<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aberdeen attitudes towards Europe study</th>
<th>advocacy NGOs 33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mapping of voluntary associations 48, 50–51</td>
<td>agency capture 114, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sectoral taxonomy of associative activity 49–53</td>
<td>agency slack 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associations and their supporters 53–5, 66</td>
<td>agricultural policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socio-demographic characteristics of respondents 54–5</td>
<td>conflict lines among coalitions 201, 204, 207–209, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attachment 56–7</td>
<td>power distribution among coalitions 199, 200, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political engagement 57–8</td>
<td>aloof attitudes towards Europe 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political confidence 58–9</td>
<td>Amsterdam model, political opportunity structure 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impact of associational life on 62–6</td>
<td>assimilationism 131, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>typology of attitudes 59–62</td>
<td>associational impact on attitudes towards Europe study 45–67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conclusions 66–7</td>
<td>contextual layers 46–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basic characteristics 46–7</td>
<td>mapping and research design 48–9, 50–51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>democratic development 47</td>
<td>sectoral taxonomy of associative activity 49–53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCESS 223, 224, 231</td>
<td>associations and their supporters 53–5, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accession conditionality 110–11, 114, 121</td>
<td>attachment 56–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accountability</td>
<td>conclusions 66–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multi-level governance 34</td>
<td>political engagement 57–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also democratic accountability; electoral accountability; public accountability</td>
<td>political confidence 58–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acquis communautaire 225, 226, 227, 229</td>
<td>typology of attitudes 59–62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active citizenry 22</td>
<td>impact of associational life 62–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actors</td>
<td>levels of associational engagement 65–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policy networks 194–6</td>
<td>sizes of associations 64–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also non-state actors; political actors; politicians</td>
<td>types of associations 63–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adaptational pressure</td>
<td>associational membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeanisation process 110</td>
<td>credibility problem due to lack of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also domestic adaptations</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advertising, outside lobbying 180, 186</td>
<td>participatory democracy 6, 13–14, 23–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advocacy and service provision 225–6</td>
<td>third sector organisations 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third sector organisations 14, 26, 27, 36</td>
<td>Athens programme (EPP, 1992) 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also outside lobbying</td>
<td>attached attitudes to Europe 56–7, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
attitudes towards Europe see associational impact on attitudes towards Europe study
Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) 157, 161, 163
Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP) 157, 163
Austrian People’s Party/Austrian Freedom Party (ÖVP/FPÖ) 157, 158, 163
Austrian Social Democratic party (SPÖ) 157, 158

Bache, I. 34, 35, 36–7, 38
Baltic States, civil society 218–35
EU efforts to support 222–33
consequences for multi-level governance 234–5
developments in NGO sphere 224–9
Phare 222–4
value and norm transfer 229–33
historical context of development 219–22
historical legacies and civic engagement 218–19
NGOs’ connection with EU funding 233–4
bargaining 31, 195, 201, 212
