159). Recalling the EDF's structure from the previous chapter, however, organisations operating within formal EU civil society are often 'umbrella-like' in their structure – consisting of national and regional members. Individual membership in the EDF is not possible. 'Populations on the ground' communicate with these bodies via regional or national organisations to EU CSOs. Within civil society there are several organisational layers between local populations and their representative organisations at the EU level. Achieving 'input legitimacy' via CSOs requires a responsive and transparent chain of communication between citizens and the State.

Scholars express concern that co-produced decision-making with involvement of civil society is touted as the panacea for social challenges; outcomes are rarely evaluated (see for example the systematic review of articles and books on co-creation and co-production by Voorberg, Bekkers and Tummers, 2015). Citizens likely to utilise these channels of influence are those with pre-existing strong political resources (Sørensen, 2006: 104; Sørensen and Torfing, 2005: 216). This furthers the potential for uneven access to public decision-making spaces: such processes might not be easy to use for those who are less experienced, historically marginalised, or time poor. Playing the 'Brussels Game' also means more resources and time go towards dialogue with EU political institutions and other stakeholders rather than engaging in mass activism (Greenwood, 2007: 348). Papadopoulos (2012: 523) points out that many actors in a governance network are in fact either 'partially authorised' or 'completely unauthorised' in terms of democratic election, pointing again to accountability issues. Further to this problem of uneven access, Klijn and Koppenjan (2015: 227) admit that although the presence of new actors is increasing in governance networks:

Participating individuals are reported to be atypical, often highly educated, well-to-do, white, male, and unrepresentative of the groups affected by the policy or problem under discussion.

Similarly, in their empirical examination of the European 'third sector', Enjolras & Sivesind (2018: 117) found that

[G]roups and individuals with fewer resources or who are already less advantaged are less likely to become members or volunteers in voluntary organisations to promote their interests, satisfy their needs or make changes in policy favourable to them.

Voluntary participation (distinct from the salaried professionals staffing many civil society organisations) in EU civil society is often contingent on a level of socio-economic status. Although scholars have detected opportunities for input, and civil society organisations have seized on these, the actual impact of 'co-production' remains vague. Effective and transparent decision-making procedures (or 'throughput legitimacy') must be present in co-productive

policy processes (Scharpf, 1999; Starke and Lunich, 2020). This is furthered by issues of translating the contributions of civil society organisations to impact on policy outcomes (Hallstrom, 2004) and good governance performance (output legitimacy) (Scharpf, 1999; Schmidt, 2010). In other words, do consultations and presence in policy debate lead to influence for CSOs?

MLG has emerged as a term to describe the interlocked layers and directions of governance in the EU. A necessary form of governance for a supranational structure like the EU, it also presents challenges the input, throughput and output legitimacy of the EU. Civil society operates as an essential element of these forms of legitimacy: CSOs' presence in informal, opaque decision-making networks as citizen representatives can aid accountability, transparency and good governance performance. The implicit conception of formal civil society which inspired the Commission to increase its involvement in EU governance is that it provides a relatively uninterrupted channel of communication between the EU State and its citizens. As the role of civil society has formalised in EU–society relations, no coherent normative theoretical concept has been established for the sphere. Civil society therefore can play a decisive role in holding EU authorities to account in theory, but this positive assessment lacks empirical evidence (Kohler Koch, 2017; Kohler Koch, 2010). Recalling Marks and McAdams (1999: 102) description of the process of 'Europeanisation' where social movements move to the supranational governance level of Europe describe an isomorphic process undertaken by CSOs to take on a typical professionalised form and shape their claims-making activity to suit the technocratic style of Commission decisions. The consequences of this process remain underexamined – how the campaign style of an ENGO is shaped by the opportunity structures present in formal European civil society spaces (Patternote, 2016).

The section above outlines some potential tensions between new forms of governance and representative systems of democracy. The institutional fragmentation of governing processes has resulted in an increasing number of actors with decision making capacities, which has implications for traditional State actors (Sørensen, 2006: 98). The opportunities for civil society

organisations like the EDF have been explored, as well as how the EU utilises the sphere to counter its legitimacy issues. The section has also raised questions about how SMOs in space function in reality, how they adapt to the structures of the EU and gaps in the present research.

The moral justification, or political rationalisation of government demands accountability and transparency in decision making processes (Rose and Miller, 2010; Benz and Papadopoulos, 2006; Wagenaar, 2016). The present research explores the cases of policy that have been made in consultation with DPOs to determine whether the interests of disabled people and their organisations are better met when they are represented in decision-making processes (Sørensen, 2006; Sørensen and Torfing, 2003). In these critical analyses, parallels can be found between fragmented governance and concepts of governmentality. The governing of domains located outside state structures can be located in these observed shifts (Foucault, 1991).

Frameworks of Policy

The following sections outline three frameworks that allow analysis of the processes of European policy-making and governance in which SMOs campaign. Namely, the 'multiple streams' approach, coalition formation and structures of political opportunity.

Multiple Streams

Models that follow the journey of an 'idea' to become a solution to a policy problem fall broadly under the banner of political process models, one branch of which is the 'multiple streams' approach (Kingdon, 1984; Zahariadis, 2008). Ambiguity and complexity of the policy process is emphasised in these models as is the push and pull of influence between structures and individual agents (or actors). The MSF contends that policy makers have a 'multitude of problems that are thrust upon them by factors beyond their control' (Kingdon, 1995: 75). Originally created to understand agenda-setting, it has now been extrapolated to analyse further elements in the policy process (Howlett, 2018). It examines which issues are given attention; how, why and when actors are

mobilised to participate; how issues are framed and meaning generated; and how the process can be manipulated.

The five elements of Kingdon's model are three 'streams' of policy process, that are each independent but can interact and impact one another, and two additional concepts of 'windows of opportunity and policy entrepreneurs. The three streams impacting the policy process are: the 'problem' stream of the perceptions, attitudes and opinions of relevant actors about the issue, and to what extent and how well the State has managed it in the past; the 'political' stream providing context to the situation: legislative deadlines, dominant ideas and values comprising national (and supra-national) 'moods' and the power shifts following elections, cabinet shuffles and Treaty revisions; and the 'policy' stream setting out the types of solutions that are being put forward by relevant actors to solve the diagnosed problem. These streams come together at a critical point to create the conditions for an idea to be accepted as a policy solution (Cairney and Jones, 2015: 39). Such critical moments are 'windows of opportunity' to be seized on by policy entrepreneurs to secure an idea aligning with their interests to become incorporated into an accepted policy solution.

Described by Kingdon (1984: 123) as the 'policy primeval soup', the policy stream contains a finite, complex collection of ideas and possibilities. Kingdon outlines five factors affecting the survival which ideas become accepted as solutions to a perceived problem: the closeness of a solution to current values: whether the solution is technically possible and the availability of resource; policy networks that shape the dissemination and influence of an idea and receptivity among decision-makers (Kingdon, 1984; Zahariadis, 1998). Contextual factors might explain a change in the structure of opportunity in which a group can insert their agenda and shift focus to a policy issue – ideally with a ready-made policy solution (Rolandsen Agustín, 2008). New windows appear alongside existing institutions, parties, and public opinion that still influence their introduction and use (Kingdon, 1984). Linking policy agendas to popular discourse is captured by the concept of 'policy framing', where 'policy actors try to control the prevailing image of the policy problem through the use of rhetoric, symbols and policy analysis' (Baumgartner and Jones, in

Mazey, 2000: 339). Institutions are not neutral, actor preferences are not well defined, and participation is fluid. As a result, the process is open to political manipulation in favour of those who generate information, control access to policy venues, and synchronize or exploit group, national, and institutional timetables.

The MSF has been applied frequently to the EU policy context, an environment that is highly complex and ambiguous (Zahariadis, 1998). Political conflict is endemic and issues are frequently settled by activating certain frames as EU actors move in and out of the process. Herweg (2016) tailors the framework to suit the agenda-setting context of the EU by identifying functional elements of the framework in EU processes and which political and problem streams open policy windows. The power sharing arrangement in the EU between the Council of Ministers (the Council), the European Commission (the Commission), the European Council and the European Parliament (EP) differs greatly from the original context of Kingdon's (1984) model of the US federal government.

The recognition mechanism of the problem stream consists of indicators, focusing events and feedback on previous action. Specific to the EU context is the need for policy entrepreneurs to frame the issue as a problem requiring Community-level action. The EU rule of subsidiarity calls for policy and decisions to be made at the most local level of governance possible: that is, Member States are to be deferred to at all appropriate times. The political stream in the EU context is complicated by mixed empirical knowledge on the influence of interest groups on the European institutions (Dür, 2008; Klüver, 2013; Herweg, 2016). Determining when the streams are 'ripe' for entrepreneurs to manipulate also needs adjustment to the EU context; in Kingdon's (1984) original model, the political stream was ready when an issue received government support. The power-sharing institutions of the EU have varying agendas and operate with relative independence of one another. Support from the Commission in the form of a proposal, Green Paper or White Paper does not signal support at Parliamentary or Council levels. Windows of opportunity for policy proposals can open in the problem stream or the political stream. In the case of agenda setting, if one of the EU executive branches

recognises an issue as a problem a window appears in the problem stream. A window can open in the political stream through new Commission work programmes, Treaty revisions, Council and EP requests for information gathering or studies on issues by the Commission, and the EP using its indirect agenda-setting powers (Herweg, 2016: 21).

Political opportunities

The classic 'political process' model, as it is sometimes termed (Lasswell, 1968; Tarrow 1983; Kitchelt, 1986) dictates that SMOs' organisational features and action repertoires and *impact* are determined by the political conditions in their state. Eisinger (1972) identified the impact of political conditions external to a social movement on its outcomes and aims as political opportunities: 'the openings, weak spots, barriers and resources of the political system itself' (p.12). This adds crucial understanding to the study of social movements and policy processes as it recognises that the context and 'rules of the game' impacts the choices and chances of social movements (Morris and Staggenborg, 2004). In addition, Marks and McAdam (1999: 99) identify four major dimensions of these structures: Openness versus closure of an institutionalised political system; stability or instability of 'elite alignments'; presence or absence of 'elite allies'; and capability and willingness of the state to use repressive measures. A more favourable structure of political opportunity is one in an 'open' system (responsive to movement demands), stable alignment of elites, and elite allies, with a state unwilling to use repressive measures (Marks and McAdam, 1999; 2007). Missing from this original conception of political opportunity, and from Kingdon's streams model, however, is the acknowledgement that social movement organisations often contribute to the political context of a polity (Tarrow, 1996; Di Gregorio, 2014). Similarly, in diagnosing the ambiguities of the model, Suh (2001: 442) points to the subjective nature of opportunities: how actors, particularly SMOs, interpret and frame power structures. An examination of the frequent interactions between State and civil society actors (including SMOs) in the EU context reveals the strategic adaptation of SMOs to their polity context. Recent evolutions in governance, and the activation of social actors outside of the official 'state' in governance, have expanded the

opportunities for SMOs to do this. Subjectively, too, the logics of 'mentalities of governance' that accompany the fragmentation of the state aid the framing of these changes as opportunities (Rose and Miller, 2010).

Coalitions and campaigns in civil society

While the MSF sheds light on the interactions between agency and structure, other scholars have 'zoomed in' on the compositions of actors making up the range of viewpoints on a policy issue. This lens is best described as the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The ACF synthesises aspects of top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy analysis, using the policy subsystem as the unit for analysis. Subsystems undergo periods of stasis, change and major change – they are independent but overlap with other subsystems and nested within 'yet other' subsystems. They provide some authority or potential for authority. The ACF is used here to examine the policy subsystem of European disability policy with the campaign coalition as the unit of analysis.

Social movements rely on coalitions to help mobilize the mass numbers of people necessary for success (Van Dyke and Amos, 2017). According to ACF scholars, coalitions are composed of actors from various governmental and private organisations who share a set of beliefs and engage in co-ordinated activity over time (Sabatier in Sabatier and Weible, 2014). Further work has been done on the crucial role of coalitions on social movement success. Coalitions are conceived by social movement scholars as resource-based and specific to activist organisations: collaborations wherein distinct organisations pool resources to pursue shared goals (Levi and Murphy, 2006; Tarrow, 2005; Zald and Ash, 1966). Considering the role of 'insider' allies in the EDF's work – that is, Commission officials and European Parliamentarians as well as national governance actors, a working definition of coalitions including both the ACF approach, and the social movement approach is suitable here. Coalitions can appear temporarily around an issue-specific campaign, or according to ACF definitions form a more stable alliance. Van Dyke and Amos (2017) identify five factors critical to the formation of coalitions between social

movement groups: social ties; conducive organisational structures; ideology, culture and identity; institutional environment; and resources.

Organisational structures like professional leadership, division of labour and 'multi issue' goals are associated with coalition formation (Shaffer, 2000), as are cultural similarities and consistent ideologies (Di Gregorio, 2012; Gerhards and Rucht, 1992; Van Dyke and Amos, 2017). Coalitions are also prompted by 'real or perceived' threats and where movements experience increased political opportunities and periods of 'systemic openness'. Overlapping memberships between movement organisations and network ties across organisations and movements promote coalition work (Zald and McCarthy, 1979). The institutional environment shapes the type of activism pursued by social movements. Resources also play an important role: abundance prompts groups to contribute some to a coalition. Organisations are also likely to join coalitions if there is a likelihood that resources will be gained (Chung, 2001; Ruzza, 2004; Tarrow, 2005). Shared frames of collective action, and ties between movements and organisations build the potential for campaign coalitions and increase trust and cultural understanding among activists (Carroll and Ratner, 1996; Croteau and Hicks, 2003; Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). Even when they fail to achieve policy goals, collective campaigns have been found to aid future mobilisations by building community ties, leadership within and between organisations, creating new coalitions, introducing new issues, frames, and forms of action that can be used in subsequent campaigns (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). When movement organisations frame their concerns narrowly to distinguish themselves in the competition for scarce resources, they have difficulty finding coalition partners (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009; Obach, 2004). Attention has previously been paid to splintering between civil society organisations in the quagmire of negotiations around multiple discrimination legislation, in particular the position of the European Women's Lobby (EWL) in this debate, which contested 'integrated approaches' on the grounds that specific inequality groups should each be given adequate attention and resources (Lombardo and Verloo, 2009).

The history within a community of cooperative relations and campaign activity influences new coalition efforts (Levi and Murphy, 2006; Meyer and Corrigan-Brown 2005; Van Dyke 2003). The more past experience activists have with successful protest activities, the more likely it is that they can successfully bring about a new campaign (Gerhards and Rucht, 1992: 571). 'Social movement communities' consist of groups and individuals engaged in ideologically structured action (Zald, 2000), whether in movement organisations, political parties, mainstream institutions, or alternative institutions that provide services, education, and entertainment to participants in the community. Currently, the EDF operates with a professional secretariat, amongst other formal CSOs, many of whom share ideologies and values about advocacy and change, in an environment where cooperation and coordination with CSOs is legislated by the EU. It relies on information and strong ties with its 'internal allies' within the EU institutions. It is resourced via membership fees as well as contributions from the Commission. These features produce favourable conditions for coalition formation, according to Van Dyke and Amos (2017). The elements of coalition formation and campaign success outlined above will be used in the analysis of the organisation's past campaigns. A question raised and yet unanswered by research is: how does coalition form and other actors influence success?

As discussed, SMOs appear in a variety of forms. At the more bureaucratised end of the spectrum, they operate alongside other non-government organisations more traditionally associated with influencing State decision making, namely lobby and interest groups. Scholarship in this area spans a range of academic fields and examines the strategic actions utilised by groups in their efforts to participate in the creation of policy. The terms 'lobbying' and 'interest group representation' are typically associated with the representation of corporate interests in governance settings, and used in legal, economic or business literature (see for example Hilson, 2002; Potters and van Wilden, 1992; Coen, 1998). The following section will take some seminal texts about lobbying and discuss what can be applicable to the European context of SMOs and civil society. It will then discuss the literature that connects social movements to the practices of lobbying and interest group representation. It

will finish with an appraisal of the utility of these concepts for the research at hand.

US and European approaches to lobbying or interest group representation differ due to the institutional differences between the processes themselves (Mahoney, 2008). Lobbying is the commonly used term in US literature concerning actors participating in policy debates, where interest group representation is the official term in European literature. In his comprehensive work on 'who wins and loses' in Washington, Baumgartner (2009: 9) notes that 'citizen groups' were identified in interviews as the most active type of interest group lobbyists in policy debates, although much smaller in number than union or business interest group lobbyists. This indicates that despite associations with corporate interests, other types of actors do participate in these activities successfully. Similarly, nongovernmental organisations and platforms make up the largest amount of registered interest representation groups in the European Union (Greenwood, 2017; Wonka, Baumgartner and Mahoney, 2010). In their examination of converging and diverging elements of US and EU literature on interest groups, Mahoney and Baumgartner (2009) point to recent attention in European literature on SMOs in governance processes. We now turn to interest representation literature relevant to social movements in a European context.

What does this mean for the disability movement? European CSOs and opportunity structure

European advocacy organisations like the EDF are designed to capitalise on the opportunity structures of the EU (Sturm et al., 2017; Halvorsen et al., 2019). From the perspective of social movements, these shifts in governing styles offer opportunities and risk. Opening up the decision-making process to a spectrum of actors could mean that organisations, on behalf of a social movement community, can ensure their interests are represented by becoming directly involved in negotiation processes, if they are included. This research is examining the case of the EDF as a representative of the European disabled people's movement to better understand how such opportunity structures function. Most governance scholars stress that

collective action is needed to address complex problems— this spectrum of actors is required to find solutions that will satisfy the interests of as many stakeholders as possible (van Buurens, Boons and Teisman, 2012). One question that remains largely unaddressed by governance literature is: what factors contribute to a group becoming included in decision making processes? This is to be addressed by the current research on the European disability movement, not just from the perspective of the social movement actors but from State actors too. The following section provides a history of social policy in the EU. In doing so, it outlines the changing structures of political opportunity for the disability movement in Europe over this period.

Prior to the Amsterdam Treaty, when the Agreement and Protocol on Social Policy was formally incorporated into the main body of the TEU, social policy in Europe was fragmented. Recalling Chapter 1's discussion of early social considerations of economic integration, the quality of life of European citizens began to be regarded with the same importance as economic growth of the European Union and was pursued via 'a courageous policy of investment in social services and amenities to satisfy the needs of modern society' (European Commission, 1973). Due to the economic and monetary nature of the Community, early efforts were largely vocational in theme. The first principles about economic integration as it pertained to disabled people in Europe were established by the Council in 1963:

Council Decision 63/266/EEC of 2 April 1963 lays down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy and states that special measures may be taken in respect of special problems concerning specific sectors of activity or specific categories of persons. People with disabilities have specific needs in the fields of vocational training and rehabilitation and economic integration and are accordingly a specific category of persons for the purposes of the Decision.

- European Commission, Second Community action programme (EEC) for disabled people (HELIOS), 1988-1991

A 1973 Social Action Plan from the Commission setting out steps to achieve the goal of 'European Social Union', and a 1974 Council Resolution establishing a foundation for Community social policy commenced efforts to implement social support programmes within the scope of European competence (Addison, 2009; Atkinson, 2002; Priestley, 2005). The three main objectives of the social action plans were to (a) promote and provide for a full and better employment in the Community; (b) to provide for improvement of living and working conditions of the citizens in the Community and (c) to help increase the participation of workers in industry in the Community. For disabled people in Europe, support was introduced to address the employment gap (Priestley, 2005). Specifically, the action plan pledged to:

... initiate a programme for the vocational and social integration of handicapped persons, in particular making provisions for the promotion of pilot experiments for the purpose of rehabilitating them in vocational life, or where appropriate, of placing them in sheltered industries and to undertake a comparative study of the legal provisions and the arrangements made for rehabilitation at national level.

-European Commission, 1973

The programme ran from 1974 to 1979. Its focus was to 'provide a person with the capacity to work' and, in line with a medicalised model of disability, placed responsibility on disabled people to 'rehabilitate' and involved no disabled people in its creation or execution (European Commission, 1979).

The International Year of Disabled People in 1981 brought further attention to the unequal situation of disabled people in Europe and prompted the creation of the Commission Bureau for Action in Favour of Disabled People (and the expansion of the International Year into an International Decade of Disabled People). The year 1987 saw initial calls by disabled activists for an international, binding convention on the rights of disabled people, by Sweden. The Bureau completed its first Social Action Programme in 1987, 'promoting independent living of disabled people' (Daunt, 1991). One of the oldest European Parliamentary Intergroups, the Disability Intergroup was established in 1980. The Intergroup functions to enhance the dialogue

between Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) from all political groupings and stakeholders from European organisations representing disabled persons (Waldschmidt et al., 2017). This informal group of MEPs has served as a longstanding ally for the disability movement and formal opportunity structures for entry into the policy system. The EDF is currently the secretariat for the Disability Intergroup. The 1980s also saw an increasing reference to rights in European social policy, and an expression of the common values uniting European citizens (Mabbett, 2005). The second action programme run by the Bureau, named *Helios*, ran from 1988 to 1991 (during which time the calls for a Convention were repeated by Italy) and again promoted the 'social integration and independent way of life' of disabled people in Europe (European Commission, 2014). In practice these programmes were primarily focused on vocational and rehabilitative activities, were run by non-disabled 'experts' and did not include disabled people or their organisations. *Helios II*, the third action programme by the Bureau, ran from 1993-1996 and included notably wider ambitions than the first two action programmes, citing the promotion of equal opportunities and strengthening cooperation with NGOs – specifically 'national disability councils where they exist' (European Commission, 2014). An advisory council of national DPOs from European Member States, as well as European disability CSOs, called the European Disability Forum (Waddington, 1993: 101). This advisory council and the European Disability Forum became the independent European Disability Forum in 1997.

The Amsterdam Treaty IGC raised a slew of topics for negotiation by the Member States. This was in part due to the schisms between Member States found in the Treaty of Maastricht, which entered into force in 1992. In the Maastricht Treaty negotiations, under the previous Dutch presidency, the United Kingdom opted out of the Social Protocol. In this upcoming presidency there was a determination to address the gaps left by the Maastricht Treaty and resolve the difficult negotiations that were to take place. The Amsterdam summit and IGC aimed to reconcile these divisions and 'prepare Europe for the twenty first Century' (Dutch IGC brochure, 1997). It was also being seized on by many groups as an opportunity for legal recognition and protection.

At the conclusion of the Treaty of Maastricht revisions in 1992, disability remained 'invisible': the absence of a Treaty reference meant that much of the disability policy developed was of a recommendatory nature, and therefore not legally enforceable (Waddington, 1999). In 1996, the Council published a Resolution on the human rights of disabled people and the Commission published a Communication on the equality of opportunity for people with disabilities. Following the entering into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam, a 2000 Equality Framework Directive (or Directive 2000/78/EC) was introduced prohibiting discrimination against disabled people (and other minority groups) in employment, alongside a Race Equality Directive (Directive 2000/43/EC or RED). The following decade saw action at the EU and international level in the form of both binding decisions like Directives and the creation of the Convention, as well as Resolutions to establish frameworks for future action and policy documents like Communications from the Commission. 2001 saw the European Parliament Resolution towards a barrier-free Europe for people with disabilities and the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee to begin drafting the UNCRPD following a successful intervention by Mexico at the UN General Assembly. 2003, the European Year of Persons with Disabilities (EYPD), saw a European Parliament Resolution towards a United Nations legally binding instrument to promote and protect the rights and dignity of persons with disabilities (indicating support for the Convention), followed by the Council Resolution in the same year on promoting the employment and social integration of people with disabilities as well as the Council resolution on equal opportunities for pupils and students with disabilities in education and training. These resolutions established impetus for further action programmes and frameworks. European Action Plan on Disability 2004-2010 followed EYDP aiming to implement the 2001 Framework Employment Directive.

Between Campaign 2 in 2008, and Campaign 3, starting in 2011, several important frameworks became relevant to European disability policy. The Treaty of Lisbon was signed into force by Member States, incorporating the Charter of Fundamental rights into the Treaty and giving more decision-making powers to the European Parliament and Council. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD or 'the

Convention') entered into force in 2008, creating a seismic shift in international disability advocacy as a comprehensive human rights instrument, obliging state parties to protect and promote the rights of disabled people. It was concluded by the European Union in 2010. The following sections describe the consequences and importance of these changes and the context for disability campaigning and policy in Europe.

The Treaty of Lisbon and the Charter of Fundamental Rights

The Treaty of Lisbon ('Lisbon Treaty', or 'reform Treaty') was signed into force by members in 2009. It consolidated the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union into one text. It also incorporated the Charter on Fundamental Rights ('the Charter') into the text, following the creation of the Charter in 2004 and failure to establish a Constitution of Europe (Opperman, 2013). Previous amendments to the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and Treaty establishing the European Community (TEC) were negotiated in the Treaty of Nice, in 2001. The Treaty of Nice was designed to deal with unanswered questions from the negotiations that brought about the Treaty of Maastricht and the Treaty of Amsterdam. In anticipation of the expansion of the European Union to include 10 more Member States in the next several years, the Treaties were to be adjusted: specifically to accommodate the new Member State populations and the changes to Commission, Council and Parliamentary procedures that would occur from this (Sbragia, 2012). Its narrow agenda prompted the 2001 Commission White Paper on European Governance and the European Council's Laeken Declaration, calling for 'European institutions... to be less unwieldy and rigid and, above all, more efficient and open' (Dinan, 2012).

Following the ratification of the Treaty of Nice in 2001, preparations then immediately started for a Constitution for Europe ('the Constitution'). This text was to address four main issues concerning the development of the EU: 'a better division of competences; simplification of the EU's instruments for action; increased democracy, transparency and efficiency; and the drafting of a constitution for Europe's citizens' (Sokolska, 2021). Following a 'listening phase', a study of the expressed ideas and the development of

recommendations for the text, the draft Constitution, including the Charter of Fundamental Rights was adopted by the European Council and approved by Parliament in 2004. A rejection of the Constitution by two national referendums in France and the Netherlands halted the project and it was never completed.

The European Year of Persons with Disabilities in 2003 saw a surge of activity and policy discourse around European disability policy. It also produced a drafted 'Disability Directive' by the EDF to protect disabled people from discrimination in all aspects of life. On 3 December, the European Disabled People's Parliament submitted this proposal to Commission with no official response. The fight for a disability-specific piece of non-discrimination thus began. Following several calls on the Commission to propose a disability-specific non-discrimination Directive, the organisation became aware of an instrument, to be formally introduced with Treaty of Lisbon in 2007, called the European Citizens Initiative (ECI). This instrument allows citizens, with a formal organisation acting on their behalf, to prompt a response from the Commission on a particular policy issue if the issue can secure one million signatures of support across the Member States. As laid out in Article 11 (4), TEU:

Not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of Member States may take the initiative of inviting the European Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Treaties.

This initiative was formally embedded in the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 which would enter into force in December 2009, so the EDF was using the instrument experimentally. The Treaty of Lisbon also gave the EU 'full legal personality', meaning the Union itself could become a state party to international treaties and conventions. The Treaty of Lisbon served to consolidate two European texts (the Treaty establishing the European Community and the Treaty on European Union) into one text. It stipulates the exact nature of the European Union and its competences: where it alone can legislate, where Member

States share legislative ability and where the EU adopts measures to support Member State policies (Pavy, 2021). Following the rejection of the proposed Constitution by two Member States in 2004, the IGC for the Treaty of Lisbon focused on 'de-constitutionalising' the text. While much of the essence of the drafted Constitution can be found in the revised Treaty text, it was stripped down to a fraction of the size and framed in a way that would avoid the need for further deciding referendums by Member States (Opperman, 2013). The IGC negotiations under the 2007 German presidency for the Treaty of Lisbon were skewed in favour of Member States where referendum results were likely to be adverse – the Netherlands secured more power for national Parliaments in Treaty of Lisbon, limiting EU competence and emphasising Copenhagen Criteria for prospective new Member States. France succeeded in scrapping reference to the objective of the single market based on 'free and undistorted competition' and tone down the 'neoliberal bias' of the Constitution text and (Opperman, 2013: 70). The United Kingdom secured opt-out clauses from the binding nature of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the common Foreign Affairs and Security Policy agreement. Upon the completion of the Treaty of Lisbon, the necessary adjustments to accommodate new Member States and answers to the question of the future of the European Union could be largely seen as resolved (Dinan, 2012). The Lisbon Treaty included simplified amending procedures that do not require a full treaty revision and IGC for future changes. Therein ended a period of frequent Treaty revisions that had begun with Maastricht in 1993. Civil society secured a legislated position in the text and the Treaty had paved the way for the EU to sign onto the forthcoming UNCRPD. Recalling the conditions set out by Marks and McAdams (1999; 2007) on favourable political opportunity structures, a more favourable structure of political opportunity is one in an 'open' system (responsive to movement demands), stable alignment of elites, and elite allies, with a state unwilling to use repressive actions. The EDF had secured elite alliances within the European Institutions and the decade since the Treaty of Amsterdam negotiations had seen Resolutions, Communications and a Directive in favour of the rights of disabled people as well as support for an international Convention. These developments indicate a responsiveness to movement goals. The research will use the timeline of the selected campaign

case studies to determine the impact on opportunity structures of Treaty revision periods and a more consolidated landscape.

Article 11 of the Treaty of Lisbon, which entered into force in 2009, stipulates that EU 'institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society'. The EU considers accessibility of persons with disabilities as a fundamental right in its Charter (Articles 21 and 26). This Charter, although created in 2001, was legally binding as of 2009 upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Lisbon. It also brought a period of flux to an end where, in the waves of Treaty negotiations, windows of opportunity could be sought and seized. The following decade in the EU was one where the structure of the EU and its institutions were set – advocacy was to take place within the parameters set by the Lisbon Treaty. For disability policy, the results of the Treaty of Lisbon allowed the European Union to become a State Party to the recently concluded UNCRPD. This would provide the European DPM and its allies with a concrete, comprehensive framework of obligations and principles to hold the European Union and its Member States to.

The internal market is the European common area without frontiers where goods, services, persons and capital can move freely— the 'four freedoms' in the Treaty on European Union. The European institutions have competence to legislate in the areas of the four freedoms. Over the course of the European Union's existence, since the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993, the Treaty revisions have reflected an expanded understanding of which legislation falls under these competences. For example, in the Amsterdam revisions, as discussed in Campaign 1, to ensure that persons can move freely within the Union, Articles were added to the TEU to assert that the EU has the competence to legislate against discrimination. Legislating firstly removed any differential treatment that citizens could face depending on the Member State they are in, and, secondly, aimed to bring all Member State legislation to a particular benchmark level. European legislation takes different forms: Regulations have 'direct effect' and override existing national laws. Directives lay down certain results that must be achieved but each Member State is free to decide how to transpose directives into national laws. They are part of European

harmonisation legislation. Due to the flexibility Directives allow Member States and in keeping with the principle of subsidiarity (any decision that can be made at the Member State level should be done at that level), they are the preferred approach for legislation over Regulations (Hosking, 2020; Senden, 2017). 'Completing' the internal market is a key priority of the European Union and harmonizing standards between Member States to achieve this is an uncontroversial policy approach (Hosking, 2020).

The following section will give an overview of current debates in governance literature around the changing role of the State as it pertains to the EU, before concluding by pointing to the gap in knowledge as to how groups become involved in decision-making processes under these conditions. The social transformation of the European Union from a single economic market into a body politic with unique values and democratic traditions has created new claims-making opportunities for social movement organisations. This transformation has in part occurred at the behest of pressure applied by activists for inclusion and recognition at a formal level. As a result, the amending treaties of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) have gradually introduced both recognition of social groups facing discrimination and given the institutions powers to legislate to protect those groups.

Della Porta (2003) points to the lack of material resources possessed by SMOs in explaining their weakness at the EU level. However, the EU level is also touted as a viable alternative for social movements that have not found success at the level of their national governments (Tarrow and Imig, 2001). Certain types of SMOs will be more successful engaging with EU institutions: coherent, resource-rich social movements that use conventional methods of a civil society organisation than fragmented, radical ones (della Porta and Caiani, 2009). 'Mobilising structures' refer to organisational forms and informal networks facilitating mobilisation. Framing indicates the shared meaning that mediates between opportunity, organisation and action (Tarrow, 1996; Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996). Issues of resource mobilisation are a focal point in this literature: the question of how social movement actors gain access to important resources, and what impact this access has on a movement and its goals, is raised by Edwards and McCarthy (2006). Political opportunity

structures, too, are referenced: the openness of a political system, windows of opportunity, appropriation of existing organisations and configurations of actors (Kriesi, 2006: 78). It might be expected, then, that a representative organisation of disabled people that operates at the EU level and operates on a fairly standard, institutional platform would find more success.

Scholars have also taken up the connection between social movements and interest representation in the European context. Legal academic Hilson (2002) introduces the concept of 'legal opportunity', to be considered alongside 'political opportunity' for social movements specifically, identifying the disconnect between strategies of policy change like protest, litigation and lobbying. Hilson proposes a framework to connect the three, arguing groups are more likely to utilise protest strategies in cases where political and legal opportunities are low. The research concludes that the level of inclusion a group experiences in governance systems plays a role in their selection of strategy. SMOs operating closely with State bodies will engage in protest activity less than peripheral organisations. What remains unaddressed by Hilson (2002) however is whether a SMO working closely with the State is representing the range of views in a movement. Additionally, the armament of a framework like the UNCRPD impacts the extent to which strategic litigation features as a lobby strategy. The rights-based approach to social change, generated by the 'liberal faith in rights' receives mixed responses from scholars (Hunt, 1990: 309). Once a right is established in constitutions, legislation, and conventions, all those whose rights are threatened or denied may approach a relevant court and have their rights enforced. As legal frameworks establishing the rights of disabled people have increased (the European Treaties, UNCRPD and EU-level strategies to implement the convention) in the past 25 years, advocacy organisations and the wider Movement has had more to 'call on' when making its claims upon the State. Examining the impact of increasing frameworks over this timeline is possible by looking at their impact on the campaign activity of European DPO networks.

Beyers (2004) chooses a different approach to categorising, instead using the binary of public and 'inside' strategies used by interest associations and the impact of institutional factors on these combinations in the European context.

He notes that SMOs are included in this systematic examination of interest associations. Rarely do scholars differentiate between types of interest organisation in their analyses of strategies and interactions with governance actors. Beyers' work is useful in its categorisation of influence strategies as voice and access (2004: 214), where voice refers to public engagement activity and access refers to 'inside lobbying'. The research finds that the nature of interests as 'specific' and 'diffuse' do not have a large bearing on the selected combination of strategies, and instead that 'institutional factors', referring to the different bodies of governance to be accessed, play a role in determining this. The present research on the European disability movement will take guidance from Hilson's assertion that protest tactics are used in cases of exclusion. It will also utilise Beyers' categorisation of strategic combination (public versus insider), nature of interests (of a campaign) and institutional factors (which bodies of governance are targeted). As well as structures of political opportunity at the EU level, changes at the global level have also impacted SMOs' selection of strategic repertoires of action.

The UNCRPD and the first European Disability Strategy

In 2001 the UN General Assembly formed an Ad Hoc committee to consider proposals for a United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) following a motion introduced by Mexico at the UN General Assembly in December 2001. The EDF sent its delegation to the negotiations in New York to join the caucus of DPOs advocating for a strong, binding Convention. Completed in 2006, the UNCRPD entered into force on May 3, 2008. The Convention aims to 'promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity'. It outlines institutional changes State parties must make to facilitate its implementation, including monitoring mechanisms.

Included in the obligations of the Convention is Article 4(3), stipulating the required involvement of disabled people and their organisations in the development of policy:

In the development and implementation of legislation and policies to implement the present Convention, and in other decision-making processes concerning issues relating to persons with disabilities, States Parties shall closely consult with and actively involve persons with disabilities, including children with disabilities, through their representative organizations.

Article 33 of the Convention obliges parties to establish focal points to monitor the implementation of the Convention via 'independent mechanisms'. 33(3) requires that:

Civil society, in particular persons with disabilities and their representative organizations, shall be involved and participate fully in the monitoring process.

The UNCRPD requires that States designate or establish one or more independent mechanisms to promote, protect and monitor the implementation of the Convention (De Beco, 2011). These State-level monitoring mechanisms ensure international treaties are adhered to according to local contexts and frameworks. The UNCRPD Committee, overseeing the implementation of the Convention, has emphasised the need for State parties to adequately resource civil society actors to enable their participation in the monitoring and reporting process. In most States, National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) play a fundamental role in this process of monitoring, promoting and protecting the principles and implementation of the Convention, along civil society actors. Alternative reporting on progress by civil society at the time of State party review is one of the recommended forms of involvement by the Committee.

General Comment 7, provided by the Convention Committee clarifies what can be considered as consultation, involvement and participation, and how to involve disabled people in monitoring of the UNCRPD implementation. Section 8(3) of the General Comment notes:

[A]n important gap between the goals and the spirit of articles 4 (3) and 33 (3) and the degree to which they have been implemented. This is due, among other things, to the absence of meaningful consultation

with and involvement of persons with disabilities, through their representative organizations, in the development and implementation of policies and programmes.

As the Treaty of Lisbon (2007) gave the EU full legal personality, the European Union concluded its ratification as a regional integration organisation in December 2010, the Convention coming into force in January 2011. As a regional integration organisation, the EU must fulfil its obligations to the CRPD within the boundaries of its competences in a similar way to State parties, and it also assists its Member States in monitoring their obligations (e.g. through shared EU data and policy co-ordination mechanisms). As well as giving strong input into the Convention itself, the EDF also plays a key role in monitoring the EU's implementation of the UNCRPD. The 2010-2020 European Disability Strategy (the Strategy) was a decade-long framework of policy and guidelines introduced by the European Commission to implement the principles of the Convention.

In accordance with its obligations set out in Article 33, the EU's monitoring framework was initially formed by the European Parliament the European Ombudsman, the Fundamental Rights Agency, the EDF and the European Commission, and called the 'EU Framework'. The EDF gave specific input into General Comment 7 in 2018, clarifying the terms by which disabled people and their organisations are meaningfully involved in the implementation of legislation according to the principles of the UNCRPD, stating:

Currently, representative organisations of persons with disabilities in Europe do not have the necessary capacity nor resources to be equal partners in decision-making processes in their countries, and at EU and international levels. They are not considered social partners nor have they been granted a place in decision-making as other stakeholders and civil society organisations have.

EDF, 2018

In its first review as a party to the UNCRPD in 2014, the EU's Strategy was criticised in an alternative report by the EDF. The Strategy was not a comprehensive framework of implementation, lacking funding and attention to

targets like poverty reduction, social inclusion and employment. The view from civil society was that the EU UNCRPD Monitoring Framework did not function effectively – the EU Commission’s involvement in the monitoring setup contradicted the Framework’s independence and caused additional problems (Sturm et al., 2017: 172).

The 2021-2030 Strategy replaced this mechanism with the ‘EU Disability Platform’. The platform consists of EU Member State representatives, civil society organisations including the EDF, and the European Commission. The EDF plays a prominent role in both the monitoring and implementation of the UNCRPD at the EU level. At the time of writing the EDF’s representative is the EU Disability Platform’s chair. Questions about the efficacy of these frameworks remain as the new Platform does not entirely address concerns. The EDF has called in its alternative reports to the UNCRPD in the 2022 review of the EU for firmer monitoring processes, independent of the EU institutions, with permanent representation of DPOs and mechanisms to punish non-compliance (EDF, 2014; 2022). The EDF also launched a comprehensive campaign alongside the Strategy focusing on the barriers most disabled people faced in exercising their basic rights as European citizens. Following a recent rights-based campaign to introduce new anti-discrimination legislation for disabled people in the EU (Campaign 2 in the present research), the EDF seized on a different policy area and a different approach. This campaign, focusing on accessible goods and services is the topic of Campaign 3.

Civil society organisations now have a designated ‘seat at the table’ in European decision-making processes. The European treaties have served as political opportunity structures as they expanded EU competence into areas of social policy and secured the position of CSOs. Negotiations leading to the treaties, particularly in the case of the Treaty of Amsterdam, also served as opportunity structures for the European disability movement as evidenced by the success of the Invisible Citizens campaign (explored further in following chapters). The UNCRPD and the EU’s ratification of the Convention has also solidified the EU’s commitment to realising the rights and equality of the disabled people in Europe. The EDF plays a unique role as a civil society actor

monitoring and advising on the implementation of the Convention within the EU's monitoring framework. Participation and activation of new institutional venues increases opportunities for SMOs to access the State (Di Gregorio, 2014; Tarrow, 2007). Such spaces have been designed to increase the inclusiveness of policy and decision-making, participatory democratic politics. In turn, some of these spaces have been described as tokenistic due to their informal, non-binding nature. Although developments like the Disability Platform demonstrates there are efforts to improve this communication, they still miss the key 'binding' characteristic that would increase their influence. Participation in these forums is also based on past learning by SMOs. Spaces that do not produce opportunities are unlikely to be returned to or invested in by civil society actors (Di Gregorio, 2014; Holdo, 2019).

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced concepts of governance and policy processes. In doing so it complements Chapter 1 in providing a theoretical basis for the research. The chapter has noted recent trends in governance literature, their potential opportunities for social movements and their associated risks. The chapter has also given attention to specific models of policy processes that aid analyses of complex decision-making procedures in systems like the European Union. The MSF and concepts of structures of political opportunity will be utilised in following chapters to understand the case of the selected campaigns. Coalition and campaign activity in the space of civil society have been discussed in the chapter. Extant literature on what is known about successful coalitions and campaigns, as well as their impact on movements have been outlined. Several evolutions of governance specific to the context of the European disability movement have been considered including the Treaty of Lisbon and the UNCRPD. The chapter has raised questions about the impact of proximity to the State on the activity of a CSO. The following chapter sets out the design of the project, the research questions and the strategy to answer them.

Chapter 3

Research position and design

This chapter outlines the research position, design and approach. It begins with a section on the purpose of the research, and the corresponding epistemological grounding of the research – that is, how the research sought to understand the chosen phenomena (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). The chapter then discusses the approach and strategy, and briefly outlines the principles of emancipatory disability research that guided the research. The research uncovers information about successful strategies for campaigns directed towards the European institutions for use by civil society organisations like the EDF. The chapter then turns to the process for data generation including the selection process for the case studies, use of archives, the interview recruitment process, observation, and organisation of group events. The stages of processing the data are then discussed, including the coding scheme and stages of analysis. This establishes the reasoning behind the decisions made in the research process. The two primary data generation methods are interviews and documentary analysis. The chapter provides an account of the research decisions, including a section reflecting on my own position as a non-disabled researcher working with disabled activists and their organisations, and how this influences the process of collecting and interpreting data. I conclude by connecting the epistemological grounding of the research with the methodology and methods.

Social movement literature is replete with investigations surrounding the creation of social movements, and contentious activity in protest movements. The ‘milder’ end of the social movement spectrum, where social movements overlap with civil society, is afforded less attention within social movement literature. Governance literature examines the role of civil society actors in the governing operations of the European institutions: their role in addressing the democratic deficit, affording legitimacy to the institutions, and mediating between the European public and the governing bodies. The specific overlap between social movement actors in the policy process is neglected in the literature in spite of their unique role. Research within disability studies examines the history, dynamics and nature of disabled people’s movements

in Europe and globally but often a connection to governance and policy is left unattended to.

