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Making use of Europe

- An investigation of the activities of Swedish regional
representatives in Brussels

Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the potentials for regional authorities to make use of Europe and discuss in what ways these efforts can initiate Europeanization of a top-down, horizontal, and cyclical nature. The empirical material that the analysis is based upon was gathered during my participant observation period at the City of Malmö EU office. Both working practically with European affairs and conducting interviews with other regional representatives provided me an opportunity to receive a first-hand experience of the way Swedish local and regional representatives are working to receive advantages from their presence in Brussels. The network governance concept is in the thesis introduced to explain how policy making is organized and in the light of these observations I reflect on to what extent the regional presence and activities in Brussels is leading to a process of Europeanization. The findings suggest that there are many ways in which the Swedish regional representatives are able to receive advantages from their presence in Brussels. The thesis also reveals various ways in which the regions become influenced by Europe, especially from participating in partnerships and networks that are making use of the EU as a platform for interaction and learning.

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1. Introduction

Sub-national authorities around Europe have realized the benefits of having a permanent representation in Brussels. Since the first regional office was established in 1984 the number of regional representations have today risen to more than 300 (The Brussels-Europe Liaison office). An increasing number of Swedish municipalities and regions are following this trend. When I was granted the opportunity to work as a participant observer in the City of Malmö EU office for five weeks I decided to investigate the rationale behind this regional invasion of Brussels.

It is particularly interesting to use Malmö as the focus for the thesis since its EU office was established in 1999 and Ola Nord has been the representative in Brussels ever since it was inaugurated. This has given the EU office enough time to establish good working routines. Malmö is also very active in Brussels and, according to Nord, receives far more attention than what its size would suggest. Until the beginning of 2008, when Gothenburg opened up its own office, Malmö was the only Swedish city represented in Brussels with its own office. One advantage compared to the other Swedish regional offices in Brussels, who are representing many different members, is that the Malmö EU office is an extension of the municipal administration which makes Nord's role more flexible.

During my internship in the Malmö EU office I had the opportunity to receive a first hand experience of working with EU affairs. I was assigned to various tasks ranging from attending conferences to working with a benchmark report and writing summaries that were sent to civil servants in Malmö. Trying to make the most out of this experience I also took the opportunity to conduct interviews with other Swedish regional representatives for the purpose of widening my perspective on how sub-national authorities approach and work with European issues. These observations have formed the basis for the present thesis. My main interest has been to identify which the potential benefits are for regions with an office in the "European capital" as well as exploring the way Swedish local and regional representatives are working to receive advantages from their presence in Brussels. The network governance concept is introduced to explain how policy making is organized and in the light of these observations I will reflect on to what extent the regional presence and activities in Brussels is leading to a process of Europeanization.

In accordance with Radaelli, I will be using the Europeanization concept as a *theoretical lens* for approaching the consequences of European integration on domestic political structures and policies. Central in Europeanization research is to explain the effects of the EU

on the domestic level and one way in which EU impulses are believed to translate into domestic changes is when national actors are making *creative usage* of Europe. What creative usage implies will be further specified in the theoretical chapter but very briefly this refers to a non-hierarchical process where actors cooperate and learn from each other rather than respond to legislation. So far, however, the bulk of the literature that has adopted a Europeanization perspective has dealt with aspects of pressure and Radaelli, who is one of the most recognized authorities on the subject, has recognized a need to place more focus on the way Europe as a *potential of use* can initiate domestic adaptation processes leading to domestic reforms. Radaelli claims that there are studies on Europeanization that have recognized an interactive logic and a process of adaptation that is more complex than a mechanical reaction to “Brussels” (Radaelli, 2006: 59). It is this interactive logic that I am trying to pinpoint and of special concern for this thesis have been the opportunities that the presence in Brussels provides domestic actors on the sub-national levels.

The Swedish Association for Local and Regional Authorities (SALAR) has calculated that more than 60 percent of all political decisions taken by local and regional governments are directly, or indirectly, affected by the EU. Many times the decision-makers are not even aware of the profound influence that the EU is exerting and apart from adopting regulations and directives the EU also exert influence by making it possible for local authorities to apply for, and receive, structural funds (www.skl.se). However, one must keep in mind that we are here dealing with policy areas in which the EU has a *potential* of influencing decision-making. Whether, and to what extent, it is also able to do so in reality is a question that is placed at the heart of Europeanization research.

In this thesis the link between Europeanization and network governance is primarily revealed in the sense of the former being an outcome of the latter. By this I mean that the way public authorities at the local, regional, national and European level interact with each other and with private actors facilitate the spreading of new ideas and ways of doing things that later can be introduced at the domestic levels. The negotiation process between the various actors is characterized as multi-leveled governance and a fundamental aspect within this view of the EU is that networks have emerged as key structures to facilitate cooperation. Characterizing policy-making in the EU as a form of network governance is however contested in the academic world. Wallace et al. (2005) identify three dominant strands of theory that all approaches the EU from different perspectives. European integration studies were initially guided by a neo-functionalist and an intergovernmental theoretical approach that both identify different key actors to explain European integration. It is especially the

relative power and influence of the member states in comparison to the European institutions that are debated here. Studies guided by comparative politics are more interested in EU policy-making and place an additional focus on the separation of powers between the different European institutions. (Wallace et al., 2005: 13-14, 28-31, 46)

The present thesis can be situated under the third current which by Wallace et al. is identified as the governance approach. The EU is in this view seen as less hierarchically structured and in this thesis the network governance concept is providing valuable insight for understanding the role of the regions in Brussels. This does not mean that I believe the network governance approach can explain all aspects of EU policy-making which can vary across issue areas. Nonetheless, the strength of the network governance concept is that it captures how policy making functions when actors at various levels are involved in shaping policies rather than a single government. Along with the increasing number of regional representatives in Brussels a variety of organizations and networks have been established with the purpose to coordinate the regional interests and facilitate cooperation between the different actors. The relationship between the actors on the European level, i.e. the institutions, the various organizations and networks, the individual regional offices etc. is in a state of flux and is dependent on the present European agenda. The ad hoc basis and the often informal contacts and relationships between the different actors have turned scholars to the network governance concept to make the European mode of governance more comprehensible (see, for instance, Jönsson et al., 2000; Delanty and Rumford, 2005; Castells, 2000; Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999). Below I will provide a more detailed outline of what the network concept implies and the aim is to show how cooperation in European wide networks have enabled Swedish sub-national authorities to make use of the European level in various ways and exposed them to new ideas and behavior.

1.1 Scientific problem

Before presenting the questions that have been used to *guide* the analysis in this thesis I want to emphasize that the principal aim of the thesis is not to discuss *how* domestic structures are adapting to Europe. Instead, it is the mechanisms which *may* lead to domestic change that I am interested in exploring. I believe that this focus is the most appropriate and allows me to receive the most out of my participant observation period since being in Brussels made it possible for me to investigate in what ways the regional representatives are pursuing their interests. How the activities in Brussels on a later stage become incorporated in the domestic political structures is more difficult to apprehend while being in Brussels. Basing the analysis

on the concepts of Europeanization and network governance I will pursue the following problem formulations.

- 1 Which are the potentials for local and regional authorities to make usage of the EU?
- 2 In what ways are local and regional authorities working to receive advantages of their presence in Brussels?
- 3 How can the perspective of Europeanization provide an understanding of the way domestic political structures on the local and regional level are influenced through having a representation in Brussels?

1:2 Outline

After having presented the scientific problem and the focus of the thesis I will continue with outlining the method I have used to gather and interpret the material. Before moving on to the theoretical section a short background to the regional representation in Brussels is provided. The theoretical section gives an outline of the Europeanization concept and reveal how it can be seen as a result of the organizational principle of network governance. In this thesis these two concepts serve as the theoretical foundation with the purpose of deepening the analysis so that both I and the reader will get something more out of this thesis than simply a straight forward description of how Swedish municipalities and regions are working with EU affairs in Brussels. The interviews and empirical observations will thus be analyzed with the help of the insights that the Europeanization and network governance concepts offer.

My argument is that the way local and regional authorities (co)operate in Brussels can be better understood when applying the insights from network governance research. By forming part of different types of social and institutional networks domestic actors receive advantages which can be used to strengthen their domestic position. Cooperating with other European actors also expose regional authorities to new ideas and ways of doing things and these experiences can initiate a Europeanization process which we will see examples of later in the thesis.

In the first section of the analysis I introduce a model that shows how Malmö is connected to different organizations and networks through different types of institutional and social network arrangements. In order to make the relationship as clear as possible Malmö is placed as the central node from which it is tied to other European based actors through different kinds of activities. The analysis is then divided into subsections representing examples of the diverging ways local and regional authorities are using the European arena to receive

advantages. The insights into the every-day practical work are linked to the theoretical approach of the Europeanization concept. Finally, the thesis ends with a conclusion in which I return to discuss the findings of the analysis.

1.3 Method

The thesis is based on a qualitative approach and the methods I have used to gather the material has been semi-structured personal interviews and participant observations. Before I went to Brussels to gather the empirical material I made use of literature to get an understanding of what the Europeanization concept imply. This means that the methodological approach is primarily a deductive one since, in accordance with Tim May's understanding of this approach, the theoretical concepts were developed first and were later used to understand the empirical research material (2001: 32).

Using this approach has both benefits and disadvantages. May identifies one core problem with the deductive approach, stating that "data collection is driven by theoretical interests, not the other way around" (2001: 33). The researcher therefore needs to be aware of her/his role in interpreting the material so that the data is not manipulated to make it fit the theoretical framework. The main advantage of arriving in Brussels with a predefined research interest was that it made it easier for me to filter my experiences. I am aware of the fact that five weeks is not a sufficient amount of time to attain a clear picture of how regions are working with EU affairs in Brussels. Martín Sánchez-Jankowski claims that researchers who only spend limited amount of time doing fieldwork face a risk of not having gathered a sufficient amount of data for making claims of representing a general pattern (2002: 156). The predefined interest in Europeanization made it easier to scrutinize and interpret my experiences and even though I faced a risk of leaving out interesting aspects it proved an indispensable help in my task to, in Sánchez-Jankowski's words, "identify, catalogue and categorize" my observations (2002:145). However, the limited time period means that the observations presented in the thesis should be regarded as suggestive rather than empirically consistent.