Bechtel 120, 121
Belgium
consensus building and consensual decision-making 77–8
environmental movement 80–82
belongingness 26
Berlusconi, Silvio 158, 163
big government
civil society championed as a means to defeat 5
US initiatives to reduce 24–5
biotechnological research, Czech Republic 113
Biotrin 113–15
Bismarckian (insurance-based) welfare states 132, 136
bottom-up approach, democratic decision-making 4, 9, 11, 12, 249–50
bottom-up Europeanisation 111, 160–62

see also Europeanisation, case studies
Bourdieu, Pierre 22–3
Britain see United Kingdom
Brussels bias 96
Bundesrepublik 47
business groups, accredited as NGOs 13

Cardiff conference (2002) 98–9
Catalan Convention 100
Central and Eastern Europe (CEE),
Europeanisation, research 109, 110
chequebook participation 7
Ciampi, Carlo Azeglio 163
citizen groups, outside lobbying 185, 187–8
citizens
control over political elites 153
distance from EU institutions and decision-making 10, 12, 251
interest groups see interest groups
perceptions of Europeanisation 161
rarity of links between EU institutions and 11
transnational fora 165
unwillingness to engage in political life 3
citizenship
and claim making 130–32, 136
community action programme to promote European 5
political rights in EU 165
civic dialogue 32, 33

civic engagement 28
Balkan States 218–19
role of interest groups in fostering 170–90
civic mindedness 21, 22, 28, 37
civil service, confidence in 58
civil society 20–22
as an encompassing concept 28–30
Baltic States see Baltic States
citizen alienation from EU

governance 251
conferral of legitimacy on NGOs 12–13
core of 29
definition of 93
development, path dependency 219–20
empowerment 109–24
multi-level governance
democratic challenge 4–9
Europeanisation 241
from governing to governance 31–2
social capital, third sector and
further development of 34–8
need to stimulate a more engaged
and vibrant 45
as a point of reference 29
research on role in Convention on
the Future of Europe 91–2
see also Wales
toward a European 85–8
civil society contact groups 95, 96
civil society organisations (CSOs) 4
activists, attitudes to EU 250
attractiveness to policy makers 4
deliberative tradition type of
definition 13
EC argument for stronger
involvement in decision-making 71
and EU governance 32–4
flourishing of, later 19th century 21
involvement with Convention on the
Future of Europe, Wales see Wales
role as mobilisers 171
use of outside lobbying 189
see also interest groups; non-
governmental organisations;
social movements; voluntary
associations
civil society plenaries 95
Civil Society Programs 223
claim making see political mobilisation
coalition structures
analysis of power and interactions in
conclusions 211–14
empirical findings 199–211
operationalisation and data 196–9
domestic policy networks 194–6
Cockfield, Lord 159
Cohn-Bendit, Daniel 164
Colloquium on civil society and
governance 99
Commission Registry of Civil Society
Organisations (CONECCS) 178
committed attitudes towards Europe
59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66
The Commission and Non-
Governmental Organisations:
Building a Stronger Partnership 33
communication
CSOs as channels of 33
gap, EU and domestic political
spaces 151–65
see also civic dialogue; social
dialogue
Communist legacy, adaptational
pressure, Europeanisation 110
community action programme, to
promote European citizenship 5
community concern associations,
attitudes towards Europe study
attachment levels 64
distribution and respondents 53
community method, governance 32
competition, in policy networks 195,
206
Conference on Environment and
Development (UN) 84
Conference on the Human
Environment (UNCHE) 84
conflict, in policy networks 195
conflict lines
among coalitions 201–202, 213
agricultural policy 207–209, 213
European integration 202–207,
213
immigration policy 209–11, 213
policy change 211–12
conflictual issues, outside lobbying 176,
182, 183, 184
consensual decision-making 78
consociative theories, communication
gap, EU and domestic political
spaces 153–4
constituent mobilisation 182
Convention on the Future of Europe
91, 94–7
research on civil society role in 91–2
see also Wales
Conventioneers 95–6
cooperation, in policy networks 195,
201, 202, 207, 208, 210, 212
cooperative movement 21–2
Copenhagen criteria 225, 226
corporatist model, welfare 47, 136
Council of Ministers 32, 153, 165
courts, confidence in 58
Cox, Pat 163
credibility, lack of membership participation, NGOs 7