Consequently, this research addresses several lacunas in current understandings of social movements, specifically disabled people's movements and processes of governance. It seeks to understand how social movement organisations come to be involved in decision making processes, how they exert influence, how they represent their social movement communities and their role in legitimising governance processes that are moving out of democratic reach. The specific case of the European disabled people's movement is worthy of particular attention for several reasons: the history of the movement in the EU aligns with the broader history of the EU and its increasing role as a legislator and upholder of rights. This is evidenced through early medicalised, rehabilitative Community measures relating to the employment of disabled people, to the introduction of disability-specific Directives and the implementation of a comprehensive Convention enshrining the rights of disabled people. The ratification of the UNCRPD by the EU is a landmark episode in the role of supranational governing structures and their influence in national processes of government. More significantly, the research examines how the movement itself has secured recognition, representation and legislative gains via strategic collective action campaigns at EU level. It aims to enhance understandings of how DPOs and other social movement organisations utilise formal civil society spaces to their benefit.

The main research question is:

- How can disabled people's organisations achieve greater influence through collective action in the European Union?

This main research question is informed by the gaps pointed to in the review of extant literature, in the two preceding chapters. It takes a Gramscian approach to understand the underlying mechanisms of civil society (1971; Bhaskar, 2014). Fraser's (1990) critique of civil society also particularly informs the research approach: the public sphere has historically been a space where social movements simultaneously face exclusion and opportunities.

The main research question is answered through a series of specific research subsidiary questions:

- What kinds of collective action campaigns have been conducted in the past by DPOs at the European level? What were their approaches and objectives?

This question is answered in the following chapter. Descriptive in nature, it begins the empirical section of the thesis by detailing the campaigns selected for case study and reveals their strategic nature and goals. In comparing the three campaigns, it introduces the range of contexts under which they took place and how this informed the approach. This initial question is answered through the building of chronological timelines of the campaigns, their background and their policy outcomes. It is largely informed by a documentary analysis of sampled archives with input from interview material.

- According to the actors involved, how successful was the campaign in reaching its objectives, and which characteristics and conditions of the campaigns are thought to have contributed to this success? What types of barriers did they face?

This question is informed by resource mobilisation and political process approaches. The question explains *why* the campaigns took the form they did and connects them to outcomes. Chapter 5 critically analyses the 'streams' of the contexts under which the campaigns took place. The contexts of campaigns are discussed to demonstrate the extent to which campaigns and outcomes were shaped by structures of opportunity present at the time. The success of the EDF as a policy entrepreneur and its mobilising techniques in each case study provide insight into how SMOs strategically targeted actors and shaped their claims-making activity to suit formal civil society and governance processes. This question is answered through an analysis of interviews conducted with campaign actors, identifying a series of perspectives on the activity and outcomes of the collective action. Archives

- How are claims selected and prioritised? Are they contributing to a wider (counterhegemonic) movement?

The question of broader social movement community goals is returned to in this question. Moving from the specific goals of campaigns to notions of counterhegemonic blocs, and the corporatist role of EU civil society, Chapter 6 examines how the EU civil society sphere shapes opportunities for systemic change and the role of frames in uniting social movements. It examines the extent to which SMOs within the sphere are constrained in their activity by the competitive dynamics of the sphere and whether it is to a point that possibilities of counterhegemonic change is extinguished. This question utilises a frame analysis of campaign material from archives as well as data generated from interviews to understand the dynamics within civil society and wider policy processes as they impacted the campaigns.

- How can future collective action campaigns by European DPOs be strengthened?

The final subsidiary question aims to provide practical insight for organisations working within the structures of civil society and returns to the main research question with a view to operationalising findings for practical use: how organisational resources are best utilised and under which contexts their campaigns are likely to succeed. In concluding the thesis, the question also attends to the broader future of the European Union. Following two decades of Treaty revisions and searching for a European public (the 1990s & 2000s), the preceding decade of the EU has been one of consolidation and crisis management. The European project is more than integration: the Union increasingly seeks a position of leadership on issues of rights, democracy, and peace. Through an examination of the EDF and its history of campaigns directed at the Eu institutions, the research reveals how social movements influence structures of governance, how social movements themselves are influenced by their political environment and whether the potential for systemic change in favour of social movement communities exists within civil society.

Research approach and strategy

Burrell and Morgan (1979: 22) divide social research into four paradigms based on two axes: a horizontal one of objectivity or subjectivity of the research, and a vertical axis of the extent to which the research views the

status quo as acceptable and to be regulated or whether the research seeks radical social change. A visual representation of the four paradigms is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigms of social research

	Subjective	Objective
Radical change	Radical humanist	Radical structuralist
Regulation	Interpretive	Functionalist

The research aims to understand how hegemony can be disrupted, and thus falls largely into the upper, 'radical' echelons of the four paradigms. While it seeks to understand the dynamics and impact of social movements from the perspectives of actors, it also acknowledges that the objective organisation of society marginalises groups, namely disabled people. It is therefore focused on how social movements instigate social change in a measurable way. While taking elements of the radical humanist approach to social research in its attention to the perspectives of actors involved, the research falls primarily into the radical structuralist paradigm.

The research seeks to understand *whether*, *why* and *how* collective action by the European DPM within the sphere of civil society has achieved their objectives in the past. This ontological basis of the research is supported by an epistemological approach that describes, then explains the underlying mechanisms that produce an observable phenomenon, that is, interactions between CSOs and State actors (Bhaskar, 2014: 16; Blaikie, 2007: 88; Mason, 2017: 8). It does so through the experiences of social actors, and according to the meaning they ascribe to their experiences (Jocher, 1928). The logic of enquiry is therefore a mixed one – the research will first describe the conditions, characteristics of the collective action activities, and then seek to explain their consequences, both intended and unintended from the perspectives of the actors involved and the resultant social changes (Rucht, 2017: 48; Harrison et al., 2017: 32). A combinative research strategy of

inductive and retroductive techniques is employed (Blaikie, 2007: 8). Data have been generated and analysed to initially describe and identify the characteristics of campaign activity and policy networks. The research then locates the underlying mechanisms and structures at work in these processes. As the research investigates the role of frames in both civil society and policy processes, it also uses elements of the abductive strategy as described by Blaikie (ibid): how actors within these processes construct reality and the frames of understanding they employ to interpret the world.

While understanding that social actors interpret the world through these frames of understanding, the research begins from the realist premise that political opportunities for change through the sphere of civil society do exist, at some points more so than others, whether or not they are being observed. A realist investigation 'zigzags' between fragile ideas to be tested and refined through engagement with evidence (Emmel, 2013: 6). At this point, in keeping with a realist, retroductive strategy, it is useful to explicate several hypotheses (or 'fragile ideas') that the research has developed and will test (Blaikie, 2007: 8; Emmel, 2013):

- Civil society actors like the EDF bring legitimating resources to the policy process: specialist knowledge and moral authority. In doing so they contribute to the structure of the processes themselves.
- To achieve influence in their consultative, they must employ calculated strategies – more so than policy actors bring other types of resources.
- At times of systemic flux civil society actors like the EDF may find more opportunities to exploit and achieve their goals.
- In comparison, as structures of governance 'firm up', actors like the EDF will face greater challenges in achieving real change.
- The internal dynamics of civil society inhibit prospects of counterhegemonic change by stimulating interest-specific competition between groups.

A qualitative approach was employed for the research to capture richness, depth and nuance in the data as most meaning will be drawn from the complex interactions that take place between State and civil society (Mason, 2017;

Jocher, 1928). Specifically, a comparative case study approach will be employed. The case study captures the complexities of institutions, processes and relations of politics. It allows an in-depth interrogation of these interactions where the boundaries between context and issue are not always clear (Harrison et al., 2017: 7). The case study approach recommends a mixed methods approach to enable triangulation of findings (Yin, 2014; Harrison et al., 2017: 22). The methods generated three types of data:

- Recollections of the campaigns from actors
- Archival documentary sources (from the EDF, its members and affiliates)
- Observational notes taken in attendance at annual general assemblies, board meetings and other stipulated events undertaken by DPOs.

Before turning to the sampling strategy of the case study campaigns, the chapter will presently introduce a fundamental pillar guiding the research: the emancipatory disability research paradigm.

The emancipatory paradigm of disability research

This research will use an emancipatory approach, largely based on Stone and Priestley's (1996) seminal text. The following paragraphs elaborate the emancipatory disability research paradigm with regards to the present research. Activists have highlighted the importance of enhancing choice for disabled people and their organisations to allow them to decide which research they would participate in, and more importantly, give control to relevant DPOs in the design, funding and carrying out of the research. This approach to research has been coined 'emancipatory disability research' (Oliver, 1992; Mercer, 2004). The aim of any research according to this approach should be to contribute to the demystification and removal of the disabling structures within society (Oliver, 1992). The present research is participatory, conducted in collaboration with a disabled people's organisation. Communication was established prior to the start of the project and input was sought in the design of the research during communication with secretariat

members, visits to the secretariat offices and attendance at organisational meetings.

The research was undertaken in close collaboration with the EDF: I made strong connections with several secretariat members and activists who guided my access to interviewees and archival material. I maintained ongoing communication with my contacts throughout the project and contributed to several of their projects. Ongoing collaboration with fellow researchers in the DARE project strengthened the research as methods of data generation, analysis and dissemination specific to the field of disability advocacy research were shared and discussed. The findings of this project have contributed to the body of knowledge around collective action activity. To ensure this knowledge is shared beyond the borders of academia and into civil society (Mason, 2002: 8) it is translated into an accessible framework of collective action, located in the final chapter of this thesis. This framework will be disseminated to European DPOs and is designed as a reflexive tool for future campaigns. With future funding I intend to build on the results of this research project to strengthen the collective action framework. Reflexivity also refers to the investigation of the social relations of inquiry itself (May & Berry, 2014: 109). The practice enables examination of the basis of claims to know the social world and an exploration of forms of knowledge. It is important to briefly consider my role as a nondisabled person working with DPOs, following the principles of emancipatory disability research. Stone and Priestley (1996) outline six core principles of the emancipatory research approach. The principles, and the way they are utilised in the present research, follow:

1. Accountability: Continuous and meaningful input by the disabled community from the design phase to dissemination of research

The topic of the research was designed by the DARE project, which is made up of academic institutions, service provider organisations and DPOs. Contact with the EDF began with my project application and has shaped the project's proposed design and the selection of cases for study. The data collection phase was shaped by input from the EDF membership via email contact with key informants and interactive webinars to share and reflect on findings. The EDF will also play a key role in the dissemination of the research findings.

2. The role of the social model: The epistemological position for the research should be to expose and interrogate the disabling structures of society

The primary aim of the research is to explore how DPOs as SMOs engage with counterhegemonic collective action to disrupt disabling social structures.

3. The question of objectivity: Acknowledging the myth of interpreting data without bias and making clear the position being taken in the research

The resulting collective action framework from this research can be utilised by DPOs to their benefit.

4. The choice of methodology: Ensuring rigour, logic, and clear structure so as to best capture the complex experience of disablement

The research design is informed both by consultation with DPOs and similar past research projects. Methods have been chosen based on their ability to best answer the research questions and checked with the DPO.

5. The place of experience in research: Allowing room for lived, subjective experiences and realities of disabled people in a way that can be collectivised

The project answers its research questions through accounts of participants representing DPOs that ran targeted campaigns and associated archival material. The approach uses individual accounts of activist experience with collective action.

6. Research outcomes: Ensuring meaningful, practical and accessible results for the disabled community

The framework of collective action is one such initiative. The results will also be translated into other languages, according to the wishes of member organisations that will assist in disseminating the results. Easy-read adaptations of the research outputs will be investigated. Events held by the EDF and its member DPOs are a platform for these presentations.

More nuance can be introduced to the emancipatory approach with regard to power dynamics between researchers and their academic institutions: academics, particularly those at the start of their careers, are bound to some extent by institutional constraints (Stone and Priestley, 1996). It should also be acknowledged that the emancipatory approach is being *striven for*; it is a continual process. The present research has been designed in contact with a DPO that works closely with the European Institutions. I could have contacted other international DPOs to seek a wider range of opinions on the design of the project. Options like these were not pursued due to resource constraints and the accessibility and willingness of the EDF to contribute. This project seeks to add to the body of knowledge that exposes marginalising societal structures affecting disabled people.

Research method

In seeking to answer the research question via case study, the campaign activity of a specific organisation has been the focus. The EDF is an umbrella-style advocacy body, representing the interests of disabled people at the European level. The organisation receives funding from the EU to operate in the civil society space to ensure decision making concerning disabled people is undertaken with and by disabled people. The campaigns selected as case studies have been sampled from the comprehensive history of the organisation, which celebrated its 25th year as an independent CSO in 2022. From the EDF's mission:

Our mission is to ensure persons with disabilities' full inclusion in society and access to our human rights through our active involvement in policy development, implementation and monitoring of the CRPD in Europe ... EDF's values are built on the principles of the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD):

- Respect for inherent dignity;
- Individual autonomy including the freedom to make one's own choices;
- Non-discrimination;
- Full and effective participation and inclusion in society;

- Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human diversity and humanity;
- Equality of opportunity;
- Accessibility;
- Equality between men and women;
- Respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and respect for the right of children with disabilities to preserve their identities.'

The organisation represents the interests of disabled people in formal European civil society spaces like the European Economic and Social Committee (ESSC). The organisation has regular channels of communication with the three European institutions: the Commission, the European Parliament (the EP) and Council of Ministers (the Council). As the executive branch of the EU institutions, the Commission proposes and implements EU legislation. The EDF monitors these processes and participates via consultations and position papers. The Parliament represents EU constituents; it operates along party lines, committees and intergroups. The EDF works with members of European Parliament (MEPs) within parties, committees, and the disability intergroup to influence voting directions, parliamentary resolutions and reports presenting the EP's position on legislation. The Council represents national Member State governments. Member States pass around the 'presidency' of the EU every 6 months. The EDF works to influence the work programmes of the upcoming presidencies to ensure the theme of disability is maintained. The organisation works with bodies external to the EU; for example the Council of Europe and the United Nations. It responds to global crises like the COVID-19 pandemic and the invasion of Ukraine to advocate for disabled people in crisis contexts.

The EDF is also a beneficiary of the DARE project. From the outset of the research project the organisation has been a collaborative partner. The research sought to understand the impact of the organisation's campaign activity on EU policy processes. To facilitate the comparison of campaigns, the selected three were all directed at EU legislation. The following section

details the selection of the sampled campaigns from a longer list of those considered.

Three historic, targeted campaigns run by the EDF and its partners have been selected as a sample for the research. Their tactics, strategies and the conditions under which they took place have been mapped through archival research, and key figures in the campaigns were interviewed to gain a thorough understanding of the experiences of the organisations involved – both the SMOs and state actors. The research strategy is a combinative one, according to Blaikie's conception of the four research strategies (see Blaikie, 2000: 85 and Blaikie, 2007: 8 & 56). The research uses an inductive strategy to answer the initial descriptive subsidiary research question. Retroductive elements identify causal mechanisms between collective action campaign activity and outcomes – intended and unintended (Harrison, et al., 2017; Jocher, 1928). The abductive strategy informs the framing component of the inquiry: the construction of knowledge by actors and the extent to which these prevail as the accepted (hegemonic) 'truth'. These frames interact with the acknowledged causal mechanisms and dynamics at play in civil society and governance processes.

Sampling campaigns for study

In making claims based on relatively small numbers of people, events and cases, sampling in qualitative research requires careful consideration and 'good analytical reasons' (Rapley, 2014). A purposeful sampling strategy was utilised for this research: campaigns were considered and selected on the basis of their relevance to the research questions, the resources available to me as the sole researcher and the density of information within the campaigns (Patton, 1990 in Emmel, 2013: 34). Three campaigns were selected based on three criteria, listed below:

1. Range: The sample case studies reflect the spectrum of approaches to campaigning, from protest and drawing public awareness to consultations with MEPs and EU officials.

2. Time: The EDF has been in operation for more than 25 years as of 2022. The sample captures this timeframe; the selected campaigns are spaced out over the lifetime of the EDF.
3. Impact: As the previous chapter has established, achieving legislative change is not the only measure of impact for collective action. This was also evident in consultations with EDF members about the most impactful campaigns from their perspectives. The selected campaigns attempt to capture this.

The three campaigns have produced a range of results and utilise a combination of ‘insider’ strategies and more public-facing ones. The variance between the campaigns in the strategies utilised is a key area of interest for the research. Table 3, below, details the campaigns that were considered for the research. The table indicates which were selected and why.

Table 2: Campaigns considered for analysis

Campaign	Description	Included in research ?	Why
Inclusion of disability in Article 13 (Invisible Citizens)	<p>Aim: Inclusion of disability in the European Treaties</p> <p>Time: 1995-97</p> <p>Outcome: Article 13 (now Article 19) of Treaty on the TFEU. Established legal basis to combat employment-related discrimination based on disability (and sex, religion or belief, age or sexual orientation) in the EU</p>	Yes	Landmark campaign establishing competence for EU to legislate disability policy; prior to this only non-binding action was possible.

<p>Rights of passengers with reduced mobility</p>	<p>Aim: Establish the right to assistance free of charge in air, rail; coach; and boat travel for disabled people</p> <p>Time: 1990s – 2013 (updated to include different types of transport)</p> <p>Outcome: The right to assistance free of charge in air, rail; coach; and boat travel.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>Difficult to find material and informants on early elements of the campaign</p>
<p>UNCRPD ratification by the EU</p>	<p>Aim: The European Union becomes a state party to the Convention</p> <p>Time: 2001-2010 (from ad hoc committee participation to ratification)</p> <p>Outcome: On 22 January 2011, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) entered into force for the European Union.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>The EDF participated in the drafting of the convention but in conversation with informants it was unclear the extent to which the EU's ratification of the Convention was influenced by the EDF. A specific campaign was not run and establishing connections to outcomes would be difficult.</p>
<p>Monitoring the use of EU structural funds</p>	<p>Aim: strong provisions in these regulations regarding accessibility requirements, prohibiting investment in institutional</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>The campaign is ongoing and diverse: the structural funds are used for many</p>

	<p>care, a commitment to ambitious investment for social inclusion and strong non-discriminations clauses with regards to persons with disabilities</p> <p>Time: ongoing</p> <p>Outcome: Awareness raising and monitoring of the funds to prevent misuse</p>		<p>policy areas so correspondingly the campaign covers a range of activities and legislation.</p> <p>Given time and resource constraints it would be difficult to cover the campaign in sufficient detail</p>
1 Million for Disability	<p>Aim: A 'disability Directive' implementing the principle of equal treatment outside the labour market via collection of signatures using the European Citizens Initiative (ECI) mechanism</p> <p>Time: 2007-08</p> <p>Outcome: The directive was blocked at the EU Council level</p>	Yes	<p>The campaign experimented with a new EU instrument to connect to citizens. It succeeded technically but received an unanticipated response from the institutions. The campaign provides an avenue to examine the dynamics of civil society in seeking recognition from legislators</p>
Free movement – Accessibility Act	<p>Aim: An EU directive to establish common accessibility requirements</p>	Yes	<p>Resulted in first disability-specific EU directive and followed on from the</p>

	<p>covering products and services across the EU.</p> <p>Time: 2011 – 2022 (continued into transposition)</p> <p>Outcome: Accessibility Act (2019): The EDF has expressed disappointment that this legislation does not go far enough in its reach – for example, accessibility of technological services.</p>		<p>EU's first framework strategy to implement the principles of the UNCRPD as per its obligations as a state party.</p>
<p>Withdraw additional protocol to Oviedo convention</p>	<p>Aim: prevent the additional protocol to the Oviedo Convention of the Council of Europe (CoE) regulating involuntary treatment and placement in psychiatry.</p> <p>Time: 2014-2022</p> <p>Outcome: Suspended as of 2022 until 2024</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>The campaign concerned a Convention of the CoE, a supranational organisation of 46 Member States (including all EU Member States). EDF's interaction with the CoE are separate to its functioning within the EU. Looking at multiple levels of international governance is beyond the scope of the present research.</p>

<p>Ongoing campaigns pertaining to specific articles of the UNCRPD, e.g.:</p> <p>Education</p> <p>De-institutionalisation</p> <p>Accessible health services</p>	<p>Various aims and timespans for these campaigns. For example access to health services became a focal point of energy for the EDF during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown periods as many Member States deprioritised the lives of disabled citizens.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>The ongoing nature of the campaigns would make the drawing of conclusions difficult and outcomes are still unpredictable.</p>
---	---	-----------	--

A consultative process was conducted to select the case studies:

- Independent research into the organisation's history
- Establishing contact with the EDF in my application for the research position
- Connecting campaigns to resultant EU policy and consultation with the EDF to clarify information on the campaigns and their impact
- Attending forums, conferences and meetings held or attended by the EDF
- Undertaking a week of research at the offices of the organisation looking at material resources and gaining access to the digital archives

Members of the organisation and from the secretariat were consulted on what they believe to be the campaigns most suitable for this piece of research. In particular, during an initial week spent at the organisation's offices, activists and secretariat members met with me and provided feedback on the shortened list of campaigns I was considering. The eventual decision was made based on several factors, alongside the three criteria mentioned above. Firstly, the level of available information on the campaigns was considered. This varied between campaigns but had to reach a minimal level so that a chronology could be built, decisions and outcomes identified, and the

campaign could generally be understood in its entirety. Additionally, although the campaigns have been selected for their varied approach and outcomes, some level of comparison between the collective actions was needed to draw conclusions. Therefore, the selected campaigns each target EU-level legislation and feature similarities in certain elements of their approach: each using a combination of 'insider' tactics like presenting position papers, drafting legislation and lobbying; and 'public-facing' strategies of protest and awareness raising.

Sampling purposefully involves taking 'pragmatic judgements' to select information rich cases (Emmel, 2013: 3; Patton, 2002). The three campaigns have taken place at different points in the organisation's history, one having begun while the organisation was transitioning into an independent entity. They were also conducted at different contextual points in the history of the EU. Due to this level of variance in both the campaign and the context, an argument could be made that comparison between the case studies is not possible, perhaps using the analogy of apples and oranges. The theme of structure and agency is a central component to this research. The research question 'How can disabled people's organisations achieve greater influence through collective action in the European Union?' aims to capture not only the tactics and strategies that organisations can utilise in their collective activity (although this is the practical component that I anticipate being of primary use to activists), but also the conditions under which campaigns are likely to achieve success. Including a range of policy contexts has been done with the aim of understanding the impact of conditions on campaigns. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the research has also developed a hypothesis that despite more legal frameworks supporting the realisation of the rights of disabled people supporting the work of the EDF, a policy environment characterised by stability may present fewer structures of political opportunity for organisations.

This project seeks to better understand the social and institutional processes that create change at the policy level and determine how they can be engaged meaningfully. The project's focus is on three targeted campaigns that have been launched by the organisation at specific legislative areas. These

campaigns have been selected in consultation with the EDF and achieved varying levels of success in terms of policy change. They will be examined holistically, and similarities, differences and patterns across the three will be drawn out (Blaikie, 2007: 213; Jocher, 1928: 205; Harrison et al., 2017; Palmberger and Gingrich, 2014). The campaigns will be linked to the policy implementation or change that was being striven for, but this will not be the extent of the examination of the campaign. Outcomes are but one measure of the 'success' of a movement's activity (Suh, 2012). Therefore the wider impact of the campaigns are also examined in the research: how the resultant legislation (where it has appeared) is perceived by activists, and, recalling Staggenborg and Lecomte (2009) prescription of campaigns' impact on future mobilisations and organisational structures themselves, whether campaigns have had wider implications for the organisation. Having justified the sampling of the campaign cases, I now discuss the generation of data for the research.

Generation of data

The focus of the research is primarily on past actions by campaign coalitions largely led by the EDF. Generating data from three sources, being documentary archives, interviews with campaign actors, and observational notes from participating in various aspects of the EDF's activities allowed an exploration of the collective action and associated outcomes suited to the ontological premise of the research. The empirical focus is the activity of European-level DPOs, and their efforts to influence decision making through claims-making activity at the EU level of governance. Specifically, the research examines the targeted campaigns launched by the EDF, which, as the introductory section of the thesis describes, is an umbrella EU-level DPO targeting EU-level policy and decision making. It is a partner organisation of the DARE project. According to Mason's (2018: 80) 'open' definition, sampling and selecting are:

[P]rinciples and procedures used to identify and gain access to relevant data sources that are potentially generative in relation to a wider universe, and to select from them for the purposes of gaining meaningful insights...

It is then necessary to explain the selection procedures used for the data sources as well as the campaign case studies. A purposive strategy was again used to ensure sources were information rich and would generate appropriate data to answer the research questions.

Documents

Documentary data were generated through official EU policy documents, personal archives and the physical and digital archives of the organisation. These organizational archives included available annual reports from the organisation's history, meeting minutes, promotional brochures and booklets from the campaigns, visual and audio recordings of campaign events and informational booklets for disabled people across Europe on their rights and instruments to exercise these rights. The EDF's digital archives were severely corrupted when being moved to a new system several years ago. I was tasked by the EDF with assessing the extent of the corruption and enlisted the help of the University IT department. While about 80% of the files were corrupted and unretrievable, several folders relevant to the research were accessible, including position papers, drafted Directives and meeting minutes. The provision of personal archives supplemented missing material. EU policy documents, Commission White and Green papers, statements and reporting were also used to generate data.

Objective archival material from campaigns was used in combination with data generated from webinars and interviews regarding the timelines of the collective action and their outcomes. This was particularly important in collecting information on Campaign 1. Fewer interviewees were present for this campaign and those present were asked to recall events from 25 years ago. Personal archives were made available to me in several cases, particularly the indispensable material provided by Professor Lisa Waddington. The documents provided crucial historical context to the history of European Community level disability policy dating from the 1970s to the late 1990s. From these archives as well were primary source materials from the period of the Amsterdam treaty negotiations. These were fundamental in understanding the Invisible Citizens campaign, the first case study campaign of the research: documents included fax correspondence between campaign

members, meeting minutes, informational newsletters circulated to campaign members as well as more general material on the intergovernmental conference taking place to negotiate the Treaty of Amsterdam revisions. An inventory of the archives can be found in Appendix F. Appendix G features an anonymised example of the 'Invisible Citizens' campaign newsletter.

Observation

Data was also generated through observational notes taken in attendance at various events throughout 2020 and 2021, including:

- The 2020 in-person Annual General Assembly (AGA)
- A week at the organisation's offices looking through digital archives in February 2020
- A 3 month virtual secondment placement working with the EDF
- The virtual 2020 Board Meeting
- The virtual 2020 European Day of Persons with Disabilities, of which the EDF is a primary organiser
- Attendance at the many virtual webinars and presentations organised by the organisation in 2020 and 2021
- General frequent contact with the secretariat
- Frequent contact with key informants in the EDF membership

These activities provided context to the organisation's internal dynamics, its relationships with its member organisation and its campaign activities. It supported depth, complexity and multidimensionality in the data (Mason, 2018; 195). It also provided an opportunity for me to offer my skills as a researcher to organisation members and assist in a review of the membership. Deepening my understanding of the context in which collective action by DPOs takes place in civil society forums by participating in some of the work undertaken by the organisation increased the 'dimensions' of the data (Mason, 2002: 85).

From September 2020, I was seconded to work with the EDF for three months at their secretariat. During this period, I wrote a history of the organisation in anticipation of its 25th year of operation in 2022. I also worked with secretariat

members on a review of the 100+ membership of the organisation, checking the organisations had been allocated their correct status as full, associate or observer. This required me to check the statutes and board composition of the organisations and assess whether they met the required configuration for DPO status. This gave me a thorough understanding of the EDF's member organisations and connected me to specific secretariat members who facilitated the snowballing of participants (May, 2011).

I continued attending meetings, forums and conferences throughout the research project to deepen my understanding of how the organisation runs and interacts with its members and external organisations. The research was conducted in the period of the COVID-19 pandemic and the majority of the work was carried out virtually. This enabled me to remotely attend a wide range of events and seminars held by the EDF. I found that most potential participants I contacted for interviews could find time in their schedule for a 1-1.5 hour interview with me. A lack of in person events was not a particular hindrance to the research.

Interviews

As the research sought to understand how and when social movement activity can be deemed successful, interviews with relevant actors in the process were an integral part of the data. To seek the perspectives of DPO representatives, a combination of focus groups and individual, semi-structured interviews were used: a much richer image can be constructed of the campaigns if 'focus-group' style excavation of data is also used (Mason, 2002: 68; Jocher, 1928: 206). While group events were initially planned to be in-person, the resultant structure was two co-organised webinars with the assistance of the EDF. The details were circulated by the EDF via its mailing list and the two events had 14 and 13 participants respectively. Participants were sent emails upon registration clarifying the purpose of the events and what was requested (Mason, 2002: 66). Appendix D provides an example of this communication from the first event. Interactive webinars were held at two points in the research process to reflect on the information gathering to stakeholders, specifically those members of the EDF who held an interest in the project. The

first of these generated contact with further interviewees and invited attendees to reflect on their personal memories of the EDF, particularly in its early years.

Recruitment of interview participants

Follow-up, semi-structured interviews were conducted based on the focus-group webinar discussions. Following the initial webinar inviting attendees to reflect on their memories of activism with the EDF, I conducted a round of informal interviews with attendees. Participants spoke about what they considered relevant, and I gathered names and contacts of figures who were present for the campaigns selected for case study. This provided an initial basis to follow up with relevant figures and make contact with key figures in the campaigns for more structured interviews.

Time spent with the EDF and some of its secretariat members during a week working at the office initially introduced me to several potential participants through the secretariat already (Mason, 2002: 138). Further access to potential informants was made through snowballing via members of the organisation I spoke with initially. From the initial contact made with prospective interviewees I was able to gain access to more interview candidates. The decision of who to interview was based on their proximity to the campaign and the nature of their involvement in the campaign. I needed to ensure I was gaining a comprehensive picture of the campaigns as well as interviewing a sufficient number of people (Mason, 2018: 118). The second webinar presented a timeline of the beginnings of the organisation based on preliminary interviews and analyses of archival material. Again participants were followed up with following the event (if they had expressed consent to be contacted) and assisted with contact with further potential participants.

The secondment period with the EDF connected me to members to interview and in turn introduced me to other members for interview. Targeted calls for information were circulated via the 'Members Mailing' weekly communication with the mailing list of the EDF. DPOs and their members are frequently under-resourced and time poor. I was fortunate that most potential interviewees I reached out to consented to an interview. Several contacts were interviewed multiple times or provided follow up information following an interview. Many

figures in the organisation have been active across at least a decade of the organisation's lifetime, so individual interviews frequently covered several campaigns.

The list below details the key informants:

- Current executive committee members
- Ex-executive committee members
- Presidents, current and former
- Former directors of the EDF
- Representatives of full member organisations
- Representatives of associate member organisations
- EU officials linked to policy action associated with the chosen campaigns

Interviewees signed consent forms for the interview to be used in the research and were sent a list of questions prior to the interview to clarify the type of information they were being asked to provide. Interviewees were contacted as a result of the webinars, either by personally attending or through attendees of the webinars, or in several cases via the secretariat of the organisation. The EDF assisted me with a call for participants and key contacts at the secretariat were able to put me in direct contact with some informants. Some interviewees also contacted me out of interest for the project; indeed, I was told by several participants that EDF members have been eager for a historical report of the organisation's past. In total, 21 interviews were conducted between September 2020 and April 2021 on Zoom. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for coding in the analysis stage of the research.

Ethical considerations

Written or spoken and recorded consent was obtained prior to participation in accordance with the University of Leeds protocol. Participants were sent a consent for explaining why they were asked to take part in the research, and

what their involvement would be. Participants were given the opportunity to discuss what the information they give might be used for. This was done by way of an information sheet that describes the project's aims and method (see Appendix C). Participants were given the opportunity to review their interview responses after transcription was completed. Two interviewees took the opportunity to review their interview. An application for approval was submitted to the University of Leeds ethics committee in June 2020, and after minor adjustments were made accordingly, I received ethical approval from the Business, Environment and Social Sciences (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee in August 2020.

The research project is based on an identifiable organisation, with members who are well-known to the community. Anonymising participants from the EDF required more than changing their names as other characteristics make them easily identifiable; some positions in the organisation have been held by the same individuals for lengthy periods and others, if named by their position when discussing a specific campaign, would be identifiable due to their unique position in the organisation. For this reason, I further anonymised participants by referencing their general position in the organisation rather than their specific role. Members of the executive committee, including the presidents, have been grouped as such. This also enabled me to consider the dynamics of the organisation: a clear division exists between the paid secretariat (some of whom identify as disabled) and the membership. The executive committee is elected to make decisions on behalf of the membership and works closely with the secretariat, relative to the rest of the membership. The considerations made possible by this decision appear in the empirical sections of the thesis.

Overview of participants

Participants were asked at the start of the interview to talk about themselves and their involvement with the DPM. By answering the question 'What brought you to work with the EDF? What politicised you with regards to disability rights?' at the opening of the interview they were given the opportunity to expand on their personal history and connection to disability activism and the EDF in particular. From this question, an overview of the characteristics of interviewees was possible. Figure 4 provides an anonymised list of

interviewees. The attributes of interviewees have been deliberately left vague to ensure anonymity is preserved. The location of interviewees refers to the region of their native member state. The overview table includes the anonymised initials allocated to the participants, their position in the EDF relevant to the campaign(s) they were interviewed about, their gender, the number of interviews they provided and their location.

Table 3: Interviewee overview

Initials	Position	Gender pronoun	Times interviewed	Location
DC	Former Director	She/her	1	Western Europe
TP	Former executive committee member (FECM)	He/him	2	Northern Europe
KX	(FECM)	He/him	2	Western Europe
KH	Former director	He/him	1	Southern Europe
OC	Former director	She/her	1	Western Europe
NE	Senior secretariat member	She/her	1	Western Europe
HG	Executive committee member (ECM)	He/him	1	Southern Europe

FG	ECM	She/her	2	Central Europe
TL	Full member representative	He/him	1	Central Europe
WB	Former senior secretariat member	She/her	1	Western Europe
QD	ECM	He/him	1	Western Europe
HQ	Full member representative	He/him	1	Central Europe
BN	Senior secretariat member	He/him	1	Southern Europe
ME	Secretariat member	She/her	1	Eastern Europe
ZW	ECM	He/him	2	Southern Europe
SI	Former MEP	He/him	1	Western Europe
MA	Associate member representative	He/him	1	Western Europe

The position of interviewees was included to show the range of responses from both the secretariat and membership. It was important to access both executive committee members and those members further away from central decision-making roles. Reflecting on the sample of interviewees reveals a bias

toward male, Western European respondents. This sample could be described as narrow; it could also be reflective of the EDF at certain points in its history. As I was seeking information from specific time periods, one of which was over a decade ago and another that was two decades ago, my focus was on reaching those present for the campaigns. It was outside the scope of the research questions to identify gender and identity imbalances within the organisation at specific times, although this topic is worthy of further specific study. The sample satisfied a point of 'saturation' with the data (Emmel, 2013: 35). In other words, I stopped interviews when I had a complete picture of the campaign from a range of perspectives.

I prioritised documents from the time period of the selected campaigns, and specifically those that directly addressed the claims and conduct of the campaigns. Documentary material clarified the approach of the campaigns – their framing of issues, for example, and the objectives or desired outcomes (Mason, 2002: 105). It also acted to 'sift' information given by participants in interviews or 'rationalisations' (Jocher, 1928: 205). Meeting minutes and memos revealed the ways in which issues became topics for campaigns and tracked decision making throughout the campaigns. Choices around tactics and strategies made throughout campaigns began to emerge from documentary sources. This aided the interview process by establishing some understanding of the timelines for the campaigns prior to speaking with interviewees.

Stages of analysis

Realist research works out the relation between ideas and evidence (Emmel, 2013). The analysis of this data sought to understand the perceived impact of campaigns on the European institutions. The interviews were transcribed and coded to pull out information relating to the research question. Archival sources were coded using the same scheme. Mason's (2002: 149) framework of 'reading' the data was followed, which involves reading the data literally, interpretively and reflexively. The next sub-sections demonstrate how this framework was used.

The 'literal' phase of reading the data generates an understanding of the language used, the sequences of interactions between actors and the form these interactions took. This allowed a chronological reconstruction of campaign and policy decisions to help determine pivotal moments in the campaign and what actions were taken that led to them. This part of the analysis began at the same time as data generation, informing the guiding questions of the interview portion of data generation. The chronology of the campaigns can be found in Appendix B. The coding here involved identifying which campaign was being described, the stage of the campaign (initial, mid, outcomes), and any tactics or strategies that were being identified in the campaign.

The 'interpretive' phase of data reading was in a thematic analysis of the data generated from interviews and archival documentary sources. In this phase, the data is read to construct meaning and representation (Mason, 2002: 149). To conduct the thematic analysis (see Roulston, 2001; Bird, 2005; Griffiths, 2019), the following stages was used during the analysis phase of the research:

- Initial engagement with the data
- Locating early codes and identifying potential themes
- Review of potential themes (collapsing subthemes, referring to research questions and literature review)
- Deciding on a set number of themes

In particular, the coding schedule identified which campaign, what stage of the campaign, specific tactics or strategies, their associated outcomes, whether the relationships with institutions were spoken about positively or negatively. The same coding schedule was used for the documentary component of the data. Coding was performed using NVivo 12. Carol Bacchi's 'What is the Problem Represented to Be?' (WPR) approach (Bacchi, 2012) is based in the idea that proposed solutions reveal an actor's conception of the problem. By looking at the way that the 'problem' is represented in policy the frame of understanding behind policy becomes evident (Bhaskar, 2014: 16). This will

track the efforts of the campaigns and their influence: for example, tracking changes in representation of policy problems, thereby looking at the changes in policy discourse and whether frames of understanding align with the EDF's campaign. Such an approach aligns with the MSF described in Chapter 2. Bacchi's framework also provides some reference to write the collective action framework from the research findings (see Bacchi, 2009).

The frame analysis also seeks to explore the definitions of 'success' that social movement actors attribute to campaigns. This is compared with the definitions given by state actors. The primary purpose of this step of analysis is to understand what success might mean in collective action outside of normative definitions of policy change (Suh, 2012). Recalling the emancipatory disability research paradigm, a key principle of which is allowing room for lived, subjective experiences and realities of disabled people in a way that can be collectivised (Stone and Priestley, 1996; Oliver, 1992). Definitions of success, and collective action activity attributed to this success were coded and grouped. It is a primary aim of the research to produce generalisable results (Mason, 2002: 8). The coding scheme here was more thematic in its approach, examining the way in which campaigns were referred to (positively or negatively), the position of institutions in the campaign and the relevance of EU level advocacy in terms of the campaign outcomes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the development of themes under this approach to thematic analysis requires an interpretation of the data to position it alongside the theoretical positions outlined within their research questions.

A final 'reflexive' reading considered my subjective role in the generation and analysis of the data, specifically what the EDF has chosen to share. Considering the focal organisation of the research was also a beneficiary of the DARE project, this was a vital step. The organisation allowed me to access any material of interest to me and did not block any interview requests. However, the EDF did have considerable influence on the direction of the research in that the selection process of the campaigns was made on the basis of interviews conducted with secretariat and membership representatives. This step was conducted in keeping with the emancipatory principle of accountability and informing the research with the lived experience

of disabled people and their organisations (Stone and Priestley, 1996). Interviewees reported a range of opinions on the campaigns, their co-ordination, and their outcomes. The use of documentary archives also provided material that had not been generated for the purpose of the research. This provided perspectives of the campaigns separate to the recollections of actors who chose to speak to me.

As previously mentioned, a collective action framework will be produced from the findings and this will be disseminated in a number of ways to international, state, regional and local-level DPOs. Initial ideas for dissemination have been mentioned in the discussion of emancipatory disability research paradigm – particularly how the research will engage with Principle 6 (Stone and Priestley, 1996). An initial collective action framework is proposed in Chapter 7.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the ontological grounding of the research and its epistemological strategy for observing the phenomena it seeks to understand. The project explores the impact of campaigns by CSOs on governance processes. Findings will contribute to knowledge of how collective action taken by DPOs can further their objectives as a movement. The interdisciplinary grounding of the research allows a comprehensive understanding of how governance and social movement organisations can work collaboratively. The following chapter introduces the campaigns in more detail and features their backgrounds, tactics and strategies.

Chapter 4

The Campaigns: Background, tactics, strategies

This chapter details the background, aims, approach and outcomes of the three case study campaigns. Recalling Suh's (2012) observations on the opacity of policy change as an indicator of movement success or failure, and the principles of the MSF (ambiguity, incomplete information, complexity) it is reiterated here that in the multifaceted web of EU policy processes, outcomes can be difficult to link to specific actions. 'Outcomes' here, then, are referring to the progress of the campaign's pursued policy intervention. In other words, the extent to which the aims of the campaigns eventuated are considered outcomes.

The chapter also turns to the first sub-question of the research: *What kinds of collective action campaigns have been conducted in the past by DPOs at the European level? What were their approaches and objectives?*

To identify the 'approach' of the case study campaigns, the chapter identifies the tactics and strategies that made up the 'repertoires of collective action' for each campaign. These comprise a selection of contentious and non-contentious forms of action. Insider and grassroots tactics were utilised by each at different points. A comparison of the campaigns reveals the changing terrain of European governance over the course of 25 years and the impact this has on structures of political opportunity for campaigning organisations. To show this, the chapter will chronologically document the campaigns, starting with Campaign 1 which began in 1995.

The EDF and its campaigns

From an internal committee, in 1996 the EDF secured funding from the Commission to become an independent advocacy organisation following the conclusion of the pilot programmes. Its first task appeared in its transition to independence, as preparations for the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) preceding the Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (or the Amsterdam Treaty). The IGC A clause was to be added to the Treaty specifying groups that were to be explicitly protected

from discrimination in the workplace. The EDF sought to ensure disabled people were included in this clause and made visible in the European Treaties. The 'Invisible Citizens' campaign is Case Study 1 in the present research. The EDF maintains a budget line from the Commission and serves as the secretariat for the EP Disability Intergroup. It relies on its contacts within the institutions. The following quotes come from an interview with a senior secretariat member of the EDF who described the different approaches the organisation takes in its contact with the institutions.

[W]e could not do or live without the European Parliament and the Commission.

The European Commission is the executive branch of the EU institutions and the body that provides a significant proportion of the EDF budget as an independent CSO. Commission employees form a significant portion of the internal allies for the disability movement.

[The] Commission ... is doing the work on a practical basis ... giving comments to new law it's more work of the European Commission that has been considered but whenever there is a public hearing or any hearing at the Commission in relation with subjects related to disability we are participating we are campaigning for having our opinion considered ... we start from their work, trying to include our own views on their work.

The European Parliament (EP) has historically been an ally of the organisation, pushing for an independent line for the organisation in its early years. The EDF also serves as the secretariat of the Disability Intergroup, the oldest intergroup in the EP. The Disability Intergroup is an informal alliance of MEPs from across the EU Member States and political parties. It works to promote the interests of disabled people in parliamentary debates.

We also have someone at the office who's dealing with a relationship with the European Parliament, in particular, because there is this disability intergroup ... the existence of this group has not always been obvious and so EDF has been campaigning for this group to be

maintained to exist ... and strength of EDF is also because the President has a lot of contact with the Parliament with MEPs and ... with the Parliament we are trying to have a dialogue with various political groups ... The relationship we have with the European Parliament is more based on human contacts...

The Council of the European Union (The Council) represents member state governments and makes final decisions on legislation. Here the interviewee reports on the importance of the rotational presidencies taken by Member States every six months. Campaign 1 and 3 also demonstrate the impact of who holds the presidency. Member States vary in their receptivity to the interests of the EDF and the organisation gains access under certain presidencies more than others.

