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Europeanization and Local Government

- an analysis of two administrations in the municipality of
Copenhagen

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Abstract

This paper takes a point of departure in the municipality of Copenhagen (two administrations herein) and their participation in Eurocities. The main question is what kind of processes of Europeanization that takes place in the two administrations. Furthermore, it will be discussed what kind of approach they are taking to European cooperation and how their perception and reflection on the matter is. The theoretical lens are the combination of Radaelli and Dosenrode. Their theories will be discussed and I will come up with a modified version of Europeanization. This is done in order to be able to analyse my empirical context. The developed and elaborated research design will be used in conducting the interviews with the civil servants from the two administrations. The following analysis is done via the developed theoretical indicators. The empirical findings suggest that the two administrations have different approaches to the European cooperation, but they are both active, though one of the administrations is still undergoing a mental process. The two administrations are both on an absorption level of Europeanization and the differences between them are small.

Keywords: Europeanization, local government, Eurocities, the municipality of Copenhagen, Radaelli, Dosenrode.

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1 Introduction

Denmark has been a member of the European Union (EU) since the 1st of January 1973. Since then, the Union has undergone major changes. The number of member states has grown from the original six to the 25 countries of today. The areas where the member states cooperate are manifold and are no longer just a matter of cheaper meat and butter, but in fact affect almost all policy areas. This widening and opening up of European cooperation has not only had an impact on the central administration, but also has influenced the local level of administration. Mentally Europe has moved closer to the local governmental level and the awareness for Europe has increased in the local administrations (Dosenrode 1998:20. This growth in European integration has intensified the possibilities for international cooperation as well, which is much bigger than 20 years ago. Together with the many cross-border programs (such as the Interreg-programs), the EU has stepped-up the incentives to cooperate across borders.

The typical type of European relations, in which the Danish public administration participates, is linked to cooperation and collaboration.¹ The level of such participation in international cooperation differs a lot depending on which level of public administration one takes into consideration. The closer one gets to the top level of the administration the bigger impact it has (Jørgensen 2003:105ff), and the faster this development is. Looking at the local governmental level the importance of international cooperation is much weaker, but it is not missing and it is present as a significant factor.²

Since the legislation is more and more deriving from Brussels it creates a need for not only the national level but also the sub-national level of the public administration to be present in Brussels to exert influence over new legislation. This can be done via informal and formal channels of influence, and in different ways. This means that the local actors can act in different settings where their viewpoints can be heard and where they can learn from other peers. What is in focus here is the process of Europeanization and how the possibilities and need for a deepened cooperation on different policy areas between local municipalities and cities across Europe are brought about and achieved. The process of Europeanization is important to understand and explore in this regard since it tells how the local administration is approaching the European cooperation, as well as what kind of strategy they choose.

¹ Here the term internationalisation refers to cooperation on a European level and is thus a part of Europeanization.

² The point being that internationalisation generate and induces further internationalisation, which can create differentiated administrations (Jørgensen 2003:105ff).

1.1 Empirical Focus and Question

In this paper I will focus on two different administrations³ in the Municipality of Copenhagen (hereafter the MoC) and their approaches to European cooperation. An interesting question to ask in this regard is whether the administrations are taking a proactive or passive/reactive approach to international cooperation. It is interesting to attempt to understand the reflections made by these actors and how they rationalize them. The MoC can try to exercise influence in many different settings at the European level. However, to narrow and confine the subject of interest in this thesis I will look upon the MoC's participation in the network Eurocities. Eurocities can be seen as arena for cross boarder cooperation that involve many different European stakeholders represented as cities.

The focus for this thesis will thus be on the two administrations and their approach to European cooperation. This means that I will look upon their process of Europeanization:

“What kind of Europeanization process is taking place in the two administrations in the Municipality of Copenhagen?”

This question has given rise to two working questions that will support the aforementioned question:

- *“What characterizes the two administrations’ membership of Eurocities given passive, active and mental aspects?”*
- *“Where can the two administrations be placed on a Europeanization continuum?”*

³ The Family and Labour Market Administration and the Energy, Water and Environment Administration.

1.2 Delimitations

This paper is not about whether or not a European demos exist. The theories that I am using can not say anything about the evolvement of a European demos. So by referring to whether or not the two administrations are being Europeanised I am not entering into a discussion on the creation of a European demos, but more on the civil servants reflections on the European cooperation.

1.3 Theoretical Choice

In this thesis I will use the theoretical work by Radaelli and Dosenrode. Both of them are working with the concept of Europeanization, and I have chosen to combine their approaches in order to create a better understanding and interpretation of my empirical context. I have used and interpreted the theories differently than what they were intentionally was directed to address. Radaelli's theory is aimed at the EU-level and how public policies are being implemented—thereby studying a Europeanization process of retrenchment, inertia, absorption or transformation can take place. Dosenrode's theory aims at the institutional level and how institutions participate in European cooperation – actively or passively. They can, however, also be in a mental phase, which is the step before the active aspect. I have worked with these two theories in a way that has resulted in a classification scheme, allowing me to plot my empirical findings. As will also be discussed in my methodological chapter my findings can only be tendencies and directions for Europeanization, since my empirical material is limited. These issues will be elaborated further on in the chapter on methodology.

The two theories are on an equal footing in the analysis, but I have used Radaelli's theory as my entrance to Europeanization literature and the general discussion on Europeanization theories. Therefore I have given this theory more space than the one of Dosenrode. This also means that I am only working with one definition of Europeanization, and that is Radaelli's⁴. The definition I use on Europeanization in this thesis is:

“Processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion, and (c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing this’, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policies and politics and then incorporated in the logic of

⁴ Since the definition of Radaelli is so broad the definition made by Dosenrode is complementary.

domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies” (Radaelli, 2003:30).

In order to understand the Europeanization theories I have chosen to use Sartori (1970, 1984) as a key opener to the theory. He offers a methodology that can give clarity to the theory’s conceptualisation. This methodology is only used in the discussion on the theory not as the methodology of the thesis as such (which will be elaborated on in the next chapter)⁵.