cultural conditions, citizenship 131–2
cultural difference dimension, political mobilisation 136
culture associations, attitudes towards Europe study attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
Czech Commission for Genetically Modified Organisms and Products (CCGMOP) 113, 114, 115
Czech Republic, legislation on GMOs 113–16
Dahl, Robert 29
Dahrendorf, Ralf 29
decision-making communication gap, EU and domestic political spaces 153
consensual 78
federalism and opportunities for oppositional groups 77
majoritarian style 78
social movement organisations 74–5
see also democratic decision making
Delors, Jacques 22
democracy
dependence on social capital 6
EU grass-roots approach to promotion of 228
need for active citizenry 22
see also participatory democracy; representative democracy; schools of democracy
democratic accountability 173–4
democratic decision-making
EC argument for stronger involvement of CSOs 71
establishing and improving at EU level 4–9, 251
horizontal and vertical dimensions 9–12, 31
prospects for bottom-up improvement in 249–50
role of NGOs 12–14
unwillingness of citizens to engage in 3
within Europe 3–4
democratic deficit 37, 151, 164, 249–51
democratic legitimacy of European Union 45, 151
and multi-level governance 34
Deptford residents association 117, 118–19
d’Estaing, President 94
developing countries, unconvinced about need to be involved in environmental protection 83
Development and Strengthening of Civil Society in Latvia 227
DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities 9
Diffusion thesis 112
discursive context, claim making 128, 131–2
migrants and unemployed 137–8
distributive policies, research 31–2
domestic adaptations European Union 193–4
see also adaptational pressure
domestic policy networks applied to coalition structures 194–6
as determinants of policy change 211–12
domestic political elites 159–60
domestic political parties attempts to limit Europeanisation 158–9
gains from a European party system 157
domestic political spaces and EU political space limited interactions between 151–2
explanations for disjuncture 152–5
Europeanisation new perspectives for 160–64
selective 156–60
domestic power relations, effect of EU on 111–13
dominance, in policy networks 195
Don’t Make a Wave 82
economic interest associations, attitudes towards Europe study, distributions and respondents 53 economists, interest in non-profit organisations 26 Eder, Klaus 161 educational reform 20 efficiency, judging governance arrangements 32 electoral accountability, outside lobbying 181 elites see political elites Emergency Ordinance (60/2003) 120 employment-centred regimes 133, 136 empowerment contribution of third sector organisations 26 Europeanisation and civil society 109–24 Engström, Angers 232 enlargement, as a question of value transfer 230 Environment Programme (UNEP) 84 environmental groups, Soviet era 220 Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA), EU directive on 116–17, 121 environmental movements Belgium 80–82 Germany 73, 77 see also global environmental movement Estonia citizenship regulations 221 discourses on role of NGO sector 230–31 introduction of democratic norms and values 232 see also Baltic States Estonian Civil Society Development Concept (EKAK) 224, 225, 226, 230, 231 Etzioni, Amitai 24 Euro-Feds 33–4 Europe attitudes towards see associational impact on attitudes towards Europe study decision-making in 3–4 European Anti-Poverty Network 9 European Commission (EC) 74 argument for stronger involvement of CSOs in decision-making 71 demand for inner democracy 45 discussion paper on NGOs 13 EU governance and civil society organisations 32–4 funding regimes for citizen interest groups 4, 8–9 governance arrangements, judging 32 highlighting of importance of voluntary associations 32–3 integration of social capital and third sector approach 30 intervention, Bechtel motorway 120–22 perceived mission 32 social partners 32 European Commissioners 159 European Council 74, 84 European democratic interference 158 European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) 33, 96 European Environment Bureau (EEB) 7, 87 European and External Affairs Committee (Welsh Assembly) 98 European Free Alliance (EFA) 98 European integration 87–8 conflict lines among coalitions 201, 202–7, 213 consociative theories of 153–4 power distribution among coalitions 199, 200, 213 European Network Against Racism 9 European Parliament (EP) 74, 158, 159, 163, 165, 173 see also Member of the European Parliament European party system 152, 156, 157 European People’s Party (EPP) 157, 158 European People’s Party – European Democrats (EPP–ED) 158, 162 European politics, interest in 57 European Public Affairs Directory (2004) 178 European Public Space, lack of 174 European Social Platform 9