1.3.1 Participant observation

The empirical material was gathered during my participant observation period in Brussels which started on April 13 and ended on May 15, 2008. I had not decided the exact focus of the thesis when I started out my participant observation period and the problem formulation was developed during my first two weeks there. When I started conducting interviews with

the regional representatives during the third week of the field study the main themes of the thesis had been crystallized. The interviews were used to elaborate on these themes and deepen my understanding of the observations I made when working in the City of Malmö EU office.

Researchers using the participant observation approach are gathering data by “being present, and participating in the activities of the subjects under investigation” (Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002: 145). The interviews and daily observations added to my understanding of how the practical work is conducted and what type of activities the representatives in Brussels are involved in. The observations provided me with a general frame and a context which I could use to relate my other observations to. Being personally present, on the spot, also makes it possible to observe informal, personal activities that might not be revealed in interviews or in literature.

Sánchez-Jankowski states that being responsible is an important task for a researcher conducting a participant observation study. Since I was working in the Malmö EU office and Ola Nord is the only representative it was pointless to keep his name anonymous. In order to reduce the risk of misunderstandings, that potentially could embarrass or harm the subject, Nord was sent a working copy of the thesis so he would know in advance what would be published and receive a chance to respond and make clarifications before the thesis was handed in. All other sources used in this thesis are kept anonymous and since almost all those interviews were recorded the risk of misinterpretations are much more limited.

Since I was working with the same person that I used as the primary source to gather my material I was put in a dilemma of dependency. One approach that I used to reduce my dependency on Ola Nord was to conduct interviews with other people to get second opinions and to receive new perspectives on how regional representatives are working with EU affairs in Brussels. It is therefore relevant to present how these interviews were conducted.

1.3.2 Qualitative interviews

During my participant observation period in Brussels I conducted interviews with nine persons. The regional representatives I interviewed represented the offices of North, East, West and Central Sweden and Gothenburg. These interviews were all recorded and lasted for around 45 minutes each. The background of the interviewees varied and some had worked for the office in Brussels for several years while others for only a few months. This meant that I had to adjust the focus of the interviews depending on who I talked to.

The final recorded interview was with a representative of Eurocities which lasted for 30 minutes. The reason for why I wanted to meet Eurocities was that I had seen how important the organization was for Malmö and I wanted to get a different perspective, as a complement to Nord's, on the role of the organization in Brussels and how its representative experienced the activities of the City of Malmö.

The interviews with Ola Nord varied in length and were not recorded. We were both working in the same office which meant that when he was in the office I could just ask him if he had time to answer questions. I had always a notebook in front of me during these conversations and after each working day I transcribed the notes I had taken during the day. Some of the information provided in the analysis was also gathered when Nord made presentations to visitors of the office, which happened two times during my time there.

In addition to this I conducted two more interviews that were not recorded. The first of these was with a representative of SALAR and the interview was primarily used as a help for me to clarify the relationship between the organization and the Swedish regional offices in Brussels. I also made a phone call to a civil servant working for the municipality of Malmö to get some information about a project that is included in the analysis. This conversation lasted for around ten minutes.

For the purpose of reducing errors in the transcription I have only used quotations from the interviews that were recorded. All interviews were conducted in Swedish except for the representative of Eurocities which was held in English. The translations into English were made by me trying to make sure that the original meaning was not lost in the translation process. My aim of understanding how and in what ways regions are pursuing their interests and how this relates to Europeanization made qualitative interviews the preferred choice since it is a flexible method that allow the researcher to expand on a topic when it becomes interesting (May, 2001:123).

The interviews were conducted by using the semi-structured method. May claims that this method allows the interviewees to be more elaborative and personal in their responses than what a structured interview permit. It is however not as open as the unstructured approach since the researcher decides the themes of the interview and asks questions that put focus on certain aspects (2001:123). The questions for the interviews were developed during my time at the Malmö EU office as I started to get an apprehension of the various ways that the Malmö EU office was pursuing its interests in Brussels. The interviews with the regional representatives were divided into four themes that corresponded to what I had recognized as the central activities of the regional offices and, correspondingly, the interview subjects were

asked to elaborate on their: Impressions of the development of EU affairs both in Brussels and at home; working routines and the activities of the regional office in Brussels; impressions of the most useful partners in Brussels; approach on project development issues.

During the interviews I tried to ask as open questions as possible to allow the interviewees to elaborate on what they experienced as important aspects of their work. Instead of following a predetermined set of questions I tried to make the interviewees develop their responses and provide examples to illustrate their point.

1.4 Limitations

In the network model that is introduced in the analysis there are a few nodes included that Malmö is linked to but which are not managed or coordinated from Brussels. By being in Brussels I was restricted in my observations and there are certainly a great variety of actors that are useful for the regional level but are not receiving attention in this thesis.

Another limitation that my approach of going to Brussels generated was that I could not investigate the effects of *adaptational pressures* on the local and regional level. In Europeanization literature this aspect is an important theme and if I had stayed in Malmö it would have been easier to investigate how European policies become implemented on the domestic level. What I chose to focus on instead was to locate the potential ways sub-national actors become influenced by Europe when trying to receive advantages from their representation in Brussels. This relates to another major strand in Europeanization research recognizing Europe as a *potential of use*.

1.5 Source evaluation

In general, there is a lack of academic research investigating the ways local and regional authorities are working with EU affairs. Nevertheless, in December 2007 the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (Sieps) published a report written by Linda Berg and Rutger Lindahl that was investigating the contact channels that Swedish municipalities and regions use for approaching Europe. The authors partly base their material on interviews with civil servants working in Brussels and in the analysis the differences between the Swedish regional offices in Brussels are discussed. Their observations stretch between 1999 and 2007 and the variety and extensiveness of the empirical material that the report is based on has made it useful for me as an inspiration. It was also interesting to relate and compare their findings with my own observations, which we will see examples of in the analysis.

Europeanization is still a quite new concept within EU studies and there is still much research that is needed to be done. So far, research conducted in the field is primarily focusing on the national level and bringing attention to the way the sub-national levels can be affected by Europeanization is a quite novel approach. Radaelli is one of the most widely recognized scholars in the field and is being quoted and referenced in much Europeanization literature. The main article I have based my understanding of Europeanization on is found in Cini and Bourne's *Palgrave advances in European Union studies*. The other scholar that I have used for understanding and presenting the Europeanization concept is Andrea Lenschow whose article is included in Jeremy Richardson's *European Union: Power and policy-making*. Lenschow's and Radaelli's articles complement rather than contrast one another.

The empirical material used for this thesis was gathered during my five week field work period and the analysis is partly based on my own observations of working in Brussels and partly on interviews conducted with Swedish regional representatives and representatives of organizations in Brussels. Since I was working at the Malmö EU office the focus of the thesis has, quite naturally, been on the activities of the City of Malmö. Using interviews and my own personal observations and experiences as the primary source for the thesis has both strengths and weaknesses. The great advantage as I see it is the excitement of developing your own material that you base the analysis on. A disadvantage is that preparing, conducting and evaluating interviews is very time consuming and for a bachelor thesis a student is limited in time and resources which means that the empirical base can never be as broad as preferred. It must be admitted that in some cases I am relying heavily on the stories told by the regional representatives. Their accounts do not necessarily represent reality in the most objective manner. That is, however, not the purpose of the thesis and instead the personal accounts that the regional representatives provide give a picture of how they, who are working in Brussels, experience their situation and their own roles.

2. Background: The City of Malmö EU office in Brussels

The decision of the City of Malmö to establish an office in Brussels was guided by a belief that there are certain benefits that can only be exploited by being physically present in Brussels. The decision can be seen as a logical step on the road that Malmö was heading during the 1990s. According to the Malmö representative Ola Nord, the industries of Malmö suffered greatly from an economic recession which made the politicians start looking for alternative development opportunities and in particular started to cooperate more closely with Copenhagen. Especially Ilmar Reepalu, who has been the chairman of the local council of Malmö since 1994, was very active in pushing Malmö to become more active in its international engagements. In 1995, Malmö appointed its first EU coordinator whose job was to maximize the benefits of project funding in general and of the community initiatives Urban and Interreg in particular. In 1997-98, once again learning from the experiences of Copenhagen, Malmö joined several European wide networks and organizations, the most important of which was Eurocities, an organization open for European cities with more than 250.000 inhabitants (interviews with Nord 2008-04-14 and 2008-04-15; Palmgren, L., 2002: 1).

Finally, in 1999, the local Council decided to open an office next to the Copenhagen representation in Brussels with the primary motive to obtain EU funding. Another rationale behind the decision was to get a clearer profile in Brussels and make better use of the opportunities that the EU provides. It was also believed that by establishing an office in Brussels the general knowledge and awareness of the EU would raise and facilitating this among the municipal departments was considered particularly important (Palmgren, L., 2002: 1)

Sub-national governments throughout Europe became interested in establishing permanent representations in Brussels after the Single European Act expanded the role of the EU in areas which had direct effects on many local and regional authorities, such as the environment, research and development, industry and social policy (The Brussels-Europe Liaison office). According to Michael Keating and Lisbet Hooghe, even more important for understanding why sub-national governments has steadily increased their presence in Brussels was the reform of the structural funds in 1988 which made many regions wanting a permanent representation in order to secure funding (Keating and Hooghe, 2006: 279-281). The financial aspects are of course important to consider but I also find it necessary to go beyond this in order to provide the full picture of the regional interest for the EU. There are many potential

benefits for the sub-national actors that are represented in Brussels and Mike Goldsmith claims that “[f]or subnational governments, it may well be that the cross-national learning process is almost as important as the finance they receive” (2003: 127).