Europeanization is a rather new concept in political science. Since the beginning of the 1990’s, there has been a rather large augmentation in the use of the word ‘Europeanization’. From 1981 to 1988 there were 3 articles referring to Europeanization, whereas from 1999-2001 there were 66 articles (Featherstone 2003: 5). The concept of Europeanization is just not one thing but a whole variety of definitions and conceptualisations, which does give a somewhat muddy and complex picture of ‘Europeanization’. The conceptualisation of Europeanization that I will use in this thesis, is authored by Radaelli (Radaelli 2004, 2003, 2000a, 2000b and 1997).

Another conceptualisation is the ‘goodness of fit’-thesis, which is a somewhat different angle to the processes of Europeanization, and, in short, applies to a situation, where there is a misfit between EU policies and the domestic legislation or situation⁶. This approach has been applied to public policies coming from the European level to the Member States, but have been criticised by Schmidt and Radaelli for not being concise enough:

“[the] ‘goodness of fit’ has several limitations[...]One important point is that fits and misfits are politically constructed; apart from extreme cases, there is no absolute match or mismatch[...]It is up to political actors at the EU and national levels to determine what a good fit is. This often means that interpretation, inter-subjective understandings and discourse shape the notion of ‘goodness of fit[...].” (Schmidt 2004:187).

This approach is mainly represented by Börzel and Risse (2003 and Börzel 1999) (and Caporaso, Cowles and Risse 2001), and I will, in the theoretical chapter, shortly discuss this approach.

This lead up to the discussion of Radaelli’s Europeanization concept, which will be presented lastly, and which is the theoretical focus in this thesis. In that section I will modify the theory and method so it is applicable to my empirical context. Furthermore, I will also develop the theoretical indicators that are to be used in ‘dissecting’ the empirical context.

⁵ Sartori offers a toolbox to dissect a theory and to work with it. Radaelli also uses Sartori to discuss and criticise other approaches to Europeanization. I have extended this by using Sartori on Radaelli’s theory in order to understand his concept of Europeanization and the flaws it might have.

⁶ “[research studies]examines ‘the goodness of fit’, between EU-level processes, policies, and institutions and those found at the domestic level” (Featherstone 2003:15).

1.4 Case Presentation

In this section I would like to present my case – the Municipality of Copenhagen – and the network they participate in, Eurocities. This is rather descriptive and therefore kept short.

The municipality of Copenhagen is the capital municipality of Denmark and is the largest in terms of inhabitants. 9,3% of the total Danish population lives in the MoC. The two departments/secretariats that this thesis is dealing with is the “Familie- og Arbejdsmarkedsforvaltning”⁷ og “Miljø- og Forsyningsforvaltningen”⁸. The former is the department/secretariat for family and labour market, whereas the latter is the department/secretariat for environment and supply. The international strategy for the MoC was decided in the Autumn of 2003 and the vision is that Copenhagen shall be a leader in international cooperation (Miljø- og Forsyningsforvaltningen 2004:2). This means that each department/secretariat has developed an International strategy and the goal is to inter alia strengthen the outcome and the engagement in international networks. The overall goal is divided into three objectives: the learning city, the influential city and the growing city (Københavns Kommune 2004). This is realized via the different departments/secretariats participation in the international network, where Eurocities is one of them. The MoC’s participation in the Eurocities is regarded in the MoC as a strategic forum in the general management of their interests (Københavns Kommune 2004)⁹.

The Eurocities was established in 1986 with the purpose of making the voices of some of the largest cities in Europe heard at the European level. This meant being a facilitator for international cooperation, giving advice on possible access to EU funding and exchanging best practices between the participating cities. The network consists of 106 cities, with at least 250.000 inhabitants (Eurocities 2004a). There are 16 objectives that all aim at making the cities more sustainable in different dimensions – social, economic, environmental, cultural and governance (Eurocities 2003). The prevailing board is the Executive Committee, which consist of 12 member cities; the MoC is a part of this body (Eurocities 2004b). The six fora are chaired by different cities and there are 31 Working Groups, which also have a city representative as chair.

⁷ Family and Labour Market Administration – hereafter the FAF.

⁸ Energy, Water and Environment Administration – hereafter the MFF.

⁹ The 7 departments/secretariats are all together participating in around 80 international organizations and network.

2 Methodology

In this paper I will use two different but interrelated methods. My case is the Europeanization of the two administrations in the MoC. These two cases will be analysed and compared. Thereby, I am also using the comparative method as a tool to understand the Europeanization and its process.

As Lijphart argues in his article from 1971, there is a close connection between the comparative method and the case study, and in narrowing the focus down to a small number of cases I can focus more on an intensive examination of the case (Lijphart, 1971:691). Furthermore, it is also a pragmatic question of resources and man hours that are of matter here. Lijphart distinguishes between six different types of case studies, which can be combined with the comparative method (Lijphart:1971).

In my paper I will primarily be using the interpretive case study approach. Here the analysis and the object for analysis is chosen because of my interest in the matter instead of a wish to be able to formulate general theory from my findings (Lijphart 1971:692). This approach, however, is not Common Sense, and it leans on already established theoretical assumptions and its conclusions (and analysis) can create a bigger understanding for the area – in my case Europeanization of the two administrations in the MoC.

I have chosen to conduct the analysis in two different administrations in the MoC, and these two mini-organisations are different in terms of working areas and legal jurisdiction that they are subject to. This gives me some restrictions and limitations on the level of comparison that I can engage in, but I find it valuable to highlight that difference in the sense that this could be an explanation for the different approach to the European cooperation.

2.1 Qualitative Methods and Hermeneutics

The method that is used in this thesis is qualitative methods. I have gathered written material about the Eurocities and the MoC, which are used to support the interviews that I have conducted. In this process it is relevant to pose three related questions: What is the validity, reliability and generalisability of the material used? These three questions relates to the thesis' overall legitimation (Devine 2002:203). I will discuss this in the section below which discusses how I have carried out my interviews.

In writing this paper, constructing the different parts of it, extracting the meaning of the theory and developing the theoretical indicators used to understand the empirical context and in conducting the interviews I have worked

under the auspices of hermeneutics. In making a hermeneutical interpretation a process back and forth between the part and the whole is necessary, and, as it is argued in Alvesson, “*The meaning of a part can only be understood if it is related to the whole*” (Alvesson 2000:53). This is also referred to as the *hermeneutic circle*, where the researcher interprets the different parts of the given object and relates it to the whole. This is done by interpreting the interviews, and the important methodological and interpretative step is to start the hermeneutical circle in the correct manner so the correct meanings are being condensed out from the interview text. This leads me to another hermeneutical interpretation principle, namely that of the researcher’s *preunderstanding* and understanding (Alvesson 2000:53).