European Union (EU) 165
confidence 58, 59, 61–2
Democratic legitimacy 45, 151
Directives
environmental impact assessment 116–17, 121
GMOs 114, 115
domestic adaptations 193–4
effect on domestic power relations 111–13
efforts to support civil society in Baltic States 222–33
establishing and improving decision-making 4–9
governance
arrangements and civil society organisations 32–4
network structure 31
research 31–2
see also multi-level governance institutions, comparison with US 172–5
lobbying see outside lobbying
political space and domestic political spaces
explanations for disjuncture between 152–5
limited interaction between 151–2
rarity of links between citizens and institutions 11
as weak multi-level political system 74
White Paper on European Governance (2001) 5–6, 33, 45, 71, 72, 88, 104
Europeanisation 109–24
adaptational pressure 110
case studies
conclusions 123–4
legislation on GMOs in Czech Republic 113–16
South East London Combined Heat and Power Incinerator 116–20
Transylvanian motorway in Romania 120–23
communication gap, EU and domestic political spaces 152–3, 154
domestic political spaces
new perspectives for 160–64
selective 156–60
domestic political systems 154–5
interdependency between civil society, multi-level governance and 241
research 109, 110–11
structure of social movements 73
Executive Empowerment thesis 112
expertise
advantaged over mobilisation, in policy-making 8
Euro-Feds as transmitters of 34 external participation, Welsh CSOs’ contact with Convention 100, 101
family associations, attitudes towards Europe study
attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
federalism 47, 73, 77
Filer Commission 25
financial resources, outside lobbying 177
Flemish environmental groups 80–81
Flinders, M. 34, 35, 36–7, 38
focusing events, outside lobbying 175–6, 183
fonction tribunitienne 164
formal institutional structure 77
Forza Italia 157, 158
France
coalitions
conflict lines among 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 210, 213
power distribution among 199, 200, 201, 213
political mobilisation study
individual equality dimension, citizenship 136
migrants
discursive position towards 137
predictions about extent of 139
unemployed
discursive positions towards 138
predictions about extent of 140
Friends of the Earth (FoE) 83
funding
citizen interest groups 4, 8–9
EU support for civil society
development 227–8
Futurum 95
genetic modified organisms
(GMOs), legislation on, Czech
Republic 113–16
German federalism 73, 77
Germany
coalitions
conflict lines among 201, 202, 203,
204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210,
212, 213
power distribution among 199,
200, 201, 213
confidence in parliament and
government 58
democratic development 47
environmental movement 73, 77
political mobilisation study
individual difference dimension of
citizenship 136
migrants
discursive position towards 137
findings 141
predictions about extent of 139
unemployed
discursive position towards 138
findings 142
predictions about extent of 140
use of CSOs to tackle social
question 21
see also Mannheim
global environmental movement 82–5
good government 23
governance
EU White Paper on 5–6, 33, 45, 71,
72, 88, 104
societal explanation for good or bad
23
see also big government; good
government; multi-level
governance
Grant, W. 12–13
government
grassroots approach, democracy
promotion 228
grassroots lobbying tactics 174, 180,
182, 183, 185, 186
Greenpeace 82–3, 113, 115, 116, 119
group-specific welfare associations,
attitudes towards Europe study
attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
Guterres, Antonio 157
Habermas, Jürgen 29
Haider, Jörg 158
Hain, Peter 97, 99
history of issues, outside lobbying 176,
183–4
horizontal communication flows 165
horizontal dimension, decision-making
10, 11, 31
human rights
EU support for watchdog
organisations 226–7
international associations 85
Ilves, T.H. 229
immigration policy
conflict lines among coalitions 201,
205, 209–11, 213
power distribution among coalitions
199, 200, 201, 213
Incinerator Monitoring Group 117
indirect empowerment 230
individual equality, political