Against this background, Keating and Hooghe argue that European integration has enhanced the role of the regions by means of providing them a new arena for pursuing their interests. The Commission actively promotes the regional level by establishing networks and facilitating dialogues between regional and state actors (Keating and Hooghe, 2006: 270-3, 278-9). According to Eising and Kohler-Koch, the aim of the Commission for improving the role of sub-national governments is to promote European integration and to strengthen its position vis-à-vis the member states. The authors claim that the interest of the Commission coincides with those of sub-national actors. The aim of the latter is, accordingly, to improve their autonomy and make sure they are represented and have political influence in European affairs (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999: 5, 18-9).

Making use of the EU as a platform for cross-national learning was emphasized in the Lisbon strategy. The Lisbon European Council introduced in March 2000 the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) as a means of spreading best practice in accordance with established EU goals (Radaelli, 2003: 14). In its ideal form the OMC is supposed to function as a network for spreading trans-national knowledge. The components of the method include guidelines; benchmarking and sharing of best practices; multi-lateral surveillance; indicators; iterative process; implementation through domestic policy and legislation (without using EU legislation) (Radaelli, 2003: 26). The Open Method of Coordination has however been criticized for being inefficient and there are sceptics who argue that the actual outcomes on the domestic levels are not a result of Europeanization but the consequences of domestic politics. The aim of the OMC to facilitate interaction and spread best practice and learning are by these critics seen as empty rhetoric which alone do not lead to domestic adaptation and reforms (Radaelli, 2006: 71). One problem when evaluating the effects of Europeanization is the difficulty of separating European impulses from other local, national and global impulses. But, even though it is hard to establish a direct connection between the OMC and domestic reforms it is still possible to recognize an impact among, for example, domestic policymakers in the form of ideational convergence.

The OMC approach is an integrated part of the mode of governance known as facilitated coordination which was rediscovered with the Lisbon strategy. Typical for this mode of governance is benchmarking exercises and the use of peer pressure. The role of the EU in relation to this is to organize cooperation and produce opportunities for learning and diffuse

good practice (Radaelli, 2006: 71). In the analysis we will see many examples of how the EU is promoting these types of activities. However, before moving on to the empirical observations I will introduce the concepts of Europeanization and network governance which will be helpful for understanding the way cooperation on the European arena can influence domestic political structures on the local and regional level.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Europeanization

The concept of Europeanization is quite new in EU research and according to Andrea Lenschow there are considerable confusion and disagreement among scholars on what it actually means and how to define it (Lenschow, 2006: 57). The aim of this section is therefore to clarify how the concept will be used and interpreted in the present thesis. On a general level Europeanization can be useful when discussing the adaptation of domestic institutions to Europe or what can be thought of as the consequences of European integration on the domestic level. Radaelli proposes that Europeanization is an interactive process that consists of

processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies. (Radaelli, 2006: 59)

In this quote Radaelli avoids the top-down approach that try to measure impacts as simple reactions to “Brussels”. Instead, Europeanization is concerned with identifying *different ways* in which European policies is having an impact on national public policies and the top-down process is recognized as one out of many plausible mechanisms. For Radaelli, the Europeanization concept offers “a theoretical lens” for approaching the consequences of European integration on domestic political structures (Radaelli, 2006: 58).

Lenschow argues that there are at least four ways in which Europeanization has been characterized in literature, which I have summarized in figure 1.

[Figure 1: processes of Europeanization]

Bottom-up: domestic → EU

Top-down: EU → domestic

Horizontal: domestic ↔ domestic

Round-about / cyclical: domestic → EU → domestic

While the bottom-up model is used in European integration studies and will not be focused upon in the present thesis the other three models are all interested in domestic adaptation to

the EU which is identified as the direct or indirect source of domestic change. The top-down approach is the most commonly used in literature and European policies are here tracked downwards by measuring its impact on the domestic level (Lenschow, 2006: 57). The implementation of European policies is mainly explained by pressure from the EU on the member states. This pressure model is elaborated on by the goodness of fit theory that tries to explain how adaptational pressure is created by institutional misfits. In short, the goodness of fit theory presumes that the degree of misfit is the most important factor for explaining the actions of domestic actors. The assumption is that only demands that pose moderate challenges on domestic structures and actors are likely to yield effects, otherwise domestic adaptation is unlikely (Lenschow, 2006: 64; Knill, 2006: 365, 371).

However, Europeanization can also occur without demand for adaptational pressure. When this occurs actors are believed to make use of Europe to produce changes even when pressure is non-existent. This implies a greater role for agency since actors are able to choose and learn from Europe instead of simply responding to pressure (Radaelli, 2006: 64).

The horizontal model is not placing its initial focus on European policies, as the first model does, but is instead considering interactions between actors at the domestic level. Transferring processes between state actors can be facilitated by the EU through providing an arena for communication *and* competition. On the European arena a variety of actors get in contact with each other to exchange ideas that later can be transformed into practices. The EU has, especially after the introduction of the Lisbon agenda with its ambition to make the EU “the most competitive knowledge-based society in the world” (The EU webpage: <http://europa.eu>), actively been trying to facilitate these horizontal learning processes. The Open Method of Coordination is one method that the EU is using to transfer “best practice” models and through measurements over time it can be possible for researchers to apprehend the way that this provides changes at the domestic level (Lenschow, 2006: 58-9).

The third way in which Europeanization can be defined is recognized by Lenschow as a cyclical, or a round-about process. This is closely related to the top-down process but suggests a more dynamic view of Europeanization. Domestic actors can, for example, use an EU discourse as a frame of reference and in this way make use of Europe in domestic politics. Thus, instead of merely reacting to European impulses actors can either anticipate such impulses and try to change them or make use of them even in the absence of pressure from Brussels (Lenschow, 2006: 59).

What can be concluded from the presentation above is that *Europe as pressure* and *Europe as usage* are two categories with special importance in Europeanization research, the first

primarily relating to a top-down process while the latter both to a horizontal and a cyclical process. These aspects, or impulses, of Europeanization are in different ways affecting domestic actors and structures. It is also clear that different policy types provide different opportunities for usage as well as demands for adaptation: On the one side we have a hierarchical governance mode and Europeanization is in research today frequently associated with domestic adaptation to the pressures that can be linked directly or indirectly to EU membership (Featherstone, 2003: 7). On the other side we have a governance mode associated with facilitated coordination where the EU is facilitating interaction by providing an arena for communication and learning. The EU does, in the latter case, not produce legislations but instead organize cooperation among member states which contributes to the dissemination of practices. Benchmarking activities and peer reviews are examples covered in this thesis which the EU is promoting, sometimes by financial means, with the objective to facilitate mutual learning and spread best practice to the member states. For the EU, these learning processes also provides a chance to assess the quality of different initiatives that later can be transformed into legislation proposals. Radaelli states that empirical research has shown that facilitated coordination has led to ideational convergence where domestic policymakers has changed their cognitive and normative frames independently of pressures to do so (Radaelli, 2006: 70-1). New ideas and impulses that in this way are converted into new practices at the domestic level would be an example of a horizontal Europeanization process. However, in the background chapter we saw that ideational convergence does not necessarily mean that reforms will be initiated on the national, regional or the local level.

In cases of facilitated coordination where the EU has a mere coordinating role national actors, instead of complying with rules, are expected to broaden their ideational horizon and reconfigure their preferences and previously held ideas as they are exposed to practices and discourses of other European actors. A horizontal Europeanization process in this context *may* occur because the EU provides the arena for exchanging ideas and “best practice” as well as providing information. Lenschow terms the inter-state platforms of learning in the EU *soft forms of governance*. The EU is also involved in shaping the discourse that establishes the goals and principles which the actors can comply with either through conviction, through instrumental calculations, or not at all (Lenschow, 2006: 66-7).

Lenschow distinguishes between a rationalist and constructivist usage of Europe. In the former an actor’s behavior is interpreted in an instrumental fashion where it seeks opportunities to further its interests. The latter explain an actor’s behavior as a learning process by participating in activities on the European level (Lenschow, 2006: 65). My own

observations from being in Brussels and participating in the activities of the Malmö EU office suggest that these explanatory frameworks are both valid but also incredibly hard to separate and I will provide examples in the analysis of how these perspectives merge when participating in EU financed pilot projects.

To sum up, Europeanization is primarily a process which is experienced in the EU context and that later becomes institutionalized by affecting the behavior of domestic actors. In the analysis I will primarily focus on identifying the diverging mechanisms of Europeanization that were introduced in figure 1 and my aim of this approach is to better understand in what way the sub-national levels are affected by specific Europeanization processes. In the next section the effects of network governance on local and regional authorities will be outlined and I will show how the European governance system can bring about processes of Europeanization.

3.2 Network governance

The idea of governance is that it comprises a new type of interaction between EU institutions, national governments, regional and local authorities and civil society who are consulting each other on different issues. Together they are “shaping, implementing and monitoring policy”, what the former Commission president Romano Prodi termed “network Europe” (Delanty and Rumford, 2005: 144). According to Radaelli, authors occupied with explaining the effects of Europeanization on governance argues that the EU has modified the idea of governance by promoting the partnership principle that involves public and private actors as well as regions in a multi-layered governance system (Radaelli, 2006: 63). However, my argument is that the relationship between the two can also be interpreted in the reversed order. Consequently, new forms of interactions and cooperation has been facilitated by the newly established regional presence in Brussels and is leading to a Europeanization process as new ideas and ways of doing things are becoming introduced at the domestic levels. The influence of regions and municipalities has been strengthened as the European integration has continued to develop. From at first having been politically recognized only within structural policies they are today represented in a wide area of policy fields. Their participation has been “accepted as a general principle, and is institutionalized in the ‘Committee of the Regions’” (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999:18-9).