In this sense it is important to clarify on what basis I am posing questions during the interviews. This thesis is based on the theoretical interpretation, where the empirical material is interpreted on the basis of the theoretical concept (Radaelli/Dosenrode – Europeanization). The theoretical interpretation and understanding is therefore requested to go beyond my own self-conception and a common sense interpretation. The horizon of the question is primarily derived from the theoretical base and the overall problem that constitutes this thesis, and this leads to the horizon of understanding. The interpretation is not the final result; it yields a merger of horizons between the horizon of interpretation and the horizon of meaning (Pahuus 1995:121).

2.2 The Interviews¹⁰

I have conducted five interviews with people from the two administrations, the MoC’s office in Brussels and the Eurocities. The two pre-interviews (not recorded) that I conducted were in Brussels with Eurocities and the MoC’s Brussels-office. The three interviews used in the analysis were recorded and transcribed in order to give me a tangible tool in my interpretation of the dialogues, and were conducted on three days, the 15th, 19th and 20th of April 2005.

In the next chapter I will elaborate on my theoretical assumptions.

¹⁰ For an elaborated discussion on the design of the interviews: See Appendix 1.

3 Theory

In this chapter I would like to present my theoretical assumptions, considerations and concepts that will be used throughout this paper. In the next section I will engage in a shortly discussion, where view on Europeanization by Börzel and Risse is presented and discussed. This is done in order to show a different aspect of the theoretical framework Europeanization and how the theory I use differs from other theories.

3.1 Different views on Europeanization

In this part I will discuss some of the different approaches to Europeanization and how they can be distinguished from each other. Europeanization is about change; political change at the domestic level caused by the developments at the European level. Numerous scholars have tried to grasp the concept of Europeanization and its vast amount of definitions and approaches (i.a. Olsen 2002, Featherstone 2003, Radaelli 2003, Howell 2004).

Börzel and Risse's conceptualisation of Europeanization has a top-down perspective and thereby looking at how the domestic level is influenced by policies, politics and polities that stem from the European level (Börzel 2003). Two conditions for their view are set up. In order to investigate there must be a 'misfit' between the European level and the domestic level, which leads to some level of pressure and possible domestic change. The second condition is that this pressure is acted upon at the domestic level. This can be done either by the logic of consequentialism, as seen in the rational choice institutionalism¹¹, or by a logic of appropriateness as seen in the sociological institutionalism¹² (Börzel 2003:58f). These two logics both lead to domestic change via a pressure for adaptation through different channels because of a policy or institutional misfit. Different answers will emerge to the process of Europeanization, depending on which logic is taken¹³. However, these two logics can work at the same time and are in their view linked (Börzel 2003:74). Their research strategy is based on an exploration

¹¹ "The logic of rationalist institutionalism suggests that Europeanization leads to domestic change through a differential empowerment of actors resulting from a redistribution of resources at the domestic level" (Börzel 2003:58).

¹² "Sociological institutionalism suggests that Europeanization lead to domestic change through a socialization and collective learning process, resulting in norm internalisation and the development of new identities" (Börzel 2003:59).

¹³ In terms of absorption, accommodation and transformation.

on the goodness of fit, the adaptational pressures and the domestic responses to Europeanization.

Radaelli's approach, as will be made clearer in the part on Radaelli's concept on Europeanization below, distinguishes from this by not emphasizing the need for a misfit in order for a process of Europeanization to take place. Furthermore, the emphasis on a feedback mechanism that makes Europeanization a cyclical system (such as Börzel 1999) is also different from the concept which Radaelli develops, since he distinguishes between Europeanization (from the European level to the domestic) and political (European) integration (feedback from the domestic level to the European level) (Radaelli 2003:33).

3.2 Sartori's Methodology

Having so many different conceptualisations of the concept Europeanization can lead to what Sartori has called *conceptual stretching* (Sartori in Radaelli 2003:28, Sartori 1970). As well as Radaelli I draw on Sartori to understand Europeanization, because Sartori presents a useful methodology to help clarify the theory's set up.¹⁴ A *concept* is the basic unit of thinking and the platform that coins and constitute the starting point for the analysis (Sartori 1984). In this paper it is the Europeanization that is the focus. Furthermore, Sartori also includes the signifiers, which are the forms used to signify the concept. That is referred to as a *term* and it denotes the concept (Sartori 1984). A concept can moreover have an *intension*, which is the ensemble of characteristics of (included in) a concept (its connotation), and an *extension* meaning the denotation of a word, which is the ensemble of things (objects) to which the word applies.¹⁵

I will not go further into Sartori's methodology, because his aim is, in the end, to reconstruct theories by conducting a critical reading. Sartori makes a selection of the necessary elements of the concept and re-muddles and reorganizes these elements in a logical and meaningful way (Sartori 1984:10ff). However, Sartori's way of thinking is a good tool when trying to understand the basics in a theory and it is also a commonly used tool in comparative political science (Sartori 1984, Radaelli 2003:28). The point here is that concepts that are not defined in a concise way run the risk of being misunderstood or confusing. Looking at

¹⁴ I will not use Sartori in the actual analysis, but only use him as a kind of a key opener in order to better understand Europeanization.

¹⁵ Now this is rather abstract and in order to bring it up to a more comprehensible level one can look at the Greek and Latin word for moon – *mene* and *luna*. They have the same denotation, because it refers to the same object, namely the physical moon in the sky, but they have two different kinds of connotation. In ancient Greek the word for moon *mene* comes from 'to measure', whereas the latin word for moon *luna* comes from *lucere*, which means 'to (en)lighten'. This example show how the ancient Greeks saw the moon as an instrument to measure the time with (a kind of calendar), whereas the old Romans saw the moon as something that could give light during night. Here we can see how *mene* and *lune* has the exact same denotation – they point at the same object the moon, but it has a different connotation (Sartori 1984:18).