[T]he Council, they organise presidencies that have themes and programmes of the moment and what we do is we try to include notions of disability within the program of the Presidencies so it's the same work, every time we have a Presidency we see what is their problem is there anything dedicated to disability, if not, why?

Recalling the history of the European disability movement discussed in Chapter 1 and the beginnings of disability policy in the EU discussed in Chapter 2, the convergence of disability policy with the voice of disabled activists took many decades in the Union. A wide-ranging sample of Commission-sponsored research papers and Bureau recommendations shows that in the 1970s and 80s, European disability policy was fragmented and mostly focused on vocational programmes and rehabilitative efforts. The voice of disabled people was very rarely present in these discussions. During the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons (1983 – 1992), the European Commission introduced a series of Pilot Programmes to improve the situation and status of disabled people in Europe. The final programme saw the addition of an advisory committee of Member State DPOs and 8 European network DPOs. This committee was called the European Disability Forum (EDF). A former senior executive committee member describes the institutional support given to the EDF by EP to become an independent CSO:

[I]t was thanks to the relationship we had built with European Parliament and they created the pressure of the European Commission to and European Parliament used their budgetary powers to force the European Commission system to have the budget line, a separate budget line for independence. Definitely not an initiative of the European Commission itself. Under the first pilot programme we had nothing basically. Other than a bunch of angry disabled people including myself.

As it emerged as independent to the Commission the organisation joined the wider European disability movement in calling for more attention to the rights and status of disabled people in Europe as it emerged as a legislating political entity. The following sections will describe the campaigns in their background, aims and approach.

Campaign 1: invisible citizens

The Invisible Citizens (Campaign 1) was conducted with the aim of achieving the first inclusion of disabled people in the Treaty on European Union (TEU). The campaign succeeded in its aim of inserting reference to disability into the TEU. It was a landmark campaign for the movement; subsequently disabled EU citizens achieved visibility in the Treaties. An early 'win' for the movement community led to the first EU Directive to reference disabled people: the Equality Framework Directive (or 2000/78/EC) is an EU Directive, and a major element of EU labour law which combats discrimination on grounds of disability, sexual orientation, religion or belief and age in the workplace. This Directive is hinged on the non-discrimination clause inserted into the TEU in the Treaty of Amsterdam. Recalling Chapter 1's discussion of the impact of campaigns: subsequent campaigns are affected by altering political opportunities, available models of contentious action repertoires, and connections between activists. The success of the Invisible Citizens campaign prompted a protective piece of legislation which in turn allowed for new repertoires from the movement: strategic litigation (see Morris, 2017). Confirming Tilley's (2008) findings that campaigns impact movement networks and their subsequent campaigns, the EDF emerged in this campaign

as a leading voice of the EU disabled people's movements for collective action directed at the EU institutions.

As Chapter 1 describes, the women's movement made early gains in EU legislation, securing three Directives in the 1970s despite a reference to this equality principle existing since the Treaty of Rome in 1957. While women gained protective status at this early stage, and secured a consideration of gender equality in all EU legislation, disabled people and other discriminated against groups were 'invisible' in European legislation. There was no specific legislation prohibiting discrimination in the workplace or other aspects of life on the ground of disability. The Treaty of Amsterdam, which was signed in late 1997 and entered into force in 1999, provided a structural opportunity for the movement to gain recognition in the Treaties. The campaign was focused on the re-negotiation of the Treaties: to include disabled people in a new 'non-discrimination clause' (then Article 13 TEC, Article 19 TEFU as of the Treaty of Lisbon), to better protect disabled people in harmonisation of national legislation for the internal market, via a legally binding provision in Article 100a to consider disabled consumers when setting common standards, and finally a wider declaration of intent to protect disabled people in Europe via social action programmes (related to the UN Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities) (Waddington, 2006).

As this thesis set out in Chapter 2 described, prior to the Amsterdam Treaty, social policy in Europe was fragmented. While the European Union began as an economic project, in the decades proceeding the Treaty of Rome a 'social pillar' formed, making the case that the quality of life of European citizens must be regarded with the same importance as economic growth of the European Union, and efforts had begun to implement social support programmes within the scope of European competence. Recalling Chapter 2, early frameworks were largely vocational due to the economic and monetary nature of the European Community at the time. For disabled people in Europe, support was introduced primarily to address the employment gap. The Council proposed 'a programme for the vocational and social integration of handicapped persons', including a comparative review of national policies in this area' (Priestley, 2005; Waldschmidt, 2009). Over the period between 1974 and the

onset of this campaign, Community action from the Commission to address disability inequality increasingly acknowledged the social nature of exclusion, heeding the political message from disabled people's movements. *Helios II* ran from 1993-1996 and included notably wider ambitions than the first two action programmes, including the promotion of equal opportunities and strengthening cooperation with NGOs – specifically 'national disability councils where they exist' (European Commission, 2014). Despite this action, the needs and interests of disabled people were frequently ignored in the creation of legislation resulting in the indirect discrimination of certain groups of disabled people. The utility of mainstreaming, as secured from a gender perspective, combats this indirect discrimination. To quote Waddington (2006: 12): 'Community legislation which, on the whole, ignored disabled people, and in so doing, helped to perpetuate the disadvantage which they already laboured under'. The disregard of specific needs and interests of disabled people stemmed from the 'invisibility' of disabled EU citizens in the Treaties. Mainstreaming ensures that the interests of a given group are explicitly considered in decision-making (ibid). The Invisible Citizens campaign emphasised the lack of access of disabled people to the benefits of EC policies and the ways in which this problem could be addressed through reference to disability in the upcoming Treaty amendments. Specifically the campaign sought to secure a reference to disability in the Amsterdam Treaty through the inclusion of a non-discrimination clause and a reference to disability mainstreaming with regard to the internal market.

The campaign took place between 1995 and 1997 (see Appendix B for a chronological timeline of the campaign). As this period began when the EDF was between its position in *Helios II* and an independent organisation, in 1996 the organisation acted as a secretariat for the second European Day of Disabled Persons. Although the EDF took a range of organisational forms in the campaign period (its first independent elections were held in mid-1997), the activists associated with the organisation were constantly present in the co-ordination group. 'Invisible Citizens' referred to the lack of disability-specific legislation at the European level due to the absence of reference to disability in the European Treaties. This phrase titled a report written by legal academics in 1995 working with the disability movement to highlight the need

for legislative attention to the rights and status of disabled people in Europe, fully titled: *Disabled Persons' Status in the European Treaties: Invisible Citizens, Report of the Third European Day of Disabled Persons* (Degener, 1995). Published on the European Day of Persons with Disabilities (3 December), the report revealed the extent to which disabled people are ignored and discriminated against in Community law and policy, and which contained proposals for an amendment to the Treaty (Waddington, 1999). Taking inspiration from this initial report, the campaign carried over these demands to specifically target the IGC negotiations around the Amsterdam Treaty. The aims of the campaign were threefold: Disability was to be included in the non-discrimination clause that was to be added to the Treaty and become Article 13. Additionally, mention of the requirements for disabled people to be considered in legislation targeting 'internal market harmonisation' was to be added in what was to be Article 100a. Finally, a declaration that would give a legal basis for European disability programmes was to be inserted.

The Amsterdam IGC

The European Presidency was with the Netherlands at the time of the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) to arrange what would become the Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union. The negotiations for the conference during the Dutch presidency were chaired by a centre-right MP, State Secretary for European Affairs in the Netherlands, noted as Eurosceptic. Archival material including 'European Voice' newsletters describe the setting of the IGC: the revised Treaty would introduce the Euro in 1999, and enlarge the Union with up to 10 new applicant states and 'bringing Europe closer to citizens'. This latter element of the Treaty aims refers in part to the shoring up of European social policy in the Treaty on European Union.

A slew of topics was up for negotiation by the Member States. This was in part due to the schisms between Member States found in the Treaty of Maastricht, in 1993. Refusal on the part of the United Kingdom to adhere to the Social Charter on Fundamental Rights had led to an optional protocol being created, to complete the Treaty negotiations. This had occurred under the prior Dutch

presidency. This upcoming presidency was therefore determined to address the gaps left by the Maastricht Treaty and resolve the difficult negotiations that were to take place. The Amsterdam summit and IGC aimed to reconcile these divisions and 'prepare Europe for the 21st Century' (Dutch IGC brochure, 1997). It was also being seized on by many groups as an opportunity for legal recognition and protection.

The Amsterdam Treaty at the time was a subject that many people were talking about, not only in the field of disability, but in all fields, there were many countries pro and other contra, and so there was debate between European countries, and so the first I've heard about this Treaty was about the disagreement it caused...

(EDF Secretariat member present at time)

As well as the schisms created between Member States in the Treaty of Maastricht, the Amsterdam negotiations would revise the European Treaty texts to prepares for the introduction of the Euro and to enable the accession for 10 new Member States in 2004. The IGC negotiations were preparing for fundamental structural changes to the EU economically, culturally and socially.

The impact of recognition

Recalling the invisibility of disability in the Maastricht Treaty revision, activists were focused on the introduction of compulsory, binding instruments to that would commit Member States more firmly to improving the position and status of disabled people in the EU. An activist present at the time recalls the scene in 1992 and 3:

...in 1992, there was a conclusion of the first decade of the world programme of action of the United Nations. [It] started in '82 and it was a repercussion of the '81 international year of persons with disabilities. Also ... the International Day of Disabled Persons and the predecessor to the UNCRPD, which is the Standard Rules for the Equalisation of the Position of Persons with Disability. I remember in '93 we celebrated the first 3rd of December in Brussels. And that celebration was founded by the pilot

programmes ... I need to remind us that these are not compulsory, and they came about because of the failure that Sweden had in 1987, with Italy, calling for a Convention ... and also the establishment of the position of a special rapporteur.

(Senior EDF member and activist)

The Commission's Communication and the Resolution of the Council and representatives of governments of the Member States meeting of 20 December 1996 on equality of opportunity for people with disabilities are examples of such non-binding texts based on the Standard Rules. The existence of legal bases clearly providing for action in the field of disability was consequently an objective for the disability movement in establishing a legal foundation for disability policy at the Community level to replace such non-binding efforts. In the Maastricht Treaty, neither the main body of the Treaty, nor the Agreement on Social Policy, provided a clear legal basis for Community action programmes in the field of disability. Insertion of disability into the new non-discrimination clause was the primary goal of the campaign as it would provide the strongest protection for disabled people in the Treaty. With this clause, the European Union and Community sought to recognise discrimination faced by oppressed groups, and to cement the Union's commitment towards a rights-based concept of citizenship. While it did not infer any immediate rights onto citizens, it paved the way for the European Community to introduce a directive that would enable the combatting of discrimination in employment for a specified list of groups at the European level.

Addressing indirect discrimination

The second aim of the campaign was to include an acknowledgement of the needs of disabled consumers in the harmonisation of national legislation to achieve the internal market. The legal expert team working for the campaign was able to produce ample evidence of cases in which this had not previously happened and the issues this had created – both for disabled people and for law-makers who then had to go back and revise legislation to correct the negative impact it had on disabled people. In previous cases it had caused

dilution of national legislation, hence concern by some Member States that a new clause like the above non-discrimination would do the same. Two examples from the EDF Amsterdam Treaty 'Toolkit' (a publication that followed the negotiations to document the campaign work and explain the amended TEU) follow:

[T]he 1991 Directive on the mutual recognition of telecommunication terminal equipment sets certain minimum standards which must be met by producers of such equipment in order to achieve free movement within the European Union. These standards do not include the requirement that the equipment be accessible for use by people with a visual impairment, and the result has been to undermine national legislation, such as that in the United Kingdom, which does include this requirement.

This 'undermined' national legislation because it set the standard of legislation that European Member States were to adhere to one lower than that of one of the Member States (Waddington, 2006).

[T]he lifts Directive and the draft buses and coaches directive did not initially require that new lifts and buses be accessible to people who use a wheelchair, or who have certain other disabilities, wherever possible. It was only comprehensive campaigning by disability non-governmental organisations (or civil society organisations) and members of the European Parliament which rectified this situation.

(European Disability Forum Guide to the Amsterdam Treaty, 1998: 7)

The final aim of the campaign was to include an explicit reference to disabled people and older people which would provide, as described in the EDF campaign toolkit, an 'unequivocal legal base for future action programmes' focused specifically on older people and disabled people respectively. This appeared in the Irish draft Treaty and the campaign supported its inclusion in the final, revised Treaty text.

Repertoires of action

The campaign repertoire was made up of a variety of actions. A primary strategy of the campaign was to understand member state positions going into the negotiations, identify those that required lobbying efforts, who specifically to contact within those Member State governments to lobby and what kind of argument was required for each member State. Legal and economic experts were employed to make the technical case for the demands and refute any issues that were being raised about cost, encroachment of EU law and whether this was truly the will of the disabled people's movement in Europe. This was done via reports, mentioned above, and the circulation of legal arguments in campaign communications via fax and newsletters. Coalitions with other social groups were formed to highlight cross-cutting issues. Communication from the EDF 'IGC working group' about priorities and approach were sent out to campaign members every two months, containing updates on the negotiations in the IGC and editorials from various members and allies of the campaign. They gave advice on lobby strategies and specific positions of Member States. Early in the campaign the co-ordinating group identified opportunities in the Irish presidency to make the case for recognition of disability in the Treaty revisions: Ireland was an ally already (the national MP who was Minister for European Affairs then became an MEP and chair of the European Parliamentary working group on epilepsy). The Irish presidency concluded with a draft Treaty that included reference to disability. The strategy then followed to persuade one or two 'friendly Member States' (reportedly, for example, Greece and Portugal) to propose language that strengthened Irish proposal (for example turn 'prohibit' to 'eliminate' and ensure no existing programmes to support disabled Europeans were damaged by the Article [positive discrimination]). Recalling Edwards and McCarthy's (2004: 126) typology of resources, moral resources include solidarity, legitimacy and sympathetic support. These were mobilised by the campaign from early on to garner allyship from certain Member States that were already supportive of the aims of the campaign. Social movement actors that can mimic the 'institutionally legitimated' features of a political context gain a relative advantage (Powell and DiMaggio, 1992). By lobbying allied Member States to assist in the aims of the campaign by proposing stronger wording of the

drafted amendments in relation to the campaign aims, legitimacy could be afforded as the goals of activists transferred to Member State governments participating in the negotiations.

The repertoire changed with the onset of the Dutch presidency. Meeting minutes show The Netherlands was reportedly less supportive of the non-discrimination clause and the specific aims of the Invisible Citizens campaign relating to reference of disability in the Treaty. Reports of the Dutch leadership's hesitation to support Treaty revisions that could cause disagreement is also supported by the general informational newsletters for the IGC also being circulated (for example the European Voice Newsletter, 1996 referenced in Appendix F). When the Dutch drafted Treaty revision was circulated to NGOs, it was the non-discrimination clause was generally weakened (the wording of 'prohibit' was changed to 'combat') and disability was removed from the clause entirely. This supports Edward & McCarthy's (2004) observation that moral resources like solidarity and support can be afforded and taken away from social movements. The campaign pivoted to a concentrated strategy to target ministerial figures in Member States where support for the aims of the campaign were not guaranteed. While the push for a non-discrimination clause had been a cross-movement one, towards to climax of the IGC negotiations the Invisible Citizens campaign pivoted to focus on disability specifically.

Generally, the campaign had to understand the position of different Member States going into the negotiations, identify those that required lobbying efforts, who specifically to contact and what kind of strategy was required for each member state. While the EDF took on an umbrella/co-ordinating role in the campaign's second half, it was consistently emphasised in outgoing communication to the campaign's members and in IGC co-ordination group meetings that it was the members, particularly the National Councils, that needed to do the national-level work to pressure their governments to 'fall in line'. Here acknowledgement was given to the capacity and resource capabilities of member organisations – members were told the situation in their state, who should be contacted for what, and were also resourced by the central co-ordinating group with material to assist their efforts (for example the

legal reports outlining the need for visibility of disabled people in the Treaty, or more specific communication sent out explaining the Campaign's specific proposals and why it would not be a burden or cost on Member States) – it was emphasised that the EDF itself would not engage in national lobbying.

Key tactics

The message sent by the co-ordination group to campaign members was that government figures must understand that this is a key issue for disabled people at the national and European level and truly the will of the disabled people's movement in Europe. Cultural resources were mobilised in this portion of the campaign: the co-ordinating committee attempted to equip the wider campaign membership with strategic know-how and specialised knowledge to lobby their national governments in a tailored fashion. DPOs were given targeted training on 'interactive lobbying skills' according to campaign material. They were encouraged to find their government's position, find national their MP responsible for European affairs and arrange a meeting. If ignored they were instructed to find relevant civil servants to contact, and go to the press about being ignored. The need for the campaign to enter the public domain was emphasised.

Another key element of the campaign involved the mobilisation of human resources: the employment of legal and economic experts to make the case for the demands of the Invisible Citizens. The two legal experts and one economic expert met any issues that were being raised about cost implications of the non-discrimination clause and the undermining of national disability legislation with the suggested additions to the Treaty. Socio-organisational resources were mobilised to establish communication channels within the network. A communication to campaign members on 17 March 1997 titled 'The Bomb had dropped – disability is out!' was sent out by a member of the IGC co-ordination group after drafting together with a legal expert and an excerpt follows:

In its comments the Presidency acknowledges that certain delegations wish to mention explicitly handicap, age, social origin and sexual orientation [in the non-discrimination clause]. However, the majority of

Member States seems to believe that the concerns of these groups could be addressed in the context of existing policies (such as social policy, education, vocational training, youth and public health). Whilst it is true that a number of disability issues can be addressed ... references to these cannot be used:

- a. as a legal base for a new European disability programme
- b. to ensure that technical legislation under Article 100a takes account of the needs of disabled people
- c. to introduce Community legislation to prohibit/combat disability discrimination at the European level.

The communication then responds to the fears of cost implications and undermining of national legislation, writing that the non-discrimination Article would have no direct cost implications or direct effect so any funding for new disability programmes so it couldn't be relied upon by individuals in court. Communications like these were supplemented with informal fax communication between leading members to ensure the campaign could respond quickly to the dynamic environment of the IGC.

Reports were published by the legal experts: *Disabled Persons' Status in the European Treaties: Invisible Citizens, Report of the Third European Day of Disabled Persons* (Degener, 1995; Degener & Begg, 2017) and *How can disabled persons achieve equal rights in the European Union?* (EDF, 1996). Utilising cultural resources, they were a tool to support CSO representatives in negotiations with their respective government representative. The reports responded to the concerns most frequently expressed by statutory authorities at all levels in relation to Treaty revision. Significantly, it also addressed the economic consequences of Treaty revision, firmly identifying disabled citizens as consumers and workers in the Union.

Social-organisational resources spread the message of social movement goals, intentionally or unintentionally (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). The co-ordination committee created a network to disseminate updates on the goals of the campaign. It also utilised pre-existing networks held by campaign

members and allies. Archives reveal the role of the experts extended to their contact with others working with the IGC delegation. This provided access to inside knowledge about the wider negotiations – for example suggested approaches for the upcoming Presidency and IGC with Article additions and adjustments around fundamental rights and non-discrimination from meetings between Member State governments. Another memo records an ‘off the record’ meeting with a national minister with updates on the positions of certain Member States, likely publicly unavailable. This allowed the campaign to pre-empt some action from the Member States or at least stay privy to the negotiations. Human resources were also utilised here as campaign members themselves were mobilised to meeting with particular ministerial officials. Communication from the EDF ‘IGC working group’ about priorities and approach were sent out to campaign members every two months called the *Invisible Citizens: disabled persons’ status in the European Treaties: ICG update*. These contained updates on the negotiations in the IGC and editorials from various members and allies of the campaign. They gave advice on lobby strategies and specific positions of Member States. A sample of this newsletter is provided in Appendix G.

Alliances were a key aspect of the campaign. From a secretariat member present for the Invisible Citizens campaign:

It took several years to get organized as a disability movement, and also to seek alliances with other movements and this came, I think, with this Invisible Citizens campaign directed at this Article 13 in the Amsterdam Treaty, which covered all the different you know discriminated groups.

Generally, this campaign was one of the first coalescing of European disability activists. Coalition partnerships with other social groups were also embraced to highlight cross-cutting issues and the general need for a non-discrimination clause. The EDF secretariat staff worked on a strategy for common lobby efforts across social rights issues (EDF IGC coordination group meeting minutes 6 March 1997). There was also horizontal coalition work with other members of the Social Platform to improve recognition of social organisations in Union Treaty. This thesis has previously set out conditions that encourage

the formation of coalitions. The 'multi-issue- nature of the non-discrimination clause was a frame unifying the emergent community of civil society organisations within the EU (Shaffer, 2000). Van Dyke and Amos (2017) identify five factors critical to the formation of coalitions between social movement groups: social ties; conducive organisational structures; ideology, culture and identity; institutional environment; and resources. The above quote from a secretariat member present at the time of the Invisible Citizens campaign confirms the opportunity provided by the non-discrimination clause to establish social ties and cement alliances between groups. Similarly, a structure for organisations operating within the EU sphere was beginning to emerge: a permanent (often paid) secretariat working for the decision-making membership, consisting of European-wide networks and Member State level organisations (Hoskyns, 1996). This type of structure would stabilise to the point of becoming an isomorphic organisational trend of 'Europeanisation', as described by Marks and McAdams (1999). Ideologically the groups calling for inclusion under the banner of non-discrimination were united by their call for EU-level competence to legislate to their specific interests, reducing the discrepancies between Member State policies (Niessen and Chopin, 2004). An IGC to revise the Treaties also presented a favourable institutional environment for coalition formation around a common issue of non-discrimination. Resources were available to civil society as Commission funding grew throughout the decade of the 1990s. While the Invisible Citizens campaign pivoted to a disability focus in its final months to secure the inclusion of disability in the non-discrimination clause, the nature of the campaign favoured the formation of alliances with other CSOs.

Organising national-level training in potentially 'friendly' Member States, or states that could be swayed – for example minutes of one OGC coordination group meeting stated Germany was 'hiding behind' the Conservative UK government's stance until a Labour government replaced it and the UK was in favour of non-discrimination. In the very last stages of the campaign, national organisations in the UK exploited the new government's manifesto commitments through tenacious lobbying on a one-to-one basis with relevant ministers. This contributed extensively to the inclusion of a (non-binding) declaration on the need to take account of disabled people, attached to Article

100a, which the new government championed in the final negotiations. From an EDF leader:

During the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Dutch Government was not a supporter of including the disability reference in the non-discrimination clause. The figure who was the lead of the Dutch delegation, we met him, but I think it was mainly to the support of the more Southern states, Greece, Spain, Italy, when governments were much more supportive than the northern European or Western European interestingly...

The co-ordination group contained MEPs and had good relations with national politicians to gain insight into the workings of the negotiations. For example a meeting with an Irish MP was shared in one co-ordination group meeting in March 1997, revealing positions on Member States – who was for, who was against, the concerns raised by opposing or unsure Member States, when the final draft was to be completed and who to target in the meeting calendar up until that point (one memorandum in the minutes of a meeting reports that some Member States representatives were discussing civil rights). From an interview with a leading EDF member:

So on one side we had this campaign we had our allies, but at the same time ... a power game between European institutions, European Parliament and European Commission on the one hand, disability organisations pushing from the outside ... for us the Parliament was the most natural ally. And same time European Commission has the most power to set the agenda to propose guidelines, so we had to maintain good relationships with the Commission...

Pressure was applied to those Member States whose positions did not align with the campaign's goals. The Netherlands in particular ignored its national DPO for much of the campaign and was difficult to convince. This was in part reportedly due to 'strong national legislation' for disabled EU citizens in the Netherlands and thus a lack of urgency felt by ministers, and also due to the hesitancy of the Dutch presidency to introduce controversial issues to the Treaty negotiations, post Maastricht (EDF IGC coordination group meeting minutes, 7 March 1997).

In March of 1997, disability was 'dropped' from the non-discrimination clause in the revised Dutch draft treaty text. This was communicated by the EDF IGC working group to EDF members in a memo titled 'The Bomb has Dropped – Disability is Out!'. As well as disability, age, social origin and sexual orientation were to be excluded in the new drafted Treaty text. 'Prohibit' discrimination was changed to 'combat', weakening the clause generally. Meeting minutes report the difficulties encountered trying to reach the Dutch IGC delegate. A larger envoy of campaign members (rather than a Dutch-only lobby) attended the eventual meeting with the Dutch Minister for European Affairs who was also the chair of IGC negotiations to cement support for the inclusion of disability in the non-discrimination clause. From a member of the delegation that went to meet the Dutch delegate:

[U]ltimately, we managed to get the reference to disability in the Treaty and we had this one key meeting with the Dutch delegate who, for longest I have to tell you had very little time for us. So I had to become angry. He was really trying to have the reference removed.

The campaign fought to regain the moral resources of legitimacy and support from some Member States, such as the Netherlands. Human resources were mobilised: the envoy that met with the sceptical Dutch delegate utilised experience, skills and leadership to move the Dutch position. As the deadline for the Treaty negotiations drew closer, it was also decided that focus should be narrowed to what was regarded as the two key issues of the campaign: namely the non-discrimination clause and to a lesser extent the legislation to protect disabled people in internal harmonisation legislation. Two public demonstrations were held towards the closing of the negotiations in the Hague and then at the Amsterdam summit again to show the support of the movement and its allies for this legislation for disabled people. The internal unity of the movement organisations was reported as a key strength in this early campaign:

But I think [a main] advantage was that we managed to keep all disability organizations from the words, yes, we had our internal discussions. But ... our only option to really build up influence was to

maintain a unified voice. And I think the results shows that we managed.

The success of Campaign 1 in the inclusion of disability in Article 13 TEC, the beginnings of legal visibility in EU law for disabled people in Europe and the consequent non-discrimination employment directive that galvanised the movement in its future efforts. It solidified the network of DPOs around Europe, and strengthened the EDF's role as a co-ordinator of European 'insider' campaigning. The campaign saw the beginnings of a coalition across Europe of disability activists and advocates, and a broader coalition of 'social partners', composed of civil society organisations advocating for inclusion and recognition in the Treaty of Amsterdam. It changed the 'state of play' for such groups: for disabled people the symbolic achievement of acknowledgement in the Treaty was accompanied by a more concrete change in the form of Council *Directive 2000/78/EC* (or the EU Framework Equality Directive) that followed the Treaty of Amsterdam. It also secured a non-binding declaration alongside Article 95 EC (ex 100a) providing that 'The conference agrees that, in drawing up measures under Article 95, the institutions of the Community shall take account of the needs of persons with a disability'. Recalling Holzer's (2008: 197) definition of discursive frames as 'specific vocabularies imbued with systems of meaning that actors can use to accomplish strategic action', the campaign succeeded in the understanding of disability as a policy area requiring standardisation and action at the EU level being mobilised as a discursive frame. The campaign was significant in the EU's pivot towards rights-based legislation, particularly in the area of disability but notably also that of race, with the introduction of the Race Equality Directive. Holzer (2008) notes the discursive resources provided to state actors by social movements. In the efforts of the EU to build a social dimension, its introduction of Treaty clauses and Directives combatting discrimination bolstering its legitimacy.

Campaigns impact the structure of movements themselves by creating new frames, issues, and tactics for subsequent campaigns. Frames will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. Here they are mentioned to demonstrate the tactical success of the campaign in framing legal arguments in favour of the inclusion of disability in Article 13 in their lobbying efforts with

national ministers. The campaign solidified a coalition of civil society voices and resulted in new strategic instruments for future campaigns. Reference to disability in the EU Treaties created a new environment for collective action by the European disabled people's movement. The position of the EDF as an umbrella disability organisation, co-ordinating campaigns aimed at the EU institutions was also established as it moved to an independent advocacy organisation during the campaign. New issues were created in the success of this campaign: the 1Million4Disability campaign, discussed next, was informed by the legislative outcomes of the Treaty of Amsterdam.

Campaign 2: 1Million4Disability

The 1Million4Disability campaign (Campaign 2) can be traced back to 1993. This was the first time a draft was drawn up for a horizontal equal treatment directive by the EDF and submitted to the Commission, in honour of the first European Day of Disabled Persons. Following the Invisible Citizens campaign (Campaign 1), in 1999, Article 13 in the Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union empowered the European Council to take action to combat discrimination based on a number of ascriptive grounds, including disability. With the precedent to act to combat discrimination set in the Treaty, on 27 November 2000 the EU Framework Employment Directive was adopted by the European institutions, establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, combatting discrimination on grounds of disability, sexual orientation, religion or belief and age in the workplace. Also adopted was a Directive, for national laws regarding racial discrimination, the Race Equality Directive or Council Directive 2000/43/EC. Following these two strong pieces of non-discrimination legislation, the EDF continued its calls for protection against discrimination in other aspects of life similar to that outlined in the Race Equality Directive – what would be a 'Disability Directive'. This would extend protection against discrimination beyond the area of employment for disabled people.

Returning to Chapter 1's exploration of new social movements, their approach is distinguished from traditional labour movements in their efforts to emancipate groups by addressing issues of cultural capital (Habermas, 1985;

Bourdieu, 1973). Drawing attention to the normative nature of interests and issues deemed 'private', they rally against a 'public' shaped by a bourgeois, masculinist ideology (Fraser, 1990: 77). In doing so, the public space, *Öffentlichkeit*, has increasingly expanded and politicised problems associated with 'private life' previously (Touraine, 1985: 779). The efforts of the EDF and its campaign partners to establish protection from discrimination in areas of life outside employment can be seen in this vein. The movement demanded acknowledgement from the institutions of a responsibility to address discrimination beyond the sphere of labour relations. The questioning of cultural cornerstones outside the traditional public sphere can be resisted by institutions of governance or supporters of the status quo. Seeking a legislative response from the State that reflects the challenging by new social movements can help cement attitudinal or cultural shifts. Campaign 2 was an effort by the EDF to secure an additional instrument to tack discrimination at the EU level.

Increasing momentum: 2003-2007

2003 was the European Year of Disabled People — a decade on from the 1993 UN Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Disabled People (Standard Rules) and the first European Day of Disabled Persons (EDDP). This year of campaigning included a 'Get on Board' march, with a bus taking activists through the Member States during 2003, as well as national programmes of action with Commission funding (European Commission, 2003). 2003 also produced another drafted comprehensive Disability Directive by the organisation that was circulated to Member States, debated and supported by parliamentarians in Strasbourg on the 17 of November 2003 and also received approval in national parliaments like the UK and Germany (UK Parliament, 2003). On 3 December 3, the European Disabled People's Parliament submitted this proposal to Commission with no official response. The following year, 2004, saw the accession of 10 new Member States to the European Union, highlighting the issues of fragmented national-level disability policy (Interview 8). A member of the EDF secretariat recalls the grounds on which the movement was calling for a Disability Directive:

The campaign ... to ask for a directive on non-Discrimination came on the basis of a discussion that said, 'what is the instrument that protects persons with disability at European level?' And this was our principal, our flag.

- Senior Secretariat member

The success of the two non-discrimination Directives following the Amsterdam Treaty negotiations signalled to the EDF that this Disability Directive was the next logical step. At the dawn of the negotiations for the Treaty of Lisbon, the gap between citizens and the European institutions was a point to address in negotiations. Following several calls on the Commission to propose a disability-specific non-discrimination Directive, the organisation became aware of an instrument, to be formally introduced with Treaty of Lisbon in 2007, called the European Citizens Initiative (ECI). This instrument allows citizens, with a formal organisation acting on their behalf, to prompt a response from the Commission on a particular policy issue if the issue can secure 1 million signatures of support across the Member States. This initiative was to be formally embedded in the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 to address the democratic deficit between the European institutions and citizens. The EDF would be using it in its trial phase.

[T]he European institutions wanted to be closer to citizens ... so they put up in place a system in which they say that if they said that if 1 million citizen would sign up on a specific subject or cause or whatever, this could open a discussion with the European Commission. People [thought] that European Commission was something very vague, very uncreated and they wanted to be closer to the people and functioning. So ... we thought we could go for this procedure of getting 1 million signatures so that the subject could be open.

- Senior secretariat staff member

As the above quote from a secretariat member who was involved in the campaign recalls, the EDF had been seeking a proposal from the Commission to its calls for a Disability Directive. Demonstrating not only support from the

DPM in the Member States but also the European public, the successful collection of 1 million signatures would prompt a response from the Institutions and demonstrate the vitality and visibility of the movement.

1Million4Disability: strategic success?

The Executive Committee and Secretariat proposed to the members to prompt a response from the Commission on a comprehensive Disability Directive, similar to the Race Equality Directive of 2000, through the ECI. The campaign also served to celebrate the 10th year of EDF as an independent organisation. At the EDF board meeting in October 2006 this was approved by the organisation's General Assembly. The aim of the campaign was to mobilise member organisations to collect 1,000,000 signatures, in line with the new ECI instrument, which would prompt a response from the Commission regarding a non-discrimination Disability Directive in the form of a proposal. It would also serve as a celebration of the organisation's 10th year as an independent CSO.

The following section outlines the tactics and strategies utilised by the organisation during the official campaign months. In comparison to Campaign 1, the push for a disability non-discrimination Directive was a public-facing pursuit seeking to demonstrate popular support for the movement. While the initial campaign again took place in the build-up to a Treaty revision, similar to the Invisible Citizens, the structures of political opportunity were greatly altered: Treaty negotiations this time took place following the failure in two national referendums of approval for the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe. The subsequent Directive was debated in the context of an unfolding global financial crisis, and subsequent reigning principle of fiscal austerity in Europe (Hugendubel, 2015). The EDF and its campaign partners faced significant challenges faced following the campaign's conclusion. The strategic elements of the campaign have been divided into three categories that contributed to its technical success: mobilisation at local and European levels, adaptability and visibility.

This collective action was the most significant attempt at mobilisation the EDF had undertaken in campaign activity, as interview quotes will show in the following sections. A key component for the EDF's secretariat was therefore

to mobilise member organisations and ensure that across the Member States local networks were receiving and mobilising resources and instructions to gather signatures. National council organisations liaised with other social movement networks to collect signatures at a range of events, and 'email send-outs' were used to advertise the campaign. Some organisations allocated staff to the task of collecting signatures for a set number of weekly hours. Local and nation television and radio networks were contacted for press coverage to increase the visibility of the campaign. This utilisation of networks demonstrates the successful mobilisation of social-organisational resources by the campaign (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Networks of communication were integral to the task of the campaign. Several months into the campaign, some Member States were notably more receptive to the signature collection than others. A 'Campaign Flash' from May 2007 begins with the message:

The results achieved after 4 months' campaign are far from satisfactory. At the half of the campaign period we should have collected at least 500.000 signatures. Instead, we only reached a tenth of our goal during the last month: 100.000 signatures.

To encourage creativity, the Campaign Flash newsletters included examples of successful strategies from member organisations. The following quotes are selections from the exemplary action circulated by the EDF to its campaign members and encourage novel strategies:

Belgian media related disability organisation committed to collect 50.000 signatures CAP48 is a not for profit making organisation operating within the Belgian national broadcaster (RTBF). Thanks to CAP48, the '1million4disability' campaign will be covered by the national television press; and it is planned for volunteers to collect signatures at all CAP48 events during the summer.

NCPD organised with students of the Bulgarian University a press conference about the campaign as well as an open air event to collect signatures.

Additionally, to spur on the collection of signatures, communication included a tally board of the Member States, ranking the number of signatures collected in the different Member States. Alongside 'vertical' mobilisation of local networks, the campaign also sought support from other European networks of disability advocacy. This was also detailed in the 'Campaign Flash' communication:

Inclusion Europe sent a letter to each of their member organisations including a signature form encouraging them to relay the campaign at regional and local level, a deadline and quota of +/- 10.000 signatures to be returned by member organisation was given and finally an Inclusion Europe staff member has been appointed as campaign coordinator.

Mental Health Europe regularly reminded its members which efficiently relayed the information at local level (e.g. a Greek member of Mental Health Europe committed to return the signatures to the Greek National Council).

Other non-disability advocacy organisations were activated as allies – for example the European division of Airports Council International (ACI-Europe), which was instrumental in the EU regulation on the rights of passengers with reduced mobility when traveling by air adopted in 2006 – the first specific EU legislation on disability rights. From a Campaign Flash newsletter:

ACI-Europe wishes to act as a pioneer to other transport representatives in order for transport industries to commit to offer accessible transport and quality assistance to persons with disabilities. ACI-Europe plans to promote the campaign through a link on their website and announcements in their newsletter.

Some member organisations attached the campaign to other local movements and events to increase its reach, like the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All. Obtaining signatures from parliamentarians and national leaders also publicised the cause. DPOs were encouraged to collect signatures on national holidays and at festivals.

I remember, there was in Luxembourg, they used like a film festival to collect signatures and make presentations in in other countries, they you know they did it also in schools and stuff. I remember that in Greece that even circulated in the army the petition at some point, in some churches as well. There was, there was a guy from one practice that we had from the, I think, from the blind organization collected alone 1000 signatures ... So it was it was a mix of very different things and in Belgium, I remember what was very important there's also the support of the trade unions so. The trade unions got engaged with that, and so they collected many signatures.

- Former Director

The Brussels-based secretariat encouraged national councils to adapt the campaign to local conditions. Some attached the campaign to a national-level issue, as a Slovenian national council representative remembers:

So we used the 1 million signature campaign of the EDF as a means of explaining to Slovenian citizens that there's a need for their signature in Brussels is sometimes very hard to explain, it's far away. It's a European political thing you know what my signature and then explaining how it matters? ... So we started our own campaign for maintaining the financing system for maintaining I don't know disability rights in Slovenia, so we added a couple of sentences, you know, and then we had like two forms.

Some member organisations attached the campaign to other local movements and events to increase its reach, like the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All. Obtaining signatures from parliamentarians and national leaders also publicised the cause. Others adjusted the wording of the campaign to suit the political national mood:

I know that in Germany they adapted a bit the campaign, at the beginning ... there was ever a reluctance to this non-discrimination issue ... it was also difficult to understand for the general public, so they

sort of change the question into a barrier free Europe, or something like that, and so they asked if they could change the question

- Former Director

The campaign succeeded in mobilising technical resources. It utilised its communicative networks to activate its network. Returning to Edwards and McCarthy's typology (2004), material and human resources were mobilised in the collection of signatures: methods of collection included press conferences, presence at celebratory events and on media channels. Cultural resources of specialised knowledge were utilised in the adaptation of the campaign to local contexts. Moral resources were mobilised in the garnering of legitimacy and support from the European public and the support from allied actors to the campaign like trade unions and industry organisations. The period of signature collection was a strategic success. Subsequent stages of the campaign and its impact show the limitations of technically achieving the goals of a social movement action.

Campaign conclusion and response

The campaign ended in October, 2007 with a demonstration outside the Commission building and a handing over of the 1.4 million signatures to the Commission President. The final ceremonial event of the campaign was one of visibility for the European disabled people's movement. Representatives from the Member States attended the occasion in Brussels, and a day of demonstrations, speakers and performers ended with signatures handed over to the Commission representative and balloons amounting to the number of signatures collected were released into the sky. Concretely, the campaign had produced the intended result. The Commission was obliged to receive the signatures and respond. The handing over of signatures was done at an official ceremony that also served as a demonstration. A senior EDF Executive Committee member recalls the final moments of the campaign:

We had a big closing event in Brussels there I think 'round the Schumann roundabout ...we let off balloons we had scarves we had everything just specially done up for us and it was over then to the

European Parliament to go and debate it. And then it sort of got hijacked then by other organizations who wanted to change just from just being disability specific to a complete just non-discrimination piece of legislation. And that was it...

Interviewees recalled this conclusion to the campaign as a disappointment. The original aim of the collective action was the proposal of a disability-specific non-discrimination Directive. Pressure from other civil society organisations and MEPs led the Commission to instead propose a horizontal Directive that covered all groups mention in the non-discrimination clause of the Treaty (Article 19 TFEU).

The Commission president had agreed to attend the final demonstration of the campaign to officially receive the signatures collected, but this did not go as arranged. From a former director:

We had invited the President of the European Commission, he had confirmed his presence, his participation was on his public agenda, and then a few days before we got suddenly a call that he couldn't come because he was busy, he had the conflicting events ... well it's on your public agenda how come there's conflicting event? ... [H]e felt that if he came to our event, he would have been obliged to say that thing he was, you know, in support of ... in the end they sent a Vice President and her speech was quite significant ... The Commission had failed ... And she was really embarrassed to find herself in front of so many people

In response to the campaign, the Commission released a proposal in 2008 for a comprehensive, horizontal Directive. Compared to the aims of the original campaign, such an 'integrated' Directive would face far more political hurdles to becoming formal legislation. As pointed out by social movement organisations and academics, the Commission President in the period of this campaign and proposal was fully supportive of introducing more comprehensive non-discrimination legislation (ILGA-Europe, 2008; Bell, 2009). In 2004, before the European Parliament, José Manuel Barroso stated:

I also intend to initiate work with a view to a framework directive on the basis of Article 13 of the European Community Treaty, which will replace the Directives adopted in 2000 and extend them to all forms of discrimination

The Commission had announced its intention to introduce this legislation alongside the EDF's calls for a Directive to prohibit disability discrimination in areas of life outside of employment (prior to the start of Campaign 2). An activist present at the time recalled initial resistance from the institutions to the campaign before its assent to the campaign in their interview:

First the EU at the start thought that non-discrimination legislation was going to be difficult to pass. But ... it changed during the discussion – they said ok you collect the signatures so you can propose this ...

- Senior activist and EDF executive committee member

While the EDF and its campaign partners did not require the approval of the institutions to conduct the campaign, the ECI was not officially in use as an instrument at the time of the action. Therefore, securing acknowledgement from the institutions that the campaign would be recognised provided some assurance that the Commission would respond if the campaign were successful. In response to the campaign, the Commission released a proposal in 2008 for a comprehensive Directive. This was considered a very quick response with little opportunity for CSO consultation by interviewees.

[T]hey put something on the table very quickly, there was no consultation process ... they felt a political pressure to put something on the table, but they knew that this was not going really to succeed ... there was this discussion about disability Directive or versus horizontal Directive. And this was part of it, because when we had this campaign, and you know our Members got engaged with it we realized that there was sort of political support at Council level for a disability Directive.

- Former Director

The Commission's process of producing a proposal for a horizontal Directive was opaque from the perspective of the EDF. It did not include recommendations from the draft Directive that the EDF created as part of the campaign. It appeared hasty and included confusion between terms like 'accessibility' and 'reasonable accommodation'. In the EDF's contribution to the ILGA-Europe newsletter on the horizontal Directive proposal, the EDF notes (41):

In addition, the proposal for a Directive explicitly exempts Member States from an obligation to introduce fundamental alteration (the concept that is not defined in the Directive!) to social protection, social advantages, healthcare, education or goods and services, even if these are inherently discriminatory and inaccessible to people with disabilities.

That the organisation had been given supportive communication from some Member States on a Disability Directive was a reported additional source of frustration. Interviewees involved in the action lamented the horizontal Directive proposal, feeling it had been 'hijacked'. Conservative Member States would not support a Directive combating discrimination against sexual minorities. The absence of a non-discrimination Directive covering aspects of life outside of employment for disabled people is seen by activists as significantly damaging. A former senior secretariat member of the EDF regarded the 1Million4Disability campaign as a loss for the European disabled people's movement in their interview:

I can tell you, for example, in the area of health ... you look for what happened for a person with disabilities not allowed to go into hospitals, not allowed to receive treatment put in the last in the in the list of emergency services, so I mean it's a pity and we need non-discrimination protection from the European perspective' We don't have it ... this is broken.