Jönsson et al. argue that governance in the EU is characterized by negotiation processes at various levels, from the local to the supranational. The multi-leveled EU governance signifies, in their reading, a shift from domination to negotiation and networks is emerging as key

structures to facilitate cooperation (Jönsson et al, 2000: 174). In multilateral negotiations state actors are involved in a multitude of interest organizations for deciding the “allocation of functionally specific ‘values’” (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999: 5). Incorporating the expertise of both public and private actors is also the idea behind the partnership principle which is used in many programs. A result of all of this is that the interests of the citizens today are not only represented by governments but other non-national actors are competing to become recognized as legitimate interest representatives (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999: 5-6).

This development is affecting the sub-national authorities in various ways. Sub-national authorities are today operating in European wide partnerships and networks which place them in direct contact with their European counterparts. In the analysis I will present the way in which Swedish local and regional representatives in Brussels are pursuing their interests by making use of these contact networks. The importance of established contacts and of having close relationships with other European actors will be a recurrent theme. Presenting the way regional offices are (co)operating on the European arena is important in order to apprehend the way sub-national authorities are making use of Europe. I also find it useful to link the regional experience to the wider European context and Eising and Kohler-Koch claim that at the European community level, governing is best characterized as network governance.

A network system is about recognizing a plurality of interests and managing differentiation and the authors characterize the EU as a negotiating system which includes various public and private actors depending on the issue at stake. Since the EU lacks a unifying ideology cooperation at the European level is functionally based and guided by the idea that institutionalized cooperation is beneficial for all its members. Networking is seen as a principle task and is most efficient when offered institutional frameworks which give stability and reduce transaction costs. In this process “multiple overlapping negotiating arenas emerge” and the state and societal actors are brought together in issue-specific constituencies where the involved actors are trying to pursue individual interests at the same time as they promote common interests in the negotiation process (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999: 5-6, 24-6).

In the analysis below I will provide a more detailed account of the way the City of Malmö can be seen as participating as a node in different network constellations. Through the cooperation in networks a process of Europeanization can occur from the learning process as actors cooperate with each other on the European arena and in this way become exposed to new ideas and ways of doing things. Before moving on to the analysis, however, I find it useful to shortly describe the organizational principles of the network concept.

In a general sense a network is constituted by nodes bound together by links. The traditional national decision-making system is hierarchically structured and based on a territory that is distinguished from its surroundings by a boundary. Network governance, on the other hand, function according to a different logic in which informal contacts are more important than formal ties. Instead of being a continuous part of a geographical territory a network differentiates between nodes that are incorporated in the net and those that are not. In this sense, network governance implies is a new organizational principle that compared to formal organizations are more informally structured around personal relationships (Jönsson et al., 2000: 99, 102-104).

What factors determine which actors will have access to a network and which will be excluded? Policy network analysis argues that: “An actor’s influence over outcomes is dictated by whether she can gain membership of, and importance within, a privileged group of actors who control events in a given policy field” (Warleigh, 2006: 88). The influence of the individual actor depends on the amount and quality of the resources that it possesses. These resources can be money, knowledge, skills or contacts and determine the position that an actor will have within a policy network. Besides setting limits on which actors that can participate in policymaking and what roles they will play a policy network also functions as an agenda-setter. Through establishing rules and norms it will shape the way an actor will behave (Warleigh, 2006: 88).

Jönsson et al. argue that today all the important social functions are organized in networks and they proceed by outlining three different variants of networks. The physical networks refer to transportation infrastructures that connect goods, people and information. Examples of these are telecommunication, roads and airways. The second type is the institutional or organizational networks which can either be internal or external. The former refers to the links existing within an organization and the latter refers to the linkage between different organizations. These networks are based on a mutual interdependence between the participants and the relationship is based on contracts and agreements as well as on trust. In this thesis the institutional networks will be used to describe the more formal ties between the sub-national representatives and the various partners and organizations.

Finally, the social and cultural networks are based on social relationships that unite individuals. These networks are very flexible and are used to share ideas, knowledge and interest. An important function of these networks is that they transcend the traditional territorial, political, economic and social frameworks. These more informal ties are very

frequently used in Brussels and I found that in reality it is hard to separate these from the institutional ones (Jönsson et al., 2000: 23-4, 26).

Mapping organizational and social nets can be difficult since they often incorporate a mixture of formal and informal relationships. The connections between the different nodes that are included in a network vary from the very centralized types (figure A), where all nodes are tied to a central node, to the flat networks (figure B) where each node is directly connected to all other nodes (Jönsson et al., 2000: 100-1).

Figure A: centralized network

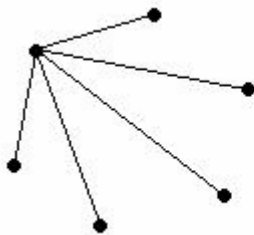
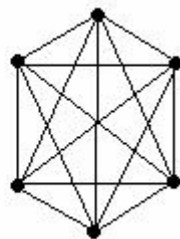


Figure B: flat network



In policy network analysis the main distinction is made between *policy communities* and *issue networks*. Within policy communities all members have useful resources to the others and they cooperate on issues that are of mutual interest. The outcomes are usually beneficial for all participating members. Issue networks involve more members and they have varying levels of contacts with each other. Useful resources are often concentrated among a few influential actors and the network produce differentiated outcomes for its members (Warleigh, 2006: 89). Whereas the policy communities is best characterized as a flat network the issue network is more related to the centralized type, even though there is no single actor to which all other nodes are tied and the links between the actors are more flexible than what the centralized network model would suggest.

In the analysis I do not aim to make a distinction between the levels of connectivity between the different nodes of the networks presented in this thesis. Instead the approach I have chosen is to place Malmö as a central node and show how it is connected by links to other relevant actors that it is cooperating with. These actors vary from individual cities and regions to formal organizations and institutions and I will discuss the relative importance of the different nodes and their strategic interest for Malmö.

4. Analysis

I will start the analysis by returning to the previously outlined network governance concept and show its practical implications by relating it to my own empirical observations and the concept of Europeanization. The main arenas for cooperation are outlined and the relationship between the most relevant actors is discussed. The discussion aims to show how Malmö and the other regions included in the study are making use of the various European based organizations and networks. In relation to this I propose the usefulness of characterizing the role of the sub-national authorities as nodes connected on the European level by links and a model is presented to reveal these connections. The analysis will then be narrowed down and deepened as I present practical examples of how these contacts are being used to promote local and regional interests. All sections share the common aim of illustrating in what ways the activities of the Swedish regional authorities are creating processes of Europeanization.

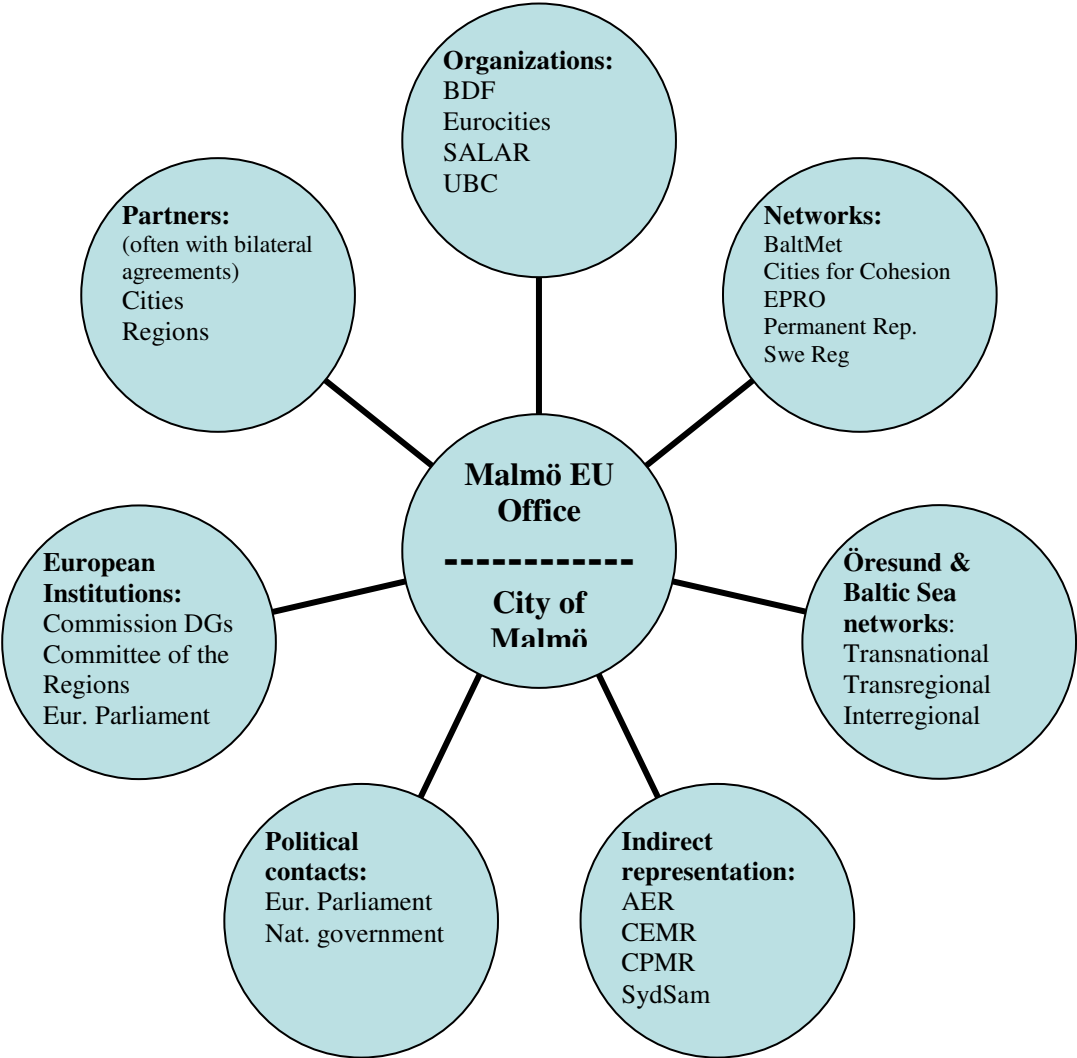
4.1 The network metaphor: characterizing the activities of the City of Malmö in Brussels

What quickly became apparent when I arrived in Brussels was the importance for the Malmö EU office to have a broad contact network and reliable partners to cooperate with. Malmö provides an extreme example since it is only represented by a single person who, of course, can not attend all relevant meetings and conferences. Therefore, Nord is very dependent on the various partners that provide him with information. However, I soon realized that this observation is to an almost equal extent valid for the other Swedish regional offices as well. There are many dimensions in which social and institutional networks are being used. The examples below are covering their role for sharing information, searching for partners for projects, benchmarking exercises, peer reviews, lobbying, as well as other activities. The available channels for pursuing the regional objectives are manifold and their relative importance depends on the issue at stake. Later on in the analysis the way these European impulses are disseminated onto the regional level will be further explained. The aim of this section is to pave the way for the following discussion by introducing the different actors that Malmö is cooperating with. These actors form the basic elements for making use of Europe as a platform for learning.