Europeanization theories through the lens of Sartori, and thereby using the conceptual analysis, one risks, as argued by Radaelli, “[...](*a*) *concept misformation*, (*b*) *conceptual stretching*, (*c*) ‘*degreeism*’”¹⁶ (Radaelli 2003:28).

In the following section I will present and discuss Radaelli’s concept of Europeanization.

3.3 Radaelli and the Concept of Europeanization

Radaelli’s own definition of Europeanization¹⁷ is partly derived from the work by Ladrech¹⁸, and it accentuates “[...]the importance of change in the logic of political behaviour” (Radaelli 2003:30). The process of Europeanization is about how the national or domestic level absorbs and incorporates policies and politics coming from the European level. This definition involves the process of institutionalisation and, as argued by Radaelli, it covers more than Ladrech since it consists of both organisations and individuals (ibid). The definition can be classified, using the terminology from Scott (1995) and as applied by Laffan (2001), as belonging to the normative and cognitive pillar, whereas the regulative aspect is not as pronounced (if present at all). It does not include EU laws but EU public policy because “[...]it includes modes of governance which are not targeted towards law making[...]” (Radaelli 2003:30). I interpret the second part of the definition as follows: At the European level policies and politics are created, which are going to be transferred to the domestic level and thereby creating a form of ‘pressure’ towards that level. In this regard I look upon the Eurocities-network as an arena, where a kind of pressure is stemming towards the domestic level (the MoC). Thereby, new ways of doing things and new perceptions can be incorporated in the domestic structure of the MoC. The Eurocities is the arena, whereby ‘processes of construction, diffusion and institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ways of doing things and shared beliefs and norms’ (Radaelli 2003) can take place.

The concept of Europeanization has tended to favour *extension* over *intension* indicating that “[...]the class of entities to which the concept applies[...]” (Radaelli 2003:32) are high. A concept’s connotation (its intension) is inversely proportional to its denotation (extension) and therefore it is important in order to conduct a proper *reconstruction* of a concept (Sartori’s second step in his conceptual analysis) to look at the exclusion-inclusion definitions in the concept.

¹⁶ ‘Degreeism’ “[...]occurs when differences in kind are replaced by differences of degrees. As we are not able to see the difference between a cat and a dog, we speak of different degrees of cat-dogs” (Sartori in Radaelli 2003:32).

¹⁷ See the section on Theoretical Choice in chapter 1.

¹⁸ Ladrech, R., “Europeanisation of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France”, in *JCMS* 32(1), 1994.

At this stage it is good to introduce the ‘ladder of abstraction’, which is an indicator on the level of abstraction of the concept. The more abstract the more closer it is to the connotation and the more universal, but precise, it is. If the level of abstraction reduced, one descends the ladder and thereby increases the number of characteristics (the extension) and level of inclusion and generalization is reduced (Sartori 1975:17). Returning to the trade-off between intention and extension, a high degree of extension means that the discriminatory power of the concept (its intension) is low and the longer one gets down the ladder of abstraction, the more characteristics one can include in the concept. In other words, if everything can be embraced under the auspices of Europeanization, what is then not being Europeanised? Thereby making a concise definition of the concept problematic.

Radaelli argues that Europeanization is *not* convergence, harmonization, integration and policy formation. Thereby, he draws a line between European Integration theories and Europeanization theories. The former investigates the question of why countries join forces and has established the institutional set-up as we know it. The latter is concerned with what takes place after this and looks upon the role of institutions at the domestic level and how they adapt to Europe. Here Radaelli draws upon the work by Caporaso and distinguishes European Integration theories as dealing with ontological matters, whereas Europeanization theories are in a post-ontological stage (Radaelli 2003:33)¹⁹.

In order to conceptualise, organize and ‘materialize’ the definition and theory, Radaelli, establishes a taxonomy as a research design, which has two dimensions: “[...]one can approach the study of this phenomenon [Europeanization] by raising the questions ‘what is Europeanized?’ (i.e. the domains where the effects of Europeanization are supposed to materialize) and ‘to what extent?’ (i.e. extension and direction of Europeanization)” (Radaelli 2003:35). Here I would like to introduce a box that is taken from the work made by Radaelli.

Box 3.1 – Domains of Europeanization and change.

Domains of Europeanization	Extent and direction of Europeanization
<p>Domestic structure</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political structures <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Institutions b. Public Administration c. Intergovernmental relations d. Legal structure 2. Structures of representation and cleavages 	

¹⁹ “the study of European integration is moving into a post-ontological state; scholars are less concerned with how to categorize than how to explain process and outcome, paying less attention to the ‘nature of the beast’” (Caporaso cited in Radaelli 2000a:25). I do not want to enter into a meta-theoretical discussion, but it seems rather redundant and peculiar that one can speak about a *post*-ontological stage. The very building blocks of theories are made of ontological and epistemological characteristics, which defines them and gives them their prerequisites for the research and world view. I do not think, however, that this is meant as Europeanization theories do not have ontology – they have – but what is intended here is maybe more to state that the theories have passed the level where they (and their scholars) are trying to define and build up their paradigmatic characters.

This step, however, is not fully developed by Radaelli, but four indicators are being drawn up to ‘measure’ the policy change, which can be used as indicators on the outcome of a process of Europeanization²⁰.

These analytical steps presented here, to use the terminology by Sartori, is a descending of the ladder of abstraction and an augmentation of the concept’s extension hence the emergence of more new terms that labels the concept. Radaelli risks watering down the concept’s connotation (intension), but on the other hand the concept is being made ready for collecting empirical findings and it is therefore necessary, in order to grasp something outside ‘the ivory tower’, to descend the ladder of abstraction. Radaelli’s criticism is directed to the overwhelming amount of scholars that works with the concept of Europeanization, but in his own theoretical box Sartori’s method can also be applied and used to ‘dissect’ his concept.

Radaelli’s purpose with his theory and method is mainly to explain EU-policies and politics coming from the European level and how they affect the domestic level hence the concept Europeanization of public policies. My ‘mission’ is not to copy his approach and conduct research at the same level as he suggests. Instead, I have moved down to the domestic ‘scale’ and look at the MoC and their process of Europeanization. In doing so it has been a necessary requirement and methodological step to modify and alter Radaelli’s theory and methodology to my empirical context. Thus, I have made it possible to create and identify the accurate indicators when addressing the MoC. This modification runs the risk of being modified to an extent, where it is no longer true to the original, but I have aimed at being genuine, though critical, to the theory. In doing so, I have kept the overall taxonomy from Radaelli, but since it is also a ‘research design’ that he develops, the content has been modified to equip me with the right tools and to make me able to understand the process of Europeanization in the MoC.