- Former senior secretariat member

While the reasoning of the Commission that introducing further group-specific non-discrimination Directives would contribute to the so-called 'hierarchy of discrimination' (Bell, 2009), campaign members report Commission support for the campaign until its final stages. Other EU institutions had also indicated their support for a disability-specific Directive. Edwards and McCarthy (2004: 126) single out moral resources as being 'bestowed' on social movements by external actors and the possibility of their withdrawal. Legitimacy and support were bestowed on the campaign by the EU institutions at points in the campaign according to interviews. In proposing a horizontal Directive, moral resources were partially withdrawn from the campaign's original aims of a group-specific Directive.

Despite a successful campaign and use of the ECI, the response from the Commission did not answer the aims of the EDF. What was perceived by interviewees as pressure from the Parliament and other CSOs pushed the Commission to an propose integrated non-discrimination Directive, covering a range of inequalities. In addition, reflecting on the horizontal Directive, interviewees acknowledge that this type of legislation would be unlikely to become law. Barriers like conservative resistance to protection of sexual minorities, European encroachment and cost all stood (and still stand) in the way. Another interviewee expanded on the perceived attitude towards a horizontal non-discrimination Directive from the Council:

They didn't want it, and so they swallowed it with love. They didn't want it, but won't tell you, so want clarity on what it actually means within our country or our Member State and, thereby, we have some questions and those questions could be going on and on and on ... I'm not sure it is dead but it is not alive.

- Senior activist, previously EDF executive committee member

The timing of the proposal was perhaps ill-fated. Compared to the more favourable context in which the 2000 Equality Directives took place following the Amsterdam Treaty, the horizontal Directive proposal was introduced at the onset of the global financial crisis and subsequent Euro crisis, when national priorities had consequently shifted. While the original campaign took place

prior to these contextual factors taking full effect, as the legislative policy process of the EU drew out into the proceeding years, factors of fiscal austerity and an aversion to policy seen as expensive became more prominent in the policy discourse. As noted by authors detailing the reprioritisation of rights-based gender equality legislation, concerns about the financial and cost implications of the proposals, and about potential negative impact on both social protection systems and businesses were cited in Council discussions on the proposed Horizontal Equality Directive. Germany questioned whether the proposal was timely and needed given its cost implications, and Poland, the Netherlands, UK, Czech Republic, and Hungary signalled similar concerns (Hugendubel, 2015). The horizontal Directive remains with the Council at the time of writing. A 2018 progress report cited outstanding issues including “subsidiarity and the division of competences, legal clarity and consistency with other legal acts, budgetary implications and costs, and implementation” (Kuhnke, 2022). The context in which social movement activity takes place is often an environment resistant to systemic change. Institutional forces work to limit change to the smallest amount and social movements are working against this current (Lowdnes, 2005). The horizontal Directive still faces institutional resistance.

The 1Million4Disability campaign left a mark on the EDF. While successful campaigns can revitalise and invigorate a movement community, a failed campaign can create divisions and misunderstandings that carry over into subsequent campaigns and efforts at coalition work. Interviewee recalled the outcome of the campaign in largely negative terms: ‘hijacked’, ‘broken’ and ‘not alive’ to name a few. At the outset of the campaign, the EDF was faced with a decision between supporting wider non-discrimination legislation at the risk of it failing to pass the approval of conservative Member States or pursuing specific legislation for disabled–people — perhaps with a higher chance of success with some institutions but at the cost of solidarity with other groups seeking protection from discrimination at the EU level. While alliances with organisations external to the campaign were established, and support for the campaign was evident in the successful collection of signatures, ultimately the goal of a disability Directive was not met. Chapter 5 examines various perspectives in the campaign using interview material to better understand the

positions of campaign and policy actors. In the wider context of civil society, where a hierarchy of discrimination had been established by the 2000 Directives (Bell, 2009), the EDF and its campaign partners risked the support of CSOs representing other communities. This is explored in depth in Chapter 6.

The EDF in its alternative reports to the UNCRPD Committee on the progress of the EU implementing the principles of the Convention as a state party, and in its annual reports, remains critical of the lack of anti-discrimination legislation in Europe protecting disabled people in areas outside of employment. The current horizontal directive blocks additional anti-discrimination being proposed. The failure to secure a disability Directive using the non-discrimination clause of the TFEU prompted a pivot to another Treaty Article. The push for a Directive based on the internal market clause of the Treaty is the focus of the third case study campaign: the Free Movement campaign.

Campaign 3: a European Accessibility Act

The campaign for an accessible Europe by the EDF and its partners is an ongoing one. Much of the campaign took place as the European Union undertook procedures to start fulfilling its obligations to the newly concluded UNCRPD. It began officially in 2011, following the announcement by the European Commission of the 2010-2020 European Disability Strategy. Between Campaign 2 and Campaign 3, several broad structural changes took place that altered both the landscape in which the organisation operates and also the approach it takes to its advocacy work. The Treaty of Lisbon, signed into law in 2009, concluded a period of systemic flux by consolidating the two European texts into one (becoming the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, or the TFEU), giving legal force to the Charter of Fundamental Rights and turning the European Union into a full legal personality with the ability to sign international treaties. The UNCRPD is the first international convention that the EU became a state party to.

Recalling theories of structures of political opportunity, the EU's plan to bring its legislation in line with CRPD principles offered numerous prospects for the

EDF to call for changes to policy and communication channels. While in this sense the system of policy creation could be seen as 'open', providing opportunities for manipulation in favour of disabled Europeans, in another sense the system was 'closing up' after almost two decades of systemic flux in which the two European Treaties (the Treaty establishing the European Community, or TEC, and the Treaty on European Union, or the Maastricht Treaty or the TFEU) were continually adjusted to reflect the evolution of the European Union from an economic and monetary union into a political and legal entity. The Treaty of Lisbon, signed into law in 2009, concluded this period by consolidating the two European texts into one (becoming the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, or the TFEU), giving legal force to the Charter of Fundamental Rights and turning the European Union into a full legal personality with the ability to sign international treaties. Additionally, the Strategy targeted specific parts of disability policy but ignored major elements of the UNCRPD, a criticism levelled by the EDF at the Commission in its first alternative report to the UNCRPD in 2014. Two decades of Treaty revisions had come to an end with the Treaty of Lisbon coming into force. Pushes for policy change would now rely on existing legislative structures. The UNCRPD opened possibilities for new Directives and frameworks of action in favour of the rights of disabled people. Structures of opportunity had shifted from Campaign 2 to Campaign 3.

Accessibility in the EU

Establishing common standards for goods and services in the internal market of the EU is a primary goal of the European project. Since the 'New Approach' was introduced in 1985 by a Council Regulation, establishing close cooperation between public authorities and market operators, private industry actors have been involved in setting standards for products in the EU (Senden, 2017). The private industry actors formed collectives called 'European Standardisation Organisations (ESOs) and are a fundamental aspect of the Union's Single Market. Standards are developed in a partnership of industry, ESOs and representatives for consumers, trade unions and businesses. They are further separated into 'European standards', which are 'standards adopted by a European standardisation organisation', and a

‘Harmonised standard’, a ‘European standard adopted on the basis of a request made by the Commission for the application of Union harmonisation legislation’ (Article 2, Regulation 1025/2012, OJ 2012, L 316/12). Acknowledging the need for harmonised standards as a means of achieving the internal market, the Commission started issuing mandates for the development of accessibility standards in the fields of information and communication technologies in 1998. Since then, several accessibility standards have been developed at the EU level following standardisation requests by the European Commission to the ESOs. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) standards have been a particular long-term focus for the European Commission, with ‘eEurope’ action plans running as early as 2002 and 2005 to improve the accessibility of online services and digital connectivity.

These standardisation requests are ‘non-legislative actions’, designed to align the development of EU standards to global developments. The Commission creates standardisation requests (mandates) to set out requirements for a specific item, material, component, system or service, or describes in detail a particular method or procedure in Europe – a harmonised standard. The ‘New Approach’ was updated in 2012, following the Treaty of Lisbon, with the intention of increasing the transparency and participatory nature of the standardisation process to include more groups in the standardisation process (Senden, 2017). Non-legislative actions have not, however, satisfactorily addressed the barriers disabled people face day to day with goods and services. Many goods, services and industries in Member States remain inaccessible to disabled consumers and as of 2011 there was little room for recourse to the breach of standards or indeed monitoring adherence (Senden, 2017). A call for overarching EU legislation underpinned by European standards was initially proposed by the Commission in its first Disability Strategy to ensure the principle of free movement of goods, services, capital was achieved for disabled people in the Union. In support of the initial Commission announcement, the EDF launched its ‘Free Movement’ Campaign (Campaign 3), to ensure the proposed Directive would be strong and favourable to disabled consumers.

Aims of the Free Movement campaign

The EDF began its campaign for a European Internal Market Directive, underpinned by European Standards, for the European Union to fulfil its obligations to ensure accessible markets for disabled people in 2011. The Commission had announced it would propose the Accessibility Act as a part of the 2010-2020 Strategy, itself in turn a framework for the European Union to achieve its obligations according to the UNCRPD. The Strategy focused on reducing barriers in eight areas according to the rights enshrined in the UNCRPD: accessibility, employment, inclusion education and training, equality, participation, health, social protection and external action. Among non-legislative actions, it proposed disability-specific legislation like the Accessibility Act, the Web Accessibility Act and the Rights of Passengers with Reduced Mobility. These were announced alongside mainstreaming efforts to include disability in general EU policy like development cooperation, standardisation, State Aid, copyright legislation and education programmes.

According to the 'Freedom Guide', an EDF publication setting out the principles behind the Free Movement campaign, the primary aim of the campaign was to ensure a 'strong' European Accessibility Act (EAA) was produced and implemented. The receptacles of the campaign moved with the legislation through its different stages of policy production. The EU policy process requires input, amendments and subsequent approval from the institutions at different points. The Commission as the executive branch proposes legislation which is then passed to Parliament for amendments and approval. The Council then receives the legislation for its amendments and final approval. A distinct feature of the EU policy process is the lack of interdependence between the institutions in the policy process: Parliamentary amendments and positions do not impact the decisions of the Council and the final legislation. This is of particular relevance to the Accessibility Act. A crucial difference for Campaign 3 in the three selected case studies for this research is that the intention to produce this legislation had already been announced by the Commission when the EDF began its official campaign.

Framing accessibility as opportunity

Recalling the efforts to introduce a non-discrimination Directive in Campaign 2, a horizontal Directive was moving slowly through the EU policy process and the EDF embarked on the Free Movement campaign. With a piece of legislation using the non-discrimination clause already 'in progress' (despite the impasse it remains facing at Council level), the movement could not use this as a basis to for another campaign. Acknowledging the interests of disabled consumers in internal market harmonisation processes had been an aim of the movement as early as the Invisible Citizens campaign, recalling the goal to introduce a clause to the internal market Treaty Article. Using an internal market frame also aligned with the move away from rights-based legislation noted by scholars studying EU gender equality legislation and the pivot towards the financial benefits of equal opportunity (Elomäki, 2015). As the Commission had already announced its intention to propose the legislation, the EDF sought to ensure the Accessibility Act would remove some barriers to free movement of goods and services for disabled Europeans, and also to frame the EAA as an advantageous step for industry:

Access is seen mainly as a problem for businesses, rather than a golden opportunity.

EDF Freedom Guide, 2011

The EAA prompts Member States to remove these barriers by adjusting regulations for producers of goods and services; although disabled consumers are the beneficiaries, the Campaign was aimed at industry interests as the EAA regulates businesses across the European Union. The campaign had two strategic 'sides': one publicly facing, calling on the Institutions to realise the principles of free movement for disabled people in Europe and circulating material to partner organisations laying out the case for this. The other side targeted the Institutions from an inward-facing position; that is targeting Commission officials allied to the organisation, following the legislation through Parliament and calling on MEPs to introduce amendments, and at Council level maintaining communication to understand which Member States were allies, which had hesitation to the EAA and which were completely

opposed. While most previous campaign work by the organisation had been under the banners of non-discrimination, following the 'stuck' horizontal Directive pursued in Campaign 2, the organisation looked at other Treaty Articles that could be used to advance the rights of disabled people in Europe. Shifting from a rights-based approach to advocacy to a focus on the internal market was a key strategy in Campaign 3. The principle of free movement was central to the campaign strategy:

The achievement of the internal market, in which there are no obstacles to the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital, is a fundamental objective of the European Union. Obstacles to the internal market can come from many sources and, where such obstacles make free movement more difficult, or distort competition, the EU can intervene.

- Waddington, 2011

Following the EAA through the institutions

From the announcement of an intention to propose the legislation to its actual proposal, five years passed. In this five-year period a public consultation took place in 2012. Following the proposal in 2015, another two years passed during which the European Parliament's Internal Market and Consumer Protection committee (IMCO) compiled a report balancing industry interests against those of (disabled) consumers. IMCO served as the leading Committee on the EAA, meaning it was responsible for collecting amendments and proposing a draft position to the European Parliament. Against calls from the EDF and its campaign partners, and amid a campaign demonstration outside the European Parliament building on the 6th March, Parliament adopted the report in April 2017. Between April and September the EDF engaged in a vigorous lobbying campaign to improve the final position of parliament. The plenary stage of amendments saw the parliament adopt a more ambitious report to bring to the Council in the final stage of the policy process. The EDF and the wider disability movement then kept up pressure on MEPs until the Plenary session in September 2017 and were able to influence the final Parliamentary position according to the interests of its

member organisations and campaign partners. An EDF policy officer reports the campaign's strategy in moving the legislation through parliamentary amendments:

[S]o we pushed for having amendments tabled at plenary level, where the Parliament sets its final position before going to discuss with the Council and at plenary level ... So, we were actually trying and it happened, for the first time that we broke the vote in the EPP... an ally of ours and ... managed to break the voting in the EPP and that helped us adopt amendments that were not considered in the report at Committee level...

IMCO was not a committee the EDF had worked with formally before and the rapporteur for the IMCO parliamentary report did not prove to be a natural ally to the disability movement. Inserting amendments at the final stage of the Parliamentary process was unprecedented. In doing so, the EDF side-stepped the position taken by IMCO and succeeded in contributing to an ambitious Parliament position to Council. This process involved not only allies of the organisation; it obliged the conservative rapporteur to advocate for a progressive position. The Council was another hurdle for the campaign, being particularly opaque in its decision making. An EDF officer elaborates on the particular case of the EAA at Council stage:

Obviously at the same time that you are doing this, you need to be active with the Council as well, and you need to meet with the permanent representation offices of Member States present your position there see whether they would they don't tell you they will take your amendments, you cannot see if they do that, but ... particularly the Maltese Presidency was really open to discuss with us ... the Bulgarian Presidency was also very active in engaging with us on hearing our views'... I don't remember which Presidency adopted the final text...

In the case of the Freedom of Movement campaign, over the eight years of activity one public demonstration took place in April 2017 as the EP adopted the IMCO report. The bulk of campaign work took place via amendment

proposals, position papers and provision of technical expertise to guide decision makers. By breaking lines of voting and maintaining a presence in late phases of amendments the campaign the EDF was able to influence the final Parliament position on the Act as it went to the Council stage. A member of the Secretariat team responsible for the work on amendments and standards describes the position the EDF too':

I don't want to sound like I'm bragging about my work but it's true that we did an if I may say, we did an amazing job when it comes to the Preparation of the amendments we checked really thoroughly with experts, we were clever in proposing different approaches that were actually giving even more robust set of accessibility requirements, because that's where the legislation gets technical in the annex of the legislation...

In 2022 the EAA is in its 'transposition phase': European Union's Member States give force to a directive by passing appropriate implementation measures. The EDF is now working with its national members on transposing the European legislation to national-level laws. This has been done so far through support resources: the organisation has produced a 'transposition toolkit' explaining the process and timeline of EU Member States giving force to the EAA, and advising DPOs on what can be done at each phase to strengthen the transposition process. An example from the toolkit from *Part 2: Working Towards Transposition*:

Advocate to national lawmakers to go beyond the scope of the Accessibility Act and include accessibility obligations for aspects not covered or left voluntary by the Act. Expand the scope of national laws to:

- All transport infrastructure and services including those related to urban, suburban and regional transport, and passenger transport vehicles
- All banking services
- Housing

- Household products, such as washing machines, dishwashers, refrigerators, etc.
- Tourism services
- Other areas of life which you find important

- EDF EAA Transposition Toolkit: p16

Peer support sessions were being held three times a year throughout the transposition phase by the EDF as a platform for members to exchange their experiences of transposition in their respective states.

From the outset of the campaign, the EDF had secured the moral resource of legitimacy and support from the European Commission. Recalling Edwards and McCarthy's (2004: 126) observation that social movement actors successful in mimicking the 'institutionally legitimated' features of a political context gain a relative advantage in their activity, a primary task of the campaign was to ensure the framing of accessibility as an opportunity for businesses was adopted by the Parliament and Council. The campaign in its efforts was competing with industry interests opposed to further legislation. The contention of industry groups was that extant legislation was sufficient in its attention to the interests and needs of disabled consumers. Human resources were mobilised; two secretariat members worked almost exclusively on the progress of the EAA as it moved through Parliamentary stages and to the Council. The EDF gained access to new stages of amendments, utilising cultural resources by drafting position papers to lobby parliamentarians. The campaign utilised specialised knowledge from its outside, with the *Freedom Guide* quoting industry experts alongside disabled activists to make the case for a strong EAA. Social organisational resources were mobilised in the EDF's creation of a campaign coalition that included technical actors as well as rights-based actors. This pivot away from rights-based discrimination was an organisational response to the institutional environment. As gender equality scholars have noted, it may not be producing favourable outcomes for movements (Elomäki, 2015). A notable difference was detected between the position of secretariat staff and the EDF

membership in interviews about the EAA. Quotes from the secretariat in sections above indicate a general favourable stance, with reservations about the strength of the Act. An interviewee from an EU-wide DPO network reported their dubiousness about the Accessibility Act upon its announcement. Hoping that the outcome would be different to their expectation, they reported:

I was really hoping that I would turn out to be wrong about the Accessibility Act and had it been a strong act I would have been happy to declare that I was wrong. But I was just thinking ... you're putting your hope into something that is just not there – legally, politically, financially, you are not in a position that you can really challenge these companies, and you know, the lack of Accessibility across Europe through EU legislation, because the EU is an economic project.

- Former EDF member

The EAA was weakened in its protection of disabled consumer interests by lobby activity from industry interest groups. While the EDF was successful in lobbying MEPs until late stages of the legislative process, the final legislation fell short of movement expectations. The EDF has been vocal in its own criticism of the Act. The proceeding chapter examines the response of the EDF and movement to the final EAA.

The EAA became official law in 2019. Following the passing of the legislation the EDF has been a leading figure in organising seminars, peer learning exchange sessions and toolkits on transposing the legislation. Emphasis is placed in these activities on the fact that the Directive is a minimum requirement and that member organisations should be encouraging their national governments to aim 'higher' with their transposition legislation. 2022 is the deadline for the EAA's 'transposition phase': European Union's Member States give force to a Directive by passing appropriate implementation measures. The EDF shifted from its work with the EU institutions to working with its national members on transposing the European legislation to national-level laws. Member States have until 2025 to apply the transposition laws. In its presentations on the Act, the EDF has been vocal in the limitations of the

Act. In a webinar giving the final analysis of the Act, EDF policy officers took viewers through its strengths and weaknesses. Transport services and household appliances are not included in the EAA and the built environment clause is voluntary. The full implementation of the EAA is lengthy – some products and services do not need to meet the requirements of the EAA until 2039 due to the wording of the Act. The EAA contains exemptions not seen in other Internal Market legislation such as the principles of ‘disproportionate burden’ and ‘fundamental alterations’. These principles are problematic to disabled consumers because it allows businesses to maintain inaccessible features of goods and services if making them accessible would fundamentally alter the basic nature of their products, making it too expensive to realise. The EDF has raised the possibility of future strategic litigation before the European Court of Justice to improve accessibility of goods and services based on the Accessibility Act. Within the EAA there is possibility for individual claims and claims to be raised on behalf of representative organisations. This addition to the EAA was secured by EDF to lessen the burden on claimants. The EAA therefore may represent the introduction of a new avenue of lobbying for disability rights in the EU.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced and compared the three campaigns selected as case studies for the present research. It has provided a background to the campaigns and identified their primary strategic approaches. In doing so it has answered the first research sub question: *What kinds of collective action campaigns have been conducted in the past by DPOs at the European level? What were their approaches and objectives?*

The campaigns display a range of repertoires of noncontentious actions including public facing activities like protests, signature collections and visibility in general and specialised media. The relationship between the EDF and the EU institutions holds important contextual value for each campaign – in terms of repertoires of activity and outcomes. The campaigns can be distinguished in terms of their targets: Campaign 1 was aimed at the Treaty negotiations being decided between Member States. Campaign 2 targeted the

Commission, seeking a policy proposal. Campaign 3 applied pressure to the Commission after it had stated its intention to propose the EAA and attempted to lobby the EP and Council through reporting and amendment stages.

New social movements are characterised by fluidity – once change has been achieved in an area of focus, the movement will evolve and collectivise to engage with other frontiers (Bagguley, 1992: 42; Carling-Jenkins, 2016: 70). This can be observed in the 25 years of campaign activity observed in the case studies. The EDF and its campaign partners in the disabled people's movement have made these claims upon the EU institutions to enact meaningful societal change at a variety of levels: the institutions have responded with protection in the sphere of labour and of consumer rights. Movements operating in a late-capitalist era face a system that shapes their activity as much as their principles (Fraser, 2020). Movement organisations face a challenge in where to lay claims; the context under which each campaign took place speaks to the opportunities and constraints of three eras: Campaign 1 occurred at a time of EU expansion, both in terms of competence and size. In this period the movement successfully laid a claim on the EU institutions to enshrine a principle to combat discrimination. This became a more tangible Directive in the field of employment via the Equality Framework Directive. An attempt to extend this responsibility to combat discrimination in other fields of life was ultimately unsuccessful. It should be viewed in the context of the 'going it alone' strategy pursued by the campaign, seeking group-specific non-discrimination legislation without support from other civil society groups (a topic explored further in Chapter 6). The initial campaign and the fate of the horizontal non-discrimination Directive can be seen in the context of pushback from state actors defending the status quo in the new social movement fight to expand the public sphere to include previously 'private' issues (Touraine, 1985: 779). Campaign 3 took place in the context of a shift away from rights-based legislation in the EU, also noted by gender equality scholars (Elomäki, 2015). The campaign focused on accessibility as a market harmonisation issue and the EAA successfully became law in 2019. A potential cost of pursuing this strategy is the lukewarm reception of the EAA within the movement: the EDF itself has been vocal about the Act's shortcomings. Movement organisations face a tension in their activity with

governance institutions between absorption and irrelevance. This is explored further in Chapter 6. The following Chapter examines the three campaigns through the lens of the multiple streams approach.

Chapter 5

Applying the Multiple Streams Approach

This chapter looks at the strategic activity by the organisation and its campaign partners in each campaign in the wider context of the policy process. The MSF (introduced in Chapter 2) uses interactions between structures and agency to explain the complex processes of policy. Here it will be utilised to explain the appearance of 'open doors' for policy entrepreneurs and how the EDF in its campaigns seized on windows of opportunity, to varying degrees of success. Recalling the review of MSF literature in Chapter 3, according to the model no one controls the linkage between individual inputs and policy outputs in EU policymaking. Ambiguity and randomness are not pathologies that need to be rectified. The analytical task with the framework is to specify the dynamic and complex interactions that generate specific policy outcomes. The three case studies of the research benefit from the lens of the MSF because of their varying approaches, political contexts and eventual policy outcomes.

In doing so, the chapter draws conclusions on the real opportunities for CSOs to influence policy and whether the formalised position of civil society in European decision-making can produce change. It turns to the second specific research question: *According to the actors involved, how successful was the campaign in reaching its objectives, and which characteristics and conditions of the campaigns are thought to have contributed to this success? What types of barriers did they face?*

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the EDF as a policy entrepreneur. It contrasts the abilities of policy entrepreneur actors to pursue their goals in the institutional context their campaigns take place under. Building on Chapter 2's discussion of governance networks, the final section compares the trends noted by governance scholars of recent decades with the empirical findings from the 25-year timespan of the three campaigns. In doing so it begins to draw conclusions about the actual opportunities presented to social movement actors in networked governance processes.

Creating windows of political opportunity

Recalling Chapter 2's discussion of the MSF, Herweg (2016: 14) identifies three necessary conditions for change: First, the problem, political, and policy streams must be 'ripe' when the policy window opens; second, this policy window must be opened by a change in the problem or political stream; and third, a policy-entrepreneur succeeds in coupling the streams once the policy window opens. Windows of opportunity appear with a convergence of the three streams of the MSF and describe the particular context within which issues are debated and policies made. Howlett (2019: 419) describes the process of agenda setting and maintaining influence throughout decision-making processes:

[A]ctors compete to get their choice of problem definitions as well as solutions adopted and implemented and continue to act throughout implementation activities.

This section draws on findings from a documentary analysis of campaign material and interviews with campaign actors to identify the windows of opportunity that were exploited by campaigns. Recalling the interactive nature of structures of opportunity and the centrality of ambiguity and time constraints in the EU policy process, it will note how the campaign contributed to these windows as well as utilised them (Zohlnhofer et al., 2015).

The problem stream contains perceptions, opinions, and attitudes held by various members of the public and policy communities (Mukherjee and Howlett, 2015). These pertain to the extent to which government intervention is required in the problem, as well as the performance of past government efforts to resolve the issue. The political stream covers contextual factors such as dominant ideas and values comprising national (and supra-national) 'moods' and power shifts following elections, cabinet shuffles and Treaty revisions (Stimson, 1991). The policy stream carries recommendations from researchers, advocates, and others related to the policy issue and proposed solutions (Voß and Simons, 2014). Described by Kingdon (1984: 123) as the 'policy primeval soup', the policy stream contains a finite, complex collection of ideas and possibilities. To survive in the stream ideas must be perceived

as workable and must be compatible with the values of a majority of specialists in the relevant policy community (Herweg, 2016). Recalling the discussion in Chapter 2 of the original MSF, Kingdon outlines five factors affecting the survival which ideas become accepted as solutions to a perceived problem: the closest solution to current values (*value acceptability*); whether the solution is technically possible and the availability of resources (*technical feasibility* and *resource availability*); the networks shaping the dissemination and influence of an idea (*normative acceptance*) and the receptivity of decision-makers (*network integration*) (Kingdon, 1984: 138–46; Zahariadis, 1999). Within the MSF, entrepreneurs pursue strategies to join together problems and policies into attractive packages, which are then ‘sold’ to receptive policymakers (Ackrill, Kay and Zahariadis, 2013). Policy entrepreneurs pursue their interests through careful interpretation and portrayal of the current situation, or ‘problem framing’. These political activities involve assembling evidence in favour of their aims and making technical and economic arguments to change the status quo. The status quo is framed as untenable and in need of change. The following sections apply the MSF to the case study campaigns.

Campaign 1

Mazey and Richardson (1997, p. 113) characterize the 1996 IGC as a ‘fluid and unpredictable decision situation’ in which the way that problems were framed assumed high significance. The language of rights provided a frame around which a diverse array of actors took up their positions (Mabbett, 2005).

Recalling the Invisible Citizens campaign from the previous chapter’s description, this was an effort for disability to be recognised by the European institutions via reference in the Treaties, thereby establishing Community-level action and policy on disability. For disabled activists and their allies, the problem was that disabled people in Europe faced discrimination in many parts of their lives. More specifically, current EU competence and legislation could not protect the rights of disabled people, meaning they could not access their basic rights as European citizens. Disability-related programmes and policies at Community level had focused on the vocation and rehabilitation of

disabled people but this had not had the intended effect. Disabled people experienced social and economic exclusion.

Problem (re)framing as a campaigning objective

This was the problem framing pursued by the campaign. This was partially accepted prior to the commencement of the Campaign, hence the numerous Commission-funded research and vocational programmes that the Community had run up until 1996, recalling Chapter 2's explanation of social policy in the EU. The communication between the campaigners and policy 'insiders', MEPs and national counterparts, and output from the Commission and MEPs in the run-up to the 1997 IGC. Fax communications (anonymised details of which can be found in Appendix F's inventory) demonstrate the competing problem perceptions that the campaign needed to counter to win support for the inclusion of disability in the revised Treaty.

For the European Parliament, specifically socialist MEPs and other MEPs in support of increased policy protection for disabled people, the 'problem' was that 'social policy needs bolstering at the IGC. Civil society groups and Socialist European Political Parties need to work together to seize the opportunity of the IGC' according to IGC material. For leaders in the European Council, national ministers, and civil servants (and some national DPOs), heterogeneity can be seen within the institution itself. Ireland drafted a Treaty in its 1996 presidency supporting inclusion of disability in the revised Treaty. The 1996 Council Resolution on Equality of Opportunity for Persons with Disabilities reaffirmed the Community's commitment to UN Standard Rules, inviting Member States and the Commission to promote the rights of disabled people and report on progress periodically. This can be taken as (non-binding) acknowledgement of the Commission's willingness to create a cohesive European disability programme, and an important element of the political stream of the campaign as it signalled support for Europe to play a steering role in disability policy. The campaign therefore had support from a proportion of the institutions in the framing of the problem. Campaign board meetings discussed which Member States were 'on-side' and which needed to be lobbied. For those Member States that needed persuading, their hesitation was due to one or a combination of the following:

- In cases where national legislation was considered strong enough for disabled people, a concern existed that it would be weakened if European legislation lowered the general standard. New EU-level disability programmes would override or undermine gains at the national level, or were just not needed (e.g., UK, the Netherlands).
- There were general concerns about the encroachment of European governance into national matters, and a potential mismatch between European and national-level approaches to social policy and rights (for example the UK, Denmark).
- The cost of the proposed legislation was too high – inserting clauses to consider the consumer needs of disabled people during processes of internal market harmonisation or standardising employment non-discrimination legislation would be costly and require lots of changes to legislation at the national level (e.g., The Netherlands, Germany).

The politics of the Amsterdam IGC

The political stream was dominated by the deadline for Treaty revisions and the number of issues requiring resolution in the negotiations. As explained in Chapter 4, the spectre of the Maastricht negotiations hung over the lead-up to the Amsterdam IGC in 1997. The Treaty of Maastricht introduced the Community to social rights and a greater legislative role for the European Commission but, in its wide ambition, ended with disunity on many fronts. In a communication to CSOs from Commission member Marcelino Orja on the 18th of December 1995:

[The IGC] will be careful to avoid repeating the mistakes of Maastricht: it will have to address clearly defined topics relating directly to issues of concern to the general public and to ways and means of making the Union work more democratically and effectively.

According to IGC newsletters from the lead-up to the negotiations for the Treaty of Amsterdam, this was very much in the Dutch memory of the last Treaty revision it had presided over, as can be observed in IGC newsletters. Negotiations were to be 'decisive and conclusive'. Similarly, the deadline of

June 1997 was an important factor in the political stream for the campaign: there was a desire to have the revised treaty ratified within the year as the IGC negotiations commenced. In anticipation of accelerated globalisation, the Treaty negotiated tensions between Member States seeking deeper integration and those wishing to retain greater national control.

Against this, another important element of the political stream for the campaign was the national context of some Member States: the United Kingdom entered the negotiations with a highly Eurosceptic Conservative government, one that had rejected aspects of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. This government was 'completely opposed' to the non-discrimination article central to the Invisible Citizens campaign. The upcoming national election in May and support of the opposition Labour party for the campaign objectives was discussed at length in later campaign memos. This prediction paid off as a sympathetic Labour government was elected in May, removing one more barrier to the introduction of the non-discrimination clause. In doing so, Germany's antipathy was exposed and specific training took place among German DPOs to apply pressure and muster further support.

The operative idea in the MSF is that at particular junctures, like legislative deadlines, streams can become 'ripe' and produce a window of opportunity for an actor (perhaps an outsider) and see their goals articulated and gain traction in the policy cycle (Birkland 1997, 1998). In other words, the MSF allows us to explain why in the ambiguous and unpredictable situation of the negotiations for the Treaty of Amsterdam, the coalition of disabled activists and allies were able to realise some of their campaign goals and gain legislative recognition of disabled people and a group requiring protection from discrimination in the Treaty. The window of opportunity appeared when the political stream of the context changed with the Treaty of Amsterdam negotiations.

The policy stream: Treaty recognition

For the activists within the campaign, the policy solution to the issue of a lack of protection at the European level was to expand several treaty articles to include specific clauses on disabled people – namely, protection from

discrimination in employment, consideration of disabled consumer's needs when harmonising the internal market and inclusion of a legal basis for European-level action programmes for disabled people and older people specifically. The campaign devoted considerable effort to addressing each of these concerns, as unanimous agreement from the Member States was needed on the final treaty text. Legal and economic experts were called on to address the issues raised by different groups, providing the following solutions to the problems. Regarding the encroachment of European governance, the article on non-discrimination wouldn't have 'direct effect' – that is, the clause itself could not be invoked in a European or national court. Similarly, the provision of a legal basis of European Community action programmes on disability would specifically avoid clashing with a national-level programme – any existing member state programmes would be unaffected by EU programmes. The campaign coalition was partially successful in problem and solution framing. The resultant Treaty text included a reference to disability in its new non-discrimination clause and a non-binding reference to disability adjacent to Article 95 stating '[T]he conference agrees that, in drawing up measures under Article 95, the institutions of the Community shall take account of the needs of persons with a disability'.

To conclude this analysis of Campaign 1 using the MSF, we return to the five criteria for an idea's survival in the policy stream, those being value acceptability, technical feasibility, resource availability, normative acceptance, and network integration. The campaign's aim was to ensure disabled people were included with wider momentum to expand the social competence of the Community. This was achieved with the assistance of legal expert advice, making technical arguments and combatting concerns from ministers. In doing so the campaign's aims gained value and normative acceptance. The Treaty Article itself served as a declaration of intent and would have no direct effect so technical feasibility and resource availability were also quite easily met in this foundational campaign. Gaining 'normative acceptance' was the focus of the most intensive drive of the campaign shortly before negotiations were due to end, when national council organisations were given specific instructions to seek or shore up support from Member State governments. As described above, the campaign succeeded in convincing even hostile Member States

like the Netherlands. The MSF has allowed an examination of the campaign process, the coupling of streams and successful exploitation of a policy window by the campaign coalition.

Campaign 2

Campaign 2 was a push by the European disability movement for a disability-specific anti-discrimination Directive. Recalling the previous chapter's outline of the campaign, the EDF and its member organisations had called on the Commission several times prior to the 2007 campaign for a 'disability Directive'. The campaign used a novel instrument, the European Citizens Initiative (ECI), which enables civil society groups to prompt a response from the Commission in a policy area if enough public support can be demonstrated. At the time of the campaign 1 million signatures from the European public were needed. The campaign coalition succeeded in its drive for signatures, receiving a response from the Commission. The proposed legislation was a horizontal anti-discrimination Directive covering all groups in Article 13 TEC (now Article 19 TFEU). A second campaign to introduce the broad anti-discrimination legislation was launched following this proposal called 'Equality for All'. The legislation did not receive support from Member States and remains with the Council. The ECI was used to influence the EU policy agenda with limited results.

Problem perceptions – extending protection

Looking at the perceptions, attitudes and opinions connected to this campaign reveals the tensions that existed between key actors in what the 'problem' is thought to be (Mukherjee and Howlett, 2015). In the MSF, perceptions of the 'problem' pertain to the extent to which government intervention is required in the problem, as well as the performance of past government efforts to resolve the issue. For activists involved in the campaign, existing European non-discrimination legislation protected disabled people only in the context of employment. Disabled people still faced societal barriers and exclusion. The organisation had run and participated in campaigns up to 2007 that demonstrated the need for overarching anti-discrimination protection at the EU level, as fragmented national Member State policies and area-specific

European legislation were not giving acceptable protection. The problem frame of the campaign was that anti-discrimination in the area of disability required Community-level action.

Following the two 2001 Directives based on Article 13 TEC of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the European Commission had proved hesitant to propose non-discrimination legislation to cover other groups. The Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso (Commission President from 2004 – 2014) had indicated his support for an expansion of the legislation to the European Parliament at the start of his term in 2004 (Bell, 2009). From interviews, an apparent problem for the Commission was that future non-discrimination legislation should cover a wide range of groups – a so-called ‘horizontal non-discrimination directive’. Following the announcement of the new Commission’s intent to introduce such legislation the issue did not receive attention until after the 1Million4Disability campaign push for a disability-specific directive. From the former Director:

German Members met Merkel at the time and Merkel had said ‘if it’s a Disability Directive, I will not oppose it’. And so we were confident that, if the Commission, had put on the table, this could have you know gone such a way through. But at the same time there was political, strong political pressure from the Parliament that there should be a horizontal directive. And I think the Commission got themselves caught into this situation.

The calls from the EDF for a disability-specific directive, based on the success of the Race Equality Directive (RED), received support at the Council but at the Parliamentary level there was a hesitancy to again indicate a hierarchy of discrimination through another group-specific directive. This also reflects the perceived problem for other European CSOs: there were other groups also seeking legislation at the European level to protect them from discrimination. An ‘integrated approach’, favoured by the Commission, the EP and other CSOs would introduce legislation covering a range of groups rather than targeted legislation for specific groups. This approach faced opposition at the Council level, with Member States opposing such sweeping reform.

Shifts in the political stream

Several factors are relevant to the political stream of this campaign. The Treaty of Amsterdam and two non-discrimination Directives that followed the increased competencies of the European institutions represented an important contextual 'shift' in where responsibility lay for protecting the European citizenry. Additionally, the mood within the Commission to create more channels to reach citizens and connect them to European institutions created the ECI and the Commission President's support for expanding non-discrimination legislation to more groups indicated the political mood in two of the European institutions favoured such policy change. Parliamentary support for a horizontal Directive to avoid further fragmentation between groups was a contextual factor in the resultant stalemate. From an MEP present in the Parliamentary Disability Intergroup at the time:

I'm a disability campaigner but I am against discrimination on race, gender, LGBTQ and so on and so I was uncomfortable in taking positions that could appear that we were being selfish and only pursuing disability ends and there were some arguments, I'm not saying bad ... and the EDF I don't blame them for the position they took, but they risked falling out with the other umbrella groups as well, so they had to make some judgments about that goal, so we had to make some judgments in the Parliament and I wasn't willing to antagonize the groups, and after the Race directive was passed and not others.

Splintering of coalitions is returned to in the following chapter. Overall, the aggregate position of advocacy actors and their parliamentary allies was one of support for a horizontal Directive that would cover groups without specific protection. The introduction of the EDI triggered a window of opportunity for the EDF and its campaign partners to seek a response from the Commission regarding a Disability Directive. The campaign coalition paired the signature collection, which was achieved through public-facing activities by member organisations throughout 2007, with a drafted disability Directive submitted to the Commission.

The policy stream: competing solutions

The 2007 draft Directive proposed by the campaign was written according to the scope of competencies at the time. Similar to Campaign 1, the EDF had employed legal experts to help draft a Disability Directive for the Commission:

I think it was linked to the campaign as well, our proposal for the disability specific directive. That we drafted with the help of the legal experts. So the Commission had that as well, when they made their proposal.

-Former director

The Commission's proposal following the campaign was framed without discussion of the ECI. Discussions of the horizontal Directive do not mention the reason the Commission was prompted to make a proposal (see for example Lombardo and Verloo, 2009; Bell, 2009). From the ILGA-Europe newsletter edition discussing the proposed Directive in 2008:

The idea was to 'level up' the protection to bring the other grounds to the same level of the Race Directive and ban discrimination based on religion/belief, age, disability and sexual orientation in all areas outside employment ... Then, the mood changed radically. The Commission ... indicated that the new directive would likely cover only disability and leave out the other grounds [prompting] a vigorous mobilisation of Members of the European Parliament and a strong NGO campaign to try to save a horizontal directive.

The EDF has historically had good connections with Commission officials that aid lobbying. As the quote above indicates the draft Directive successfully reached the Commission when it created its proposal. Despite this, the influence of the idea for a disability-specific Directive was surpassed by calls from Parliament and other social ENGOs for the Commission to produce a proposal for a horizontal Directive. This was explained by a senior EDF Secretariat member:

[T]he other grounds, they didn't have, if I recall correctly, they didn't really have a proposal that they were specifically campaigning for at that moment. In any case, nobody had a horizontal proposal but there were a lot of, there were discussions, especially with ILGA-Europe because they consider that this should be a horizontal one and because they thought they will never get a specific directive for them covering yes covering sexual orientation.

The multiple streams framework allows a structured examination of complex, chaotic policy processes. It can reveal windows of opportunity and enable explanations of why and how some decisions were made. In the case of the 1million4disability campaign, it has revealed the seizure by the EDF and its member organisations of opportunity, brought about by contextual factors like 'mood' and novel instruments, to gain wide-ranging protection from the European Union. The political and policy streams were not successfully coupled to achieve the desired policy solution proposed by the EDF. The campaign achieved a response from the Commission, one that itself was influenced by the problem and political streams. Although the EU legal framework on equality had progressed since Amsterdam, it generated a perception of injustice and created tensions between people advocating for different inequalities (Lombardo and Verloo, 2009). The comprehensive Directive still exists as a draft proposal under consideration and currently blocks the introduction of any other European non-discrimination policy.

The horizontal Directive proposal was the other dominant policy solution to the issue of unequal non-discrimination legislation. Although the influence of the horizontal directive won out at the Commission and Parliamentary level (the Parliament has amended the Directive several times), it never received enough support to become law. In its current form it has also lost the support of some advocates:

It really became, I mean the current version of the directive I think it's better not to have it, and it's even worse to have this directive now to not having nothing you know because it has been cut in such a way that now it says almost nothing. It just says, it's a declaration it's not even a directive, you know ... because this directive is in the pipe and

then so either we take it out and then we start again, or we continue broken...

- Former senior Secretariat member

Neither of the policy ideas put forward were selected as a solution to patchy non-discrimination legislation in the European Union. This is considered an ongoing issue by activists and scholars because it has created a 'hierarchy of discrimination' among groups experiencing inequalities (Bell, 2009). To conclude this examination of Campaign 2, we return to the five criteria for an idea's survival in the policy stream: value acceptability, technical feasibility, resource availability, normative acceptance and integration into network.

Here the complexity of the European system of multi-level governance becomes apparent. The criteria were met by some institutions at different times: interviewees report receiving messages from Commission and Council members during the campaign, indicating some extent of value acceptability, normative acceptance, and network integration (Kingdon, 1984: 138–46). The Race Equality Directive indicated the technical feasibility of a non-discrimination Directive outside of employment. The criteria in Kingdon's original 1984 model are framed as binary checkboxes, making them difficult to directly translate to the EU policy system, as the process and outcomes of this campaign show. Herweg (2016) points to the heterogeneity between the European institutions in their aims, values, and agendas. Between the Commission, EP, Council and wider civil society community, this variance becomes evident. The Disability directive did not appear in proposal form as a solution to the policy problem of uneven EU anti-discrimination legislation. As several interviewees reported, however, this campaign led to the Freedom of Movement campaign and the push for a European Accessibility Act. From a former director, when discussing the Accessibility Act:

Yes, in a way surely it's the result of our campaign. The Commission knew that they had to respond in any case...