For the purpose of shedding some light on the relationship between Malmö and other actors on the European arena I have constructed a network model following the simplified centralized network model with low connectivity outlined above (see model 1). This model is only valid for the municipality of Malmö since local and regional authorities are prioritizing

quite different forms of cooperation. The model is furthermore not exhaustive since I have only incorporated the most important sources for cooperation.

[Model 1 – Network model showing how Malmö is working with EU affairs]



Before discussing the way sub-national authorities are cooperating and making use of the nodes in the model I will shortly present the different groups of actors that are listed. For Malmö as well as for Gothenburg, who are the two Swedish cities with direct representation in Brussels, Eurocities is a very useful partner and active participation in the organization is highly prioritized. Gothenburg highlighted this point by stating that “Eurocities is without doubt the most important organization for us as a city ... it is the forum with the greatest possibilities to have an influence on urban issues” (interview 2008-05-14, my translation). The primary reason for why Eurocities is so important for these two cities is the direct linkage

it provides its members. A representative for Eurocities expressed this point by stating that “most organizations are networks of networks”. According to the respondent an organization such as the Council for European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) has to represent a great variety of members with diverging interests while Eurocities only have to represent the interest of the big European cities (interview 08-05-09). This means that Eurocities is interested in those policy areas in which Malmö is a stakeholder and can therefore be useful in everything from environmental to social policies. Other relevant organizations where Malmö has direct representation is the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR), the Baltic Development Forum (BDF) and the Union of Baltic Cities (UBC). It is quite natural that the two latter is only valuable in areas related to the Baltic Sea and also SALAR has a limited usefulness since it has to take into account the interest of all Swedish municipalities and regions.

Recalling the insights provided by policy network analysis the usefulness of the networks is determined by the quantity and quality of the resources that the actors have available. Although SALAR is a very powerful actor since it represents all Swedish municipalities and regions its value to Malmö is dependent on whether the interest of the city coincides with that of the organization as a whole since the city itself is too small to decide its overall priorities. The selective nature of networks means that only those actors that have something to offer the other members will have an influential position in deciding policy outcomes. Malmö is a comparatively small actor and therefore it needs to compensate this by being active and making good use of its contacts. If, for example, the City of Malmö wants to make the Commission aware of its position on an issue it is an advantage to go through Eurocities or another big European organization or network that is recognized as speaking partner to the Commission. Eurocities has the advantage of speaking for all major European cities which bring some weight to its opinions. Despite this advantage the representative of Eurocities still claimed that “the impact of people like us is very, very limited” (08-05-09). This is an important reflection to keep this in mind when discussing how influential different actors really are.

The previously mentioned report published by SIEPS reveals that the distinction between organizations and networks are sometimes hard to distinguish (Berg and Lindahl, 2007: 29). The activities of the networks and their usefulness depend primarily on the political agenda of the Commission. Cities for Cohesion is one example that has been useful for Malmö in the past but which currently is inactive (Nord, 2008-04-22). The Environmental Platform for Regional Offices (EPRO) started as an initiative of the DG Environment and serves as a

speaking partner for the Commission. Regional representatives from all member states are represented and the network is consulted in the policy-making process and serves as a direct channel between the Commission and the regions (www.northsweden.org). The other networks included in the model are primarily used as platforms for sharing information between the Swedish regions in Brussels, either in cooperation with SALAR (in SWEREG), or with the Swedish permanent national representation in Brussels (in the Permanent Representation network). The Baltic Metropolises is also used for common project development and lobbying activities.

There are also some nodes included in the model above which will not receive attention in this thesis. The purpose for including them in the model is to show other types of cooperation that of course are very important for the way Malmö is making use of Europe without these being managed or coordinated from Brussels. Therefore, these nodes are mainly beyond my research focus. One such example is the Interreg program that has profound effects on the regional level because of the funding that the region of Scania receives. Malmö politicians are here represented in the Oresund Committee that is establishing the guidelines for developing the region. This cooperation is beyond the competence of the EU office since the funding are applied nationally and decided through intergovernmental negotiations after approval of the Commission (www.oresundskomiteen.dk). The role of the EU office in relation to a Community initiative such as Interreg is related to lobbying activities and trying to make sure that the interest of Malmö is being considered by the Commission. This is mainly pursued by cooperating with actors who share the same interest, mostly other cities.

The role of the local politicians for pursuing the local interests can be everything from chairing working groups in Eurocities to making use of established contacts with the Swedish national government in Stockholm. Ilmar Reepalu is represented in the Committee of the Regions where he can lobby for Malmö and it is of course important to coordinate these efforts with the EU office. Olle Schmidt (liberal) is today the only Malmö politician in the European Parliament and can also be useful for the EU office since they share a common interest in many areas.

I will end this brief description of the nodes included in model 1 by highlighting that the division of competence between the EU office and the administration in Malmö vary depending on the partners involved. To mention one example, Nord is working with Sydsam, a network for the development of South Sweden, in the same manner as with the other Swedish regions in Brussels but Malmö is also indirectly represented in Sydsam through Region Skåne. Contacts with the different Directorate Generals in the Commission are taken

by both the EU office as well as the home organization but the representative from East Sweden clarified the relation by stating that “We are the link between the region and the institutions. We serve as the contact channel” (interview 08-04-29, my translation). The interviews with the Swedish offices in Brussels revealed that civil servants formulating the different Commission documents such as unit directors and administrative officials often are the most convenient persons to approach.

The bilateral cooperation with individual partners is also dealt with both at the EU office and at home. Malmö has developed a special relationship with some cities such as Newcastle and Tallinn, so called twin towns, and it can often be useful to approach these cities at an early stage when looking for partners or information. Apart from twin towns the individual actors that the EU office is cooperating most closely with are cities active in Cities for cohesion and Eurocities. I will later return to the special bonds that have been developed through this type of cooperation since this serves as one example of how the European dimension can be used to further regional interests.

After having shortly presented the main nodes Malmö is connected with through different types of engagements I will now move ahead to analyze the potential usages of these by presenting specific cases. The analysis does not attempt to make comparison between the different organizations and networks based on their effectiveness and individual value. Instead, the goal is to reveal examples of how they are being used and the way this is linked to a wider European network context. I will argue that the way the sub-national actors are adapting to the rules and norms of the various networks, how they make use of their European contacts and how they are required to implement the established goals of different projects and programs, all have the potential of initiating a process of Europeanization.

4.2 Europeanization from the EU providing an arena for cooperation

One of the most important reasons for being in Brussels is the possibility to establish personal contacts and to create networks and attend the conferences that are organized in Brussels... You work a lot together with other regional offices across the EU. That is probably the most important thing, to be present and have the opportunity to establish contacts with people and receive information at an early stage, that is the whole purpose. (East Sweden, 2008-04-29)

One recognized mechanism of Europeanization related to the cyclical process is the way actors can calculate future developments and anticipate future reactions (Radaelli, 2006: 69).

What this means is that national actors can formulate expectations of what an EU directive will contain and act in accordance with this in an attempt to strengthen their own competitiveness and domestic position. Another advantage of adapting to expected future EU demands at an early stage is to limit anticipated adaptational costs. Formulating expectations of future EU developments require that actors are well informed and receive information at an early stage. This I have found to be the main idea behind participating in pilot projects since, according to Nord, being in a pilot enables you to know the financial consequences and when having tested new technology in advance the organization is better equipped to implement possible future EU regulations in that particular area (Nord, 2008-05-07).

Pilot projects often involve a benchmarking exercise or a peer review. Benchmarking exercises are a quite common task for the Malmö EU office and the method is about comparing strategies that different actors have employed with the aim of identifying the factors that has led to the most successful outcomes. In this way Malmö is able to receive information about different methods, strategies and costs as well as reports on how successful the strategies have been after their implementation. This information can then be used before deciding on an own investment strategy. On a general level, Nord claims that benchmarking is about raising the awareness and knowledge level of the administration and if on a later stage a consultant need to be contacted the order can be more specified and thereby more useful. So far, Malmö has deployed this strategy in policies related to environment, labour market, demography, image and profile and transportation (Nord, 2008-04-15).

The Benchmarking method was championed in the Lisbon strategy as an approach to further the Open Method of Coordination. By learning from the strategies of other actors a horizontal Europeanization process occurs when implementations on the regional level are guided by the observations of how other actors have proceeded. The EU is sometimes providing funds to actors applying this method for identifying and spreading best practice. Through Eurocities the big European cities can learn about problems facing other cities and, when EU funds are made available, they can join together in formulating an application for correcting these problems. In section 4.4 below I will introduce three pilot projects in which Malmö received EU funds for carrying out benchmarks and peer reviews. The aim of the Commission, as recognized by both the representative of Eurocities and Ola Nord, has been to get some results which they can work on later on. For Malmö, the goal has been to receive advantages by being involved in a strategy early on as well as receiving financial support for implementing policies that are believed to be beneficial for the municipality. The representative from Eurocities said that “through these [projects] you have a formal link to the

Commission ... There is quite an influence that you can have on the Commission, on their thinking, when you are involved formally in projects with them” (interview with Eurocities, 08-05-09).