3.4 Europeanization – a Modified Version

Turning back to Box 3.1 I will at this stage leave the different boxes fairly open, but I will point out some of the sub-classifications that contain more value for this paper than some of the others. The focal point for this paper is under 1b in the box of ‘domestic structures’; it is under the auspices of the public administration that the MoC is engaged in the Eurocities and therefore it can be argued that the other labels are not as explicitly influential. In the box ‘public policies’ all the indicators can be relevant, and this is also the case under ‘cognitive and normative

²⁰ The four indicators that Radaelli draws up – Retrenchment, Inertia, Absorption and Transformation – are derived from the work of Hértier and Knill, Börzel (1999) and Cowles 2001 (Radaelli 2000a:11).

structures'. There might, however, be a further modification as the research evolves. The reason why this part of Box 3.1 is not being explicitly modified is that this presents an overall frame, whereas Box 3.2 represents the more tangible indicators and they have to be modified to the empirical context within which I work. Turning to Box 3.2 I will in the following present the altered four possible outcomes of Europeanization. Just to reinstate, they are indicators of "[...]the magnitude of change and its direction[...]" (Radaelli 2003:37).

Box 3.3 – The four processes of Europeanization.

Retrenchment indicates that the administrations take a step backward meaning that they become less Europeanised by being in the Eurocities-network

Inertia is a situation of lack of change. This situation can occur when a member of Eurocities (e.g. the MoC) finds the cooperation, choices, models, or 'policies' too divergent from the administration's practice. This may then result in delays and lags and resistance to the proposed changes. This can be difficult to obtain in the long run, and it may lead to crisis and to precipitous and disconnected changes.

Absorption indicates change as adaptation. The institutional set-up can make leave-way for some flexibility and elasticity, and thereby the MoC can absorb non-essential changes while remaining 'intact'. The policy requirements are being accommodated but the core still remains undisputed and no real changes occur in the institutional logic.

Transformation is a paradigmatic change, indicating a change in the fundamental logic of how to do things.

(Source Radaelli 2003:37)²¹.

These four indicators belong to a continuum as seen in Box 3.2 and represent both a positive Europeanization and a more negative one, hence the plus and the minus mark below the continuum.

One question that emerges is what are the borders between these four indicators?²² Radaelli draws a line between (*simple*) *learning* and *cognitive development* by suggesting that "*the former indicates a gradual, incremental process, whereas the latter designates a discontinuous jump towards new ways of organizing knowledge*" (Radaelli 2003:38f). Thereby, an emphasis on institutions is established, so change is a matter of *institutional change*. However, where Radaelli is not so explicit about whether or not this includes actors and their cognitive development, I suggest that in order to understand the institutional change, one also has to include the actors working in the institutional environment.. The process of Europeanization in the MoC is more than just words on paper; it includes the actors that work with the Eurocities-network on a daily

²¹ These four indicators are derived from Radaelli, which means that some of the language is the same, but it has been modified to resemble the empirical context that I work within.

²² "[...]where is the 'fence', the empirical indicators that tell us whether Greece and Italy have been transformed by Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), instead of simple adaptation? Is the transformation in the eye of the beholder, a matter of very qualitative assessments, or can political scientists be more precise? When does marginal change falls under the rubric of inertia rather than absorption? I would suggest a tentative answer to this problem" (Radaelli 2003:38).

basis. Their perception of the cooperation is also a determinant for how the cooperation proceeds and thereby how the process of Europeanization evolves and is being articulated.

In order to ascertain a possible process of either retrenchment, inertia, absorption or transformation, where the latter contains the most positive outcome of a process of Europeanization and which represent the indicator that induces the most change into the organization, four aspects are being presented, namely *interaction*, *robustness*, *equilibration* and *discourse* that all can be discerned empirically (Radaelli 2003:39). Radaelli only ascribes these aspects to the transformation process, but I will argue that these aspects also can take place in the other processes (absorption, inertia and retrenchment) since e.g. interaction also takes places in these processes. The degree of e.g. interaction, however, is not as 'strong' in the absorption, inertia or retrenchment processes as in a transformation process²³. Here again, I have modified the theory and the indicators from the original theory in order to be able to dissect something from my empirical context.

Box 3.4 – The four aspects of the processes of Europeanization.

Interaction. What type of interaction is in the Eurocities-network and the between the administrations, and how is the relation between different kind of institutions

Robustness. Has the participation in the Eurocities, and thereby the process of Europeanization, created institutional robustness in the MoC. Is the institutional structure becoming more robust, are some administrative procedures being improved by the interaction. This parameter is referring to what is happening 'inside' the MoC.

Equilibration. Has there via the Eurocities cooperation been situations, where new ways of thinking have been acquired – "*Institutions develop through equilibration when they face a crisis that does not fit with any of the standard repertoires of action*"²⁴. Is there taken cognitive development place in the administrations and are the rules and norms being altered and transformed through the experiences with being in the Eurocities.

Discourse. Is there a "[...]presence or absence of transformative discourses[...]"²⁵. Are new rules, values and practices being established via the participation in the Eurocities.

(Source Radaelli 2003:39-40).

At this stage I would like to add another layer to the analytical considerations. I will include this layer, because it can add another aspect to the analysis. The starting point is that of Dosenrode (1998)²⁶, and again the theoretical terms have been modified to my empirical context. I have chosen to include his definitions, first of all because his three terms of the concept of Europeanization are very good

²³ This approach has lead me to a set of questions to the interviewees and I will discuss my approach further in the analytical chapter.

²⁴ Radaelli 2003:39

²⁵ Radaelli 2003:40

²⁶ The usage of Dosenrode in combination with Radaelli I draw on Cortelius (2002). My development and interpretation of the two theories is innovative since the level of analysis has not, to my knowledge, been done before.

in opening up and understanding the process of Europeanization and can work as a tool in analysing the administrations in the MoC. Secondly, they can serve/work as guidelines in forming the questions, together with the indicators discussed above, for the interviews and thereby they are a part of the theoretically derived indicators in this paper. I have taken Dosenrode's three terms and modified them. Hereby, I am using his terminology, but the content has changed; this is mainly the case with the *passive* aspect, whereas the two others are more in line with Dosenrode's own terminology. I am not working actively with Dosenrode's own definition of Europeanization, and thereby incorporating it into the paper, but since it is not in conflict with Radaelli's definition, his three indicators can be used²⁷ and applied into this context.