In the case of Campaign 2, the EDF did capitalise on new opportunity structures and participate in the consultation processes made available in the European governance structures. The organisation utilised the ECI as a

means of forcing the Commission to respond to its repeated calls for a Disability Directive. The Commission had created the tool to give citizens a method to highlight neglected policy issues, if they could prove they had due backing from wider society. While the EDF's behaviour follows Marks and McAdam's comments on organisational adaptation to Europeanisation: exploiting new points of access for example, in this case it did not result in the legislation the organisation had hoped for. This indicates some of the limitations civil society faces in its activity with the European institutions. Despite a successful campaign and use of the ECI, the response from the Commission did not answer the aims of the EDF. What was perceived by interviewees as pressure from the Parliament pushed the Commission to an integrated non-discrimination Directive, attempting to cover a range of inequalities. In addition, reflecting on the horizontal Directive, interviewees acknowledge that this type of legislation would be unlikely to become law. Barriers like conservative resistance to protection of sexual minorities, European encroachment and cost all stood (and still stand) in the way.

Kingdon's original (1984) MSF dealt with the agenda-setting stage of the policy process, how issues gain salience in public policy discourse. The campaign was partially successful in placing a disability-specific Directive on the agenda for the Commission. Dialogue between the three EU institutions regarding the need for equalised anti-discrimination legislation continues as of 2022 (Kunkhe, 2022). However, the goal of EU anti-discrimination legislation for disabled people remains unattained.

Campaign 3

Campaign 3 called for the introduction of a European Accessibility Act (the EAA). The Commission had already proposed the legislation when the campaign launched as part of its 2010-2020 European Disability Strategy to implement the principles of the UNCRPD. In terms of agenda setting, the Strategy set out a problem frame that aligned with the aim of the Campaign: to harmonise internal market legislation to promote production of accessible goods and services in the EU. The analysis of Campaign 3 using the MSF will therefore take particular note of the suggestions made by Zahariadis (2007)

in expanding the framework to include policy creation and implementation as well as agenda-setting.

The problem of accessibility standards in the EU

Following the Strategy's introduction in 2010, a public consultation on the prospective EAA was produced in 2012 followed by a two-year period of silence. The Deloitte Impact Assessment (the Assessment), undertaken at the request of the European Commission to assess the range of measures to be taken to correct the barriers to free movement of accessible goods and services within the EU in 2015. The Assessment was a study of the socio-economic consequences of new accessibility measures to be introduced at the EU level on goods and services, with input from Deloitte and the Academic Network of European Disability Experts (ANED). The Assessment, noting early on that a 'rights-based' approach was the common to most disability research, looked in contrast from an 'Internal Market' perspective, with disabled consumers as something of an 'untapped market' for producers if more accessible goods and services were able to flow freely throughout the Member States (European Commission, 2015: i). The report found that a major obstacle to the production of accessible goods and services in the EU for business was the fragmentation of national accessibility requirements: understanding and complying with different national rules amounts to barriers (44). It also found that, as more European Member States moved to ratify the UNCRPD and implement policies accordingly, discrepancies between Member State legislation would increase, in turn creating more barriers to accessible goods and services flowing freely through the European Union (viii). The recommendations of the Assessment were in favour of the campaign aims and strategically beneficial for the EDF. The policy intervention deemed to be most effective in improving cross-border trade of accessible goods and services and increasing competition within industry would be common accessibility requirements at EU level for selected goods and services through a legally binding instrument (a Directive) for all Member States. An EU Directive underpinned by binding EU standards would in the long run be the most beneficial policy intervention to remove barriers in the Internal Market for accessible goods and services (ix). The problem stream

was coupled at this point with the proposed EAA as a policy solution. The task of the campaign was to ensure this framing withstood the subsequent stages of the legislative stages.

The framing of the problem and policy solution was to be challenged at the parliamentary stage of the legislative process. Moving to the Internal Market Article required a different framing approach for the campaign and work with IMCO, a parliamentary committee that the EDF and its partners had not formally worked with before. The entire European Parliament uses this draft as a basis to vote on the official position of the Parliament on the Accessibility Act. An EDF secretariat employee recalls:

Because for the Parliament ... maybe they thought that disability was mostly a competence or something that was dealt in the Employment and Social Affairs Committee and for the first time ... they were dealt in the [IMCO] Committee... I wouldn't say that the spirit among committees in the Parliament are very different, but still, you can feel that some committees have a kind of way of doing things and [IMCO] was not a committee that in the past that we were super active with.

Despite a Parliamentary Resolution in 2015 calling on the Commission to propose an 'ambitious' Accessibility Act, the results from the IMCO were disappointing for the Campaign. The resultant report was unambitious to the aims of the Freedom of Movement campaign and the European DPM in general. From a press release from the campaign:

The focus in the IMCO report appears to have shifted towards making it easier for companies to sell their products across Europe. Accessibility of those products seems to have become a bonus rather than a prerequisite. This is especially worrying in the following 3 areas:

- The already weak requirement to make the built environment accessible is completely removed in the IMCO report.
- The definition of disability in the IMCO amendments is very much based on the medical model, it only includes people with a certified

disability while leaving out people with temporary functional limitations or other assistance needs.

- Requirements for accessible transport are watered down using the excuse that accessible transport is covered sufficiently in other legislation (for example passenger rights).

An EDF policy officer recalls the efforts of the campaign to break the line of voting within parliament and sidestep the conservative rapporteur and the IMCO report:

... and then, once the Parliament adopted this more ambitious report at plenary level, the Rapporteur had to kind of swallow it in a way, and defend the Parliament position which I must say that he did kind of and he went to discuss with the Council.

The problem stream changed between the Commission framing and the Parliamentary stage of the policy process and exemplifies the fragmented nature of EU multi-level governance. To usher through legislation, policy entrepreneurs must monitor the mood at each stage and work to maintain or adjust the problem framing to suit their solutions. Despite often serving as an allied voice to the disability movement in the past, the IMCO framed the legislation as burdensome to businesses and attempted to remove sections of the EAA that favour disabled consumers. Adopting, in the end, a more 'ambitious' report to bring to the Council, the EP's role in the legislation ended.

The Council stage of the process can be where gains are lost in EU legislation. National governments review the legislation and can prove resistant to broad legislation requiring intensive policy change. An EDF policy officer describes the Council's role in the process:

[T]he problem is mainly the Council is where you get lost because you don't know what's the position of each Member State. You need to rely on your national Member to lobby their government. And things get lost in translation, and then ... Okay, you need to reach out to France, Finland and Sweden, because they are the troublemakers in the working party

and then you need to meet them and try to see where their concerns try to convince them...

At the Council level, the campaign had less access to negotiations but (as described in Chapter 4), some Member States were open to meetings with the campaign coalition to understand its position. The Council's position, adopted in December 2017, reduced the scope and impact of the EAA according to an EDF position paper.

The political impact of the UNCRPD

The political stream of the MSF covers contextual factors such as dominant ideas and values comprising national (and supra-national) 'moods', power shifts and Treaty revisions (Stimson, 1991). The UNCRPD entered into force on May 3, 2008. The convention aims to 'promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities to promote respect for their inherent dignity' and advocates the principle of inclusion. As the Treaty of Lisbon gave the EU full legal personality, the European Union concluded its ratification in December 2010, the Convention coming into force in January 2011. Within the Strategy, the EU would fulfil its obligations to the UNCRPD within the boundaries of its competences, and it would also monitor the progress of Member States in their obligations. The ratification of the UNCRPD fundamentally changed the political stream of European disability policy. It amounted to an acknowledgement that the EU as a State actor has duties to protect the rights of disabled European citizens. The following section details the explicit elements of the UNCRPD that altered the political stream of the EAA by aligning dominant ideas and values to the aims of the campaign.

Article 3 of the Convention sets out accessibility as a general principle (point 6). Article 4 stipulates the State obligations to ensure and promote the full realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The duty therefore falls on State parties to the Convention to align their laws and policies with the principles of the Convention and monitor whether they are achieving the intended aims. The Convention defines State obligations to achieve the principle of Accessibility (Article 9):

... States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure to persons with disabilities access, on an equal basis with others, to the physical environment, to transportation, to information and communications, including information and communications technologies and systems, and to other facilities and services open or provided to the public, both in urban and in rural areas. These measures ... shall include the identification and elimination of obstacles and barriers to accessibility...

These obligations prompt State Parties to assess the barriers preventing full and equal participation of disabled people and intervene to remove them. Article 27 of the UNCRPD recognises the right of disabled people to work and gain a living in an inclusive labour market, which in the EU context relates to the right of all European citizens to live and work in any Member State. The Convention obliges State Parties to submit comprehensive reports, collect appropriate statistical information and establish monitoring frameworks. This stipulation goes beyond the requirements of other international human rights treaties (Lawson and Priestley, 2013). The movement, internationally and at the European level, has exploited the creation of spaces for civil society participation and created new opportunity structures to influence governance processes (Priestley et al., 2016). The question remains, however, whether these frameworks, indicators and instruments in practice prompt a more effective response from governments. Although this obligation for disaggregated, detailed reporting is imposed by the UNCRPD, so far these types of indicators have not been realised. Scholars have noted the need for further methodological and technical innovation and the ongoing involvement of DPOs in implementing the CRPD (Lawson and Priestley, 2013; Levesque and Langford, 2016: 87).

Two further principles in the CRPD are closely linked to the realisation of accessibility: Universal design and reasonable accommodation. Article 2 of the CRPD stipulates the importance of Universal Design – that is, making accessible goods and services available to the widest range of users at the outset, rather than adapting existing goods and services to achieve accessibility. In the case that a good or service is not usable – as there are limitations to true universal design – they must be compatible with assistive

technologies so those who cannot access the good or service directly can do so as efficiently as possible. A policy officer from EDF explains what Universal Design means in practice:

For accessibility to become technical in the legislation and that's the main difference, between universal design and accessibility universal design is aspirational, it's a utopia that you need to work on, to try to read it, but it's impossible ... because you will never ever be able to make something universally accessible for absolutely everybody in the world, because what is accessible for you may not be accessible for me ... What accessibility legislation can do is to set the minimum level of accessibility ... The product needs to comply with this accessibility requirement and therefore it becomes let's say testable.

From its outset, Campaign 3 took a more technical approach than previous advocacy efforts. The above policy officer joined EDF to work on the policy area of new technologies and innovation and is part of the team that has engaged deeply with the progress of the European Accessibility Act. Alongside the public-facing advocacy work of the organisation, a team of secretariat officers and EDF member organisations focused on the content of the legislation as it progressed through the institutions to ensure the interests of disabled consumers were not sacrificed in the face of industry.

The EAA: policy solution

The policy stream of the Accessibility Act has held one primary idea throughout. The campaign worked to ensure the interests of disabled consumers were retained within the Directive. The organisation's campaign had two sides: one publicly facing, calling on the Institutions to realise the principles of free movement for disabled people in Europe and circulating material to partner organisations laying out the case for this. The other side targeted the Institutions from an inward-facing position; that is targeting Commission officials allied to the organisation, following the legislation through Parliament and calling on MEPs to introduce amendments, and at Council level maintaining communication to understand which Member States were allies, which had hesitation to the EAA and which were completely

opposed. Through this monitoring, the campaign worked to keep the policy solution aligned with the interests of disabled consumers as it moved through the policy process. This meant lobbying for the widest inclusion of products and services and strong provisions for enforcing the Directive. Finally, as it became official European law, the policy stream diverted to the member state level where national governments could improve the impact and scope. The following section details the campaign's efforts to keep the goals of the Freedom of Movement campaign in the EAA through its creation.

As explained in Chapter 4, the pivot to the Internal Market article was a strategy to introduce a disability-specific Directive and sidestepping the blockage created by the horizontal anti-discrimination legislation organisation. The Internal Market article had the bonus of a lower threshold to approve legislation. From the organisation's Director at the beginning of Campaign 3:

So, you know Internal Market article, ... that article doesn't require unanimity, it is qualified majority. But of course it meant changing totally, proposing a totally new piece of legislation so in a way, in the end we had this disability legislation. Not based on non-discrimination but based on internal markets.

The 'Freedom Guide', published in 2011 and updated in 2017, gave arguments from different actors on the logic behind introducing a Directive to establish standards for accessible goods and services across the EU: Different regulations at the national level distort the internal market because goods and services cannot flow freely throughout Member States. A Directive stipulates an 'end result', giving Member States the freedom to legislate at national level. Having EU-wide standards that are created by industry and market actors ensures the important aims of health and safety (and accessibility) are being met and that barriers between Member States are removed. Disabled consumers are a market of currently untapped potential – the EDF as a representative organisation of this market became an expert adviser on the technical requirements, also known as 'standards' underpinning the Accessibility Act.

Our involvement in standardization brought this kind of knowledge of making requirements in such a way that they could be included in legislation ... at the EDF dealing with this, really helped in framing functional and accessibility requirement, which was the approach of the Commission ... I believe that the technical work that we developed was really instrumental in getting a really sound piece of legislation and, obviously, our collaboration and really close collaboration with the allies in the Commission.

- EDF Policy Officer

Becoming a consultant on the details of the legislation allowed the organisation access to amendment stages where it might previously have been kept out. The EDF framed its advocacy according to a 'neutral' market logic. The problem of market distortion has deprived disabled consumers in the European Union their right to free movement of goods and services. The context of the era, in which the Eurozone crisis was unfolding and austerity measures were to be applied in most Member States, problematising the issue within an economic context and not a human rights one was a strategic position. Noting the different Article under which the campaign for the EAA would be fought, the EDF adopted a technical approach.

The campaign's efforts were to not only present a clear policy solution to the issue of Internal Market distortion, but also became deeply involved in the realisation of the policy solution. The role of the organisation post-announcement from the Commission was then to usher the legislation through various amendment stages and ensure disabled consumers were being prioritised, against the voices of industry arguing that such legislation was too expensive or unnecessary. Following the Strategy announcement, another five years passed before the proposal was produced. In its lobbying efforts, the campaign countered voices from the industry that the Act was unnecessary or overly expensive. For example, the Community of European Railway (CER), the EU-level lobby group for the rail sector released its position paper in 2016(3) responding to the Commission proposal, noting:

A step change in accessibility for the whole of society is going to cost a lot of money and require the concerted effort of all the actors involved ...

- the EAA replicates provisions contained in existing EU-wide rail accessibility legislation, with variations resulting in double and/or conflicting EU legislation; and
- the proposal lacks applicability thresholds. This makes the proposed measures unaffordable, as it overturns the 'prioritisation' and step-by-step approach to rail accessibility agreed based on the implementation of existing regulations and the related National Implementing Plans (NIPs)

After the proposal was released, the campaign continued for Parliament to strengthen the Act, pushing from the IMCO committee to strengthen and not dilute the Commission proposal. While the Parliament did adopt the IMCO report that suggested changes to the legislation that would lessen its positive impact on the lives of disabled people, the Campaign then applied pressure to MEPs at the plenary stage, in which the culmination of the legislative work done in committees and in the political group and the formal position of the Parliament is decided on. A policy officer recalls:

[It] is a really, rare case ... historic and in that sense, we also had to work very closely with our national members to try to break the political groups, how you call it, line of voting. So, we were actually trying and it happened, for the first time that we broke the vote, for example in the EPP group.

As well as a public demonstration, the organisation became involved in the creation of technical requirements and standards for the Act. Academic attention to civil society engagement in European governance has pointed to the Commission preference for technical policy solutions (Hallstrom, 2004; Patternote, 2016). The EDF task force working on the Accessibility Act engaged its expert groups for ICT, transport and built environment. Additionally, the organisation also became a technical expert itself and contributed to amendments throughout the policy process. At the time of

writing the organisation remains involved in producing accessibility standards – for example EN 17210, Accessibility and usability of the built environment – Functional requirements (EDF, 2020). The EAA includes DPOs in the monitoring framework for the Directive. As the timeline for the EAA stretches for some products in 2045 the EDF will remain involved in the monitoring and review of the first European disability Directive.

EDF as a policy entrepreneur

The following section will conclude the chapter by discussing the efforts of the organisation to ‘couple’ a policy solution with the windows identified above. Coupling refers to the strategies employed by policy entrepreneurs to join problems and policies together into attractive packages, which are then ‘sold’ to receptive policy makers (Ackrill, Kay and Zahariadis, 2013). In the presence of ambiguity of information and issue complexity, policy entrepreneurs create meaning and narratives to support their interests to disseminate to policy makers to activate attention and mobilise support and opposition. They do this through problem framing, team building, networking, leading by example, and exploring ways to ‘scale up change processes’ (Mintrom, 2000, 2019). The section concludes with a note on the range of the MSF as it has been applied to the case study campaigns.

The EDF utilised entrepreneurship to couple the campaign aims in policy form as the most attractive solutions in each campaign, with varied outcomes. The campaign coalitions as policy entrepreneurs have provided technical policy solutions by drafting legislation and making legal and economic arguments in favour of the campaign aims. Legal experts were employed in Campaign 1 to counter arguments against including disability in the new Treaty article. The EDF produced two draft disability directives in relation to Campaign 2, one in 2003 similar to that of the Race Equality Directive that was introduced in 2001, directly following the amendments of the Treaty of Amsterdam, and a second drafted Directive was produced in 2007 for the 1million4disability campaign. Campaign 3 saw the campaign, specifically the EDF secretariat, become increasingly involved with making technical contributions at amendment stages where it previously had been kept out. The EDF framed its advocacy

according to a 'neutral' market logic: the problem of distortion has deprived disabled consumers in the European Union their right to free movement of goods and services. The EAA was presented in the campaign as a clear policy solution to the issue of Internal Market distortion.

Campaign 1 was a push for the inclusion of disability in a confirmed new Treaty clause on non-discrimination. This campaign to make visible disabled people in the Treaty was alongside other civil society groups also vying for inclusion. Campaign 2 was an effort to introduce an entirely new Directive based on the non-discrimination article. This campaign was complicated by the fact that the EDF was working independently of other civil society groups and, at a point, against other civil society groups calling for an integrated anti-discrimination Directive. The policy window was 'open' in Campaign 1 where commitments had been made to the Treaty change and the article itself would not have direct effect on the Member States. Campaign 2 called for the introduction of a new Directive and countered the Commissions original intention announced to the EP in 2004 to bring about broad-based anti-discrimination legislation to correct the 'hierarchy of discrimination' in the EU. Between campaigns 2 and 3 the EU committed itself specifically to promoting and protecting the rights of disabled people via its ratification of the UNCRPD. Against this backdrop, it announced a Strategy to meet its obligations in implementing the principles of the Convention. While the Strategy did not deal with social exclusion, poverty reduction or employment, it did propose the first European disability Directive. Campaign 3 therefore was launched alongside a commitment from the European institutions. Despite the campaign's intensive involvement in the later stages of the policy process, the resultant Directive announced in 2010 became official law almost a decade later in 2019. It is limited in scope and impact according to the EDF. Recalling Chapter 2's discussion of the changing structure of governance in recent decades, the EDF has become increasingly included as a formal actor in the policy process. Some interviewees associate this inclusion as a sign of the increasing influence of the organisation:

The influence? It has been going up. Because I have the impression that we are taken into consideration, more seriously, now than in the past –

in the past we were considered but we were just an NGO having their say. Now we are being consulted beforehand on various subjects, so I think it shows the influence grew, and this is because of the internal work of the EDF. The fact that we have been able to have a kind of common view and opinion and to defend it.

-Senior secretariat member

While this phenomenon aligns with the observation by governance scholars that new actors are being included in decision making, the ‘informal networks’ described in the literature is at odds with the increasing frameworks and commitments by the EU institutions to working with civil society. In Campaign 1, members met with MEPs and national ministers around the ‘sides’ of the negotiation processes, and were leaked drafted article texts. Campaign 2 saw a push by the movement for the EU institutions to acknowledge repeated calls for a disability Directive through a novel democratic instrument. Being the first use of the instrument, two years prior to its official legislated introduction, campaign members reported the use of ad hoc methods for collecting and counting signatures. Campaign 3 involved closer work with the institutions. A former member of the EDF describes the impact of becoming involved in the technical elements of policy in less optimistic terms:

I think EDF has already become part of the system which was sort of unavoidable, I think, because of the level of expertise, this type of work requires and the technical details of it ... you need to become an expert, and if you become an expert, you will start to speak their language, so the radicalism of the movement is nowhere to be found in EDF.

The observation of scholars that networks of governance are non-hierarchical in nature is also contested according to the campaign case studies. There are significant power dynamics between consultations afforded to civil society organisations like the campaign coalition for the EAA and the European institutions. A lack of accountability mechanisms between the two groups of actors, the presence of industry voices and the opacity of the legislative process in EU decision making contribute to this. This is expanded upon in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

Conclusion: notes on governance from the field

This chapter has utilised the MSF to analyse the campaigns within complex, dynamic policy processes. The MSF allows these processes to be better understood by untangling the independent 'streams' of context contributing to agenda-setting and policy outcomes. Considering the different targets of the campaigns, the use of the MSF here shows its adaptability to various policy contexts. As discussed, Kingdon's original model focuses on agenda-setting, particularly relevant in Campaigns 1 & 2 where the EDF and its campaign partners worked to place an item on the public agenda. Scholars have since adapted the framework to examine policy creation and implementation, and to better suit the complex EU policy environment. Contextual factors create windows of opportunity for policy entrepreneurs. These windows of opportunity can break through institutional constraints, such as Treaty revisions redefining the competence of institutions of governance. They may however allow for novel collective action within the context of fixed institutional governance landscape (Lowdnes, 2005). This can be observed in the example of the ECI utilised in Campaign 2. Institutional resistance to new non-discrimination measures remained and prevented the realisation of the legislation despite the technical successes of the campaign. Campaign 3 the successful passing of the EAA and the EU become a signatory to a Convention obliging it to implement the rights of disabled people. The campaign nevertheless faced powerful industry interests opposing strong accessibility legislation, impacting the final Act. Evidence from the three case studies indicates that a strategic campaign utilising novel tactics is constrained in an environment of systemic resistance to that campaign's idea.

Scholars have noted a collection of trends of governance in recent decades. This section returns to the trends outlined in Chapter 2 in relation to findings from the research. In doing so I begin to draw conclusions about the actual opportunities presented to social movement actors in networked governance processes. The horizontal nature of decision making is highlighted by scholars as a primary feature of governance networks. The corporatist principles of EU governance intentionally include interest groups as consultants or more official decision-making partners in policy processes. Scholars acknowledge that this

horizontal nature does not imply that resources are equally available or dispersed among actors (Knight, 1992). Power distribution in a network influences the creation of rules: they may operate to the advantage of some, and to the disadvantage of others (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000). In their summation of the 'network approach', Klijn and Koppenjan (2000: 146) posit that despite power and resource imbalances, less powerful actors (like 'citizen organisations') can influence decision making, by stagnating the decision-making process or blocking decisions. The trajectory of civil society involvement over the course of the three campaigns speaks to the increasing role of networked decision making pointed to in literature. The Commission's 'consultation regime' is currently 'marked by the role ... [of] non-governmental actors or civil society organisations' (Quittkat and Finke, 2008: 184). In the case of the three campaigns, however, despite the role of CSO participation as consultants, the EDF and its campaign partners had to utilise a tactics like lobbying and protest outside of their role in the decision-making process to push for the change they sought. As Chapter 2 revealed, the specific nature of non-public actor roles in network governance literature is often neglected. This is a weakness in the field evidenced by the nuance added by different types of 'non-public' actors that exist in the policy networks of the campaign case studies — non-public referring to non-government (Klijn, 2008: 508). Campaign 3 in particular demonstrates the distribution of power between non-government organisations, including civil society and private interests. The parliamentary Internal Market and Consumer Protection Committee (IMCO) oriented itself towards industry interests. The description of networks as horizontal is not evidenced in the policy processes connected to the campaigns. Power distribution in the network appears to have been a deciding factor in decision making. Organisation representing stakeholder interests like the EDF often find their interests relegated in regular policy processes and must find alternative methods to exert influence, usually via other more powerful actors.

General literature on networked governance is often theoretical in nature (e.g. Klijn and Koppenjan, 2000; Klijn, 2008) or focusing on specific cases studies of localised governance. Multi-level governance (MLG) (Stephens, 2013) is a subsector of the literature that has dealt more explicitly with EU-level decision

making. MLG, or the division of decision-making across several 'politico-administrative' institutions is an important dimension of EU governance specifically (Marks, 1993) interdependency between these institutions is emphasised: 'no level of activity being superior to the other ... therein, a mutual dependency through the intertwining of policy-making activities' both across government and non-government actors, and across 'vertical' levels of government (Stephenson, 2013: 817). The dilution of Member State sovereignty was a trend detected early on among MLG scholars of EU governance. The European project of integration is a 'polity creating process' in which influence and authority are shared across multiple levels of government at supranational, national and subnational levels (Marks, Hooghe and Blank, 1996: 343).

Evidence from the three case studies points to Member State representatives as having the highest level of authority in the EU policy process. Campaign 1's aims required campaign members to successfully lobby all Member States to unanimously approve the non-discrimination clause of Article 13 TEC and include disability. With the Commission holding the executive power to propose EU legislation (according to Article 17(2) TFEU), it holds exclusive 'agenda setting' ability (Marks et al., 1996; Kingdon, 1984). In this way the sovereignty of Member States is seen to be diluted. However, this power is curtailed both prior to and proceeding the procedure of legislative proposals. The mandate of the Commission is set by the European Council, meaning Member State representatives define the guidelines of the Commission's policy programmes. The evidence of this curtailment post-proposal can be found in Campaigns 2 and 3. While the Commission in both cases proposed legislation, the following two stages of the EU policy process drastically changed the legislation: in the case of Campaign 2, the Commission's proposal was improved by the EP according to EDF interviewees. On arrival to the Council stage, it has been continually revised to the point that, as one interviewee has described above, it is not 'dead but it is not alive'. Member States reserve the power to actually approve legislation. Campaign 3 ushered the EAA through the policy stages: in this case the EDF and its campaign partners faced a more hostile parliamentary committee aligned with industry interests of weaker legislation. The campaign coalition broke lines of voting

and remained present for the final stages of the parliamentary stage to ensure the Act was not overly weakened as it arrived at the Council. This notoriously opaque stage of the process presented fewer opportunities for the campaign to influence decisions (Caiani and Graziano, 2018). As described by interviewees and EDF position papers, the final EAA omits important area of life, meaning the built environment and household appliances (for example) may still remain inaccessible for disabled consumers. Council decisions in areas of EU legislation requiring both unanimous approval (Article 19 TFEU) and a qualified majority (Article 26 TFEU) have had fundamental impact on the outcome of EU legislation in Campaign 2 and 3, independent to the prior stages of the process. While a new 'layer' of authority is established by the EU institutions over Member State nations, elected regional representatives and Member State leaders shape the majority of the policy process. As early scholars of MLG observed, it may be in the interests of a 'state executive' to 'shift decision-making to the supranational level' to make unpopular decisions, for example (Marks et al., 1996: 371).

Notes 'from the field' of governance - that is, empirical observations from the campaigns - demonstrate an increasingly embedded nature to policy networks over their 25-year course. The European Institutions are obligated to seek advisory input from the EESC according to Article 300 TFEU, and Article 13 TEU. Civil society is also referenced in relation to good governance in Article 15 TEU. The EU as a state party to the UNCRPD is required to involve civil society 'fully' in monitoring the implementation of legislation, per Article 33(3). This is reflected in the chronological course of campaigns. Along this timeline, the increasingly formalised role of CSOs can be charted, from ad hoc lobbying in Campaign 1, to the use of an instrument designed for registered CSOs to mediate between the European public and the institutions in Campaign 2, to the EDF's presence at plenary stages of EP legislative amendments. The findings raise questions about the opportunities for influence CSOs find in these spaces. The EDF and its campaign partners have engaged in novel campaign activity to gain influence in decision making. Interviewees, particularly those within the secretariat, report an increase in influence over this time period. Member States have been joined by other institutions of governance with the power to propose policy; interdependence between the

institutions is relatively low in the policy process. While this research examines the role of civil society organisations like the EDF in these processes, the research also indicates cooperation between the institutions is not as necessary as MLG scholars have described (Hooghe, Marks and Marks, 2001).

The following chapter examines the campaign coalitions themselves and their role in the outcomes of the campaigns. It also returns to Gramscian notions of counterhegemony and the potentials of civil society as a space in which this is possible.

Chapter 6

Barriers to forming counterhegemonic blocs: coalitions and conflict

As discussed in Chapter 1, hegemony describes the connection of State and civil society to construct a form of power that uses legitimacy as a key strategy with which to rule. With this legitimacy comes the acceptance of a set of values, ideas and traditions as common-sense that stabilises the regime more effectively than control through coercion. Counterhegemony designates the capacity of working for change within the hegemonic system, with the aim of overcoming it. For Gramsci, the civil society holds the potential development of organic intellectuals and an alternative hegemony. A group is hegemonic to the extent that it exercises intellectual and moral leadership over other groups such they become 'allies' and 'associates' (Fontana, 2002: 159). The historical task is the development of civil society's ability to regulate itself to the point that 'the state may wither away' (ibid).

This chapter returns to the potential of civil society to articulate counterhegemonic projects of change by forming historic blocs based on the findings of the research. Recalling the contested nature of civil society, these projects for achieving an alternative hegemony occur in the sphere where legitimacy is created for the state. Groups face the constant tension between absorption and separation. This chapter begins by returning to the ACF to analyse the campaign coalitions and their efficacy. Each campaign has consisted of a coalition of partner organisations and elite allies. Coalitions are also required to build towards broader change beyond individual campaign goals (Carroll and Ratner, 1996). The chapter examines the campaigns using the conditions for coalition impact and success as set out in Chapter 1. It draws conclusions about the effect of coalition composition on the outcomes of campaigns. Turner and Killian (1987) describe three orientations of action that can determine the course a collective action campaign. The three orientations, being value, power and participation refer to an orientation toward the goals and the ideology of the movement; or an orientation toward acquiring and exerting influence; and an orientation toward the benefits of participation respectively. Although all three orientations play some role in

every mobilisation, according to the authors, one orientation will dominate. This framework is useful in conceiving between the style of the three case study campaigns.

Campaigns create bonds within movement communities to help maintain and spur on the political goals of movements (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). They create new discourses and frames for movements and leave behind new networks. The history of cooperation in a community influences future campaign work and coalition efforts (Levi and Murphy, 2006). Campaigns with broad concerns and inclusive frames are most likely to attract a variety of coalition partners. Gramsci's vision of power and society replaced the traditional Marxian view of the base-superstructure with the relatively autonomous spheres: political, cultural, and economic; public and private. The complex interaction between spheres is characterised by the formation and reformation of historical blocs, which may come to exert a hegemonic influence - depending on their success in forming alliances and a coherent ideology (Gramsci, 1973: 204; Lears, 1985: 571). Movements hold the potential for countering hegemonic worldviews when they themselves form a historic bloc – a coalition of interests capable of contesting bourgeois hegemony (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). Movements are carriers of the 'new means and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationships' (Melucci, 1989). These emerge from existing practices – as Carroll (2010) states: 'the future is already contained as potential within the present'. Gramsci (1977: 65) described this process as 'welding the present to the future': how can the present be welded to the future, so that while satisfying the urgent necessities of the former we may work effectively to create and 'anticipate' the latter? In other words, which coalitions, which seizure of opportunity and cultural opportunities might already carry the new (Dyer-Witthford, 2001) and under what contemporary conditions might they deliver change? These campaign coalitions have each effected change and influence in the policy environment. Taking Gramsci's conceptions of conceptions of hegemony, consensus, coercion, ideology and civil society, the chapter will discuss whether this impact can be considered counterhegemonic.

Campaign 1: Creating the future

The Invisible Citizens campaign was one of the first campaigns targeting European legislation by led disability activists and advocates, with a broader coalition of 'social partners', composed of civil society organisations advocating for inclusion and recognition in the Treaty of Amsterdam alongside. Since then, the coalition has solidified, embarking on many activities and campaigns amongst themselves. This campaign changed the 'state of play' for such groups: for disabled people the symbolic achievement of acknowledgement in the Treaty was accompanied by a more concrete change in the 2001 Employment Equality Directive that followed the Treaty of Amsterdam.

Recalling the background and aims as set out in Chapter 4, the absence of a reference to disability in the Treaties prior to the Amsterdam negotiations meant that disability policy developed was non-binding (i.e. of a recommendatory nature), and therefore not legally enforceable. The primary aim of the campaign was therefore to achieve recognition of disabled people as a marginalised group in the European Treaties and establish a precedent for the European Community to introduce a Directive that would enable the combatting of discrimination for a specified list of groups at the European level. Other aims including reference to disability in the internal market article of the Treaty and an explicit reference to disabled people and older people which would provide an 'unequivocal legal base for future action programmes' were dropped from the campaign towards the end of the IGC negotiation period as reference in the non-discrimination clause was identified as the strongest protecting outcome. Despite a leaked draft of the new non-discrimination clause showing disability had been excluded from the Treaty in March 1997, a final surge of activity from the campaign coalition concentrated on specific governments to ensure the clause, including disability, was unanimously adopted in the final treaty text, signed in October 1997. Recalling the wider impact on social movement communities, campaigns can impact the movement structures by creating new frames, issues, and tactics to subsequent campaigns. The Invisible Citizens campaign successfully created a new frame of understanding disability in the European Treaties. As a group

mentioned in the non-discrimination clause, the movement was able to call on the European institutions more concretely for future change. Recalling Killian and Turner's (1987) orientations of action, this campaign was heavily informed by the goals and ideology of the movement. In its efforts to establish a basis for EU action of disability discrimination, it was focused on its ability to influence negotiations.

The core Invisible Citizens campaign was made up of activists who were familiar with one another prior to the campaign. Much of the logistical organisation of the campaign occurred through informal fax communication between members. Using these channels, the campaign members were able to keep one another updated with, for example, drafted Treaty articles, Member State positions and changes. Campaigns also have the potential to leave behind new coalitions, connections among constituents, and activists who join and strengthen organisations after participating in campaigns. Members from Campaign 1 reported the coalition of movement organisations that established itself following the campaign. From an EDF secretariat member:

[T]hese organizations, including EDF at some point were ... grouped together in with the Social Platform ... covering all aspects of civil society ... It took several years to get organized as a disability movement, and also to seek alliances with other movements and this came, I think, with this invisible citizens campaign directed [Article 13] ... So it was important for all of these groups, and this is when I think the Social Platform came into form ... to have one voice at European level.

The Amsterdam Treaty Guide written by the EDF following the campaign confirms the perspective that it produced enduring ties between organisations and a successful repertoire of collective action for future campaigns:

[M]uch has been achieved, not least an emerging solidarity between organisations working within the European disability movement on common issues. These allegiances will be crucial for future campaign

work. And equally important are the growing alliances with other civil rights movements

- EDF Amsterdam Treaty Guide

Within the social movement community of European disability rights, the campaign established a position for the EDF as a leader in a network of non-contentious, 'insider' style campaigning by European disability advocacy organisations. A senior executive committee member recalls the composition of the campaign coalition:

[A]gain, this is quite unique ... as a disability movement with the diversity. We had a number of strong allies in members European Parliament who supported us ... And [British MEP] was also a strong advisor, support in the background. And [Former Director] was very clever in having a network with not necessarily MEPs themselves but with their assistants. So [they] had a strong informal network ... to help ensure that disability stayed on the agenda.

The Invisible citizens campaign was one of the first mobilisations of the DPM aimed at the European institutions. It was run by a coalition of activists from the EDF, other European disability organisations (including DPOs and charities) and inside 'elite' allies, including MEPs and national political figures. This network of actors were familiar with one another prior to the campaign.

Hegemony is an 'opinion-moulding activity', based on dialectical relations among social forces through which particular worldviews are made to appear universally logical and advantageous to everyone (Cox, 1980; Morton, 2007: 113). Civil society is 'the realm in which the existing social order is grounded; and it can also be the realm in which a new social order can be founded' (Cox, 1999, p. 4). The campaign successfully convinced European Member States to support an explicit reference to disability in the new non-discrimination clause of the Amsterdam Treaty. This served as an acknowledgement that disabled people have been historically marginalised and the existing fragmented frameworks of social policy and human rights declarations were not sufficiently combatting this exclusion. The campaign represented the

building of a larger movement, alongside the important gains for the European disability movement in employment. The principles of equal opportunity and the right to be accommodated were used as tools to restructure the labour market and overcome discriminatory barriers (Whittle, 2002; Waddington and Hendriks, 2002). The campaign established a basis for future coalitions, between disability CSOs and with the broader civil society community in Europe and 'elite' allies working with the movement from inside the institutions. A senior secretariat member recalls the shift at the time of the Amsterdam Treaty negotiations in the relationship between the EDF and the Commission:

So, when the [Invisible Citizens] campaign started the EDF was a part of the European Commission, a kind of service, and from that debate on the Amsterdam Treaty, it appeared that EDF was kind of bound to European Commission ideas. And so the Members of this movement wanted an independent identity ... I know that there had been long discussions. And that led to a result that the Commission financed EDF at a high percentage like around 80% and the EDF could live independently and got this financing from the Commission ... They kind of kept some faithfulness to our world and so on...

Moreover, for the positive effects of campaigns to last, community leaders and structures, such as stable movement organizations, are needed to maintain activism and initiate new campaigns to continue the movement (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). The activities that made up the Invisible Citizens campaign prompted a questioning of the position of disabled people in Europe and the claims they could make on the State. The campaign established the EDF as an organisation with an independent identity with the legitimacy to call on the institutions on behalf of the interests of disabled people in Europe. More broadly, the campaign was part of a wave of claims being made on the European Union as a polity. The changes to the TEU in the Amsterdam negotiations signalled an agreement by the Member States to pivot towards a European Union based on the rights of citizens, not simply a trade bloc. This agreement was first tested in the Treaty of Maastricht and had its opposition – the Treaty of Amsterdam was a victory for those seeking a more culturally

and politically coherent European Union. The role of civil society organisations in the Treaty of Maastricht and Treaty of Amsterdam negotiations, and their input into the content of the Treaties through campaign efforts like the Invisible Citizens, began a process of increasing formalisation of their role with progressive Treaty revisions. As Hunt (1990: 314) notes:

The most significant stage in the construction of counterhegemony comes about with the putting into place of discourses, which whilst still building on the elements of the hegemonic discourses, introduce elements which transcend that discourse.

Prevailing hegemonic discourses about social rights and how disabled people can seek recourse against discrimination were challenged in this campaign. Its result was a restructured landscape for future campaign activity. Interviews and campaign material reference the collective identity fostered in the campaign process alongside the more tangible success of reference to disability in Article 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam. Leaders who serve as 'coalition brokers' are particularly important in overcoming cultural differences (Obach 2004). Organizations that coordinate groups play a key role in bringing together diverse actors in campaign coalitions by providing a unifying frame for collective action (Gerhards and Rucht, 1992; Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). Within the disability advocacy movement, the EDF has established itself as a co-ordinator at the EU level. Interviews reveal the importance of creating a cohesive voice to direct at the EU institutions as a first step to creating a successful CSO. The EDF has contributed to brokering a cross-national movement uniting a diverse spectrum of disability organisations, and established itself as a leading voice in this movement.

Campaign 2: Splintering coalitions and 'going it alone'

A strategically successful campaign, the 1Million4Disability campaign utilised a novel participatory instrument to prompt a proposal from the European Commission for a non-discrimination Directive. The campaign was landmark in that it was the first use of the ECI. A 'general rule' for political institutions' interactions with groups representing the public is that their preference to have a dialogue with stakeholders rather than have them 'shout abuse through the

letter box' (Greenwood, 2012: 334). The EDF's use of the ECI disrupted this practice: after using regular communication channels available to them, the organisation and its partners turned instead to a novel instrument for participatory democracy. This experimental tool to enhance communication between European citizens and institutions was formally embedded in the upcoming Treaty of Lisbon (2009). Using it before it was legally introduced, the EDF successfully mobilised its member organisations to collect signatures in favour of a disability-specific Directive. The introduction of the ECI reflected new efforts of the EU to introduce more channels of participation for its citizens. Authors have noted the efforts of the EDF to frame this campaign as a 'bottom up' effort, activating its member networks to ensure local organisations in Member States were involved in the signature collection. It is reflective of the demands of organised civil society at the time to connect their position as facilitators of civil society dialogue with participatory democracy and assisting citizens' involvement (Greenwood, 2012: 331). Characterised by ideological and participatory orientations of action, the campaign capitalised on the opportunity to bring public support to its cause of establishing an EU-level legal instrument to tackle disability discrimination (Turner and Killian, 1987). The ECI, although an instrument to improve communication with citizens, required the signature collection to be coordinated through established NGO (not necessarily a Brussels-based organisation like the EDF). In this way the ECI remained aligned with the Commission's agenda to use existing structured relations with organised civil society to gain legitimacy (García, 2012: 338). The initial coalition was therefore a largely pre-existing network of EDF member organisations and European disability networks. The campaign aimed to achieve a Directive prohibiting discrimination similar to that of the 2001 Race Equality Directive (RED). A former European Parliamentary Disability Intergroup member recalls the conditions under which the RED was passed into legislation and how that momentum was not captured in the same way for a Disability Directive:

[A]fter a controversial election in Austria, there was a backlash against it, a big impetus around race issues. And we could get a majority on race discrimination that we couldn't get on the other discriminations ...

So it's not that we failed, but I just there was a momentum when the Race Directive passed we didn't manage to be part of that at the time, and that is a bit of sadness, for me.

The 1Million'Disability campaign coalition contains several unique elements: the coalition for the campaign itself was disability specific, as the original campaign was to prompt the Commission to propose a disability-specific Directive. When the campaign achieved its technical success in collecting over one million signatures in support, the prospect of a second group-specific non-discrimination Directive, following the Race Equality Directive, caused an outcry within civil society and amongst some European Parliamentary members. Some of the EDF's usual allies were reportedly opposed to a disability-specific Directive:

But at the same time there was political, strong political pressure from the Parliament that there should be a horizontal directive.

- EDF former Director

This campaign tested the extent to which the EDF really did have an independent voice to use against the Commission as interviewee described in Campaign 1. A senior executive committee member recalls the setting in which the EDF undertook the campaign:

[T]he real question, political question was the conflict between EDF and the Commission. The Commission believed because it financed the EDF, the EDF wouldn't go against it. At the start of the discussion, the EDF was more radical. They stressed their need for autonomy ... [EDF's] position was that the EU supports democracy. We have a pillar of civil society participation. So our financing was not dependent on the opinion of the EU. This produced some consequences.

- Senior activist and EDF executive committee member

When movement organisations frame their concerns narrowly to distinguish themselves in the competition for scarce resources, they have difficulty finding coalition partners (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009; Obach, 2004). This was

the experience of the 1Million4Disability campaign: the EDF found that some of its usual institutional allies would not support the disability Directive. Following the proposal for the horizontal Directive, the campaign then pivoted to join voices from civil society for the Directive proposed by the Commission to be improved and passed into legislation. Material from EDF annual reports and the broader civil society coalition calling for the horizontal Directive contrasts quite starkly with the feelings shared by interviewees. Some members present at the time recall actual opposition to expanding the directive to include different groups:

I have to say that, at that time, we were really in a way opposing to enlarge the scope of the directive because we said, that if we enlarge the scope then we'll never have a directive. Okay, and this was, imagine, we would have been with this directive for more than 12 years.