mobilisation 136
informality, of governance
arrangements 31
information dissemination, by EU,
through NGOs 228–9
inner democracy 45
input legitimacy 20, 32
instigators 171
Institutional Choice Approach 27
institutional level, citizenship 131
institutional reforms, to address
communication gap 165
institutions, influence on outside
lobbying 172–5
research findings 179–82
see also political institutions
insurance-based welfare states 132, 136
integration see European integration
interactions
  in coalition structures see coalition
  structures
policy networks 195
social movements and political
institutions 79
interest groups
  funding regimes for 4, 8–9
impact on European system 86
influence on outside lobbying 176–7
research findings 185–8
perceived as a force derailing
democracy 170
role in modern democracies 171
tendency to overlook the positive
side of 170–71
interest representation, third sector
organisations 38
interested attitudes towards Europe 60,
61, 62, 64, 65, 66
intergovernmental cooperation,
  transformation of JHA sector 161
intermediary sphere 22, 23, 24–5, 28,
29–30
international human rights
associations 85
international politics, interest in 57
Internet Forum 95
interwar phase, civil society
development 219, 220
issue advertisements, outside lobbying
180, 186
issues, influence on outside lobbying
175–6
research findings 182–5
Italy
  conflict lines among coalitions 201,
  204, 205, 208–209, 210, 213
  good government in 23
  power distribution among coalitions
  199, 200, 201, 213
  public administration reforms 23
  public finance reforms 160
John Hopkins Project 30
judicial review 77
Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) sector
161–2
Kocka, Jürgen 21
Kriesi, Hanspeter 77
Laeken Council (2001) 94, 95
Lamy, Pascal 159
Latvia
  citizenship regulations 221
  NGO development 234
see also Baltic States
Latvian Ministry of Welfare, NGO
survey (1995) 226
Laveau, George 164
Le Pen, Jean-Marie 163
lebenswelt 26
Lega Nord 158, 161
legislation, on GMOs in Czech
Republic 113–16
legislature, comparison of EU and US
173
legitimacy
  domestic political parties 157
see also democratic legitimacy; input
legitimacy; output legitimacy
Lewisham Planning Department 117,
118
liberal intergovernmentalism 152–3
liberal welfare regimes 47, 132, 133,
136
LIEN Program 223, 225, 231
Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF) 210
listening phase, Convention on the
Future of Europe 94, 98
Lithuania
  Civil Society Program 223
  NGO development 234
  zero option, citizenship question
  221
see also Baltic States
lobby sponsorship 9
lobby-cracy 6–7
lobbying see outside lobbying
lobbying groups 6
Lobbying Reports (1996) 178
lobbyists 36, 170
local politics, interest in 57
Luxembourg Council 222
Mair, Peter 152, 154
majoritarian style decision-making 78
Making Democracy Work 23
Index

‘Man And Biosphere’ research programme 83
Mannheim
  attitudes towards Europe study associations and their supporters 53–5, 66
  attachment 56–7
  conclusions 66–7
  impact of associational life on 62–6
  mapping of voluntary associations 48, 50–51
  political engagement 57–8
  political confidence 58–9
  sectoral taxonomy of associative activity 49–51
  socio-demographic characteristics of respondents 54–5
  typology of attitudes 59–62
  basic characteristics 46–7
  democratic development 47
media
  significance of, US lobbying 174
  strategies, outside lobbying 180–81, 186
  see also newspapers; pan-EU media system
Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) 159, 162–3, 164, 165
  see also European Parliament
membership see associational membership
MERCI project 134
Method of Open Coordination (OMC) 31
migrants, political mobilisation see political mobilisation
minimalist welfare 47, 132, 133, 136
minority rights, EU support for watchdog organisations 226–7
mobilisation expertise and technical knowledge advantaged over 8
  see also political mobilisation
mobilisers 171
multi-level governance
civil society
  democratic challenge 4–9
  Europeanisation 241
  from governing to governance 31–2
social capital, third sector and further development of 34–8
civil society organisations 32–4
EU support and consequences for, Balkan States 234–5
horizontal and vertical dimensions 9–12, 31
political opportunity structure (POS) 72, 73–4
research area 92–3
roles and functions of NGOs 12–14
schematic overview of relationships 10
study of political representation in the EU 151
weakness of 35