Box 3.5 – Dosenrode's 3 indicators.

A) Passive. The passive is characterised by the MoC entering in and participating in the international cooperation via their International Plan of Action. This is furthermore characterised by a non-active and hands-off approach to the cooperation in the Eurocities, which includes the participation in fora and Working Groups. The passive aspect does not exploit all the possibilities in the Eurocities-network.

B) Mental. The mental is, as also argued by Dosenrode, very important and a prerequisite for entering into the *active* aspect²⁸. This aspect is, however, less tangible, but involves civil servants that work with EU-related areas and in this case the civil servants from either of the two administrations working with projects in the Eurocities-network. These people encounter and participate in the fora and Working Groups and thereby become institutionalised into thinking European.

C) Active. As mentioned before the *mental* leads to the third and last aspect of Europeanization, namely the active. This refers to the active, conscious and hands-on participation in the Eurocities-network and a positive approach and utilization of the potentials in the network.

(Source Dosenrode 1998:11)

How to merge these two theoretical and analytical layers which have been discussed above? The two layers are on the same footing and can together tell something about the processes of Europeanization. As seen in Box 3.2 the continuum goes from minus to positive (from retrenchment to transformation); in Box 3.5 they go from passive to active, and in moving from a passive attitude towards an active attitude implies an unfolding mental process, where people starts to think more European.

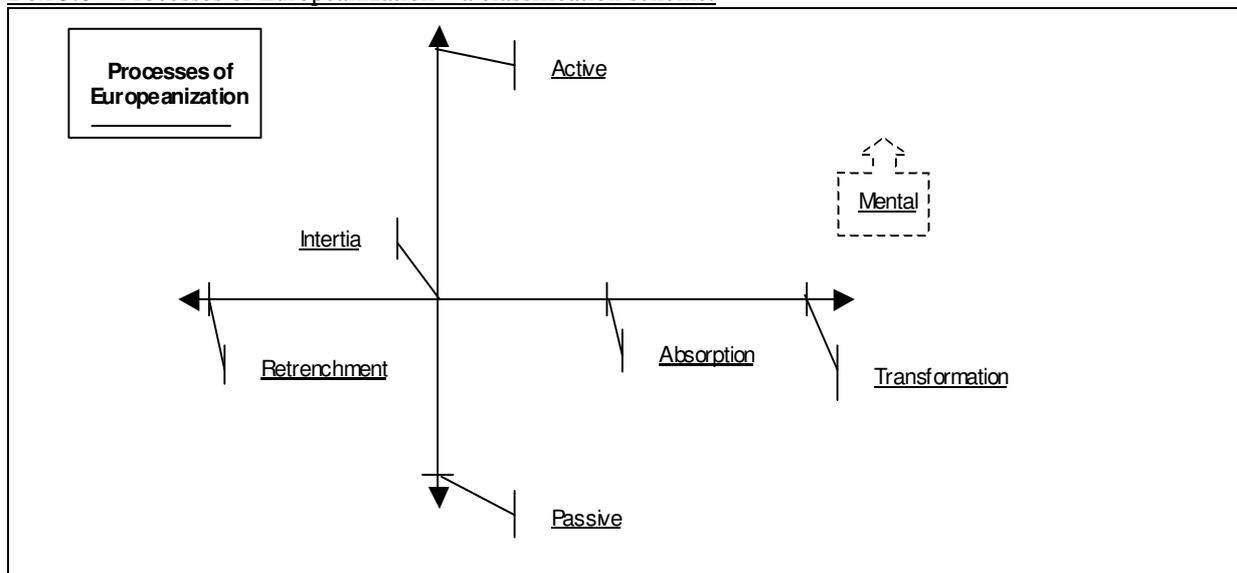
I have combined the two boxes and approaches and thereby I have developed my own classification scheme, which can give an understanding of where the administrations are in terms of being Europeanised. I will argue that there is an interrelation between the two approaches since they together can give a more

²⁷ Dosenrode's definition of Europeanization: "*I define Europeanization as the increasing degree to which the regions are influenced, and are involved in developments going on outside their home-country, but within the EU*" (Dosenrode 1998:11).

²⁸ Dosenrode 1998:11

concise picture of the process of Europeanization. This is illustrated in the following classification scheme²⁹.

Box 3.6 – Processes of Europeanization – a classification scheme.



In Box 3.6 the two administrations can be dotted in and classified. Thereby, it can be seen what kind of Europeanization process that takes place and whether they are active or passive.³⁰

In the next chapter I will elaborate and present my analytical findings and interpretations. In this regard I will be looking for different indicators, and as shown above I have developed a range of theoretical indicators, which I will have to compare with the empirical findings. This will take place in a two-folded analysis.

²⁹ As mention before, the two layers are on equal footing and there is therefore no dependent and independent variable as seen in a X-Y system of co-ordinates.

³⁰ See Appendix 2 for a discussion on the four boxes contained in Box 3.6.

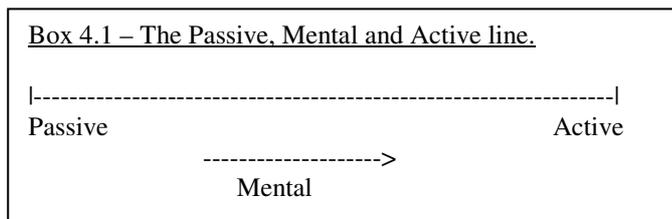
4 Analysis

This chapter on analysis will contain my empirical findings and the following analytical “cultivation”. By this, I refer to my chapter on my methodological considerations, where I inter alia discuss my hermeneutical approach to the interviews and the interview situation.

Before entering into the concrete analysis I would like to present my analytical framework, or my visualization of the analytical work. I have divided the work into two separate but interconnected analyses, which together combine my own developments and interpretation of the two theoretical approaches presented in the previous chapter and coined in Box 3.6. These two analyses will enable me to place the administrations in their respective boxes and in different or similar processes of Europeanization. I will now, in short, present my analytical chapter and the two analytical sections.