- Former Director

The competitive dynamics of EU civil society shape the interests and actions of organisations. With one social group having secured a wide-ranging Directive addressing discrimination with the RED, other groups faced a choice as to whether to work on the long-term effort eliminate the 'hierarchy of discrimination' that emerged as a result of unequal non-discrimination or to attempt to 'go it alone'. In the case of the EDF, the organisation had received messages from Member state ministers that a disability Directive would likely pass. The EDF criticised the disability-specific section of the horizontal Directive as lacking clarity and crucial definitions, exempting Member States from the requirement of 'fundamental alteration' of healthcare, social protection or goods and services even in the case of their inaccessibility to disabled people. This perspective aligns with that of an interviewee who explained the difference between tackling discrimination based on gender identity and disability as the reason that a comprehensive Directive did not make sense:

For example ... for a person which is transgender or transexual, for example, in the metro in the tube. Okay, you have to adopt the legislation saying you cannot forbid this person to get into the metro

because of their sexual orientation, for example ... but when you are speaking about the accessibility of a person with a disability to get into the metro it's totally different because ... to tackle that ... you need to tackle infrastructure, social services, you know many other issues and which are structurally discriminating question with disabilities.

- Former senior Secretariat member

Another case for 'going it alone' is to avoid alignment with a movement or group unlikely to receive enough support in the decision-making process to achieve a policy change. The design of the civil society consultation process in the proposal stage of a horizontal non-discrimination Directive contributed to a lack of coalition building between ENGOs. Another contributing factor was that the EDF did not campaign for a comprehensive Directive in the first place. Actors present at the time described the response from the Commission as 'hijacked', and 'a big mistake'. That disabled people needed specific 'positive' action to combat discrimination and that the horizontal directive included marginalised groups that would not receive support from conservative governments around the EU were reported by interviewees. Additionally, the 'integrated approach' proposal appeared to fail to meet the demands of almost all of the groups included, which required each group to address the specific shortcomings of the proposal as it related to them. Empirical examples of barriers to coalition formation form a crucial element to the discussion of civil society as a space for counterhegemonic change.

Scholars have called for more empirical attention to the 'splintering' of coalitions and the gap between theoretical presumptions of the formation of coalitions within civil society and reality as seen in for EU settings. 'While theory sees inequalities as intersecting and mutually constitutive, there is no practice of organizations articulating the need for intersectionality as connected to their own constituencies' (Lombardo and Verloo, 2009: 489). In the case of the horizontal directive proposal several organisations made the effort to point out the impact of intersecting types of discrimination and the need for legislation to address this (both the EDF and ILGA-Europe's response to the proposed Directive are in the ILGA-Europe Autumn 2008 newsletter). The assumed procedure of coalition-building by civil society

organisations deserves attention. The consultation evidently did not foster a coalition of common goals between the ENGOs to be covered in the horizontal directive. The EDF did not initially seek to build this bloc, having campaigned for a disability-specific directive. The alliance between the social ENGOs that has campaigned for some 10 years for the institutions to pass the horizontal Directive into law is connected to a common goal but remains loosely formed. The tension between the EDF's calls for specific legislation to address disability discrimination and calls by other social organisations for an integrated approach confirms what Lombardo and Verloo (2009) found in their analysis of the resistance from the EWL to general anti-discrimination legislation, with the argument that it does not address the specificities of gender-based discrimination. While it was a technical success, it did not achieve its aim of securing a disability-specific non-discrimination Directive.

I regard [not] getting a disability specific non-discrimination, not as a failure, but a below average I'd give myself on that because we didn't do it, we got employment but we didn't get really what we wanted ... we got bits of it in different ways – we picked off things. But we didn't get what our aspiration was and the truth was that the circumstances under the Portuguese Presidency ...

- Former disability intergroup MEP

Although a comprehensive approach looked to equal out hierarchies of discrimination, groups recognised an 'integrated approach' as a blunt instrument that was failing to address the specific needs of groups. The alliances that the EDF relied on in Campaign 1 were less evident in Campaign 2. Some 'elite allies' within the institutions were vocal in their opposition to a disability-specific Directive. A former director of the organisation recalls the division between those supporting a horizontal directive and the campaign for a Disability Directive:

Well, you know it was a weird thing because we knew that the Commission was about to propose a disability specific directive and we even received the call to say this was going to be produced ... And then

suddenly in ... a couple of days ... the directive that was proposed was a comprehensive directive ...

The sudden switch (as it was seen by the EDF) to a proposed comprehensive Directive left little room for groups to align effectively under a common banner. The EDF engaged in the campaign of support for the horizontal Directive, and continued to call on the institutions to pass the Directive into law in position papers, annual reports, in the 2017 – 2021 strategic framework and the 2022 alternative report to the UNCRPD. ‘Equality for All’ was the name of the coalition of ENGOs calling on the institutions to pass the legislation. The EDF moved from the leading voice in the initial campaign to part of a fragmented coalition of groups, each focusing on the elements of the proposed Directive specific to them. The ILGA newsletter titled ‘Destination Equality’ includes contributions from Social Platform members discussing the proposed Directive’s strengths and weaknesses as it pertained to the interests of their representative groups. A former director recalls the tension the horizontal Directive drew:

[T]his was really a discussion that really put a lot of tension in the social movement groups you know, because obviously everybody prefers to have larger scopes in the directives, you know, we were the only ones really willing to have a reduced scope on that you know... the discussions became very, very tough and then social services unit, ... the big director, she was really in favour of having a larger scope on the directive so in many ways, the Social Platform, the Commission services, etc, they were really in favour of having a larger directive...

Others remember the campaign for its achievement of support from the European public (signatures), a cementing of the EDF’s position as a strong, independent advocacy organisation, connecting the secretariat to member organisations. The 1Million4Disability campaign affirmed the collective identity of the EDF, its secretariat and its members. The impact on the wider civil society community appears to have been one of tension. The campaign for a horizontal Directive continued quietly for a decade as the legislation languishes with the Council.

Returning to the Gramscian conception of civil society and its role in the state's preservation of hegemonic rule, from the above example the competitive dynamics of civil society can be observed. Historic blocs do not appear by accident and coalitions will form with difficulty if they are in competition with one another. In the case of this legislative process, competition had been cultivated in part due to the nature of the policy process in the European Union. The EDF succeeded in mobilising its coalition members to make a case for a disability-specific directive. The campaign aims were in contravention of the will of the broader civil society community and some of its key internal allies. The subsequent campaign for a horizontal could not ignite a counterhegemonic discourse around protecting all socially marginalised groups from discrimination at the EU level. Interviewees reported more or less subtle connection between the failure of a disability-specific non-discrimination Directive and the outcome of Campaign 3.

[W]e thought we could go for this procedure of getting 1million signatures so that the subject could be open. And this is the origin of what we call now the European Accessibility Act.

- Senior Secretariat member

The call for a disability-specific Directive continued following Campaign 2. With non-discrimination legislation blocked as the horizontal Directive sat with the Council, the organisation looked to other Treaty articles to pursue a Directive through. Campaigns leave a legacy for the public consciousness. They can push movement issues onto political agendas (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). While the horizontal Directive remains with the Council, the need to equalise the hierarchy of discrimination legislation in the EU has been cited in recent Commission work plans (Kunkhe, 2022).

Campaign 3: Technical successes

'Campaign 3', or the Free Movement campaign, saw the EDF launched a second push to secure a disability-specific Directive. Following the lessons of Campaign 2, the campaign focused on different Treaty article with a lower threshold of votes to pass legislation. This was a long-running campaign to

introduce disability-specific EU legislation. The EDF and its campaign coalition pivoted away from an obvious human rights approach and towards an 'Internal Market' one, suggesting this was connected to the opportunities and constraints at hand. The first European Disability Strategy set out a decade-long framework of action from the European Committee establishing a commitment before the start of the campaign to introducing disability specific legislation alongside programmes and monitoring bodies. This announcement prior to the start of the campaign changed the conditions of the campaign: the campaign first called on the Commission to propose the legislation it had committed to and subsequently the campaign became deeply involved in the legislative process and insert itself into stages of decision-making it previously did not have access to. Characterised by insider tactics like lobbying, and the construction of technical arguments in favour of a strong EAA, the campaign featured a power orientation of action (Turner and Killian, 1987). After repeated calls for the consideration of disabled consumer since the Maastricht Treaty, the campaign was also informed by ideological goals of the EDF. These demands were now bolstered by the legal framework of the UNCRPD and the Commission's announced commitment to introducing the EAA.

A range of factors influence the ability of a movement community to mount campaigns. At the point of the Free Movement campaign, the EDF and its campaign partners were firmly established with strong institutional ties in the EU through which to mobilise resources (Diani, 1997). The strength and density of the campaign's organisational network contributed to their influence, evident in the EDF's insider access to MEPs and international monitoring bodies like the UNCRPD Committee (Staggenborg, 1998; Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). The landscape in which the EDF's Freedom of Movement campaign took place was greatly transformed from the previous case studies. UNCRPD obligations could be called upon, specifically the commitments made in the European Disability Strategy, to further strengthen the demands of the organisation and its allies. However, these new instruments did not appear to lead to a speedy policy process in the case of the EAA. From the announcement of an intention to propose the legislation to its actual proposal, five years passed. In this five-year period a public consultation took place in 2012. Following the proposal in 2015, another two

years passed during which the European Parliament's IMCO compiled a report balancing industry interests against those of (disabled) consumers. The campaign coalition then kept up pressure on MEPs until the Plenary session in September 2017 and were able to influence the final Parliamentary position according to the interests of its member organisations and campaign partners. An EDF policy officer discussed the communication channels that ran through the network of campaign members:

So from the moment of preparing our position paper with the proposed amendments we consulted with the board, we consulted with the different expert groups that we have EDF on which Members are appointed ... such as the ICT expert group, the built environment or the transport expert groups we, in addition to those that say more advocacy/strategy meetings of the task force, and then we will obviously liaise with them separately in specific issues that were mostly important for them, such as, for example, with the European Union of the Deaf we partner very closely with them on the issues related to emergency services, for example, because this was of high importance for them

- EDF Policy Officer

The EDF secretariat took up its established leadership role early on in the campaign, publishing the Freedom Guide in 2011. Alongside voices from the disability movement, this set out the case for Internal Market harmonisation legislation and included voices of support from within the EU institutions, European Standardisation bodies, private business and the European Parliamentary IMCO (despite the subsequent 'disappointing' position adopted by the Parliament as a result of the IMCO report). Alongside this initial set of voices making the case for an Accessibility Act, the coalition was also joined by the UNCRPD Committee (the Committee), reminding the EU as a State Party of its obligations to implement the principles of the Convention through legislation. The progress of State Parties in implementing the principles and ensuring the rights of disabled people under the Convention is monitored via periodic reviews by the Committee, a body of independent experts. The Committee added to the voice of the campaign for an Accessibility Act. In

2015, the European Union faced its first review as a State Party to the Convention, with the Committee responding to its initial report submitted a year earlier on the steps taken to implement the Convention. A concluding observation was that progress should be made on the European Accessibility Act, announced five years earlier in the Strategy:

29. The Committee recommends that the European Union take efficient measures for prompt adoption of an amended European Accessibility Act that is aligned to the Convention, as elaborated in the Committee's General comment No. 2 (2014) on accessibility, including effective and accessible enforcement and complaint mechanisms.

(UNCRPD Committee, 2015)

The calls coming from civil society and the CRPD Committee were not the only voices demanding a strong EAA; the EDF and the disability movement had strong allies within the Commission and Parliament. Some Commission officials had been working on the accessibility of ICTs, for example, since the 2002 and 2005 'eEurope' action plans. These contacts were working with the EDF throughout the campaign providing information and internal pressure (Personal correspondence). After releasing its proposal for the EAA in 2015 the Commission itself became an allied voice to the campaign, calling on the EP and Council to swiftly consider the legislation and maintain its strength in protecting the interests of disabled consumers. The organisation's connections with MEPs ensured late-stage amendments were tabled by breaking the 'line of voting' by political parties as interviewees reported (Chapter 4 and 5). Shifting away from a rights-based angle, the campaign coalition focused on technical arguments for an Accessibility Act. Interviewees reported the pivot towards legislation based on an article with less barrier:

[I]t was selected because it was within EU competence. And at that time, they thought that they could go for the accessibility act instead of having the cross-cutting directive, as I remember it.

- Former senior EDF executive member

The coalition in this campaign reflected this more technical approach. The EDF, in its 'Freedom Guide' publication making the case for changes to the Internal Market for accessibility, paired rights-based arguments that the EU had an obligation to publish such legislation as a State Party to the UNCRPD with providing a disability understanding of the freedoms recognised by the Treaty of the European Union. It argued that the development of legislation and policy measures of the Freedom of movement for people, goods and services in the EU's internal market has historically neglected the needs of people with disabilities. The EDF and its campaign partners in the case of the Accessibility Act have been heavily involved in the design of the legislation and have fought for access to negotiations at late stages of the legislative process. Secretariat members have been at the core of the campaign. A policy officer, and leading campaign member from the EDF secretariat outlines the necessity of details in accessibility legislation:

... that's the great added value of the Accessibility Act because if you ask anybody any policy maker or any organization or any person, probably, they will tell you always yeah accessibility is great, we want things, products, services, environments, buildings to be accessible, but the problem is how. And here's when Accessibility becomes technical and I think it's necessary

In contrast to the enthusiasm that some central EDF secretariat members spoke about the amendment process, EDF activist members expressed some apathy towards the legislation:

I mean the devil is in the detail. And the more details, the more devil in implementing ... the Accessibility Act ... It will be too detailed to make sure that you will have a realistic implementation within the national legislation. And there are so many questions: 'What is this, and what is that'. Is this a part of it, or is it not a part, is it the function, I mean you can you can always if you are having nasty thoughts you can always raise your question mark, and then make it a discussion on techniques, rather than purpose

EDF secretariat members in their public presentations on the EAA in its published form have been critical of the limited scope. This criticism has also been supported by the Committee in its review of the EAA according to UNCRPD principles. The campaign represented a pivot for the organisation to a new area of legislation. It also aided the introduction of a disability-specific Directive. The actions of the campaign had clear influence along the legislative process (for example breaking lines of voting in the Parliament). The EDF will be involved in a working group established by the Commission monitoring and establishing guidelines for the Act. It is also mobilising its members to apply pressure at member state level for more ambitious national legislation. The campaign coalition was impactful in its involvement in the policy process. Social movement co-operation with institutions is based on expectations and perceptions of the intent of institutions (Anderl, Daphi and Deitelhoff 2021). In other words, social movement organisations learn from previous interaction with such bodies and adjust their approach accordingly in future interactions. The learning that took place from Campaign 2 is evident in the strategic pivot of Campaign 3. It is also indicative of the changing institutional environment: the impact of austerity on EU social policy. The present campaign took place from 2011-2019 and took a different approach to much of the EDF's previous work: rather than focusing on the human rights and non-discrimination arguments for legislative change, the organisation took an 'internal market' logic to its Free Movement campaign. This pivot was selected to enhance the likelihood of policy success. While co-optation could appear to make strategic sense for state actors, so too does conditional co-operation where both state and social movement actors stand to gain legitimacy and support (Holdo, 2019; 2020). Considering the shortcomings and flaws of the legislation acknowledged by the EDF, however, Campaign 3 raises questions about the level of impact civil society can wield in the policy process. The disconnected nature of the European institutions meant that the impact of the Parliamentary position did not affect decisions at the Council level.

As the legislative process is ongoing and the EAA is being transposed, at the time of writing, the EDF and its campaign partners wait to see the full impact of the EAA. Currently the EDF maintains a unique position having contributed to the Act, working with the institutions on guiding implementation and

criticising the EAA for its shortcomings and failure to meet the requirements of the UNCRPD. Whether the campaign has officially ended, the organisation will continue its energetic involvement. The EDF is looking at possibilities to improve the EAA via specific standards or new legislation. It continues to call on the EU to meet its obligations of the UNCRPD. Developments are ongoing; for example, the Disability Platform is one of the flagship initiatives of the Strategy for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Fourteen civil society organizations active in the field of disability have been selected through an open call for applications. The Disability Platform replaced the existing High Level Group on Disability. It is an expert group to support the implementation of the Strategy for the rights of Persons with Disabilities. It has been established following the recommendations from the CRPD Committee in the first formal reporting period for the European Union. The Disability Platform is a newly created formal, permanent space for disability organisations to advocate for the interests of disabled Europeans outside of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC). Recalling some critiques of the EESC as a gated space, with most space given over to business interests and with the authority only to issue approved opinions (Hallstrom, 2004), the creation of a specific advisory platform involving DPOs to monitor policy progress in the implementation of the Convention holds promise for some, although its impact is yet to be seen.

Frames

A closer examination of each campaign coalition and its impact allows for some general conclusions to be drawn about the influence the EDF and its campaign partners have been able to wield as CSOs targeting the EU institutions. Characteristics of movement communities that influence coalition work also affect the mobilisation potential of campaigns: where 'general' social movement communities exist, featuring cross-movement overlaps, 'multimovement coalitions' are likely to form. The Social Platform is an example of a multimovement coalition using a unifying master-frame to campaign with (Carroll and Ratner, 1996; Staggenborg 1998). Shared collective action frames, cross-organisational and movement ties support campaign coalitions (Carroll and Ratner 1996; Staggenborg and Lecomte,

2009). Structures of political opportunity have existed at the point of each campaign: be they Treaty revisions or the ratification of an international Convention. The overarching frame of the three campaigns, and indeed the EDF more broadly, has been that disabled people in Europe require EU-level legislation to realise their rights. This primary frame has adapted to the constraints and opportunities of the institutional environment at the time.

The outcomes of the three campaigns confirm conceptions of civil society as a contested area, 'both shaper and shaped, an agent of stabilisation and reproduction, and a potential agent of transformation' (Cox, 1999: 4). The Treaty of Amsterdam began the groundwork for recognition of CSOs to join the social partners in forums like the EESC and establish multimovement coalitions like the Social Platform. Subsequent Treaty revisions gave formal recognition to these coalitions; for example, the EESC being given 'advisory status' in Article 13 of the TEU; the mention of 'transparent and regular dialogue' with civil society per Article 11 of the TEU; the reference to ensuring participation of civil society and good governance in Article 15 stipulate; or the stipulation in Article 300 of the TFEU that the institutions will be assisted by the EESC. With the revisions of the Treaty of Lisbon, the Social Platform has called on the institutions to better implement the mechanisms of civil dialogue (Greenwood, 2012).

In a period of openness in a system, the capability for resistance flourishes and may lead to the creation of counterhegemonic alternatives (Munck, 2006; Gramsci, 1977). The Treaty of Amsterdam was produced early in an era of frequent Treaty revisions to reform European governance. The disabled people's movement in Europe, and the broader coalition of civil society groups took advantage of this openness and inserted themselves into the political and economic spheres of the European Union (Lears, 1985: 571). Campaign 1 occurred in a period of Treaty revision and the context of ambiguity and complexity worked largely in its favour. As Campaign 1 demonstrates, movements can be forming instruments of collective identity that challenge dominant societal codes, (Melucci, 1989; 1994). This view importantly acknowledges the role of the state as a complex political entity, not merely a tool used by the ruling class; it points us toward the opportunities that can

emerge for groups at certain times. It also shows how an element of society that could perhaps be seen as neutral, like language, can justify or challenge existing power relations. This can be observed in the broader actions by civil society organisations at this time in the EU: to gain influence in the political, cultural and economic spheres they opted for formal recognition from the State. The alignment of frames between actors can explain how a cluster of social movement groups could form a bloc of counter-hegemonic resistance. Finding an overarching 'master-frame' to unite a collective has been credited as the successful strategy for unlikely social movement 'wins' in the past (Carroll and Ratner, 1996). The non-discrimination clause in the Amsterdam Treaty and the inclusion of disability in the clause was a result in part of successful framing by civil society. This position can be precarious: the tension permanently exists when interacting with the historic bloc and organisations can get pulled towards the hegemony at times, as seen in Campaign 2.

Campaign 2 occurred under similar conditions for favourable change: another Treaty revision was under way and a novel instrument was utilised to garner public support and apply pressure to the institutions. The campaign was a technical success and did prompt a policy response, however the response sidestepped the aims of the campaign, producing an unanticipated outcome from the Commission. The 1Million4disability campaign aims were also at odds with the broader interests of organised civil society. Existing tensions within the forum of CSOs and Parliamentarians about an integrated (horizontal) anti-discrimination approach or targeted, group-specific legislation led to resistance from traditional movement allies. The framing of the initial campaign stuck to conventional movement boundaries, emphasising the specific nature of injustices faced by disabled people. Recalling Carroll and Ratner's (1996) arguments for campaigning under the banner of interconnected discrimination, the campaign did not garner the systemic support needed, in part due to its identity-specific focus. Nor did the subsequent 'Equality for All' campaign calling for the horizontal Directive to be passed into legislation. A concern raised by interviewees about the integrated approach was that it did not address the interests and specifications of disabled people. Similar issues were noted by the EWL as seen in existing

research (Lombardo and Verloo, 2009); and too in campaign material from ILGA Europe – the proposed legislation had an exception clause from any national-level legislation (Bell, 2009). The successful unification of movements under common master frame of anti-discrimination was complicated by uneven legislation. A key strategy for the EDF following Campaign 2 was to pivot to other types of legislation to try to fill the gaps left by the non-discrimination Directive. Some interviewees connected the 1Million4disability to Campaign 3.

I think that there are theories ... that we did not get that anti-discrimination directive and because there was not any specific disability directive, this was a good argument to have the accessibility directive, you know, the specific one ... I think that the accessibility directive was a way to get to the same point or to a similar point to a different legal approach, you know.

- Former senior Secretariat member

Although the EDF holds a strong presence on coalition groups like Social Platform (the Director of the EDF is Vice President of the Social Platform at the time of writing), its annual reports indicate the majority of its activities have been with other disability ENGOs, independently or with the institutions. Campaigns as a collective of ENGOs representing different inequality groups are less frequent under common uniting 'master frames' of injustice. Civil society is a strategically important arena in which 'capitalist hegemony is secured but also where subaltern classes forge alliances and articulate alternative hegemonic projects' (Munck, 2006: 330). Campaign 3 was undertaken away from this discourse, relying instead on new global instruments, themselves a success of international civil society efforts.

And ultimately we were looking for a strong disability directive, but we ultimately ended up getting the CRPD which sort of means that we have a bigger hammer to use. Instead of the EU directive.

- Senior executive committee member

With instruments like the UNCRPD the EDF and wider movement relies less on the support of the multimovement coalition within EU civil society to call on the institutions. Campaign 3 occurred under conditions where the European institutions had concretely acknowledged the need for action and legislation in favour of disabled people, following the introduction of key legal instruments like the UNCRPD. It produced a Directive following years of technical consultation and negotiations. The Directive itself faces criticism from the movement and the campaign that fought for its introduction. While the push and pull of hegemonic power with counterhegemonic resistance is constant, the disability advocacy CSOs had secured ideological wins with the EU institutions by Campaign 3 that did not exist for Campaigns 1 or 2. The line between dominant and subordinate cultures is a permeable membrane, rather than an impenetrable barrier. This can be seen from the change in the increasing acknowledgement by the EU institutions over the decades of the three campaigns of their role in social policy and rights protection. It also demonstrates the nuance of power and the directions in which it can flow. In the past, the representation of social movements via civil society in Europe has been deemed to be informal and passive (Kröger, 2008). The campaign successes of the EDF indicate the opportunities for social movement interests in civil society's role. These opportunities are tempered by the nature of access granted to civil society to engage with the institutions. As the EDF argues in its 2022 alternative report to the UNCRPD Committee:

There are no legal provisions establishing inclusive and accessible procedures and mechanisms for the involvement of persons with disabilities and their representative organisations across all disability constituencies in the development and implementation of EU legislation and policies to meet the requirements of the Convention. Consultation continues to be ad hoc across all EU institutions.

The EDF has navigated such boundaries within its campaign activity, sometimes succeeding in changing the terms of engagement through its campaign activity. Recalling the discussion of hegemony and concepts of civil society in Chapter 1, formal civil society in the EU context is a sanctioned societal space, consisting of organisations that have been granted access by

the State (Fraser, 1990: 60; Rose and Miller, 2010). It is a formal arena in which 'private' interests can be translated into the public institutions of the State (Melucci 1996: 219). Social movements have been acknowledged as a site for counter-hegemonic activity (Oliver, 1990; Carroll, 2010; Tarrow and Tilly, 2009). They succeed in seizing change when political and cultural opportunity structures open up (Tarrow, 1998). However further attention can be paid to what *kinds* of social movement activity and change can fall under this term 'counter-hegemony'. Carroll (2010: 3) describes counter-hegemony in the neo-Gramscian sense: 'referring to broad transformative strategies and practices for replacing the rule of capital with a democratic socialist way of life'. Campaign 1 aligns with several elements of counterhegemonic praxis, welding the present to the future by proposing an advancement of disability activism in the hegemonic language of dominant ideas alongside a broader civil society coalition pushing for social rights in the EU. Campaign 2, in its 'going it alone' strategy, lacked the potential to create a historic bloc unified under master frames of systemic injustice. Campaign 3 sought the realisation of the right to free movement of goods and services for disabled consumers. The campaign utilised market logics to make its arguments, framing disabled consumers as an untapped market for providers of goods and services. The work of the EDF with the EAA will be ongoing, monitoring the implementation at member state level. The EDF's commitment to the EAA over the next decades of implementation despite its noted shortcomings in scope and impact is worthy of further study in the context of transformism. Coalitions in policy success as well as failure, cement ties between and within movements. Through Campaign 1, the EDF established itself as a leader in the European disability movement and established a foundational problem framing for future campaigns.

Conclusion

The chapter has confirmed previously scholarly findings that narrow problem frames in campaigns can limit support from wider civil society. The context of formal EU civil society, particularly in the case of non-discrimination legislation fostered competition between movement organisations to the extent that the EDF pursued its own Directive rather than attempting to address the wider

issue of the hierarchy of discrimination (Bell, 2009). When the proposal was produced for a horizontal Directive, organisations were given opportunity to comment on the proposal from the perspective of their respective groups. This type of consultation triggers strategic and defensive dynamics as CSOs aim to protect their area of concern and frame their responses to the Commission strategically to fit their interests (Lombardo and Verloo, 2009, Verloo, 2006). It also aligns with Gramsci's depiction of transformism: neutralising hostile interests to conform to the dominant group (1975: 41-42). The study of non-contentious activity by social movements within formal civil society spaces can benefit from further empirical attention. CSOs navigate subtle boundaries between cooperation and co-optation, welding the present to the future in the pursuit of counterhegemonic change and being neutralised by the state through transformism. The following chapter concludes the thesis, returning to the research questions posed in Chapter 3 and suggesting an agenda for future research.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Futures

The aim of this thesis has been to produce findings about collective action campaigns directed at EU policy processes via civil society, specifically those targeting disability policy. This has been done with the intention of improving knowledge about how DPOs and other social movement organisations can achieve greater influence in EU governance processes to fully realise their rights and emancipation. In doing so it has also revealed the dynamic and contested nature of formal civil society as an enabler and constrainer of social movement organisations and their counterhegemonic efforts. The thesis began by pointing to gaps in extant knowledge regarding social movements; the historic and contemporary disabled people's movement in Europe; the function of civil society and networked governance in Chapters 1 and 2. It situated disabled people's movements within (new) social movement literature and the EDF as a social movement organisation engaging in noncontentious collective action. Operating in the space of civil society, the opportunities for social movement organisations exist and have been seized upon: the EU has created a sanctioned space for CSOs to influence and monitor policy decisions. Gains have been made by the disabled people's movement and the EU has increasingly acknowledged its role in the realisation of the rights of disabled people. These advancements have been made in the face of structural constraints: the legislated role for civil society is largely an advisory one and CSOs have utilised alternative mechanisms to achieve influence in policy making. Governance literature discusses the role of civil society actors in addressing the issues of democratic deficit in EU governance; however, the extent to which the activity of CSOs works to increase the transparency of decision making is debated.

To address these gaps, the following main research question was formed to guide the empirical interrogation of the research: How can disabled people's organisations achieve greater influence through collective action in Europe? The question informed an original exploration of the activity of the EDF as an organisation representing the interests of disabled people in EU governance processes. A primary aspect of the EDF's activity is running targeted

campaigns, timed according to institutional agendas to influence political agendas and decision making. The study has answered the research question from several angles.

Chapter 4 identified the strategic decisions and impact of the three campaign case studies. In doing so it built an understanding of 'what works' in campaigning. Chapter 5 utilised the MSF to explore the structural settings in which the campaigns took place and considered the timing of particular tactics and strategies in relation to structural opportunities. Chapter 6 utilised the case studies to examine the dynamics of EU civil society, both historically and in the contemporary context to understand the actual functions of the sphere and the opportunities for the furtherment of social movement interests, specifically disabled people, present in the space. This chapter will draw concluding arguments in answer to the research questions.

The following section responds to the first sub-question of the research. The logic of the field of EU governance contributed to an understanding of success from interviewees as a policy outcome matching the aims of the campaign. A typology of campaigns is presented in the following section, presenting the campaigns along the two axes of 'agenda setting/decision making' and 'inside/outside strategy'. The typology shows both the type of campaign goal and the style of action repertoire for each campaign. These decisions are heavily influenced by the structure of political opportunity and contextual features of the institutional environment (Beyers, 2004). The selected repertoire of action is also mediated by additional organisational factors like the availability of resources to mobilise, identity, and ideology.

A typology of campaigns

What kinds of collective action campaigns have been conducted in the past by DPOs at the European level? What were their approaches and objectives?

The research has analysed three case study campaigns within the environment of EU policy making. In this final chapter, a campaign typology is presented that places the campaigns along two axes: type of engagement; and prior institutional commitment to the issue. The typology shows the

pairings of strategy with the type of goal the campaign seeks to achieve: agenda-setting aims require institutions to recognise an issue to be placed on the political agenda. ‘Outside’ tactics targeting public support for an issue can prompt institutional acknowledgement. Decision-making campaign goals follow an issue that has already been recognised by structures of governance: they seek to secure frames that align policy issues with the campaign aims. As the policy issue moves through the legislative process, ‘inside’ tactics targeting key actors within institutions can ensure the campaign’s aims appear in resultant decision-making. These tendencies are not exclusive: public facing, outside tactics like petitioning or protest may well be used to garner support for a decision-making campaign to prompt policy actors to acknowledge a campaign. Equally, a campaign to place an issue on a government agenda may utilise ‘inside’ tactics of lobbying key figures. As the typology indicates, campaigns sit along these axes at different points.

Table 4: A typology of collective action campaigns

	Agenda setting	Decision Making
Inside		Campaign 3
Outside	Campaign 2	Campaign 1

Scholars of MSF draw an important distinction between the use of the model in agenda setting processes and that of decision-making processes (Zahariadis, 2003; Herweg, 2016). The present research has underlined the

impact of this distinction on campaigning. Campaigns 1 & 3, organised around decision-making about a policy issue already recognised by the EU institutions, faced a different set of challenges to Campaign 2, where the focus was a new item for the political agenda. In the cases of Campaigns 1 & 3, a legislative outcome followed. Campaign 2 produced different consequences. The horizontal Directive has not fallen off the agenda. Recent Commission work plans discuss the possibility of anti-discrimination legislation with increasing conviction. The 1Million4Disability campaign prompted a Commission proposal that, while unsuccessful, did place the issue of unequal EU anti-discrimination legislation on the political agenda.

The typology also demonstrates how repertoires of action are selected in part based on the structures of opportunity available to a CSO (Hilson, 2002). To show this the axis of 'inside' and 'outside' have been selected. The typology, shown in Table 4, places each of the three campaigns in one of four quadrants. Campaign 1 was conducted alongside the EDF's establishment as an independent organisation, in an institutional environment sceptical of the need for Treaty recognition of disabled European citizens. While funding programmes were beginning to appear and the corporatist model of the EU was expanding to include social NGOs as interest groups, the advisory role of CSOs was not yet established at the time of the Amsterdam IGC. The campaign as an actor was operating relatively 'outside' the institutional environment: its task was to convince decision-makers to include the interests of disabled people in the EU in the non-discrimination article. Part of the campaign included protest in its repertoire of action. It is likely however that the targeted lobbying of specific Member State representatives was a higher contributor to the achievement of the campaign aims. Whilst this style of campaign activity is typically an 'inside' strategy, interviewees reported the difficulty they had in accessing some ministerial figures: notably the Dutch delegation. The campaign sits towards the middle of the axis to indicate the position of the campaign as a relative outsider and the combination of strategies it utilised.

Campaign 2 sits in the 'Agenda Setting/Outsider' quadrant: the organisation utilised public-facing, 'outside' tactics for the campaign following several years

of ignored calls for a disability Directive on non-discrimination. While the organisation held a more established institutional position than in Campaign 1, the style of collective action spoke to the lack of response the EDF had received so far from the Commission. It also utilised an instrument designed to stimulate direct participation of the EU public and was framed as a 'bottom up' campaign, activating the local organisations within its extended networks (Greenwood, 2012). The primary tactics of the campaign thus fall into the 'outside' section of the axis, slightly lower than Campaign 1. Campaign 3 falls into the 'Decision Making/Inside' quadrant. It was conducted following the ratification by the EU of the UNCRPD and the entering into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. These instruments obliged the EU institutions to include DPOs and CSOs, respectively. The EDF and its campaign partners were in a much firmer institutional position from which to campaign. Over the near-decade long course of the campaign, the primary strategy was lobbying: the EDF and its partners utilised new channels through which to call on the institutions – notably those made available to them through the UNCRPD, including alternative reports. The structure of political opportunity was informed by the announcement of intent by the Commission to propose the Act as part of the Strategy and the pressure applied by the UNCRPD Committee for its introduction. Campaign 3 sits high up in the 'inside' section of the axis.

There are other factors which influence the choice of strategy in any campaign. The resources available to the EDF and its campaign partners have changed progressively: the organisation received increasing funding over the course of the three campaigns, influencing the availability of material and human resources. Less tangible resources also changed over the course of the campaigns: the most notable is perhaps the loss of moral resources like solidarity and legitimacy in Campaign 2 from some allied actors within the EP. Cultural resources like specialised knowledge have played a consistently important role in the three campaigns; the deployment of two full time secretariat staff to the EAA's legislative journey demonstrates how these have been increasingly mobilised in recent years. Social capital, being the ties through which the EDF mobilises its resources have strengthened over the decades as it has established itself as a leading disability advocacy voice in EU decision making processes (Diani, 1997). This organisational identity of

the EDF informs the strategic selection of action repertoires: protests are usually organised in Brussels to physically face the EU institutions, shaping their attendance. The timetable of Brussels-based advocacy itself is restricted to the institutional schedule, meaning that much of the organisational activity of the EDF occurs during the hours of a typical working week (although board meetings, AGAs, protests and conferences do also occur on weekends). This again shapes the campaign strategies of the organisation. Finally, the ideological values of the organisation inform its activity. The consensus-based negotiation style of EU governance has shaped the approach of the EDF in its collective action. It works to influence decision making by working closely with the European institutions, even it is in strong disagreement (as happened following Campaign 2). It operates on the base assumption that civil society has a role to play in EU governance as a legitimate voice of stakeholders. The typology above allows campaigns to be analysed in terms of goal type and strategy type. It is useful in understanding how these two factors influence one another and allows an examination of further factors like structures of political opportunity and ideological orientation associated with types of campaigns. Identifying what kind of change is being sought along the binary of 'agenda-setting' and 'decision-making' can inform decisions on the selection of inside and outside strategic combinations.

Success and failure

According to the actors involved, how successful was the campaign in reaching its objectives, and which characteristics and conditions of the campaigns are thought to have contributed to this success? What types of barriers did they face?

The concepts of success and failure in advocacy have been examined in this thesis from several viewpoints: in connection to policy outcomes, technical achievement of campaign goals and internal movement dynamics. Structures of political opportunities influence campaign success in bringing issues to public attention and effecting change. The strategic and organisation, resources, and frames mobilised by a campaign affect the ability to recognize and exploit these opportunities (Staggenborg and Lecomte, 2009). Expertise

has been a key feature in the style of campaigning the EDF and its partners engage in. Each of the three campaigns had a technical element in which technical arguments were produced in favour of the campaign aims. In the case of the Invisible Citizens campaign, the 1995 report written by legal scholars brought about the strategic 'shape' of the campaign, the reporting being thereafter referred to as the Invisible Citizens campaign. Legal scholars produced a second report for the campaign and these two materials were vital in the lobby work of members. Activist scholars also worked to produce specific legal arguments in favour of the inclusion of disability in several sections of the Treaties. Campaign members used these arguments when convincing their ministerial representatives support the aims of the campaigns. Campaign 2, while more public facing comparatively, still utilised expertise to produce drafted Directives alongside the signature collection drive. The drafted Directive was handed to the Commission along with the 1 million signatures at the conclusion of the campaign period. This material enables activists to demonstrate the technical feasibility of their demands. The Free Movement campaign heavily featured technical components: EDF secretariat staff were allocated to monitoring the progression of the legislation on a full-time basis. Expertise provides legitimacy to a campaign; EU CSOs operate in an institutionalised environment and aim themselves at policy makers. Experts provide information, advice and knowledge critical in establishing a frame that is accurate and compelling for a technocratic audience like the EU institutions.

Despite scholars invoking different types of success felt by a movement (Offe, 1987; Gamson 1990; Gamson, 1991), the findings from this investigation strongly linked feelings of success to a positive policy outcome and failure to the absence of a policy response to a campaign. Success, therefore, refers to the successful construction and communication of 'movement reality' (Benford, 1997). Campaign 1 succeeded not only in its direct aims of gaining reference to disability in the revised Treaty of Amsterdam. The campaign also established the EDF as a leading voice in EU disability advocacy. To assess the outcomes of social movement activity, Diani (1997) suggests an examination of the change to the social movement actor's position in a network. This structural position impacts the movement actors' influence on

both political decisions and cultural production. The EDF as an organisation shifted into a more influential position in EU policy networks in the campaign period, and the decade following. Diani (1997: 133) makes specific reference to the social capital of social movement actors as a 'particular type of tie' through which resources circulate, and trust and norms are generated and reproduced. The legacy of the Invisible Citizens demonstrates its production of social capital: this in turn is used by organisations in future campaigns. The acceptance of EDF and its campaign partners established themselves as valid spokespeople for a legitimate set of interests by the Member States, and the gained recognition in the Treaty: a full response (Gamson, 1990).

Social capital in Campaign 2 failed to operate in the same way to establish influence in the policy network of EU anti-discrimination legislation. A comparison of the three campaigns demonstrates the difficulty in influencing agendas. Campaigns 1 and 3 were aimed at influencing decisions that were already underway. In contrast, Campaign 2 was a push by the EDF and its campaign partners to introduce a disability specific Directive with little prior commitment from the institutions. An organisation working within the formal sphere of civil society measures its success in achieving influence: successfully communicating the policy goals and frames of a campaign into resultant legislation and decision making. This requires a balancing of movement agendas with that of the State. The successful mobilisation of organisational membership and strong internal connections within the European institutions have been defining features of successful campaigns. Campaign 2 utilised a tool that required the activation of the organisation's membership, and of the EU public. The EDF's 1million4disability campaign was one of the few successful examples of the ECI in its pilot phase (Greenwood, 2012; Garcia, 2012). Despite achieving this mobilisation, Campaign 2 did not prompt the desired policy response of a disability Directive. The ECI has been conceived as a tool for re-framing governance agendas (Greenwood, 2012: 332; Kaufmann, 2012). Upon its introduction, scholars speculated as to what kind of impact the new tool would have on established Brussels-based CSOs and their relations with the EU institutions. From García (2012: 339):

It thus seems that well-established European CSOs are unlikely to be important drivers of citizens' initiatives because of their preference for civil dialogue. There is little reason to expect these organisations to launch costly campaigns seeking to obtain one million signatures when they can have direct access to the agenda through their institutionalised role.

The EDF's efforts prior to the 1Million4Disability campaign to place a disability Directive on the agenda were unsuccessful, despite its 'direct access'. Its decision following Campaign 2 to turn to another article and focus on an Act that had already been prospectively announced reveals important details about the access afforded to CSOs. They are privy to Commission consultations, parliamentary amendments and discussions with the Council. Beyond these formalised structures, organisations like the EDF rely on the personal relationships they hold with Commission employees, MEPs and Council ministers. Maintaining these relationships results in close collaboration. On the other hand, it also requires the EDF to align its agenda closely with those of the institutions. The organisation works to 'track' the agenda and work programmes of the EU to influence policy outcomes. Consequently, the EDF's agenda is in part set by the EU institutions. The insider access given to the EDF prompts a trade-off with its independence. Campaign 2 demonstrates the difficulty the organisation faces in pursuing policy goals unaligned with the institutional agenda. An understanding of the current agenda of the institutions and campaigning on these grounds is more likely to produce a favourable outcome than pursuing a new item for the agenda.

EU institutions hold the power to select which actors are 'valid interlocutors' and representatives of specific groups in formal civil society. Between the selected groups there is competition too to successfully insert their interests into legislative proposals. Cooperation between SMOs and the state have been associated by some with a 'de-radicalisation' of challengers' goals and repertoires: a change from disruptive to more conventional means of protest (Anderl, Daphi and Deitelhoff, 2021; Kriesi, 2011, 85; Suh, 2011), similar to the process of transformism described by Gramsci. The relationship between

CSOs and the state is a dynamic one, reflective of the systemic fluctuations of hegemony: CSOs operate in an environment that produces both open and closed opportunity structures. Campaign 3 indicates the options for organisations in relatively closed opportunity structures. Despite the appearance of the UNCRPD in the institutional frameworks of the EU, following the global financial crisis civil society faced a legislative environment where principles of austerity reigned, the retreat of social policy goals and the primacy of market logic (Elomäki, 2015). Accordingly, the EDF pivoted towards this market logic with the framing of its next campaign: legislating for accessible goods and services to complete the internal market. The strategies of a successful campaign are informed by its institutional environment. Following almost a decade of austerity measures, Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker in 2017 announced an intent to revitalise social policy commitments. The Social Pillar established an agenda for the 'better enactment' of social rights among the Member States (Carella and Graziano, 2022). Firstly, from the point of view of policy process and policy outcomes, the adoption of the final text came after a particularly long and broad consultation phase involving the social partners, CSOs and the general public (Hendrickx, 2018). The Social Pillar re-adopts a rights-based discourse following a decade of economic primacy over consideration of social policy, observed by scholars (see for example Graziano and Halpern, 2016) and evidenced in the case of disability policy in the present research. With this change in the institutional environment, the social policy goals of civil society may again find more traction with extant EU governance agendas.

Civil society

How are claims selected and prioritised? Are they contributing to a wider (counterhegemonic) movement?