Whether participating in EU sponsored pilots initiate a Europeanization process is quite hard to measure and the ability of the OMC to lead to actual changes is, as we have seen, contested in the literature. In the project examples in section 4.4 two different perspectives on this will be discussed. In the first example the City of Malmö participated in a peer review financed by the Commission that did not lead to domestic reforms and regional convergence since Malmö chose to not make any changes based on the recommendations it received. The other example, on the contrary, reveals how Malmö is making great efforts to implement the strategy decided on jointly by the peers.

The examples relate to the debate on Europe as pressure and to what extent a top-down Europeanization process can be discerned. What I also find interesting about these examples is the underlying rationale of the method that can be related to Europe as a potential of use. As stated above, by participating in EU sponsored pilots domestic actors, including local and regional authorities, have the possibility to receive informational advantages and learn from other European actors by cooperating in peer review activities. As noted by the representative from Eurocities, the experiences will also have an effect on the Commission since it has a monitoring role and is interested in the outcomes of the projects it has initiated. The benchmarks and peer reviews are, in other words, providing possibilities for actors to make use of Europe through cooperating with the institutions, organizations and partners active on the European arena. By cooperating and learning from each others experiences a horizontal Europeanization process can occur as the approaches and methods of other cities are copied and implemented. Lundvall and Tomlinson recognize that such activities lead to convergence across the European borders but they criticize the benchmarking method claiming that imitating other strategies is reducing diversity and heterogeneity (Lundvall and Tomlinson 2002: 208).

4.3 Europeanization through forming part of social and institutional networks

Knowing in advance what is happening in Brussels is a major task of the regional offices and there are many channels for receiving information. A common view among the regional representatives was that the newsletter from organizations such as Eurocities and UBC are not revealing everything and sometimes you need to be physically present to receive news about

what is going on at an early stage. One efficient way of gaining information is to use the social and institutional networks which I will now turn to.

The more individually based social relationships are crucial components of the activities in Brussels. Since there is so much going on with potential effects on the sub-national level it is useful for actors to share information with each other. Malmö has many potential sources for receiving information and is, as mentioned, regularly meeting the other Swedish regional offices in primarily the SWEREG network. On the more formal institutional level Malmö receives information from Eurocities and other organizations who are informing its members when there are activities in Brussels or the Commission is launching a legislation proposal or a green paper with possible effects for cities. The regional position on the initiative can then be agreed on and made official. This channel is complemented with personal contacts and the representative from Eurocities said that Nord shows up on a regular basis to talk about upcoming events:

Ola is a very smart person and he knows how to use these channels and he knows what is going on. Very helpful for him is that he is in Brussels. [It is] more complicated for other cities because a lot of this is full of jargon and informal knowledge. Ola already knows who they are talking about and where this decision is taking place and stuff that you don't know when you are not in Brussels (interview with Eurocities, 08-05-09).

The Malmö EU office is sharing the building with West and Central Sweden, Gothenburg and Tallinn to mention a few. These informal contacts constitute an important channel for keeping updated. Both the more personal social networks and the institutional contacts are thus used on a very practical level for receiving information about activities in Brussels and, in this way, the city itself provide a very important physical node that the informal contacts are dependent on.

The more informal and socially based relationships between representatives of cities and regions in Brussels are very useful when making the type of benchmarking activities that were introduced above. I was personally involved in one benchmark exercise, an experience which revealed the indirect usage of the EU as providing a platform for interaction and cooperation between actors without the institutions themselves being directly involved. The benchmark activity I was involved in was about providing the administration of Malmö with information about different city visions for future development, including the aims and the methodology that other cities had used in their visions. The idea was that the information would serve as a

first basis for a future work defining and developing a city vision for Malmö. By searching the Internet for such documents it was possible to locate a few of these visions but it was through personal contacts with city representatives in Brussels that the most useful information was gathered. Nord informed me that these contacts have been established through Malmö's cooperation in Eurocities and Cities for cohesion. He furthermore claimed that it is because the City of Malmö has been an active participant in organizations and networks such as Eurocities and Cities for cohesion that it has been possible for him to establish the contacts necessary to perform quality benchmark analysis. The relationships with the different European cities are, in this way, based on a shared interest and the informal social networks have been constructed around the recognition that all the involved actors must benefit from the cooperation. Therefore, after having established a contact Nord claim it is a matter of *give and take* to uphold the good relations so that they will help you when you need them (Nord, 2008-04-22).

A previously conducted benchmark exercise was about mapping out systems of public transportation that were being used in different cities. In this particular case, a request was sent to Eurocities since the material could not be collected unilaterally. After the organization had redistributed Malmö's request to those cities it believed was most relevant, within a matter of days, a total of fifteen different applications of public transport systems had been sent to Nord out of which he, for lingual reasons, could use around ten (Nord, 2008-04-15).

The information that the City of Malmö receives from these types of activities can thus to some degree be ascribed to its physical presence in Brussels. The regional actors in Brussels cooperate in this way with their European counterparts and exchange knowledge and experiences across the European borders. The transferring process is facilitated by cross-European organizations and networks and these activities open up for a horizontal Europeanization processes when new domestic initiatives and reforms become guided by the approaches already employed by other actors. The main benefits that the City of Malmö receives from these type of formal and informal networks is thus to receive informational advantages by gaining access to knowledge that would have been unattainable without these links. To what extent the actors are affected by taking part in European activities and whether or not this is leading to a broadening of their ideational horizons and to the questioning of conventional ideas and practices is however difficult to measure. The next section will reveal how the European dimension is entering the domestic levels and affecting local and regional actors in direct ways through lobbying activities.

4.3.1 Lobbying activities: revealing the usage of social networks

It is quite obvious that representatives from larger organized interests have greater opportunities to lobby than individual municipalities and regions. The strategic document developed in 2006 to guide Malmö's international policy strategy recognized the need to be linked to regional, national and international cities through cooperating in different networks (Strategi för Malmö Stads internationella arbete). Around 50 percent of the activities of Eurocities are related to lobbying and Jönsson et al. argue that networks have multiple access points to the Commission (Jönsson et al, 2001: 130-1). Furthermore, the strategic document recognized that Malmö has strengthened its role on the international arena by being represented in international organizations such as Eurocities that have an ability to influence (Strategi för Malmö Stads internationella arbete). The reason for why it is so important for Malmö to be represented by the cross-European organizations is, according to the logic of the policy network theory as argued by Warleigh in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, that the city itself is too small to have anything to offer the big and influential actors such as the Commission. However, through its participation in larger organizations Malmö can have an indirect influence since these actors are recognized as speaking partners to the Commission.

There are also other channels of access and in my interviews with the different regional representatives I discovered different ways in which small actors through their own initiatives were able to have an influence on policy-making. The representative of North Sweden stated that the region often has the same interest as the Swedish government but sometimes a clash of interest is unavoidable. In these cases, the European Parliament and the Commission are the institutions that can be addressed in order to share a regional opinion on an issue. Since North Sweden is such a unique region in Europe the importance of being represented in Brussels seems greater than for many other regions. Besides lobbying for structural funds the respondent stated that it is also important that the policy-makers are made aware of the particular circumstances prevailing in Northern Sweden. New species of animals and a new type of mining industry were two examples mentioned: "When we joined the EU there were many things that had never existed before ... things that the EU never had thought about but that of course are very important for the northern region" (interview with North Sweden, 08-04-29, my translation).

Lobbying activities can be used by sub-national actors in at least two directions (for more about lobbying see, for instance, Naurin: 2001, Jerneck and Gidlund: 2001, SOU: 1998). The traditional way of thinking about lobbying is to receive the support of the national government to gain leverage in Brussels. The other way, which is more interesting from a

Europeanization perspective, is what West Sweden terms *reversed lobbying* meaning that the EU and cross-national European partners are used to lobby the Swedish national government. Examples of the latter was revealed in my interview with both West and North Sweden and will be presented since I find them revealing in regards to the usage potential of Europe for influencing decision-makers. The examples reveal both a cyclical and a horizontal process of Europeanization.

In the first case, West Sweden was authorized by the board of directors to contact the Commission for seeking support for speeding up the construction of the E 6 highway. The organization was able to convince the director of DG transport that the highway would lead to regional opportunities and thus the Commission supported West Sweden in its appeal to prioritize the construction of the highway. To convince the Swedish government the commissioner Neil Kinnock traveled to Stockholm and offered financial support from the EU if the question was prioritized. The efforts proved successful and West Sweden calls the approach the reversed lobby direction where the Commission is used against the Swedish government to bring regional advantages (interview with West Sweden, 2008-05-09).

The second case involved North Sweden and it provides a different example of intense lobbying activities where the European level was used to strengthen regional claims. In this case the aim of North Sweden was to make sure that the region would receive structural funds. However, the Swedish government's position was, according to North Sweden's representative, to make cuts in the EU budget for structural funds and re-nationalize regional policies whereas North Sweden, on the contrary, wanted to maintain the structural funds it received from the EU as well as a recognition of the special circumstances that prevails in the region which, it argues, make special funding necessary. Cross-European organizations such as the Assembly of European Regions were useful in the negotiations since they in their position papers recognized that the structural funds should consider regions with special needs such as the northern Swedish region. Other Swedish and Finnish regions were also useful partners and the outcome of the joint efforts was that Northern Sweden was granted an extra 35 Euros per inhabitant and year (interview with North Sweden, 2008-04-29).