  see also Wales
multi-level political representation 164–5
multiculturalism 131, 136
multifunctional character, third sector organisations 25–6, 33
mutual influencing 79, 85
Nastase, Adrian 121
nation-building, creation of social movements 85
National Assembly for Wales 93–4, 97–8, 99, 101
national awakening, civil society development 219, 220
national gatekeepers 250
national political elites
  instrumental use of the European level 156–8
  insulation of political competition at the domestic level 154–5
national politics, interest in 57
National Socialism 47
neo-corporatist arrangements, third sector organisations 37, 38
neoliberal revolution, Washington 24–5
neoliberalism 19, 47
Netherlands
  conflict lines among coalitions 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 210, 213
  consensus building and consensual decision-making 77–8
power distribution among coalitions 199, 200, 201, 213
Network Governance thesis 112–13
new issues, outside lobbying 176, 183
‘new’ politics associations, attitudes towards Europe study attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
newspapers, portrayal of Convention on the Future of Europe 99–100
non-distribution constraint 25, 26, 27
non-governmental organisations (NGOs) 6–7, 21
Balkan States
connection with EU funding 233–4
developments 224–9
global, main problem for 83
letters urging Romanian government to halt Bechtel motorway 122
multifunctional character 33
role
in democratic decision-making 9–10
and functions 12–14
Stockholm forum 84
supporters
passive role of 7
unawareness of EU-level activities 250–51
non-profit organisations
micro-economics and study of 26
multifunctional character 25–6
political science and sociology research 26–7
start-up incentives and motivations 26
voluntarism 30
non-state actors
organisational set-ups and opportunity structures of 36
role and legitimacy 34–5
normative element, civil society 28
norms see values and norms
Observers 95–6
Ohne mich 47
older issues, outside lobbying 183–4
Open Society Institute Network 225
operational NGOs 33
oppositional groups
more opportunities, in federal states 77
political elites
routine responses to 77–8, 79
support for, to promote self-interest 78
Orange Revolution 161
organisational membership, outside lobbying 177, 187, 188
organisational set-up, and opportunity structures 36
organisational structure, outside lobbying 187, 188
organisational survey, attitude towards Europe study 48–9
organised civil society 4, 19, 33
O'Rourke, John 224
Osiatynski, Wiktor 225
output legitimacy 32
outside lobbying
citizen engagement 171
comparative study, EU and US data collection 177–9
empirical findings 179–88
conclusion 189–90
factors influencing institutions 172–5
interests 176–7
issues 175–6
United States 171
pan-EU media system, lack of 174, 189
parent bodies, Welsh CSOs’ contact with Convention 100, 101
participation
of public in consultation on GMOs, Czech Republic 115
of Welsh CSOs in Convention on the Future of Europe 100–103
see also chequebook participation; civic engagement; voluntary participation
participatory democracy 5
associational membership 6, 13–14, 23–4
civil society and possibility of linking policy analysis with 22
contribution of NGOs 33
Index

current attractiveness 20–21
judging governance arrangements 32
Party of European Socialists (PES) 157, 158, 162
party networking 156, 157
passive involvement 7
path dependency, civil society development 219–20
patronage, EU norms and erosion of 162
people’s fronts 220–221
Phare 222–4, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233
Phare Democracy Program 223
pluralist models, citizenship 131, 136
Poland, perception of Europeanisation 161
police, confidence in 58
policy analysis, linking with participatory democracy 22
policy entrepreneurs, third sector organisations as 37
policy implementation linked to social capital 23
third sector organisations 36
policy networks see domestic policy networks
policy-making

civil society, Wales and EU 93–4
contribution of NGOs 14
expertise advantaged over mobilisation 8
multi-level governance, EU 92–3
political actors, outside lobbying 176–7, 185–6, 187–8
political confidence, respondents, Aberdeen and Mannheim study 58–9
political culture research 23
political discourse, re-entry of civil society into 20
political elites

as beneficiaries of two-level game 153
citizen control over behaviour of 153
power configuration 78
protection from potential impacts of Europeanisation 154