The influence of social movements at a given political phase is dependent on their structural position: the density of the linkages among movement actors, within their social milieu, and with cultural and political elites (Diani, 1997). The more central actors are in a given network, the greater their influence will be. Scholars have also noted that operating within these networks also

exposes social movements to their co-optation: the use of cooperative practices to absorb groups seeking change, engaging them to work with elites without giving them any new advantages (Holdo, 2019). The EDF enjoys a close degree of co-operation with the structures of EU governance, aligning its annual agendas and campaigns with their deadlines, work programmes and focal policy issues. In doing so it seeks to maximise its potential to contribute to decision making processes. Recent academic attention to the topic of co-optation complicates the simplistic view of social movement – elite interactions as unconditional support (Holdo, 2017). ‘Conflictual co-operation’ is described by Giugni and Passy (1998: 83) as the exchange of knowledge, competencies, and resources to work towards shared goals and direct negotiations. The three case study campaigns confirm the view that elites (in this case the EU institutions) do not select co-optation as their default strategy and instead support the conditional autonomy of CSOs in their monitoring and accountability roles. A less conscious process of agenda alignment occurs between the EDF and the institutions that is better explained by Fraser’s conception of the dominant sphere of civil society: the ‘power base’ that enables the filtering of diverse norms through a single, overarching lens to represent a universalist conception of common interests. Deliberation in this sphere shapes public opinion and informs governance agendas (Habermas, 2015). What is considered in the ‘public’ interest has been historically complicated by new social movements, pushing issues previously seen as private onto public agendas. Fraser acknowledges the presence of multiple publics alongside the official civil society sphere: discursive arenas where subordinated social groups propose and circulate ‘counter discourse’ (Fraser, 1990: 69). This can be observed in the international movement of politically organised disabled people that began in the 1970s. Formal EU civil society exemplifies how such subordinated groups have successfully pushed for representation in the official public sphere. It is a ‘gated community’, consisting of representative organisations selected by state institutions to speak on behalf of social and employment groups. In doing so they act as proxies for broader social movements. CSOs receive funding to operate in this sphere, monitor decision making processes and contribute to policy networks. Social inequality continues to taint the public sphere: the selected voices from social

movements that appear in formal EU civil society are unlikely to represent the most radical voices of a movement. The important 'unified voice' in campaign activity was cited frequently as a strength of the EDF. To achieve this, some viewpoints are necessarily filtered out. This raises questions of inclusion and exclusion, and how well-represented a social movement will be at civil society level. Gramsci's (1971: 167) concept of transformism depicts a similar process of states demobilising counter-hegemonic challenges to their power.

A fundamental tension is evident in the EDF's relationship with the European institutions. The timespan over which the campaigns have taken place demonstrates the constant adaptation CSOs undergo to match their institutional environment. Ideologies and goals are moulded to navigate the guiding principles of the era. The case studies have also described a responsive governance structure that has adapted itself over decades to include the voice of more interests in its decision-making processes. The initial campaign to gain reference in the EU Treaties was widely seen in the movement as a crucial step in addressing the injustices faced by disabled people in the EU. Several transformations have taken place since: disabled people's movements have grown in strength; new international human rights instruments have appeared; and the EU has increased its commitment to disability rights and working with civil society partners.

Governance literature has established the emergence of policy networks and the detachment of these networks from traditional democratic structures. The presence of 'stakeholder groups' in these networks is expounded by some as a method to address this democratic deficit. While the research has provided some clarity on this, the study of the non-contentious activity carried out by CSOs can benefit from further empirical attention. Governance literature infrequently distinguishes between types of non-state policy network actors and the vastly different resources they provide to networks. The power afforded to stakeholder actors in comparison to a non-state actor in a policy network representing a crucial industry interest is markedly different. The legitimacy provided by stakeholder groups in policy processes is necessary for decision making processes, however this can lead to the co-optation of CSOs representing social groups in policy processes.

The research has highlighted the need for a nuanced approach to understanding social movement interactions with institutions of governance. The adage of proximity to the state leading to co-optation has been complicated: internal institutional allies proved to be key campaign actors in the three case studies. These relational ties more generally are crucial in the complex task of agenda setting. The fluidity of the relationship between CSOs and institutions, in particular the strong connections the EDF maintains with particular Commission employees and MEPs, challenges the idea of an elite ruling class intent on suppressing certain groups. Rather it is better situated within Gramscian conceptions of governance as a system where periods of systemic openness can grant opportunities for organisations to advance their counterhegemonic projects, and of ideology as a tool to be utilised by those resisting hegemony as well as the ruling class. The potential for achieving influence in decision making is mediated by the context of civil society dynamics and the broader institutional environment.

The collective action framework

How can disabled people's organisations achieve greater influence through collective action in Europe?

To ensure the findings in the present research hold potential use for actual DPOs the primary research question is answered here in the most practical terms. What follows is a 'framework of collective action': a distillation of the findings from the three campaign case studies conducted in a range in institutional eras of the EU. It is also informed by extant literature discussed in the thesis and related previous undertakings (see for example Saul Alinsky's *Rules of Radicals* [1970]). The following is an initial iteration of a framework that will only benefit from further input and development from future research and DPOs themselves.

- Expertise – utilising lived experience of disabled experts, employing researchers and seeking data to reinforce campaign aims and translate this to the 'logic' of the target institutions if needed

- Internal allies – within the target institutions to learn who the changemakers are, to extract information from, understand how the campaign should be framed to appeal
- Information feeds – coming out of target institutions but also feeding through into the campaign networks
- Activation of network – ensuring the network supports, understands aims, and goals, exchange of knowledge through campaign, network can also raise issues and give input to shape the campaign
- A flexible campaign – the ability of the network to mould the campaign according to the socio-political and cultural specifics of their locale

Expertise, discussed above, is a crucial element of influential campaigning. This primarily means creating a campaign informed by the expertise and interests of disabled people: ensuring the aims speak to the most beneficial changes for a social movement community. This expertise sometimes requires ‘translation’ to suit the logic of the institutional environment. Social, scientific, and legal scholars should be put to work as boundary spanners to aid the bridging of gaps. Although institutional settings may require a particular type of discourse the task is to not lose the interests of the primary group: in this case disabled people. *Internal allies* play a related role in collective action campaigns: internal here refers to actors on the ‘inside’ of institutions of governance that support the interests of the social movement. Such allies work to shape institutional agendas and prime them for targeted campaigns. The framing of campaigns can be informed by internal allies: both in message and target. They also contribute to the *information feeds* flowing through the target institutions and the campaign network. Access to information from target institutions can inform campaign activity and allow the collective action to stay dynamic and responsive to its context. A well-informed campaign membership also supports the *activation of the network*: designing and undertaking a campaign with feedback mechanisms between the coordinators and wider membership enables participation and support from the wider campaign network. This is also enabled by ensuring flexibility in campaign activity: recalling Alinsky’s observation that ‘a good tactic is one

your people enjoy', a degree of adaptiveness can be afforded to the strategic approach to empower the network to carry out the campaign according to local contexts and preferences.

Limitations

The study is outlined in detail in Chapter 3. This section will consider the limitations of the research in terms of its adherence to the emancipatory principles of disability research outlined by Stone & Priestley (1996). The selection of research questions and case studies was strongly guided by input from the EDF. While this was done with the aim of meeting emancipatory principles, and to increase the utility of the findings for the movement, consulting only one organisation limited the scope of the research. The research has shown that the EDF is a highly institutionalised organisation with a specific agenda. The research was also guided by this agenda and may not have catered to the wide range of interests within the European disability movement. The selected campaigns focused on broad challenges experienced by the majority of disabled people in Europe, and hence the experience of some groups of disabled people have not been covered in the study: for example, the specific challenges facing disabled women or disabled migrants. Investigations informed by such experiences are worthy of specific funded projects themselves. The research was also limited in its scope, focusing on the main bodies of EU governance. Targets for supranational collective action exist beyond this level: the treaties of the Council of Europe, for example, inform the legislative decisions of the 46 Council of Europe Member States. An investigation into the dynamics of governance beyond those of the EU is warranted, however it was beyond the resources and time allocation of the present research project. The following section presents an agenda for future research informed by these limitations.

Conclusion: An agenda for future research

This research has examined the activity of an EU level CSO operating primarily within the field of disability policy. It sought to address gaps in two primary fields of literature: the study of social movement activity concentrated at the institutionalised level, and the prospects for change within the space of

civil society; as well as the field of governance, in particular the emergence of policy networks and their function. The research project was in part constrained by resources: it was carried out by an individual post-graduate researcher with a three-year funding period. I was very fortunate to have the level of contact with the EDF that I did. A study examining the broader dynamics of civil society may explicitly examine the relationships between CSOs, rather than focus on one organisational actor.

The study has demonstrated the need for further attention relating to the actual influence afforded groups and the discrepancy between governance network literature and empirical findings. Civil society organisations are afforded a number of legitimating roles in EU policy processes: mediation between the European public and the institutions; monitoring and accountability functions; and representation of stakeholder interests in increasingly opaque decision-making processes occurring away from democratically elected officials to name a few. Understanding the experience of CSOs like the EDF as they navigate the structures of EU governance and campaign for social change provides a better understanding of their actual function in the EU. Governance literature has not sufficiently examined the role of stakeholder groups within policy networks. Activists and scholars alike would benefit from examinations of the dynamics of civil society to draw empirical conclusions about the actual role of CSOs in EU policy making.

The research also began to uncover the relationship between civil society organisations and the broader social movement they seek to represent. Understanding that CSO agendas are substantially shaped by those of the EU institutions, the complex task of balancing institutional influence with that of the wider movement would benefit from further study. The research has explored the use of stakeholder organisations in policy networks as legitimators of decision making where traditional democratic mechanisms have receded. The use of CSOs for this function must be substantiated with a mandate from the stakeholder group they represent. Further, the relationship between CSOs and their wider social movement community would benefit from further examination to understand how interests 'travel' from grassroots organisational levels to highly institutionalised settings: how are movement

demands translated and what might be gained or lost in these processes. Similarly, questions as to how ideas and decisions filter out from institutional environments, particularly from supranational structures to local governance settings and the role of CSOs in these processes deserves investigation.

The research has focused on the European context, specifically the European Union. This supranational level of governance is unique in its deep economic, political and social integration. Understanding the role of the civil society organisations in other governance contexts will benefit from further study. Such contexts include, and are not limited to: the engagement of international organisations with CSOs and DPOs; local levels of engagement with DPOs and grassroots organisational interactions with governance structures; the engagement of DPOs and broader civil society in contexts of other supranational organisations with looser structures of unification - the African Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Union of South American Nations (Mercosur) and the Council of Europe, for example. The present research has taken conditions of freedom of speech and functioning structures of democracy for granted. This context is not universal. The framework of collective action presented above will benefit from empirical contributions outside of the EU.

A future research agenda that includes of a broad range of cultural, social and political contexts will contribute to a clearer understanding of civil society's role in governance. Its potential as a channel of influence for subordinated groups, in particular disabled people, should also be understood outside of the Western European paradigm. This contribution to activist knowledge seeks to serve the international movement of disabled people in their goal for full emancipation.

References

- Abberley, P. (1987). The concept of oppression and the development of a social theory of disability. *Disability, handicap & society*, 2(1), 5-19.
- Ackrill, R., Kay, A., & Zahariadis, N. (2013). Ambiguity, multiple streams, and EU policy. *Journal of European public policy*, 20(6), 871-887.
- Adam, B. D. (1993). Post-Marxism and the new social movements. *Canadian Review of Sociology Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 30(3), 316-336.
- Addison, J. T. (2009). In the Beginning, There Was Social Policy: Developments in Social Policy in the European Union from 1972 through 2008. Professional Reports, Rimini Centre for Economic Analysis.
- Agustín, L. R. (2008). Civil society participation in EU gender policy-making: framing strategies and institutional constraints. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61(3), 505-517.
- Alinsky, S. D. (1972). *Rules for radicals: a practical primer for realistic radicals*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Anderl, F., Daphi, P., & Deitelhoff, N. (2021). Keeping Your Enemies Close? The Variety of Social Movements' Reactions to International Organizations' Opening Up. *International Studies Review*, 23(4), 1273-1299.
- Atkinson, T. (2002). Social Inclusion and the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(4), 625-643.
- Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analysing policy*. Melbourne: Pearson Higher Education AU.
- Bacchi, C. (2012). Introducing the 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' approach. *Engaging with Carol Bacchi: Strategic interventions and exchanges*, 21-24. Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press.
- Bache, I. (2008). *Europeanization and multilevel governance: Cohesion policy in the European Union and Britain*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bagguley, P. (1992). Social Change, the Middle Class and the Emergence of 'New Social Movements': A Critical Analysis. *The Sociological Review*, 40(1), 26-48.
- Barnes, C. (1995). Disability rights: rhetoric and reality in the UK. *Disability & Society*, 10(1), 111-116.
- Barnes, C., & Mercer, G. (2003). *Disability*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Barnes, C., & Mercer, G. (2004). *Implementing the social model of disability: Theory and research*. Leeds: Disability Press Leeds.
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Jones, B. D. (1991). Agenda dynamics and policy subsystems. *The journal of Politics*, 53(4), 1044-1074.
- Baumgartner, R. J. (2009). Organizational culture and leadership: Preconditions for the development of a sustainable corporation. *Sustainable development*, 17(2), 102-113.

- Beckett, A. E. (2006). Understanding social movements: theorising the disability movement in conditions of late modernity. *The Sociological Review*, 54(4), 734-752.
- Bee, C., & Bello, V. (2009) A European model of public sphere: towards a networked governance model. In Harrison, J. & Wessels, B. Eds *Mediating Europe: New media, mass communications and the European public sphere* Oxford: Berghahn Books pp 128-150
- Bell, M. (2009). Advancing EU anti-discrimination law: the European Commission's 2008 proposal for a new directive. *The Equal Rights Review*, 3(7) 7-18
- Snow, D. and Benford, R. (1992) Master Frames and Cycles of Protest. In: Morris, A. and Mueller, C.M., Eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp 133-155
- Benford, R. D. (1997). An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(4), 409-430.
- Benz, A., & Papadopoulos, Y. (2006). *Governance and democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Beyers, J. (2004). Voice and access: Political practices of European interest associations. *European Union Politics*, 5(2), 211-240.
- Beyers, J., Eising, R., & Maloney, W. (2008). Researching interest group politics in Europe and elsewhere: much we study, little we know? *West European Politics*, 31(6), 1103-1128.
- Bhaskar, R. (2014). *The possibility of naturalism: A philosophical critique of the contemporary human sciences*: London: Routledge.
- Bickenbach, J. E., Chatterji, S., Badley, E. M., & Üstün, T. B. (1999). Models of disablement, universalism and the international classification of impairments, disabilities and handicaps. *Social science & medicine*, 48(9), 1173-1187.
- Bird, C. M. (2005). How I stopped dreading and learned to love transcription. *Qualitative inquiry*, 11(2), 226-248.
- Birkland, T. A. (1997). *After disaster: Agenda setting, public policy, and focusing events*, Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Birkland, T. A. (1998). Focusing events, mobilization, and agenda setting. *Journal of Public Policy*, 18(1), 53-74.
- Blaikie, N. (2000). *Designing social research: the logic of anticipation*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Blaikie, N. (2007). *Approaches to social enquiry: Advancing knowledge*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bloor, D. (1999). Reply to Bruno Latour. *Studies in history and philosophy of science*, 30, 131-138.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism (Vol. 9)*: Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bocock, R. (1987). *The State or the Market: Politics and Welfare in Contemporary Britain: a Reader*. California: Sage Publications.

- Boggs, C. (1986). *Social movements and political power: Emerging forms of radicalism in the west*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Booth, C., & Bennett, C. (2002). Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union: Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities? *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9(4), 430-446.
- Borsay, A. (1986). Personal trouble or public issue? Towards a model of policy for people with physical and mental disabilities. *Disability, handicap & society*, 1(2), 179-195.
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). The three forms of theoretical knowledge. *Social Science Information*, 12(1), 53-80.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Bresser-Pereira, L. C. (2010). The global financial crisis and a new capitalism? *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 32(4), 499-534.
- Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Two dimensions: Four paradigms. Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis*. London: Routledge 21-37.
- Buttigieg, J. A. (1995). Gramsci on civil society. *boundary 2*, 22(3), 1-32.
- Caiani, M. & Graziano, P. (2018). Europeanisation and social movements: The case of the Stop TTIP campaign. *European Journal of Political Research*, 57(4), 1031-1055.
- Cairney, P., & Jones, M. D. (2016). Kingdon's multiple streams approach: what is the empirical impact of this universal theory? *Policy Studies Journal*, 44(1), 37-58.
- Carella, B., & Graziano, P. (2021). Back to the Future in EU Social Policy? Endogenous Critical Junctures and the Case of the European Pillar of Social Rights. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(2), 374-390.
- Carling-Jenkins, R. (2016). *Disability and social movements: learning from Australian experiences* London: Routledge.
- Carroll, W. K. (2010). Crisis, movements, counter-hegemony: In search of the new. *Interface*, 2(2), 168-198.
- Carroll, W. K., & Ratner, R. S. (1994). Between Leninism and radical pluralism: Gramscian reflections on counter-hegemony and the new social movements. *Critical Sociology*, 20(2), 3-26.
- Carroll, W. K., & Ratner, R. S. (1996). Master framing and cross-movement networking in contemporary social movements. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 37(4), 601-625.
- Carroll, W. K., & Ratner, R. S. (2001). Sustaining oppositional cultures in 'post-socialist' times: A comparative study of three social movement organisations. *Sociology*, 35(3), 605-629.
- Castells, M. (2004). *The network society: A cross-cultural perspective*: Cheltnam, Edward Elgar Publishing, Incorporated.

- Cawson, A. (1982). *Corporatism and welfare: Social policy and state intervention in Britain (Vol. 17)*: Michigan. Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (2010). Increased complexity in public organizations—the challenges of combining NPM and post-NPM. In Lægreid & Verhoest ed. *Governance of public sector organizations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan pp 255-275
- Chung, A. Y. (2001). The powers that bind: A case study of the collective bases of coalition building in post–civil unrest Los Angeles. *Urban Affairs Review*, 37(2), 205-226.
- Cilliers, P. (2001). Boundaries, hierarchies and networks in complex systems. *International Journal of Innovation Management*, 5(02), 135-147.
- Cockburn, C. (1996). Strategies for Gender Democracy: Strengthening the Representation of Trade Union Women in the European Social Dialogue. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 3(1), 7-26.
- Coen, D. (1998). The European business interest and the nation state: large-firm lobbying in the European Union and Member States. *Journal of Public Policy*, 18(1), 75-100.
- Cox, R. W. (1980). Labor and hegemony: a reply. *International Organization*, 34(1), 159-176.
- Cox, R. W. (1999). Civil society at the turn of the millenium: prospects for an alternative world order. *Review of international studies*, 25(1), 3-28.
- Crossley, N. (2002). *Making sense of social movements*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Croteau, D., & Hicks, L. (2003). Coalition framing and the challenge of a consonant frame pyramid: The case of a collaborative response to homelessness. *Social problems*, 50(2), 251-272.
- Crotty, J. (2003). Managing civil society: democratisation and the environmental movement in a Russian region. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 36(4), 489-508.
- Cruikshank, B., & Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The will to empower: Democratic citizens and other subjects*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Davis, L. J. (2013). The end of identity politics: on disability as an unstable category. *The disability studies reader (2013)*, 263.
- De Beco, G. (2011). Article 33 (2) of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Another role for national human rights institutions?. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 29(1), 84-106.
- de Jesús Butler, I. (2008). Non-governmental organisation participation in the EU law-making process: The example of social non-governmental organisations at the Commission, Parliament and Council. *European Law Journal*, 14(5), 558-582.
- Degener, T. (1995). Disabled Persons' Status in the European Treaties: Invisible Citizens, Report of the Third European Day of Disabled Persons

Degener, T. (2016). A human rights model of disability. In Routledge handbook of disability law and human rights (pp. 47-66) London: Routledge.

Degener, T., & Begg, A. (2017). From Invisible Citizens to Agents of Change: A Short History of the Struggle for the Recognition of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities at the United Nations. In V. Della Fina, R. Cera, & G. Palmisano (Eds.), *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: A Commentary* (pp. 1-39). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Degener, T., & Quinn, G. (2002). A survey of international, comparative and regional disability law reform. In Disability Rights Education Defense Fund (DREDF) ed. *Disability rights law and policy: International and national perspectives* NY, Transnational: Brill Nijhoff pp. 3-125

Della Porta, D. (2003). The Women's Movement, the Left, and the State: Continuities and Changes in the Italian Case. In Banaszak, L. A., Beckwith, A., and Rucht, D eds. *Women's movements facing the reconfigured state*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press pp 48-68

Della Porta, D. (2020). *How social movements can save democracy: Democratic innovations from below* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Della Porta, D., & Caiani, M. (2009). *Europeanization and social movements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (1999). *Social movements: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2015). *The Oxford handbook of social movements* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Della Porta, D., & Rucht, D. (2002). The dynamics of environmental campaigns. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 7(1), 1-14.

Di Gregorio, M. (2011). Social movement networks, policy processes, and forest tenure activism in Indonesia. *London School of Economics and Political Science*,

Di Gregorio, M. (2012). Networking in environmental movement organisation coalitions: interest, values or discourse? *Environmental Politics*, 21(1), 1-25.

Di Gregorio, M. (2014). Gaining access to the state: Political opportunities and agency in forest activism in Indonesia. *Social Movement Studies*, 13(3), 381-398.

Diani, M. (1992). The concept of social movement. *The Sociological Review*, 40(1), 1-25.

Diani, M. (1997). Social Movements and Social Capital: A Network Perspective on Movement Outcomes. *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 2(2): 129-147.

Dinan, D. (2012). The arc of institutional reform in post-Maastricht Treaty change. *Journal of European Integration*, 34(7), 843-858.

Doowon, S. (2006). Civil society in political democratization: social movement impacts and institutional politics. *Development and Society*, 35(2), 173-195.

- Dreidger, D. (1989). *The last civil rights movement*. London: Hurst.
- Duncan, S. (1996). Obstacles to a Successful Equal Opportunities Policy in the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 3(4), 399-422.
- Dür, A. (2008). Interest groups in the European Union: How powerful are they? *West European Politics*, 31(6), 1212-1230.
- Dyer-Witheford, N. (2001). The new combinations: Revolt of the global value-subjects. *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 1(3), 155-200.
- Edwards, Bob and John D. McCarthy (2004). Resources and Social Movement Mobilization, in David Snow et al., eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 116-152.
- Eising, R., & Kohler Koch, B. (1999). Network governance in the European Union, in R. Eising & B. Kohler-Koch Eds. *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, London: Routledge.
- Eisinger, P. K. (1972). Community Control and Liberal Dilemmas. *Publius*, 2(2), 129–148.
- Eley, G. (1992), Nations, publics, and political cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp289-339
- Elomäki, A. (2015). The economic case for gender equality in the European Union: Selling gender equality to decision-makers and neoliberalism to women's organizations. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 22(3), 288-302.
- Elomäki, A., & Kantola, J. (2020). European Social Partners as Gender Equality Actors in EU Social and Economic Governance. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58(4), 999-1015.
- Emmel, N. (2013). *Sampling and choosing cases in qualitative research: a realist approach*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Enjolras, B., & Sivesind, K. H. (2018). The Roles and Impacts of the Third Sector in Europe. In Enjolras, B., Salamon, L. M., Sivesind, K. H., & Zimmer, A. ed. *The Third Sector as a Renewable Resource for Europe: Concepts, Impacts, Challenges and Opportunities* (pp. 95-124). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Eriksen, E. O. (2007). Conceptualising European public spheres: General, segmented and strong publics. In *The European Union and the public sphere* London: Routledge pp. 37-57
- European Council (1993) (93/136/EEC) Council Decision of 25 February 1993 establishing a third Community action programme to assist disabled people (Helios II 1993 to 1996)
- European Commission (1996) Communication on equality of opportunity for people with disabilities (COM(96)0406 C4- 0582/96)

European Commission (1979) Report from the Commission to the Council on the initial community action programme for the vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons (period 1974-1979). COM (79) 572

European Commission (1973) Bulletin: Social Action Programme COM(73) 1600

European Commission. 2015. *Study on the Socio-Economic Impact of New Measures to Improve Accessibility of Goods and Services for People with Disabilities: Final Report*. Brussels: European Commission

European Disability Forum (1996) 'Invisible Citizens – How Can Disabled Persons in the European Union Achieve Equal Rights as Citizens?'. Summary of the Legal and Economic Implications of a Non-discrimination Clause in the European Treaties – A Report by the Legal Expert Working Group (Brussels: EDF)

European Disability Forum (2014) 'EDF input to the draft General Comment no. 7 on articles 4.3 and 33.3 of the Convention on the participation of persons with disabilities in the implementation and monitoring of the CRPD' document accessed March 2023

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments-and-recommendations/general-comment-no7-article-43-and-333-participation>

European Disability Forum (2022) 'EDF alternative report for the second review of the EU by the CRPD Committee'. Accessed May 2022
<https://www.edf-feph.org/publications/edf-alternative-report-for-the-second-review-of-the-eu-by-the-crpd-committee/>

European Union (2017) Publications Office of the European Union. Glossary Term: 'Civil Society' https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=LEGISSUM:civil_society_organisation (accessed June 2022)

Finkelstein, V. (1996). Outside, inside out. *Coalition*, 30(6).

Finkelstein, V. (2001). The social model of disability repossessed. Manchester Coalition of Disabled People, *Coalition: the Magazine of the Greater Coalition of Disabled People*, Manchester: The Greater Manchester Coalition of Disabled People, 10-16. Finkelstein, V. (2007). The 'social model of disability' and the disability movement. *The Disability Studies Archive UK*, 1, 15.

Fontana, B. (2002). Gramsci on Politics and State. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 2(2), 157-178.

Foucault, M. (1991). Experiences of madness. *History of the Human Sciences*, 4(1), 1-25.

Foucault, M. (1997). „Il faut défendre la société”. Cours au Collège de France, 1976. *Tijdschrift Voor Filosofie*, 59(3).

Foucault, M. (2008). Panopticism" from "discipline & punish: the birth of the prison. *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, 2(1), 1-12.

- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text* (25/26), 56-80.
- Fraser, N. (1992). Sex, lies, and the public sphere: Some reflections on the confirmation of Clarence Thomas. *Critical inquiry*, 18(3), 595-612.
- Fraser, N. (2013). *Fortunes of feminism: From state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis*: Verso Books.
- Fraser, N. (2020). *Fortunes of feminism: From state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis*: Verso Books.
- Fraser, N. (2021). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. In Mitrašinović, M., Mehta, V. *Public Space Reader* New York: Routledge pp. 34-41
- Fung, A., & Wright, E. O. (2003). Deepening democracy: Institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance, *Politics & Society*, 29(1), 5–41.
- Gamson, W. A. (1990). *The strategy of social protest Belmont, California*: Wadsworth Publishing
- Gamson, W. A. (1991). Commitment and agency in social movements. [Sociological Forum](#), 6, 27–50
- Gamson, W. A. (1998). Social Movements and Cultural Change In Giugni, M, McAdam, D., & Tilly, C. ed. *From Contention to Democracy*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 57-77.
- García, L. B. (2012). New Rules, New Players? The ECI as a Source of Competition and Contention in the European Public Sphere. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 13(3), 337-351.
- Garcia, L. B., & Greenwood, J. (2014). The European Citizens' Initiative: a new sphere of EU politics? *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 3(3), 246-267.
- Garrett, K. (2006). Protest in an Information Society: a review of literature on social movements and new ICTs. *Information, Communication & Society*, 9(2), 202-224.
- Gerhards, J., & Rucht, D. (1992). Mesomobilization: Organizing and framing in two protest campaigns in West Germany. *American journal of sociology*, 98(3), 555-596.
- Gillan, K. (2019). Social movements, protest, and practices of social change. In Ritzer, G., ed. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to sociology*, 301-318.
- Giugni, M. (1999). How social movements matter: Past research, present problems, future developments. In Giugni, M., McAdam, D., & Tilly, C. eds. *How social movements matter*, xiii-xxxiii. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Giugni, M. G. (1998). Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 371-393

Giugni, M. G., & Passy, F. (1998). Contentious politics in complex societies. In Giugni, M. G., McAdam, D., & Tilly, C., eds. *From contention to democracy*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 81-108.

Gleeson, B. (1999). Recovering a 'subjugated history': Disability and the institution in the industrial city. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 37(2), 114-129.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *The modern prince. Selections from the prison notebooks*, International Publishers, New York, 123-205.

Gramsci, A. (1977). *Selections from Political Writings, 1910-1920*. New York: International Publishers.

Gramsci, A. (2011). *Prison Notebooks, Volumes 1-3*. Columbia University Press

Graziano, P. R., & Halpern, C. (2016). EU governance in times of crisis: Inclusiveness and effectiveness beyond the 'hard' and 'soft' law divide. *Comparative European Politics*, 14(1), 1-19.

Greenwood, J. (2007). Organized civil society and democratic legitimacy in the European Union. *British journal of political science*, 37(2), 333-357.

Greenwood, J. (2012). the European Citizens' Initiative and EU Civil Society Organisations. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 13(3), 325-336.

Griffiths, M. (2019). 'These Days are Ours': Young disabled people's experiences of activism and participation in social movements. In *The Routledge Handbook of Disability Activism* Abingdon: Routledge. pp 57-70

Habermas, J. (1981). *New social movements*. Telos, 1981(49).

Habermas, J. (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action Volume II: System and Lifeworld*. Cambridge: Polity

Habermas, J.,(1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a category of Bourgeois society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, J. (2015). Public space and political public sphere. *Esprit*(8), 12-25.

Habermas, J. (2015). *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1st ed.). Wiley. Retrieved from <https://www.perlego.com/book/1536103/knowledge-and-human-interests-pdf> (Original work published 2015) Hahn, H. (1986). Public support for rehabilitation programs: The analysis of US disability policy. *Disability, handicap & society*, 1(2), 121-137.

Hall, J. A. (2004). State. In J. Krieger (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*: Oxford University Press.

Hall, S., & Jacques, M. (1989). *New times. The changing face of politics in the 1990s*. London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd

Hallstrom, L. K. (2004). Eurocratising enlargement? EU elites and NGO participation in European environmental policy. *Environmental Politics*, 13(1), 175-193.

Halvorsen, R., Hvinden, B., Beadle-Brown, J., Biggeri, M., Tøssebro, J., & Waldschmidt, A. (2017). Changing opportunities for active citizenship: Understanding the lived experiences of persons with disabilities. In Halvorsen, R., Hvinden, B., Beadle-Brown, J., Biggeri, M., Tøssebro, J., & Waldschmidt, A. eds. *Understanding the lived experiences of persons with disabilities in nine countries: Active citizenship and disability in Europe*. London: Routledge Vol. 2, pp. 1-16

Haang'andu, P. (2020) Towards an Afrocentric disability activism: Opportunities and challenges of transnationalizing disability advocacy in Africa in Soldatic, K. & Johnson, K. *Global perspectives on disability activism and advocacy: Our way*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Harlow, C., & Rawlings, R. (2006). *Law and administration*: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, H., Birks, M., Franklin, R., & Mills, J. (2017). Case Study Research: Foundations and Methodological Orientations. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 18(1).

Hayashi, R., & Okuhira, M. (2008). The independent living movement in Asia: Solidarity from Japan. *Disability & Society*, 23(5), 417-429.

Hendrickx, F. (2018). The European Social Pillar: A first evaluation. *European Labour Law Journal*, 9(1), 3-6.

Héritier, A., Rhodes, M. (2011). Conclusion New Modes of Governance: Emergence, Execution, Evolution and Evaluation. In: Héritier, A., Rhodes, M. (eds) *New Modes of Governance in Europe*. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, London. Herweg, N. (2016). Explaining European agenda-setting using the multiple streams framework: the case of European natural gas regulation. *Policy Sciences*, 49(1), 13-33.

Hilson, C. (2002). New social movements: the role of legal opportunity. *Journal of European public policy*, 9(2), 238-255.

Holdo, M. (2019). Cooptation and non-cooptation: elite strategies in response to social protest. *Social Movement Studies*, 18(4), 444-462.

Holdo, M. (2020). Power games: Elites, movements, and strategic cooperation. *Political Studies Review*, 18(2), 189-203.

Holzer, E. (2008). Borrowing from the Women's Movement "for Reasons of Public Security": A Study of Social Movement Outcomes and Judicial Activism in the European Union. *Mobilization*, 13, 25-44.

Hooghe, L., Marks, G., & Marks, G. W. (2001). *Multi-level governance and European integration*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hosking, D. (2020). Disability and standardization. In Ferri, D. & Broderick, A., eds. *Research Handbook on EU Disability Law* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing pp. 243-262

Hoskyns, C. (1992). The European Community's policy on women in the context of 1992 15(1), 21-28

Hoskyns, C. (1996). *Integrating gender: Women, law and politics in the European Union*, London: Verso.

- Howlett, M. (2018). The criteria for effective policy design: Character and context in policy instrument choice. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 11(3), 245-266.
- Howlett, M. (2019). Moving policy implementation theory forward: A multiple streams/critical juncture approach. *Public Policy and Administration*, 34(4), 405-430.
- Hunt, A. (1990). Rights and social movements: counter-hegemonic strategies. *Journal of Law & Society*, 17, 309.
- Hurst, R. (2005). Disabled Peoples' International: Europe and the social model of disability. In Barnes, C. & Mercer, G., eds. *The Social Model of Disability: Europe and the Majority World*, 65-79.
- Imig, D., & Tarrow, S. (2001). Studying contention in an emerging polity. *Contentious Europeans: protest and politics in an emerging polity*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 3-26.
- Jenkins, J. C., & Perrow, C. (1977). Insurgency of the powerless: Farm worker movements (1946-1972). *American sociological review*, 249-268.
- Jessop, B. (1998). The rise of governance and the risks of failure: The case of economic development. *International social science journal*, 50(155), 29-45.
- Jessop, B. (2002). *The future of the capitalist state*, Cambridge: Polity
- Jessop, B. (2005). Fordism and post-Fordism: a critical reformulation. In *Pathways to industrialization and regional development* (pp. 54-74) New York: Routledge.
- Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2004). Representation and agenda setting. *Policy Studies Journal*, 32(1), 1-24.
- Kaufmann, B. (2012). *The European Citizens' Initiative Pocket Guide: Green European Foundation*. Accessed May 2022: https://gef.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ECI_Pocket_guide_updated_edition_web_02.pdf
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). Transnational advocacy networks in the movement society. In Meyer, D., & Tarrow, S., *The social movement society: Contentious politics for a new century*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield , 217-237.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1984). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (Vol. 45): Little, Brown Boston.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1995). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (2nd ed. Vol. 45): Little, Brown Boston.
- Kitschelt, H. P. (1986). Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti-nuclear movements in four democracies. *British journal of political science*, 16(1), 57-85.
- Klandermans, B. (1989). Grievance interpretation and success expectations: The social construction of protest. *Social Behaviour*, 4(2), 113-125.

- Kleidman, R. (1993). *Organizing for peace: Neutrality, the test ban, and the freeze* Syracuse, NY Syracuse University Press.
- Klijn, E.-H., & Koppenjan, J. (2012). Governance network theory: past, present and future. *Policy & Politics*, 40(4), 587-606.
- Klijn, E. H., & Koppenjan, J. (2015). *Governance networks in the public sector*, London: Routledge.
- Klijn, E. H., & Koppenjan, J. F. M. (2000). Public Management and Policy Networks. *Public Management: An International Journal of Research and Theory*, 2(2), 135-158.
- Klüver, H. (2013). *Lobbying in the European Union: interest groups, lobbying coalitions, and policy change*: Oxford University Press.
- Kohler-Koch, B. (2010). Civil society and EU democracy: 'astroturf' representation? *Journal of European public policy*, 17(1), 100-116.
- Kohler-Koch, B. (2012). Post-Maastricht civil society and participatory democracy. *Journal of European Integration*, 34(7), 809-824.
- Kohler-Koch, B., Kotzian, P., & Quittkat, C. (2017). The multilevel interest representation of national business associations. *West European Politics*, 40(5), 1046-1065.
- Kohler-Koch, B., & Rittberger, B. (2006). The governance turn in EU studies. *J. Common Mkt. Stud.*, 44, 27.
- Kooiman, J. (1993). *Modern governance: new government-society interactions* London: Sage.
- Kriesi, H. (2006). Role of the political elite in Swiss direct-democratic votes. *Party Politics*, 12(5), 599-622.
- Kröger, S. (2008). Nothing but consultation: The place of organised civil society in EU policy-making across policies. *European Governance Papers (EUROGOV) No. C-08-03*: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/71735076.pdf> (Accessed May 2022)
- Kuhnke, A. (2022) Anti-discrimination directive, Legislative Train Schedule. European Parliament <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-area-of-justice-and-fundamental-rights/file-anti-discrimination-directive> (Accessed September 2022)
- Lasswell, H. D. (1968). The future of the comparative method. *Comparative Politics*, 1(1), 3-18.
- Latour, B. (2007). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Law, J. (2009). Actor network theory and material semiotics. In Turner, B. S. ed. *The new Blackwell companion to social theory*, 3, 141-158.
- Lawson, A., & Priestley, M. (2013). Potential, principle and pragmatism in concurrent multinational monitoring: disability rights in the European Union. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 17(7-8), 739-757.
- Lears, T. J. (1985). The concept of cultural hegemony: Problems and possibilities. *The American Historical Review*, 567-593.

- Levesque, M., & Langford, B. (2016). The role of disability groups in the development and implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies*, 5(4), 63-102.
- Levi, M., & Murphy, G. H. (2006). Coalitions of contention: The case of the WTO protests in Seattle. *Political studies*, 54(4), 651-670.
- Levy, D., & Kaplan, R. (2008). CSR and theories of global governance: strategic contestation in global issue arenas. In Crane, A., Matten, D., McWilliams, A., Moon, J., Siegel, D.S, eds. *The Oxford handbook of CSR*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 432-451.
- Lombardo, E. (2004). The participation of civil society in the European Constitution-making process. Paper presented at the Paper for CIDEL workshop, London.
- Lombardo, E., & Meier, P. (2008). Framing gender equality in the European Union political discourse. *Social Politics*, 15(1), 101-129.
- Lombardo, E., & Verloo, M. (2009). Institutionalizing intersectionality in the European Union? Policy developments and contestations. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11(4), 478-495.
- Lowndes, V. (2005). Something old, something new, something borrowed... How institutions change (and stay the same) in local governance. *Policy studies*, 26(3-4), 291-309.
- Lowndes, V., & Roberts, M. (2013). *Why institutions matter: The new institutionalism in political science*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Lubitow, A. (2013). Collaborative Frame Construction in Social Movement Campaigns: Bisphenol-A (BPA) and Scientist–Activist Mobilization. *Social Movement Studies*, 12(4), 429-447
- Mahoney, C. (2008). *Brussels versus the beltway: Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*: Georgetown University Press.
- Mahoney, C., & Baumgartner, F. (2008). Converging perspectives on interest group research in Europe and America. *West European Politics*, 31(6), 1253-1273.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (2006). "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life." *American Political Science Review* 78 (September): 734–49
- Marks, G. (1993). Structural policy and multilevel governance in the EC. The Maastricht debates and beyond, In A. Cafruny, & G. Rosenthal (Eds.), *The State of the European Community (Volume 2)*. Harlow: Longman. 391-409
- Marks, G., Hooghe, L., & Blank, K. (1996). European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34(3), 341-378.
- Marks, G., & McAdam, D. (1996). Social movements and the changing structure of political opportunity in the European Union. *West European Politics*, 19(2), 249-278.

- Marks, G., & McAdam, D. (1999). On the relationship of political opportunities to the form of collective action: the case of the European Union. In Della Porta, D., Kriesi, H., Rucht, D., eds. *Social movements in a globalizing world* Basingstoke, Macmillan pp. 97-111
- Marwell, G., & Oliver, P. (1984). Collective action theory and social movements research. *Research in social movements, conflict and change*, 7(27), 1988.
- Mason, J. (2002). Linking qualitative and quantitative data analysis. In *Analyzing qualitative data* (pp. 103-124) London: Routledge.
- Mason, J. (2018). *Qualitative researching* (Third edition. ed.). London: SAGE Publications.
- May, T., & Perry, B. (2014). Reflexivity and the Practice of Qualitative Research In Flick, U (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: SAGE pp109-122
- Sonia Mazey (2000) Introduction: Integrating gender - intellectual and 'real world' mainstreaming, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7:3, 333-345
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.
- Melucci, A. (1989). *Nomads of the present: Social movements and individual needs in contemporary society*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Melucci, A. (1996). *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, D., & Corrigall-Brown, C. (2005). Coalitions and political context: US movements against wars in Iraq. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 10(3), 327-344.
- Meyer, D. S., & Staggenborg, S. (1996). Movements, countermovements, and the structure of political opportunity. *American journal of sociology*, 101(6), 1628-1660.
- Michalowitz, I. (2004). Analysing Structured Paths of Lobbying Behaviour: Why Discussing the Involvement of 'Civil Society' Does not Solve the EU's Democratic Deficit. *Journal of European Integration*, 26(2), 145-173.
- Mintrom, M. (2000). *Policy entrepreneurs and school choice*, Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Mintrom, M. (2019). So you want to be a policy entrepreneur? *Policy design and practice*, 2(4), 307-323.
- Monforte, P. (2009). Social Movements and Europeanization Processes: The Case of the French Associations Mobilizing around the Asylum Issue. *Social Movement Studies*, 8(4), 409-425.
- Morris, A. D., & Staggenborg, S. (2004). Leadership in social movements. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 171-196.
- Morris, F. (2017). *Strategic Litigation*. Online: Equinet.
- Morris, H. M. (2004). President, party and nationality policy in Latvia, 1991–1999. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 56(4), 543-569.

- Morton, A. D. (2007). Waiting for Gramsci: State formation, passive revolution and the international. *Millennium*, 35(3), 597-621.
- Morton, A. D. (2007). Unquestioned Answers/Unanswered Questions in IPE: A Rejoinder to 'Non-Marxist' Historical Materialism. *Politics*, 27(2), 132-136.
- Mukherjee, I., & Howlett, M. P. (2015). Who is a stream? Epistemic communities, instrument constituencies and advocacy coalitions in multiple streams subsystems. *Epistemic Communities, Instrument Constituencies and Advocacy Coalitions in Multiple Streams Subsystems, Politics and Governance*, 3(2) 65-75
- Munck, R. (2006). Global civil society: Royal road or slippery path? *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 17(4), 324-331.
- Niessen, J., & Chopin, I. (2004). The Starting Line and the Racial Equality Directive. In *The Development of Legal Instruments to Combat Racism in a Diverse Europe*, Leiden: Brill Nijhoff 95-110
- Obach, B. K. (2004). *Labor and the environmental movement: The quest for common ground*, Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Oberschall, A. (1973). *Social conflict and social movements*: Englewood Cliffs., NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Obradovic, D. (1995). Prospects for corporatist decision-making in the European union: The social policy agreement. *Journal of European public policy*, 2(2), 261-283.
- Offe, C. (1985). New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 52. 817–868.
- Offe, C. (1987). Challenging the boundaries of institutional politics: social movements since the 1960s. In C. S. Maier (Ed.), *Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 63-106
- Offe, C. (1990). 'Reflections on the Institutional Self-Transformation of Movement Politics: A Tentative Stage Model. *Hitotsubashi journal of social studies*, 21(1), 179-195.
- Oliver, M. (1990). *The politics of disablement*, London: Springer.
- Oliver, M. (1992). Changing the social relations of research production? *Disability, handicap & society*, 7(2), 101-114.
- Oliver, M., & Barnes, C. (2012). *The new politics of disablement*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Olson, M (1974). *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Oppermann, K. (2013). The politics of avoiding referendums on the Treaty of Lisbon. *Journal of European Integration*, 35(1), 73-89.
- Osborne, S. P. (2006). The new public governance? *Public Management Review*, 8:3, 377-387,

- Osborne, S. P., & Brown, L. (2011). Innovation, public policy and public services delivery in the UK. The word that would be king? *Public administration*, 89(4), 1335-1350.
- Palmberger, M., & Gingrich, A. (2014). Qualitative Comparative Practices: Dimensions, Cases & Strategies In Flick, U (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: SAGE pp94-108
- Papadopoulos, Y. (2008). Assessing the claims of 'post-parliamentary' governance: few certainties, much more open questions. In Jobert, B., & Kohler-Koch, B. eds, *Changing Images of Civil Society*, London: Routledge 191-208
- Papadopoulos, Y. (2012). On the embeddedness of deliberative systems: why elitist innovations matter more. In Parkinson, J. & Mansbridge, J. *Deliberative systems: Deliberative democracy at the large scale*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 125-150.
- Paternotte, D. (2016). The NGOization of LGBT activism: ILGA-Europe and the Treaty of Amsterdam. *Social Movement Studies*, 15(4), 388-402.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry: A personal, experiential perspective. *Qualitative social work*, 1(3), 261-283.
- Pavy, E. (2021). The European Council – Legal Basis History Organisation European Asylum Support Office. Malta.
<https://policycommons.net/artifacts/2190705/the-european-council/2946682/> (Accessed Oct 2022).
- Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (2000). Citizens versus the new public manager: The problem of mutual empowerment. *Administration & Society*, 32(1), 9-28.
- Petrova, T., & Tarrow, S. (2007). Transactional and participatory activism in the emerging European polity: The puzzle of East-Central Europe. *Comparative political studies*, 40(1), 74-94.
- Pinto, P. C. (2020) When academia meets activism: The place of research in struggles for disability rights in Soldatic, K., & Johnson, K., *Global perspectives on disability activism and advocacy: Our way*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge
- Plehwe, D., Neujeffski, M., & Krämer, W. (2018). Saving the dangerous idea: austerity think tank networks in the European Union. *Policy and Society*, 37(2), 188-205.
- Potters, J., & Van Winden, F. (1992). Lobbying and asymmetric information. *Public choice*, 74(3), 269-292.
- Powell, W. W., & DiMaggio, P. J. (1992). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Priestley, M. (2005). We're all Europeans now! The social model of disability and European social policy. In Barnes, C. & Mercers, G., eds, *The Social Model of Disability: Europe and the Majority World*, 17-31.
- Priestley, M., Stickings, M., Loja, E., Grammenos, S., Lawson, A., Waddington, L., & Fridriksdottir, B. (2016). The political participation of disabled people in Europe: Rights, accessibility and activism. *Electoral Studies*, 42, 1-9.