The above included examples provide interesting perspectives on how Europe has entered the minds of sub-national actors who are making use of the European level by cooperating with European institutions, organizations and local and regional partners in matters that earlier was considered domestic affairs. As mentioned in the theoretical section, in a cyclical Europeanization process actors are seen to make use of Europe by referring to EU discourse as a way of strengthening the actor's position on the domestic level. In the case of West

Sweden the European level was utilized to an even greater extent since the direct support of the Commission and other actors represented in Brussels were deployed and used in negotiations with the Swedish national government. It is of course hard to determine to what extent it was the lobbying activities that gained result in comparison to other factors but the sole fact that Europe was used in this fashion is interesting regardless of the actual outcomes of these efforts. The European dimension in these two cases can be seen as being used by sub-national actors instrumentally, seeking support and domestic advantages, but Europe can also be seen to be entering the cognitive frames of domestic actors by increasingly becoming an integrated part of the local and regional daily activities. The European dimension was in these examples used as one of many sources for advancing its position domestically and the variety of actors that North and West Sweden cooperated with highlight the impression that Europe is becoming a more natural part of the daily work.

Recognition of a European influence on the daily work of subnational administrations are perhaps to an even greater extent noticeable when it comes to project development, which I will now turn to.

4.4 Europeanization through regional participation in projects

”Few things have had as great significance for the contact between Swedish municipalities and the EU as the possibility for co-funding different projects...” (Berg and Lindahl, 2007: 27, my translation)

Working with project development plays, although variations exist between the offices, an important part of the regional authorities’ relationship and interest with the EU, both in Brussels and at home. The EU funding can be subdivided into two categories: The structural programs and the trans-national sector programs which usually are delimited into certain areas or themes that are not geographically bound. EU funding for these thematic projects are usually covering about half the costs and always imply cooperation between partners from several member states (Din guide till EU fonder och program, 2005).

Within the sector programs different actors are competing all across Europe and specific regional strategies are therefore very important for the chances of being included in a project. However, one of the representatives from West Sweden claimed that people in general are less aware of the opportunities that the sector programs provide and therefore the respondent saw as one of their greatest challenges in Brussels to help their members lifting their project ideas up to the European level. This means that, when possible, ideas and projects at the

municipal level are developed into trans-national cooperation projects with the possibility of receiving financial support from the EU (interview 08-05-09).

There are primarily two advantages when participating in European sponsored projects. The first is the financial aspects and the second is the learning experience from cooperating with actors from other parts of Europe once the actor has been admitted to participate in the project. In order for projects to be beneficial it is also imperative that it fits well into the needs of the organization. The fact that a project receives financial support from the EU is not enough and in the previously mentioned Sieps report the authors conclude that EU-activities on the local and regional level have today increasingly become incorporated into everyday activities. The authors have found an increased number of policy areas with a European dimension and the work on the sub-national levels have become “more strategic and better attuned to the actual needs and priorities of the municipalities and regions.” (Berg and Lindahl, 2007: 71). In accordance with this observation, the respondent from central Sweden stated that the financial support is not the central issue and the benefits is rather found in the learning process of meeting people from other countries while the money should be seen as a bonus: “We also tell everyone that you don’t do sector projects for the money but it must be something that you work with ... there has to be a genuine thought behind” (interview with Central Sweden, 2008-05-14, my translation).

The role of the regional offices within project development is increasingly becoming related to finding out what is going on within different programs in advance before they are published (Berg and Lindahl, 2007: 49). Nord estimates that when the EU office opened around 70-80 per cent of the work was centered on project funding and especially searching for funding. Today, he is not writing applications himself but is merely assisting the colleagues in the municipal administration, often through facilitating cooperation between the different departments. As a whole the general competence has increased tremendously, according to Nord, and one example of this that he can relate to in his daily work is that today the colleagues are more precise when asking favors. For example, instead of asking for a report on what is going on in questions related to the labour market the person contacting the EU office are more specific in asking for a specific policy initiative within labour market policies which they know will be covered in Brussels in the near future. Nord estimates that Malmö during the past five years has been participating in at least 300 projects each year. This means that more and more people in the administration have come in contact with the EU institutions, which has led to a general increase in competence. According to Nord, the really big projects also demand the different departments at home to talk and cooperate with

each other which he sees as beneficial for the organization as a whole (Nord, 2008-04-15 and 2008-04-17).

Raising level of competence within project application procedures in the home organization has also been witnessed by the representative of West Sweden who stated that today many people in the organizations on the local and regional level have increased their knowledge. For the office this means that “the role of West Sweden is to provide more advanced information on an earlier stage of the process” (West Sweden, 2008-05-09). The increased competence at home is also noticed beyond project applications. North Sweden emphasized the areas of climate, environment and energy and the respondent believed this was connected to increased EU activities in these areas (North Sweden, 2008-04-29).

This point towards a Europeanization process of a horizontal nature since an increased focus as well as exposure to working with EU questions over time has brought more people from the local and regional administrations into contact with European based organizations and institutions. People working in the administrations become more aware of the opportunities that Europe provides the sub-national authorities and the EU can in this way influence the everyday practical activities as it is entering the minds of civil servants at the domestic administrations. The interviews suggest that a cognitive awareness raising process is especially recognizable in relation to project applications and project development where today there is a greater knowledge at the home organizations. Focus is also increasingly placed on opportunities for learning in addition to the financial aspects. This development has repercussions in Brussels where the regional representatives have been able to spend less time on preparation work and project application and instead can focus more on providing more advanced information at an early stage of the process and on strengthening the region’s position during the application process. These activities open up for a cyclical Europeanization process when actors make use of their informational advantages to strengthen their position as well as adjusting to program requirements in advance for seeking opportunities to receive EU funding.

Participating in projects is not a one-sided regional interest since the EU, or more specifically the Commission, also has great interest bound up in projects and the dissemination of project outcomes to the various member states. This means that, in theory, the projects are examples of a two-directional usage where both the EU and national authorities are beneficiaries. The Commission is introducing different projects and programs which enable it to spread its values without the need for legislation and the representative of Eurocities claimed that the experiences and results are used as test cases for learning and

developing future legislation proposals. Participating actors are obliged to adapt to project requirements and act on the outcomes and thus there are potentials for a top-down Europeanization process to occur. In the next section I will take a closer look at three projects and one objective for introducing these is to see how successful the Commission has been in exporting its ideas and goals to the participant actors.

4.4.1 Introducing three projects to illustrate Europeanization on a practical level

In order to more specifically reveal the Europeanization mechanisms involved within project work I will introduce three projects in which Malmö participated and received EU funding. One of the aims with presenting these examples is to more clearly highlight some effects that the participation has had in terms of domestic adaptation to EU requirements. I gained knowledge of the different projects through interviews with Nord and with Eurocities and found them interesting since they all in their own way shed light on potentials of making use of the EU. The examples are selected according to an information-oriented logic and the purpose of these is, in Bent Flyvbjerg's words, to "maximize the utility of information from small samples and single cases. Cases are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content" (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 78-79).

The benefits for the participants will be discussed and also to what extent the EU is able to exert pressure on the participant actors to initiate domestic adaptation and implement changes at the local and regional level. The purpose is not to attempt to make generalization out of these examples but rather to add to the understanding of how European wide projects are facilitating interactions that is leading to different types of outcomes. A deepened discussion is following after the projects have been presented.

4.4.1.1 Pre-Sud - Peer-REviews for European Sustainable Urban Development

The aim of the Pre-Sud project was to develop peer review tools that would examine and improve the way municipalities across Europe worked with sustainability. The project included a total of eight cities and was completed in October 2004. It was co-funded by the European Commission's DG Environment LIFE programme and Eurocities served as a technical partner for the project (European Urban Knowledge Network).

On the EU webpage one can read that Peer review implies interview investigations by non-professionals. In this particular case one civil servant and one politician from each city were involved in the project. By interviewing colleagues from other participating cities it is possible to get an apprehension of the way cities are working with, in this case, environmental

policies and give criticism and provide recommendation for improvements. After some time the work is evaluated and in the project description for Pre-Sud it was stated that the participating city councils were “contractually committed to act on the observations made by the peer-review teams” (The EU webpage, <http://ec.europa.eu>).

In the evaluation report Malmö was criticized on several accounts and recommendations for improving the short-comings were provided. However, since no follow-up reports could be found I made a phone call to a civil servant in Malmö with knowledge about what had happened after the peer review of the Pre-Sud project was released. According to my informant there have been no official actions taken since then. Even though this civil servant did not believe that the criticism Malmö received was extremely sharp the report had been discussed in the Executive Committee where, accordingly, the criticism of the waste management and democratic issues had been hard to accept and therefore the report was not acted upon. This means that there has been no formal change in the way Malmö is working in this area based on the recommendations coming from the peer review. In fact, a new peer review conducted in April this year by the same team revealed that many of the same problems that were reported on earlier still persisted. This report has in the moment of writing not been officially released (telephone call with a civil servant of Malmö stad, 2008-04-24). The implications of this in relation to EU as pressure will be discussed below but I will before this introduce another project with a quite different result in terms of adaptation.

4.4.1.2 Civitas-Smile – "towards Sustainable Mobility for people in urban areas"

The Civitas-Smile project is one of the bigger ones that Malmö has participated in and the project received at total of 330 million sek (compared to the around 14 million sek for Pre-Sud) out of which Malmö was granted 8,9 million € . The project is still ongoing today and Malmö acts as the project leader. Smile forms part of the Civitas project funded by the Commission under the 6th framework programme for research and development. The aim of the project is to help cities achieve a more sustainable, clean and energy efficient urban transport system by implementing and evaluating both technological and policy based measures (<http://www.malmo.se/smile>).