responses to oppositional groups 77–8, 79
see also domestic political elites; national political elites
political engagement, respondents, Aberdeen and Mannheim study 57–8
political institutions

conclusions 143–4
confidence in 58–9
critique of interaction between social movements and 79
political mobilisation, migrants and unemployed 127–44
citizenship and claim making 130–32
findings
migrants 140–42
unemployed 141–3
political opportunity approach 129–30
research
data retrieval 134–5
hypotheses 138–40
operationalisation 135–8
theoretical framework 128
welfare state and claim making 132–4
see also outside lobbying
political opportunity structure (POS) 72–6
concept of 76–80
criticism of 78
differing definitions 73
importance of 86–7
multi-level governance 72, 73–4
problem with 73
social movements
creation of new 86
environmental movement, Belgium 80–82
global environmental movement 82–5
study of 71–3
political parties

confidence in 58
see also domestic political parties
political representation
access at European level 152
control of communication between national and supranational level 158–9
from two-level to multi-level 164–5
hampering of links between
European and domestic level
multi-level governance research 151
two-level game 154, 165
political science
interest in non-profit organisations
26–7
replacing of term ‘governing’ with
‘governance’ 31
social capital approach in 23
politicians, confidence in 58
politisisation, Europeanisation and
acceleration of 162
politics associations, attitudes towards
Europe study
attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
post-putnam social capital debate 5–6
post-Soviet period, civil society
development 220–21
power
in coalition structures see coalition
structures
configuration, political elite 78
see also domestic power relations
power distribution
among coalitions 199–201, 213
policy change 212
policy networks 195
Presidium, Convention on the Future
of Europe 94
pressure groups, third sector
organisations as 36–7
Prodi, Romani 45, 159
professional associations, outside
lobbying 181, 186
project management, NGOs’
contribution to 14
Promoting the Role of Voluntary
Organisations and Foundations in
Europe of 1997 32–3
protests/rallies, outside lobbying 180,
186
public accountability 109
public administration reforms, Italy
23
public education/PR, outside lobbying
180
public sphere, civil society as 21
Putnam, Robert 6, 23–4, 28–9
Raik, K. 230, 231, 232
Reagan, Ronald 24
reflection phase, Convention on the
Future of Europe 94
Registry of the European Parliament
(2004) 178
RegLeg (Regions with Legislative
Power) 97
religious associations, attitudes
towards Europe study
attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
representative democracy 20
republicanism 131
The Role and Contribution of Civil
Society Organisations in the
Building of Europe 33
Romania, Transylvanian motorway
120–23
Romanian Academic Society 122
Romanian Think Tank 122
Ruddock, Joan 118
salience of issues, outside lobbying
175, 179, 183, 184
Sbragia, Alberta 160
Scharpf, Fritz 20, 32, 33, 195–6
schools of democracy 14, 37–8, 62
Scientific Conference on the
Conservation and Utilisation of
Resources (UNSCCUR) 83
scope of issue, outside lobbying 175,
182, 183, 184
Scotland
confidence in government 58
see also Aberdeen
Scottish Parliament 58, 100
segregationism 131
selective Europeanisation 156–60
self-actualisation 26
service delivery, third sector
involvement 27, 36
service provision, advocacy and 225–6
Smet, Miet 81
social capital 4
anti-modern form, Russia 220
post-putnam debate 5–6
social capital approach 22–4
development of multi-level governance 35, 37–8
social dialogue 32
social milieus 21, 27
social movements 20
adaptation to growing influence and impact of European decision-making 74–5
facilitated by nation-building process 85
growth of non-profit organisations 26
mass-membership based 86
absence in Europe 75, 87
political opportunity structures
creation of new 86
critique of interaction between 79
environmental movement, Belgium 80–82
global environmental movement 82–5
study of 71–3
social networks 194–5
social partners, European Commission 32
societal interests, NGOs as counterbalance to 14
sociologists, interest in non-profit organisations 26–7
solidarity 26
Soros, George 226
South East London Combined Heat and Power (SELCHP) Incinerator 116–20
South East London Waste Disposal Group 116, 117, 118, 119
Soviet era, civil society development 220–21