Priestley, M., Waddington, L., & Bessozi, C. (2010). Towards an agenda for disability research in Europe: learning from disabled people's organisations. *Disability & Society*, 25(6), 731-746.

Princen, S. (2007). Agenda-setting in the European Union: a theoretical exploration and agenda for research. *Journal of European public policy*, 14(1), 21-38.

Prosser, T. (2016). Economic union without social union: The strange case of the European social dialogue. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 26(5), 460-472.

Pruijt, H. (2003). Is the institutionalization of urban movements inevitable? A comparison of the opportunities for sustained squatting in New York City and Amsterdam. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 27(1), 133-157.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

Publications Office of the European Union (2017) Glossary Term: 'Civil Society' https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=LEGISSUM:civil_society_organisation (accessed June 2022)

Quittkat, C., & Finke, B. (2008). The EU Commission consultation regime. In Kohler-Koch, B., Bièvre, D, Maloney, W., eds, *Opening EU-governance to civil society: gains and challenges*, Mannheim: CONNEX report series, 183-222

Rapley, T. (2014). Sampling Strategies in Qualitative Research In Flick, U (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: SAGE pp49-63

Rhodes, R. (2012) *Waves Of Governance*. In Levi-Faur, D., ed, *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp33-48

Rhodes, R. A. W. (1996). The new governance: governing without government. *Political studies*, 44(4), 652-667.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (2007). Understanding Governance: Ten Years On. *Organization Studies*, 28(8), 1243-1264.

Rose, N. (1996). Governing "advanced" liberal democracies. In A. Sharma & A. Gupta (Eds.). *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp144-162

Rose, N. (1996). The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 25(3), 327-356.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Rose, N. (2001). The politics of life itself. *Theory, culture & society*, 18(6), 1-30.

Rose, N., & Miller, P. (2010). Political power beyond the State: problematics of government. *The British journal of sociology*, 61, 271-303.

- Roulston, K. (2001). Data analysis and 'theorizing as ideology'. *Qualitative research*, 1(3), 279-302.
- Rucht, D. (2017). Civil society plus global governance: What can we expect? In Petschow, U., Rosenau, J. & von Weizsacker, E. U. *Governance and Sustainability: New Challenges for States, Companies, and Civil Society* London: Routledge. pp219-230
- Ruzza, C. (2004). *Europe and civil society: Movement coalitions and European governance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ruzza, C. (2011). The international protection regime for minorities, the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the EU: new challenges for non-state actors. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 18(2), 219-234.
- Sabatier, P. A., & Weible, C. M. (2014). *Theories of the policy process*. New York: Routledge
- Sbragia, A. M. (2012). The Treaty of Nice. In Jones, E., Menon, A., & Weatherill, S. (eds) *the Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp149-162
- Scharpf, F. W. (2004) cited in Kees van Kersbergen and Frans van Waarden, 'Governance as a Bridge Between Disciplines: Cross-disciplinary Inspiration Regarding Shifts in Governance and Problems of Governability, Accountability, and Legitimacy', *European Journal of Political Research*, 43, 143–72, at pp. 159–60.
- Scharpf, F. W. (1997). Economic integration, democracy and the welfare state. *Journal of European public policy*, 4(1), 18-36.
- Scharpf, F. W. (1999). *Governing in Europe: Effective and democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2010). The European Union in search of political identity and legitimacy: Is more Politics the Answer? Retrieved from
- Scholl, C., & Freyberg-Inan, A. (2018). Imagining another Europe: Building a pan-European counter-hegemonic bloc around an anti-austerity master frame. *Comparative European Politics*, 16(1), 103-125.
- Schreier, M. (2014). Qualitative Content Analysis. In Flick, U (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: SAGE pp170-183
- Scotch, R. K. (1988). Disability as the Basis for a Social Movement: Advocacy and the Politics of Definition. *Journal of Social Issues*, 44(1), 159-172.
- Senden, L. (2017). The Constitutional Fit of European Standardization Put to the Test. *Legal Issues of Economic Integration*, 44(4).
- Shaffer, M. B. (2000). Coalition work among environmental groups. In Coy, P.G. (Ed.) *Research in social movements, conflicts and change*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited pp 111-126
- Smelser, N. (2011). *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New Orleans. In: Louisiana, USA: Quid Pro Books.

- Smismans, S. (2008). The European Social Dialogue in the Shadow of Hierarchy. *Journal of Public Policy*, 28(1), 161-180.
- Snow, D. A., Rochford Jr, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American sociological review*, 464-481.
- Sokolska, I., 2021. *The Treaty of Nice and the Convention on the Future of Europe*, European Asylum Support Office. Malta. Retrieved from <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/2171364/the-treaty-of-nice-and-the-convention-on-the-future-of-europe/2927050/> on 11 Mar 2023.
- Soldatic, K., & Johnson, K., eds (2019). *Global perspectives on disability activism and advocacy: Our way* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Sørensen, E. (2006). Metagovernance: The changing role of politicians in processes of democratic governance. *The American review of public administration*, 36(1), 98-114.
- Sørensen, E., & Torfing, J. (2003). Network politics, political capital, and democracy. *International journal of public administration*, 26(6), 609-634.
- Sørensen, E., & Torfing, J. (2005). The democratic anchorage of governance networks. *Scandinavian political studies*, 28(3), 195-218.
- Staggenborg, S. (1998). Social Movement Communities and Cycles of Protest: The Emergence and Maintenance of a Local Women's Movement. *Social problems*, 45(2), 180-204
- Staggenborg, S., & Lecomte, J. (2009). Social movement campaigns: Mobilization and outcomes in the Montreal women's movement community. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 14(2), 163-180.
- Starke, C., & Lünich, M. (2020). Artificial intelligence for political decision-making in the European Union: Effects on citizens' perceptions of input, throughput, and output legitimacy. *Data & Policy*, 2. E16
- Steinberg, M. W. (1998). Tilting the frame: Considerations on collective action framing from a discursive turn. *Theory and society*, 27(6), 845-872.
- Stephenson, P. (2013). Twenty years of multi-level governance: 'Where does it come from? What is it? Where is it going?'. *Journal of European public policy*, 20(6), 817-837.
- Steunenberg, B., & Rhinard, M. (2010). The transposition of European law in EU Member States: between process and politics. *European Political Science Review*, 2(3), 495-520.
- Stimson, J. A. (1991). *Public opinion in America: Moods, cycles, and swings, transforming American politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Stone, E., & Priestley, M. (1996). Parasites, pawns and partners: disability research and the role of non-disabled researchers. *British journal of sociology*, 699-716.
- Streeck, W. (1994). European Social Policy after Maastricht: The 'Social Dialogue' and 'Subsidiarity'. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 15(2), 151-177.

- Sturm, A., Waldschmidt, A., Karačić, A., & Dins, T. (2017). Exercising influence at the European level: Political opportunity structures for disability rights advocacy and the impact of the UN CRPD. In Halvorsen, B. H. R., Bickenbach, J., Ferri, D., and Guillén Rodríguez, A. M. (eds), *The Changing Disability Policy System*. London: Routledge pp 159-176
- Suh, D. (2001). How do political opportunities matter for social movements?: Political opportunity, misframing, pseudosuccess, and pseudofailure. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 42(3), 437-460.
- Suh, D. (2011). Institutionalizing Social Movements: The Dual Strategy of the Korean Women's Movement. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 52(3), 442-471.
- Suh, D. (2012). Intricacies of Social Movement Outcome Research and beyond: "How can you Tell" Social Movements Prompt Changes? *Sociological Research Online*, 17(4), 92-102.
- Swain, J., & French, S. (2000). Towards an affirmation model of disability. *Disability & Society*, 15(4), 569-582.
- Tarrow, S. (1996). Social movements in contentious politics: A review article. *American Political Science Review*, 90(4), 874-883.
- Tarrow, S. (1998). 'The very excess of democracy': State building and contentious politics in America. *Social movements and American political institutions*, 20-38.
- Tarrow, S. (2005). *The new transnational activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, S. (2007). Inside insurgencies: Politics and violence in an age of civil war. *Perspectives on politics*, 5(3), 587-600.
- Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2009). Contentious politics and social movements. In Boix, C., and Stokes S. C., (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford, Oxford University Press pp 435-460
- Tarrow, S. G. (1983). *Struggling to reform: Social movements and policy change during cycles of protest*. Ithaca: Center for International Studies, Cornell University.
- Teisman, G. (2008) Complexity and management of improvement programmes: an evolutionary approach. In: *Public Management Review* 10, 3, p. 341-359
- Tilly, C. (1995). Citizenship, identity and social history. *International review of social history*, 40(S3), 1-17.
- Tilly, C. (1998). *Durable inequality*. California: University of California Press.
- Tilly, C. (1999). From interactions to outcomes in social movements. *How social movements matter*, 10, 253-270.
- Tilly, C. (2008). *Contentious performances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tocqueville, A. (2003). *Democracy in America: And two essays on America*. London: Penguin
- Tortola, P. D. (2017). Clarifying multilevel governance. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56(2), 234-250.

- Touraine, A. (1981). *The voice and the eye: An analysis of social movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Touraine, A. (1985). An introduction to the study of social movements. *Social research*, 52(4)749-787.
- Tricart, J.-P. (2020). Once upon a time there was the European social dialogue, in B. Vanhercke, D. Ghailani, S. Spasova, & P. Pochet (eds.) *Social policy in the European Union 1999-2019: the long and winding road*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute pp71-98
- Turner, R. H., & Killian, L. M. (1987). *Collective behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall.
- Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (1975) *Fundamental Principles*, <https://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/40/library/UPIAS-fundamental-principles.pdf> (Accessed September 2019)
- United Nations (2003) *Working with the United Nations Human Rights Project: A Handbook for Civil Society*. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/AboutUs/CivilSociety/Documents/Handbook_en.pdf (accessed June 2022)
- Van Buuren, A., Boons, F., & Teisman, G. (2012). Collaborative problem solving in a complex governance system: Amsterdam airport Schiphol and the challenge to break path dependency. *Systems Research and Behavioral Science*, 29(2), 116-130.
- Van Dyke, N. (2003). Crossing movement boundaries: Factors that facilitate coalition protest by American college students, 1930–1990. *Social problems*, 50(2), 226-250.
- Van Dyke, N., & Amos, B. (2017). Social movement coalitions: Formation, longevity, and success. *Sociology Compass*, 11(7), e12489.
- Van Schendelen, M. P. (1998). *EU Committees as influential policymakers*. London: Routledge
- Vanhala, L. (2009). Disability rights activists in the Supreme Court of Canada: Legal mobilization theory and accommodating social movements. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, 42(4), 981-1002.
- Vanhala, L. (2015). The diffusion of disability rights in Europe. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 37, 831.
- Verdun, A., & D'Erman, V. (2020). Two Decades of change in Europe: post-crisis social policymaking in the EU, in B. Vanhercke, D. Ghailani, S. Spasova, & P. Pochet (eds.) *Social policy in the European Union 1999-2019: the long and winding road*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute pp37-58
- Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple inequalities, intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), 211-228.

Voorberg, W. H., Bekkers, V. J., & Tummers, L. G. (2015). A systematic review of co-creation and co-production: Embarking on the social innovation journey. *Public management review*, 17(9), 1333-1357.

Voß, J.-P., & Simons, A. (2014). Instrument constituencies and the supply side of policy innovation: the social life of emissions trading. *Environmental Politics*, 23(5), 735-754. doi:10.1080/09644016.2014.923625

Wacquant, L. J., & Bourdieu, P. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity

Waddington, L. (1999). The European Community's response to disability. In Jones, M. & Marks, L. A. (eds) *Disability, Diversity and Legal Change* Leiden: Brill Nijhoff pp139-151

Waddington, L. (2006). *From Rome to Nice in a Wheelchair, The Development of a European Disability Policy*. Groningen: Europa Law Publishing

Waddington, L. (2011). The European Union and the United Nations Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities: a story of exclusive and shared competences. *Maastricht Journal of European and Comparative Law*, 18(4), 431-453.

Waddington, L. (2018). *Mainstreaming Disability Rights in the European Social Pillar*. Utrecht: Academic Network of European Disability Experts.

Waddington, L., & Hendriks, A. (2002). The Expanding Concept of Employment Discrimination in Europe: From Direct and Indirect Discrimination to Reasonable Accommodation Discrimination. *International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations*, 18(4), 403-427.

Wagenaar, H. (2016). Democratic transfer: Everyday neoliberalism, hegemony and the prospects for democratic renewal. In Edelenbos, J., & van Meerkerk, I. (eds.) *Critical reflections on interactive governance: Self-organization and participation in public governance*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Waldschmidt, A. (2009). Disability policy of the European Union: The supranational level. *Alter*, 3(1), 8-23.

Waldschmidt, A., Karačić, A., Sturm, A., & Dins, T. (2015). "Nothing About Us Without Us" Disability Rights Activism in European Countries—A Comparative Analysis. *Moving the Social*, 53, 103-138.

Whittle, R. (2002). The Framework Directive for equal treatment in employment and occupation: an analysis from a disability rights perspective. *European Law Review*, 27(3), 303-326.

Williams, R. (1980). *Problems in materialism and culture: Selected essays* London: Verso.

Willig, C. (2014). Interpretation & Analysis In Flick, U (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage pp341-353

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (eds) (2015). *Methods of critical discourse studies*. London: Sage.

Wonka, A., Baumgartner, F. R., Mahoney, C., & Berkhout, J. (2010). Measuring the size and scope of the EU interest group population. *European Union Politics*, 11(3), 463-476.

Woodward, A. (2003). European Gender Mainstreaming: Promises and Pitfalls of Transformative Policy¹. *Review of Policy Research*, 20(1), 65-88.

World Health Organisation (2007) Commission on Social Determinants of Health: Civil Society Report
<https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/commission-on-social-determinants-of-health-civil-society-report> (accessed June 2022)

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zahariadis, N. (1998). Comparing three lenses of policy choice. *Policy Studies Journal*, 26(3), 434-448.

Zahariadis, N. (2003). *Ambiguity and choice in public policy: Political decision making in modern democracies*. Washington, DC: Georgetown university press.

Zahariadis, N. (2007) "The multiple streams framework: structure, limitations, prospects". In Sabatier, P. A. (ed) *Theories of the Policy Process* Boulder, CO: Westview Press. pp65–92.

Zahariadis, N. (2008). Ambiguity and choice in European public policy. *Journal of European public policy*, 15(4), 514-530.

Zald, M. (2000). Ideologically structured action: An enlarged agenda for social movement research. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 5(1), 1-16.

Zald, M. N., & Ash, R. (1966). Social movement organizations: Growth, decay and change. *Social forces*, 44(3), 327-341.

Zald, M. N., & McCarthy, J., (2017). Social movement industries: Competition and conflict among SMOs. In Zald, M. N., & McCarthy, eds. *Social movements in an organizational society* (pp. 161-180) New Brunswick: Routledge..

Zohlnhöfer, R., Herweg, N., & Rüb, F. (2015). Theoretically refining the multiple streams framework: An introduction. *European Journal of Political Research*, 54(3), 412-418.

List of Abbreviations

AGA Annual General Assembly

ANED Academic Network of European Disability Experts

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CSO Civil society organisation

DARE Disability Advocacy Research in Europe

DPI Disabled People's International

DPI/E Disabled People's International Europe

DPM Disabled People's Movement

DPO Disabled people's organisation

EAA European Accessibility Act

EDF European Disability Forum

ECI European Citizens Initiative

EESC European Economic and Social Committee

ENAR European Network Against Racism

ENGO European non-governmental organisation

ESR Early-stage researchers

EU European Union

EUD European Union of the Deaf

EP European Parliament

EWL European Women's Lobby

FIMITIC Federation International des Mutiles, des Invalides di Travail et des Invalides Civils

IMCO Internal Market and Consumer Protection committee

MEP Member of European Parliament

NPM New Public Management

OMC Open Method of Coordination

RED Race Equality Directive

SMO Social movement organisations

TEC Treaty establishing the European Community

TEU Treaty on European Union

TFEU Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

UNCRPD United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

UPIAS Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation

Appendices

Appendix A: EDF statute requirements for full members

Full members requirements for EDF:

1) One National Council of Disabled People from each EU and EEA Member State which:

1. has an independent legal status in its own country;

2. includes within its membership the most representative organisations of all major impairment groupings, as well as of organisations of parents of disabled people unable to represent themselves, and is open for inclusion of other groups of disabled people;

3. has a 51% majority within its membership and within its governing bodies of organisations of disabled people and of parents of disabled people unable to represent themselves.

2) European Non-Governmental Organisations of disabled people which: 1. have a legal status;

2. are represented in at least half plus one of the EU/EEA countries and are open to organisations from any EU/EEA country;

3. has a 51% majority within its membership and within its governing bodies of organisations of disabled people and of parents of disabled people unable to represent themselves.

4. principal remit of which should relate explicitly to co-operation at European level regarding disability and be consistent with the aims and objectives of the Association as referred to in Article 3 of these Statutes.

Appendix B: Chronology of campaigns

Year	Campaign 1	Campaign 2	Campaign 3
1993		First horizontal equal treatment directive drafted by the EDF and submitted to the Commission, in honour of the first European Day of Disabled Persons (EDDP).	
1994			
1995	After an EDF meeting with the 'Reflection Group' in preparation for the IGC it was concluded that the revised Treaty on		

	<p>European Union should have a non-discrimination clause protecting disabled people (EDF Amsterdam Treaty toolkit).</p> <p>Invisible Citizens campaign group assemblies: Members of the European Parliamentary Disability Intergroup are present, as well as European disability organisations and national disability organisations – e.g. French national Disability Council, Dutch National Disability Council, UK Royal National Institute for the Blind. Also present are legal experts from the University of Maastricht. The EDF is tasked with the role of ‘co-ordination’.</p> <p>The ‘Invisible Citizens’ report is produced by legal experts from the University of Maastricht (Waddington and Hendrik): making the case for a non-discrimination clause and activating European policy for DPOs as a space for claims-making (EDF toolkit).</p>		
1996	Italian National Council maintains pressure for disability to be on the agenda for the Intergovernmental conference (IGC) during Italian presidency.		

	<p>IGC 'prepare the EU for the 21st Century' opens in March (Amsterdam Treaty revisions) (Dutch Presidency Newsletter, 1996).</p> <p>October</p> <p>Invisible citizens campaign consists of legal experts, EDF members, Disability intergroup secretariat, European DPO networks, MEPs.</p> <p>Campaign communication 'Invisible Citizens – Disabled Persons' status in the European Treaties' (Issue 3) provides news from Irish presidency, upcoming IGC, positions of Member States on Article 6a.</p> <p>Campaign promotes the report: 'How can disabled persons in the European Union achieve equal rights as citizens?' as lobby tool for activists.</p> <p>December</p> <p>Irish presidency produces draft Treaty with reference to disability in non-discrimination clause (Article 6a)</p>		
--	--	--	--

1997	<p>HELIOS II pilot programme finishes, EDF acting as secretariat for the EDDP while transitioning to independence - first elections in June of 1997.</p> <p>The Dutch presidency: upcoming Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) will negotiate the introduction of the Euro in 1999, enlargement of 10 new states and 'bringing Europe closer to citizens' (IGC update, March 1996) – to become Treaty of Amsterdam.</p> <p>A Eurosceptic centre-right minister for European Affairs in NL was chair of negotiations in June 1997 (European Voice newsletter, 1997). European Social Policy being consolidated, an opportunity for many groups to shore up mention/protection in Treaty, Netherlands hesitant to introduce any items that would further divide.</p> <p>March</p> <p>Communication from EDF IGC working group to EDF members: The Bomb has Dropped – Disability is Out!</p>		
------	--	--	--

<p>Disability is dropped from Article 6a of draft by Dutch presidency, as well as age, social origin and sexual orientation. 'Prohibit' changed to 'combat'. EDF must work to reintroduce disability in two sections of the treaty.</p> <p>Communication gives EDF Members advice on how to meet fears of costs (Esp, Port) and overriding of national disability legislation (Fr, Germany, NL) for members to use to lobby.</p> <p>Communication suggests meeting with MEPs to lobby national MPs will be more effective</p> <p>7/03: EDF IGC meeting minutes:</p> <p>9 states support disability in Article 6a and a draft that re-includes disability is underway.</p> <p>April</p> <p>10/04: A delegation meets with the Dutch Chair of IGC to improve Dutch stance on non-discrimination stance and disability (EDF toolkit).</p>		
---	--	--

	<p>EDF Board Meeting in AMS: After lobby efforts and parliamentary support, disability was re-introduced into non-discrimination clause. Internal market harmonization and social programmes still missing support from e.g. Denmark</p> <p>May</p> <p>Specific training session to muster further support among German DPOs in response to rumoured ambivalence by the German national government to Article 6a, no longer able to hide behind vocal opposition expressed by previous Conservative government in the UK.</p> <p>June</p> <p>Protest in Leidseplein, Amsterdam. Visible Citizens - Our Vision for the Future</p> <p>October</p> <p>02/10: Treaty signed</p>		
--	---	--	--

	Article 6a includes disability (becoming Article 13) and declaration regarding disability accompanying Internal Market harmonisation (Article 100a)		
1998			
1999	Article 13 in the Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union empowers the European Council of Ministers to take action to combat discrimination based on a number of ascriptive grounds, including disability.		
2000	Member States unanimously agreed at Council level to adopt Council <i>Directive 2000/78/EC</i> of 27 November 2000 and the Race Equality Directive or Council Directive 2000/43/EC.		
2001			
2002			'eEurope' action plan launched, relating in part to accessibility issues online.

2003		<p>European Year of Persons with Disabilities (EYPD)</p> <p>Second Disability Directive drafted by the EDF circulated to Member States, debated and supported by MEPs in Strasbourg on the 17th November 2003</p>	UNCRPD negotiations begin
2004		<p>Accession of 10 new Member States to the European Union, highlights fragmented national-level disability policy.</p> <p>Rejection by France and The Netherlands of the Treaty establishing a Constitution of Europe in 2004 in national referendums</p>	<p>Commission releases EU Disability Action Plan 2004-2010 to build on momentum established by EYDP. Focus on 'untapped potential' of disabled people lifelong learning, access to public transport and new technologies. Also at strengthening governance via increased dialogue with civil society, in particular with EDF.</p>

2005			Second eEurope Action Plan launched, including aims at increasing participation of disabled people in major online innovations.
2006			13/12: UNCRPD adopted in UN General Assembly
2007		IGC for Treaty of Lisbon European Citizens Initiative (ECI) introduced with Treaty of Lisbon, allowing citizens, with a formal organisation acting on their behalf, to prompt a response from the Commission on a policy issue if the issue can secure 1 million signatures of support across the Member States. To be formally introduced in 2011	30/03: UNCRPD opened for signatures

		<p>1million4disability campaign launched in January</p> <p>May</p> <p>Results achieved after 4 months' campaign are far from satisfactory ('Campaign Flash' communication)</p> <p>October</p> <p>Campaign concludes with a demonstration outside the Commission building and a handing over of the 1.4 million signatures to the Commission Vice President.</p>	
2008		<p>July</p> <p>Commission publishes proposal for a horizontal Directive</p>	<p>UNCRPD came into force on 03 May after ratification by 20 parties</p>

2009			
2010			European Disability Strategy 2010-2020 adopted to support the implementation of the UNCRPD in the EU including a 'European Accessibility Act (EAA)
2011			EU concludes UNCRPD 01/21 EDF produces a 'Freedom of Movement' guide in light of UNCRPD and EU commitments via European Disability Strategy 2010-2020.
2012			Commission runs public consultation for EAA information gathering
2013			

2014			<p>European Commission submits first progress report on UNCRPD. Summarises the actions taken to implement the UNCRPD covering both EU law and policy, and internal implementation by EU institutions, agencies and bodies.</p>
2015			<p>Deloitte submits report on “Socio-economic effects of impact of new measure to improve accessibility of goods and services”</p> <p>March</p> <p>EDF submits report on list of issues</p> <p>April</p> <p>UNCRPD Committee submits concluding observations on EU initial report</p>

			<p>June</p> <p>Commission responds</p> <p>EDF publishes response to List of Issues</p> <p>EAA announced more than three years ago, impact assessment and stakeholder consultation took place.</p> <p>EDF notes the Commission is 'considering a Proposal for a EAA', i.e. it is not certain yet if the Commission will come out with a legislative proposal. This suggests that there is not a legal problem, but rather a lack of political will, to go ahead with the publication.</p> <p>02/12: European Commission tables Accessibility Act proposal</p>
--	--	--	--

2016			<p>UN recommendations for EU include the swift adoption of a strong EAA.</p> <p>EDF Presents at European Parliamentary (EP) conference (8 November)</p> <p>“Accessibility is a pre-condition to enjoy other fundamental rights, such as access to the workplace, education, public services, free movement, leisure, etc. that persons with disabilities should enjoy on an equal basis with others”</p> <p>EDF activates National Councils to push Act through</p>
2017			<p>EP Internal Market and Consumer Protection Committee (IMCO) receive EAA proposal</p>

			<p>EDF with partners demonstrates outside EP before the IMCO committee meeting on proposed amendments to the EAA that would potentially weaken the Act.</p> <p>European Association of European Consumers (ANEC) report:</p> <p>“EP IMCO vote on EAA</p> <p>On 25 April, EP’s IMCO adopted its EAA report ... we regret that the vote excludes small companies and several consumer products from the scope of the proposal”.</p> <p>September</p> <p>EP approves mended text</p> <p>December</p>
--	--	--	---

			Council agrees on a general approach on EAA
2018			
2019			EAA receives Council approval and becomes EU law
2020			
2021			
2022			Transposition deadline for Member States

Appendix C: Sample information sheet and interview questions

Title of the Research: A history of European disability movements: civil society, social movements and counterhegemonic resistance

Please read the information below to ensure you understand why the research is being done, and what your role in the research will be and feel free to ask any questions or raise any concerns about this. We can talk about the research before you decide whether you would like to participate.

What is the purpose of the research?

This research seeks to understand the types of tactics and strategies used in collective action campaigns by European disabled people's movements. It will explore the objectives and approaches of these campaigns and their influence on decision making processes at the EU level of governance. It is part of the Disability Advocacy Research in Europe (DARE) project, a European-wide training network for early stage researchers in the field of disability rights. The European Disability Forum is a partner organisation in this project. This is with the aim of deepening our understanding of strategic collective action that influences decision making processes concerning the rights and lives of disabled people.

Why am I being asked to take part?

The researcher wants to talk to a range of people representing EDF and its membership about a series of historic campaigns. You are being asked because your name was provided as someone who was involved in one or more of these campaigns. The project would like you to share your knowledge and experience to deepen its understanding of the campaign(s).

What do I have to do?

Your participation in the research would be in the form of focus groups and/or an individual interview. You would be asked provide information on a campaign, or a number of campaigns. Both forms of interviews are designed to be informal and only semi-structured. The researcher might ask some prompt questions on specific areas – your thoughts on the way a certain action took place, for example. The length of the interview is flexible, depending on the time you have available and the amount of information you wish to contribute.

What are the possible benefits and risks of taking part in this research?

This research provides you with a platform to reflect on the EDF's history of activism. The findings are being made into a collective action framework for use in future collective action by DPOs, and your participation will help with its creation. It is possible that you might share some sensitive information about EDF in these discussions. You will have an opportunity to review your responses and the way your responses are being used in the research. You have an opportunity to opt out if you are not comfortable with continuing.

Do I have to take part?

If you are interested in taking part, then we will go through the process of informed consent. This will tell you about the research and you can make your decision after this.

Will my information be kept confidential?

All efforts will be made to keep your data anonymous. This means that you are not identifiable from the research. While all efforts will be made to keep your anonymity, it cannot be guaranteed. By agreeing to take part in the research, your identity will be removed (for example, your quote will be attributed to 'a senior member of the organisation') which will be used to name your research in the data. All data that you share with me will be kept confidential. If you wish to opt out of the study, your data will be completely erased from the project and destroyed.

What will happen when the research is finished?

This research is being conducted for a Doctorate (PhD) at the University of Leeds. Your data will contribute to a final thesis for this degree. Data will also be published in academic journal articles, blog posts and conference presentations. You will be asked if there is anything you would not like to be used after the project, and have the right to withdraw your participation and data during the fieldwork until 1st May 2021.

How do I take part?

If you are interested, and have any questions, then please get in touch with Claudia Coveney (details below).

Who can I contact for more information?

To get more information, please get in contact with the researcher using any of the following details.

Claudia Coveney

Email: C.H.Coveney@leeds.ac.uk

Alternatively, the researcher's supervisor can also be contacted:

Professor Mark Priestley

Email: M.A.Priestley@leeds.ac.uk

Who is funding the research?

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 814249

Ethical Review

This study has been reviewed and given the favourable opinion by **Matthew Davis, Chair, AREA FREC**

on 04/08/2020 and the ethics reference is **AREA 19-169**

██████████ interview prompt questions about the 1million4disability campaign

What brought you to work with the EDF? What politicised you with regards to disability rights?

Can you talk about the origins of the 1million4disabilitycampaign?

What was your role in the 1million4disability campaign?

Which organisation were you attached to during the campaign's period (2006/7)?

How was the decision to use the European Citizens Initiative made?

What is the EDF's strategy to manage different national cultures/responses to campaigns?

Was the European Citizens initiative the main element of the campaign or were there other equally important elements? For example close communication between the EDF and EU officials in the Commission, or MEPs?

How were decisions being made throughout this campaign? Were they made at general assemblies? At executive committee meetings? By member organisations who were especially involved in the campaign?

Were there communication tools for the campaign, like a regular newsletter, to discuss strategy, successes, supports etc?

Was it the petition that ensured the Anti-Discrimination legislation was brought to the table and a proposal by the EC produced? Was the legislation already being discussed by bodies of government?

Were you still 'campaigning' when the legislation was moving through the different branches of the European Union? (e.g. Parliament and Council)

Would you say the 1million4disability campaign was successful?

Would you connect any other outcomes to the campaign that were unintended but impactful?

Appendix D: Communication to webinar participants clarifying the purpose of the events and what was requested

Dear attendee,

Thank you for accepting the invitation to the event 'Memories of Activism: personal reflections on the history of the EDF', taking place this Friday, **the 18th September at 11am CET**. My name is Claudia Coveney, and I am the organiser of the event.

The program for the event is attached to this email.

After the speakers have presented, there will be a short break, and then the discussion will be opened back up to discuss the key achievements, challenges and campaigns of the EDF's history so far. Although you have indicated you would not like to present as a speaker, your input in this discussion would be greatly valued if you wish to participate.

Please do let me know if you have any questions.

Many thanks,

Claudia Coveney
Marie Skłodowska-Curie Early-Stage Researcher
Disability Advocacy Research in Europe (DARE) Project
Centre for Disability Studies, School of Sociology and Social Policy
University of Leeds

Appendix E: Consent form

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS

I confirm that (please tick or cross below as you feel is appropriate)

I have read and understood an information sheet about this research.	
I have been able to discuss the information sheet and ask questions about the research aims and my role in the research.	
I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research until July 2021	
I understand that I will have the opportunity to review my contributions to the research	
I understand that this research will be shared publicly and academically	
I understand that I will be assign a pseudonym for anonymity, but understand that this cannot be guaranteed	
I agree to sign and date this informed consent, as a gesture of my agreement to participate in an interview with the possibility of follow-up clarification	
I confirm that I have received contact details for the researcher, and will receive further contact following the interview	

Participant

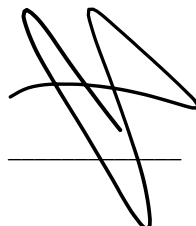
Name of participant

Signature

Date

Researcher

Claudia Coveney



Name of researcher Signature Date

Appendix F: Anonymised inventory of archival documents from Campaign 1

Archival Collection – inventory by Claudia Coveney

Box 1

- Association of Disabled Professionals: Disabled People and Their Employment – A Review of Research into the Performance of Disabled People at Work (1979)
- Commission review by European Network of Rehabilitation Centres: 'Analysis of the current needs and initiatives in the field of adaptation and vocational training for young handicapped people to the view realities' (November 1984)
- Social Europe: Social security and disability (May 1986)
- Various announcements of integration projects
- EEC/EIRR: Announcement of second action programme for disabled people (1987)
- Social Europe Dossier: The Social Integration of Disabled People (1986)
- European Day of disabled people 1994: Report of the Human Rights Plenary Meeting
- European Parliamentary Committee on Institutional affairs report: On the functioning of the Treaty of the European Union with a view to the IGC 1996 – implementation and development of the Union (1995)
- Commission report on the ICG conference reflection group (1995)
- Commission Report on the operation of the Treaty of the European Union (1995)
- DG Research Working Paper: 'Citizenship of the Union: Possibilities, recommendations and suggestions for protecting and extending

citizenship of the Union with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference to review the Maastricht Treaty' (1995)

- Resolution of the Council and of representative of government and Member States meeting within the Council and Commission communication announcing new Disability Strategy. (1996) On Equal opportunities for disabled people.
- Report on Disability Policy in Europe from 1974-1993
- Intergovernmental conference task force (European Parliament): White paper on the 1996 Intergovernmental conference – Volume 1 Official Texts (1996)
- European Parliament IGC White Paper on IGC (1996) – Volume II Summary positions of Member States
- European Parliament IGC Taskforce: Provisional White paper on the 1996 IGC Conference – Volume III Briefings (1996)
- Conference of the representatives of the Member state governments: Adapting the European Union for the Benefit of its Peoples and Preparing it for the Future – General outline for a draft revision of the Treaties (1996)
- Communication from EP Disability Intergroup Chair (October 1996)
- Fax communication to 'campaigners' (October 1996)
- Fax communication (November 1996)
- EDF interim Board Meeting agenda, European Day of Disabled Persons Newsletter and fax communication regarding approach to TEU (November 1996)
- Communication from to European Parliamentary Labour Party (December 1996)
- Folder on 1996 European Day of Disabled People:
- Communication newsletters from Commissioner Oreja on the IGC 12/1995 and 10/1996
- 1996 IGC Taskforce: Briefings on non-discrimination on 'sexual grounds', citizenship, fundamental rights and European Social Policy and IGC
- IGC 1996 Reflection Group report

- IGC Commission opinion: Reinforcing political union and preparing for enlargement (1996)
- Fax communication re Germany's position on non-discrimination (January 1997)
- Preparation material for IGC Meeting (January 1997)
- Fax communication entitled: European Day of Disabled Persons – 1996 (January and February 1997)
- Conference of Member State reps: Draft of amendments and proposals for new articles in the Treaty (February 1997)
- Fax correspondence from CERMI (1997)
- Fax communication campaign members X 2 (March 1997)
- EDF IGC working group meeting minutes, relevant Member State contacts and upcoming agendas for Dutch Presidency. (March 1997)
- Invisible Citizens newsletter no. 4 detailing Member State position (6 Feb 1997)
- European Social Observatory: IGC special information update (January 1997)
- Fax communication to EDF/IGC working group (April 1997)
- Communication with EDF Board members
- Conference of Member State govt representatives: communication between IGC Irish representative and Sec-gen of Council of European Union
- EDF Secretariat: Letter for the IGC Member State representatives (May 1997)
- European press publication: European parliament plenary session (May 1997)
- Invisible citizens update: Briefing on state of play following Maastricht meeting, 16/17 May and campaign actions until Amsterdam Summit (May 1997):
- European press publication: IGC/EP – EP socialist group favour work extension (June 1997)
- Fax communication between campaign and rep for German disability organisation (June 1997)
- Memo and fax communication X 3 (June 1997)

- European press publication (June 1997)
- Draft Treaty of Amsterdam and EC Presidency conclusions (June 1997)
- Reader (date unknown) from class called 'European Law and Policies concerning Disabled People

Box 2

- European Commission: Report to Council on Initial Community Action Programme for Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled People (1979)
- European Commission: A functional assessment of disabled workers in light of task demands of new micro-electronic devices (1983)
- International Expert meeting on Legislation on Equalisation of Opportunities for Disabled People – The Role of NGOs, Legislation By Disabled People for Disabled People (1986)
- European Commission: Memorandum of the Commission to the Council concerning the employment of disabled people in the European Community – Draft for a Council Recommendation on the employment of disabled people in the European Community (1986)
- House of Lords: Select Committee on the European Communities – Integration of Disabled People – With Evidence (1988)
- European Parliament: Report drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Women's Rights on the social situation of handicapped women and women who look after the handicapped (1989)
- Institute of Manpower Studies: Employers' Attitudes Towards People with Disabilities (1993)
- Research report: Integration of the Disabled: An Analysis of Measures and Trends in Member States (date unknown)

Box 3

- Commission Summary: Conference on Vocational Rehabilitation of Handicapped People (1979)
- Bureau for action in favour of disabled people report: Transport for the disabled -door to door transport systems – Investigation of the relevant schemes in Member States of the EEC, Sweden and the United States
- Commission document: Workshop on the Employment of Disabled People (1984)

- Commission document: Disabled people and their Employment (1985)
- Bureau in favour of action for disabled people and ERICA: Everyday mobility for disabled people: Private cars, pedestrian facilities, adaptation of existing public service vehicles (1985)
- Commission document: Study of Information Needs Regarding Employment of Handicapped Persons (1986)
- Dutch council for disabled people on behalf of Bureau for Action in favour of disabled people: Accessibility of public buildings for the disabled (1986)
- Commission: Study to assess the information needed regarding mobility of disabled persons - (1987)
- Helios document: Integration of handicapped children into ordinary schools (1987)
- Commission report: on the application of Council Recommendation on the employment of disabled people (1988)
- Commission-sponsored document: Programme of Research and Actions for the Social Integration of Disabled People – The Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Women in the European Community (1988)
- Commission ‘Community Guide’: Local Services for Disabled People – A handbook of social and regional authority services for disabled people in the Member States (Portugal and Spain) (1986 and 1989)
- Commission communication: Concerning Action Programme Relating to the Implementation of the Community Charter of Basic Social Rights for workers (1989)
- Folder containing material on HELIOS I (1988)
- Commission report prepared by ERICA (European Research into Consumer Affairs): ‘Moving to Independence’ - Appropriate European Community Initiatives to Promote Mobility and Accessibility for Disabled People (1989)
- Folder containing Commission report: To the European Parliament and Council on the Implementation and Results of HELIOS I [1988-1991] (1992)

- Helios Programme: HANDYNET: 'The Albeda report' European computerised information system and network for disabled people (1991)
- Commission proposal: Proposal for a Council Decision on Community Support for Actions in Favour of Older People (Community Actions for Older People 1991-1993 Incl. European Year of Older People and Solidarity between Generations) – Evaluation report

Appendix G: Campaign 1 Newsletter

ISSUE N° 3 OCTOBER 1996

The Netherlands: The Dutch National Council had no new information but is strongly committed to ensuring that the Dutch Presidency has non-discrimination on grounds of disability firmly on the agenda.

Italy: The Italian National Council has had commitments from three Ministers inside the Government on the inclusion of this clause.

France: NGOs have had a positive meeting with J Chirac, President of the Republic. Michel Barnier, European Affairs Minister of France, has launched a campaign to allow citizens to get to know Europe better and to participate directly in the construction of Europe. French NGOs should try to get involved.

Spain: The Spanish Government has made supportive statements but has yet to commit itself formally. CERMI has sent a letter to the Minister of Social Affairs urging her to take action in the Government on the issue of a non-discrimination clause on grounds of disability.

Belgium: The Government is favourable but will not give a definite commitment. The Senate and the Chamber of Representatives in published memoranda are favourable to a non-discrimination clause including a reference to disability. The National Superior Council of Disabled Persons is organising a seminar on "Non-Discrimination: Equal Opportunities" on 29 November. The Secretary of State for Social Integration, Jan Peeters will attend the meeting. NGOs should seize this opportunity to express their request for a non-discrimination clause to the relevant Minister.

Denmark: Both the Danish national Council and the Danish Government would like a general statement on human rights.

Keep on lobbying:

The IGC is a moving procedure and a process of negotiation. Bearing this in mind, it is important to keep the issue of non-discrimination on grounds of disability on your Ministers' and civil servants agendas.

The new report "How Can Disabled Persons in the European Union achieve equal rights as citizens? The Legal and Economic Implications of a Non-discrimination Clause in the European Treaties" provides an extremely useful lobbying tool for you to use at national level. It contains a simplified summary which can be used for briefing disability groups and politicians and shows how disability groups have responded responsibly to the concerns raised in the Reflection Group report of December 1995. You should send the report to your Ministers and civil servants, with a covering letter bringing out the key points and follow up to check what action they are taking to support inclusion of the clause at the Dublin Council meeting in December.

The work done to date at national level has shown that disabled people are no longer "Invisible Citizens", but citizens who are making their voices heard. Now is a critical time - in the run up to the Dublin Council meeting on 13 December - to ensure that your national Government takes the issue of non-discrimination seriously. This meeting is shortly after the European Day of Disabled Persons on 3 December and NGOs could use their national events to focus on the issue of non-discrimination and human rights.

Keep "Invisible Citizens" informed:

Please keep the Editorial Board of "Invisible Citizens" constantly updated as to the position of your Government. "Invisible Citizens" would like to hear from NGOs or others who have information on the positions of Luxembourg, Finland, and Austria.

For further information contact:

**European Day of Disabled Persons Secretariat (EDDP),
7 Bld Clovis, B-1000 Bruxelles
Tel/Fax: (+32 2) 280 14 12**

e-mail:
106146.1371@compuserve.com

Internet:
<http://www.arcadis.be/ilsmb-ea/euroday.htm>

"Organised with the support of the Commission of the European Communities, DGV-E3, Integration of Disabled People, within the framework of the HELIOS II programme, and of the European Parliament"

ROC UPDATE 4