Civitas-Smile has had a very different focus on implementation than was the case for Pre-Sud. There might be various explanations for this, Malmö being a project leader with more responsibilities, more money being involved and also a higher visibility and greater transparency since both Malmö and Lund University are incorporated to assess the implementation of the project goals. What seems to be most apparent when looking the two

cases is however the way in which the latter is supported in the public sector. We have already seen above the importance of projects fitting the needs of the municipality and being well prepared by the administration. This point was emphasized by all the regional representatives that I interviewed and is something that the regional representatives have seen been improved in the past years. For the Smile project Nord estimated that around ninety per cent of the implementations that the project required were to be implemented regardless of whether Malmö had received EU funding for it or not (Nord, 2008-05-07). This means that it will be easier to fulfil the project requirements but also that it is hard to measure the role that pressures from the EU is playing. The top-down Europeanization effects could be deemed quite limited since the majority of the changes at the domestic level had already been planned for. However, the Commission sets the agenda and presents the project goals which force the participating actors to adjust their priorities. New impulses from cooperating with other European actors and performing peer reviews might also result in a European impact on the actual implementation process.

4.4.1.3 Urbact - European Network for Exchange of Experience

The final project example presented here was funded by the Urbact program which formed part of the former community initiative Urban. One interesting aspect with this project is the way that the funding of the program was achieved. The Urban program was a community initiative aiming for sustainable development in troubled urban areas in EU countries. After Urban I ended in 1999 the Commission had no intentions of continuing the program. Realizing this, Eurocities initiated a lobbying campaign to persuade the Commission to extend the funding for Urban since the members of Eurocities, the major European cities, were also the main stakeholders.

In Urban I Malmö had received support for various projects and Nord confirmed Malmö's role in lobbying the Commission for renewing the Urban program. The representative from Eurocities stated that "Eurocities has been very active on this, together with the EP, which has an inter-group on Urban affairs, have lobbied to ensure that although the Commission had already said that they don't want a new community initiative on Urban that this was still going in". Facing criticism from the European Parliament as well as the major European cities the Commission was convinced to keep financing the Urban initiative. Achieving this, the represent from Eurocities stated: "[t]hat is certainly where I can see a direct influence. It was lobbying by the cities, we wanted a community initiative" (interview with Eurocities: 08-05-09).

The character of the network where individual cities formed an alliance with a European institution (the EP) and a European based organization (Eurocities) is an example of a policy community where all members benefit from the outcome. In this example, the EP took the role that the Commission has had in earlier examples serving as a cooperative partner. Cooperation on the European level was in this case used to lobby the Commission. For Malmö this meant that it could receive funding through the Urbact program for leading the thematic network called “Young people” focusing on changing the situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion (<http://www.malmo.se/urbact>).

4.4.2 Discussing of the implications of the projects

The usage dimension of the three projects can all to some extent be related to financial aspects and a more or less instrumental usage of the EU. In the case of the CIVITAS project the financial benefits are highlighted by Nord’s estimation that ninety percent of the implementations agreed upon for the project would have been implemented even without EU funding. This means that the total net sum shows a surplus of several millions that instead could be invested in other areas. Moving beyond the financial aspects and into the core of this thesis what is of central importance is the type of impulse that the EU is generating. This, of course, relates to the theoretical discussion which is at the heart of this paper of whether the cooperation is leading to Europeanization and, if so, how this is facilitated.

By providing an arena for different actors to interact and learn from each other the EU is facilitating a learning process among the participant actors that enables the diffusion of good practices. This is in line with the OMC approach and by adapting to the ideas and practices of other European cities a horizontal Europeanization process takes place when these are translated into domestic practices. In all three projects Malmö received EU funding for implementing policies at the domestic level and the Commission was in this way able to set the agenda and prioritize certain questions without the need of legislation. By determining the project goals a top-down Europeanization process occur *if* the participating actors act on this and adapt to the Commission requirements. To what extent the local and regional actors have been affected by adaptational pressure and thus to what extent a top-down Europeanization process has occurred has, however, not been possible to determine. Even though the City of Malmö was contractually committed to implement project outcomes we saw that the adaptational pressures that the Commission exerted in the Pre-Sud case were limited. However, the Civitas-Smile project showed in contrast to this that many of the established goals and priorities were in fact implemented. The problem is in determining whether this can

be explained by Europeanization or whether other factors such as domestic politics were more important.

The last case of the Urban/Urbanact program showed how actors from different countries can work together to lobby the Commission. Coming back to what Radaelli claimed in the theoretical section, that Europeanization must be seen as something more than simple reactions to Brussels, this example shows that the linkage between the European and the domestic level is not a clear cut hierarchical relationship with the Commission at the top and the municipality at the bottom. Instead, the example of Urban shows that local authorities can cooperate across the European borders to seek regional advantages even when these are not supported by the Commission.

What makes the above included examples particularly interesting is that two of the projects led to very different results in terms of implementation. To what extent the EU is able to pressure regional authorities to implement project objectives is, as we have seen, hard to measure. The impression after having presented these examples is that actors at the domestic level to some extent are able to resist adaptational pressures from the Commission. What seems to be an important factor for deciding whether or not the project outcomes will be implemented is to what extent they correspond with the overall objectives of the municipality and region. This reflection supports the goodness of fit theory which we saw in the theoretical chapter explain domestic adaptation by investigating the degree of institutional misfit. Accordingly, only demands that pose moderate challenges on domestic structures and actors are likely to produce results. It also matches what the regional representatives highlighted in the interviews about the importance of projects being in concordance with the priorities of the administration.

5. Conclusion

In the theoretical chapter of this thesis Radaelli argued that under facilitated coordination the EU is organizing cooperation among member states without producing legislation. Instead, what the author recognizes is causing Europeanization are the opportunities for learning that this mode of governance provides. In the analysis we could see how benchmarking exercises and peer reviews were initiated and co-funded by the EU. Radaelli argues that the aim of the Commission when supporting these types of activities is to facilitate mutual learning and diffuse good practice among the participant actors. The representative of Eurocities added to this that the aim of the Commission for funding pilot projects is also to gain results it can use later on when producing legislation.

Learning from the strategies adopted by other cities is a prioritized task for Ola Nord in Brussels and is something that is facilitated with, or without, EU funding. The information is obtained and shared primarily through benchmarking exercises and peer reviews and by cooperating with other actors on the European arena these exercises have the ability to initiate a horizontal Europeanization process as local and regional authorities adopt different European strategies as part of their own objectives. Returning to the first two research questions presented in the introductory chapter it is this usage of the EU as a platform for cooperating with different types of actors that has been identified to offer the most obvious potential for making use of the EU. The role of the EU can be very indirect in these cases and might be to simply provide a platform where actors can cooperate and interact with each other.

The purpose of this thesis has not been to investigate how the European impulses are being transformed on the domestic level into, for example, policy initiatives and legislations. Instead, what I have tried to reveal in the analysis is ways in which Europeanization can occur not primarily as a result of pressure from above, as shown in research guided by the top-down Europeanization approach, but through the activities that the sub-national actors are engaged in in their daily activities.

Building alliances with other actors operating on the European arena can be useful both for putting pressure on the national government but also on the Commission itself. The type of actors to engage with and the form of cooperation on the European arena depend on the current issue at stake. The example of the project financed by Urbact showed how Malmö was able to cooperate with other European cities, Eurocities and the EP to convince the Commission to continue with a program that was bringing strategic advantages to the City of

Malmö. Making use of Europe as a platform for forming alliances and sharing practices and ideas result in a horizontal Europeanization process when, and if, these experiences lead to changing practices at the domestic level.

A perspective on how Europe can be used to strengthen an actor's domestic position was provided by West and North Sweden where European institutions, European based organizations and local and regional partners were used to strengthen the regional position during negotiations with the Swedish national government. These findings point towards a cyclical process of Europeanization as Europe in this way provide new opportunities to Swedish sub-national authorities who make use the European level to strengthen regional claims.

In this thesis it has also been revealed how Europe is entering the minds of sub-national actors. The European dimension is gradually becoming a natural part of the daily activities in the domestic administration and the general awareness and competence is rising. During my interviews with the regional representatives they confirmed what the Sieps report had concluded that the EU-activities on the sub-national levels are today corresponding much better with the actual needs and priorities of the administration. A general increase of the level of competence within the administrations in European affairs was particularly noticed within project development. For the representatives in Brussels this means that they can focus on providing more advanced information and finding out the direction of future policy initiatives before they have been published in newsletters or have been communicated by the EU. Knowing in advance which questions that will be prioritized enable actors to adjust at an early stage and also provides opportunities to have an impact on these questions. For Lenschow, such activities are in line with the cyclical view of Europeanization where domestic actors can be seen as moving beyond simple reactions to European impulses and instead actively are trying to shape these impulses.

Individual partners, networks, and organizations on the European arena provide important resources for receiving information at an early stage of a process. By introducing the network governance concept I tried to capture how the sub-national authorities are making use of European actors through establishing and forming part of social and institutional networks. The approach made it possible to see the various ways in which the different cooperative partners included in model 1 (p. 23) have been used. One way of using these partners is for making benchmarks and information is retrieved both through the formal ties between organizations, through newsletters for instance, but even more importantly through the informal and socially based relationships where cities share and discuss information. We have

also seen how different partners on the European arena can be useful when it comes to lobbying activities and strengthening the region at the domestic level. Which actors that are useful to collaborate with depends on the current agenda and issue at stake. For Malmö, Eurocities is the organization which generally has been the most useful partner. However, the experience of West and North Sweden suggests that there are a range of actors that can be useful when promoting a regional interest. The cooperation in networks is in these ways useful both for strengthening the domestic position of the actor and for sharing ideas and best practice. The outcome of this learning process is Europeanization or more specifically, a horizontal process when, and if, it leads to domestic reforms and changing practices on the regional level.

What above else the findings presented in this thesis suggest is that there are many possibilities for sub-national actors to both use and be influenced by Europe. The thesis has primarily related to Europe as a potential of use and to what extent sub-national authorities on the local and regional level are adapting to Europe as a response to adaptational pressure, or perhaps as a response to a combination of the two, is another major issue that has received less focus here. The diverging outcomes of the three projects presented in the analysis suggest, however, that this is a very interesting question and one which should receive the attention from future studies.

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