4.1.1 Design of Analysis 1

I will in this first analysis establish the relationship between the passive and active aspect of the administration’s process of Europeanization and thereby articulate the mental aspects that they have gone through or which are taking place in the administration by referring to the interviews.



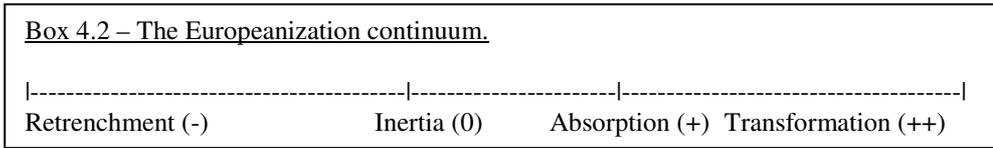
This analytical part will answer the first working question:

- “*What characterizes the two administrations’ membership of Eurocities given passive, active and mental aspects?*”

4.1.2 Design of Analysis 2

In this part of the analytical chapter I will investigate upon the interviewee responses to questions relating to *interaction, robustness, equilibration* and *discourse*. This has been converted into questions relating to interaction, driving force, learning and finally cognitive dimensions. The quotations will make me

able to conclude, where the administrations are on the Europeanization continuum.



This part of the analysis will answer the second working question:

- “Where can the two administrations be placed on a Europeanization continuum?”.

Thereby, I will interpret the answers relating to interaction, robustness, equilibration and discourse. This means that all of the four processes on the Europeanization continuum will be regarded via the abovementioned indicators. This can be visualized in the following matrix:

Box 4.3 – Matrix for the four aspects (vertical) of the different processes of Europeanization (horizontal).

	Retrenchment	Inertia	Absorption	Transformation
Interaction				
Robustness				
Equilibration				
Discourse				

This means that for every possible process there are four types of indicators that all ‘possess’ different kinds of questions. This is, as indicated in the previous chapter, an extension and a new development of Radaelli’s theory, but I would argue that it can stand, because the four indicators can be asked for all kinds of Europeanization processes. For retrenchment and inertia, however, the statements from the interviewees will be of a ‘negative’ character and can give indications on these issues. In my interpretation of the interviews I have looked for trends and indications on the elements described in Analysis 1 and 2.

4.2 Analysis 1

This part of the analysis will be dealing with how the passive, mental and active aspect can be understood from statements from civil servant in the two administrations.

Together with the other administrations in the MoC the FAF has not previously had an international plan of action, but since 2003 there has been an attempt to develop an overall international strategy for the MoC and an international plan of action in the respective administrations: “We would like to

*make the international more of a focus in our administration, and to go in and actively influence the Eurocities in directions that we have interests in.*³¹ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). Their participation in European cooperation has been in a downwards period, but they are trying to coordinate and strengthen their involvement: *“There’s been a quiet period for 3/4 of a year[...]but before that there was a period, where there was a lot of activity within things like the framework of Eurocities; but that’s been on hold for a while now[...]*³² (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20).

The argument for entering into a further and more active approach is mainly derived from the political level of the FAF. There has been a desire to become even more active and they have recently been appointed deputy chairman in the Social Affairs Forum, with the agenda to run for the chairmanship at a later stage: *“So from the political level, one can see that in relation to the content of the international plan of action, they [the politicians] want us to be more ambitious, so there’s this indirect pressure on us to become more active in Eurocities [and] it’s indirectly suggested that we’re able to run for the chairmanship.”*³³ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). In this development of an international plan of action, the FAF has tried to prioritise its different international activities; this is an ongoing process for the administration: *“[...]there’re many different kinds of EU-cooperation and some of them are easier than others, and [in those areas] we’ve prioritised and been there when there’re going to be some results. It’s hard to be away, but the projects we’re involved with now have been prioritised.”*³⁴ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15).

The process of writing an international plan of action has, as indicated above, been something that all of the seven administrations in the MoC have gone through. The MFF has gone through a similar process, but they have been more involved in the work for a longer time than FAF: *“[...]In the last few years there have been directives and other things, which have taken place in this area, and there has been a Working Group for a while, which Copenhagen has chaired.”*³⁵ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). A reason why the MFF has been involved in this cooperation in the Environment Forum and in the Working Group on Waste Management for such a long time is that already in the eighties, the area became strongly regulated from the European level: *“If you look at it from a political angle, in Denmark the waste area was already strongly regulated in 1982-*

³¹ My translation: *“Altså vi vil gerne sætte mere fokus på det internationale i vores forvaltning og gå ind og aktivt at påvirke Eurocities i den retning, som vi kan være interesseret i”.*

³² My translation: *“Det har været en stille periode på 3/4 år...men før da var der en periode, hvor der var forholdsvis meget aktivitet i fx Eurocities regi; det har ligget lidt på hold i en periode”.*

³³ My translation: *“Så fra politisk side kan man sige at i forhold til det, der står i den internationale handlingsplan, så ønsker de, at vi er mere ambitiøse, og det er på den måde et indirekte pres på, at vi går ind og er mere aktive i Eurocities[...]det ligger ligesom i svinget at vi kan stille op til formandsposten”.*

³⁴ My translation: *“[...]der findes mange forskellige slags EU-samarbejder, og nogle som er mere light, og der har vi prioriteret, og været med der hvor det giver noget. Det tager jo tid at tage af sted, og vi har prioriteret projekter, som vi er med i nu”.*

³⁵ My translation: *“[...]indenfor de sidste mange år har der været direktiver og andet, som har været kørende på området, og der har været en arbejdsgruppe, som København har haft lederskabet af”.*

1983.”³⁶ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). The area for e.g. waste has been a very conflictual area and it has therefore been regulated from the EU on an early stage, and there have been many laws trying to reduce the technical trade restrictions and to ensure the free movement of goods in the EU (ibid). The MFF has also had a period, where they have not been so active in their international involvement, because of the many resources that it takes to have an international commitment: “[...]We’ve used a lot of resources. Right now we’re boosting things, but we’ve taken it easy for a while--a few years off.”³⁷ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). This indicates that the administration has been very active in the group, and they have been deeply involved in the lobbying towards the Commission, and tried to make their stand-point heard, and this tactic has born fruit: “[...]we’ve been very involved in writing the European waste strategy and very involved in getting lobby-activities on the 5th EU-programme on Environment.”³⁸ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