Spain
conflict lines among coalitions 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 213
power distribution among coalitions 199, 200, 201, 213
Spanish People’s Party 157
special interests 170
sports associations, attitudes towards Europe study
attachment levels 64
distributions and respondents 53
staff characteristics, outside lobbying 186–7, 189
Strong, Maurice 83–4
study phase, Convention on the Future of Europe 94
sub-protecting regimes 133
Sudbery, I. 251
Swedish government, push for more active role for UN in combating pollution 83
Swiss People’s Party 206, 209
Switzerland
coalitions
conflict lines among 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213
power distribution among 199, 200, 201, 212, 213
political mobilisation study
individual difference dimension of citizenship 136
migrants
discursive positions towards 137
findings 141
predictions about extent of 139
unemployed
discursive positions towards 138
findings 142
predictions about extent of 140
Tarrow, Sydney 23, 79, 85
tax reform, Washington 24
Taylor, Charles 29
technical knowledge, advantaged over mobilisation 8
thematic approach, EU support for civil society development 229
think tanks, outside lobbying 186
third sector approach 24–8
democratic governance research 30
development of multi-level governance 35–7
The Third Sector and Domestic Missions 24
third sector organisations 25–7
interest representation 38
membership see associational membership
welfare domains 35–6
see also civil society organisations
Tilly, Charles 79
Tocqueville, Alexis de 5–6, 23, 24
top-down approach, democratic
decision-making 4, 9, 11–12, 250
top-down Europeanisation 110,
162–4
transitional societies, civil society
development 219–22
transnational citizens fora 165
Transylvanian motorway, Romania
120–23
Trenz, Hans-Jörg 161
turbo-capitalism 19, 21
‘two-level game’ metaphor 153, 154,
165
Ukraine, Orange Revolution 161
unemployed, political mobilisation see
political mobilisation
unemployment-providence regimes 133
UNEMPOL project 134
United Kingdom
c coalitions
 conflict lines among 201, 202, 203,
204, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213
 power distribution among 199,
200, 201, 212, 213
 confidence in government 58
 political mobilisation study
 individual difference dimension of
citizenship 136
 migrants
 discursive position towards 137
 findings 141
 predictions about extent of 139
 unemployed
 discursive position towards 138
 findings 142
 predictions about extent of 140
 South East London Combined Heat
and Power incinerator 116–20
United Nations
 Charter, conformity of NGO aims
 with 13
 confidence in 58
 involvement in environmental
 protection 83, 84
United States
 analysis of intermediary sphere 24–5
 expertise advantaged over
 mobilisation in policy-making 8
 institutions, comparison with EU
 172–5
 lobbying see outside lobbying
 significance of media in lobbying
 174
 universalist model
citizenship 136
welfare 47
Use of Genetically Modified
Organisms and Products Act
(2002) 114
utopian programme, civil society and
21, 22
values and norms
 EU attempts at transfer of 229–33
 introduction of EU and erosion of
patronage 162
 third sector organisations as
transmitters of 27
vertical dimension, decision-making
10, 11–12, 31
vertical integration OMC 31
Vilnius 221
voluntarism 30
voluntary associations 21, 23
 Baltic States 220
 as channels for societal integration
 and political participation 37
 civic engagement 28
 EC highlighting of importance of
 32–3
 importance for interest articulation
 and aggregation 28–9
 intermediary sphere 29–30
 see also associational impact on
attitudes towards Europe study
voluntary participation, non-profit
organisations 25
Wales, civil society
Convention on the Future of Europe
conclusions 104
formal structural opportunities
open to 96–7
scope for involvement 97–100
participation 100–102
non-participation 102–103
EU policy-making 93–4
Wales European Forum (WEF) 94, 98, 101
Walloon environmental groups 80–81
Wallstrom, Margot 189
Washington, neoliberal revolution 24–5
Washington consensus 19
watchdog NGOs 225–6
weak state structures 73

welfare associations see general welfare associations; group-specific welfare associations
welfare domains, third sector organisations 35–6
welfare regimes 47, 132–3
welfare state crisis, and shift to input legitimacy 20
and political mobilisation 132–4
White Paper on European Governance (2001) 5–6, 33, 45, 71, 72, 88, 104