Like the FAF, the MFF has also made its priorities concerning their involvement at the European level. The MFF is trying to make their commitment as proactive as possible: “[...]it means that if we’re a member of a board, then we’re members of the board or members in another way, and so we’re active...if we’re on ‘em, then we’re active.”³⁹ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

At first hand the two administrations seem to be very similar in their approach to European cooperation. There are, however, differences in the time that they have been involved in this kind of cooperation, and how they use the potentials in the Eurocities-network. The MFF has been involved in European projects for a long time and they try to incorporate the European aspect into their projects⁴⁰, whereas the FAF has only started to move and advance in the last 3-4 years, because it is a relatively new area within which to cooperate⁴¹. The international plan of action has meant that the administration has something with which to coordinate its international activities: “[the international plan of action]has meant, to a considerable extent, that there’s a tool that can be used in relation to the activities better than before.”⁴² (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). The FAF has not been involved as long as the MFF in the European cooperation. Whereas the MFF has taken a conscious, active role for a number of years, the FAF has only just started

³⁶ My translation: ”Hvis du ser politisk på det, så blev affaldsområdet et stærkt reguleret område allerede i starten af 1982-1983 i Danmark”.

³⁷ My translation: ”[...]vi har brugt mange ressourcer. Lige nu er vi på vej op igen, men vi har taget en slapper. Et par sabbatsår”.

³⁸ My translation: ”[...]vi har været ganske tæt knyttet til at skrive den europæiske affaldsstrategi og tæt knyttet til at lave lobby-arbejde på det 5. Miljøhandlingsprogram”.

³⁹ My translation: ”[...]det betyder, at hvis vi er medlem af en forening, jamen så er vi medlem af bestyrelsen eller medlem på en anden måde, så yder vi et aktivt stykke arbejde...skal vi være med skal vi være aktive”.

⁴⁰ On my question whether the MFF was thinking more European by participating in a cooperation such as the Eurocities, the reply was that they had been thinking European for a long time (“Nej, det har vi gjort i lang tid” (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

⁴¹ ”Og det er især indenfor de sidste 3-4 år at det begynder at rykke indenfor dette her område. Jeg kan forstå at nogle af de andre forvaltninger såsom miljø, der har de været i gang i længere tid” (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15).

⁴² My translation: ”[den internationale handlingsplan]har betydet at man i højere grad har fået et redskab til at kunne hænge sine aktiviteter op på end tidligere”.

to become active. They are in a process of committing themselves to cooperation, such as becoming the deputy chairman, and the groups that they participate in calls for some level of active participation: “*Yes, the groups we’re in are characterized by the fact that you’ve got to do some work; before the meetings we get forwarded questionnaires and different things, which we have to fill out in order to compare across [the participants...] So it is in the groups that we are in, it’s implicit that we have to do some work.*”⁴³ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). Where the two administrations have dissimilarities are in the mental aspect of the approach.

As indicated earlier the MFF has been working on the European level for a number of years and their area has been regulated by the EU for a long time, therefore they have had a long time to prepare themselves and adjust to European cooperation. The FAF, on the other hand, has just recently (actively in the last 3-4 years) started to articulate their European involvement and for them they are still in a mental phase trying to get the European message out to the whole organisation: “[...]the administration focuses on the daily operations[...]so one has to remember the ordinary things—but there’s not always time to do that, so you’ve got to just make people think about what international possibilities there are; so they get that it’s the actual creation of consciousness that we’re now somehow involved in.”⁴⁴ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). This statement can be followed up by another quotation: “*I wish that the administration could concentrate more on the international projects, because there is definitely some more potential there...*”⁴⁵ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). These abovementioned quotations give a clear indication of where the FAF is situated on the passive-active aspect line. They are still in the mental phase, where they are trying to define what they want to prioritise and to get as many people in the organisation on the ideas as possible in order to change the way of thinking in relation to the European perspective: “*People are interested, but right now it’s just a small little group of people[...]and it’s a job, which has got to be done slowly but surely[...]*”⁴⁶ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). The MFF has been on the European arena for a longer time and they have also had people posted in Brussels to make their influence felt. They use the Eurocities-network actively and have close personal relations to the other participants: “*I was posted in Brussels in 1996 with the purpose to lobby on the 5th Framework on Environment, because it was so central[and because]Copenhagen was in front[...]There’s very close cooperation,*

⁴³ My translation: ”ja, de grupper vi er i har været karakteriseret ved at man skulle yde et stykke arbejde; før møderne har der været udsendt spørgeskemaer, og forskellige ting, som man har skulle udfylde for at man har kunnet sammenligne på tværet[af deltagerne...]Så det har ligget i de grupper vi har været med i, at man skulle yde et stykke arbejde”.

⁴⁴ My underlining. My translation: ”[...]fokus i forvaltningen er drift[...]så man skal huske de almindelige ting, og det er ikke altid tid til det, så hvis man bare får folk til at tænke på hvilke internationale muligheder, der er; så det er selve bevidsthedsgørelsen vi er i gang med nu på en eller anden vis” (My underlining).

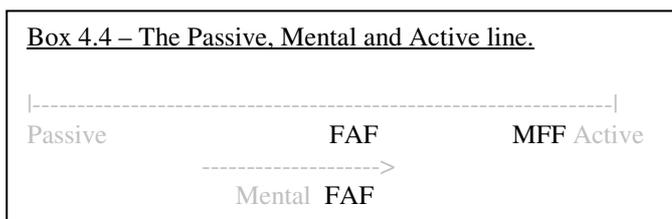
⁴⁵ My translation: ”Jeg ville ønske at forvaltningen satsede mere på de internationale projekter, da det helt klart er mere potentiale der...”.

⁴⁶ My translation: ”Folk er interesseret, men lige nu er det kun en bestemt lille gruppe af folk[...]og det er et arbejde, der skal redes langsomt men sikkert ud[...]”.

*and it cannot be dealt with virtually unless you have a core of people, who have a close personal relationships.[...]so we know what each others' organisations stand for, and how we're going to use each other too."*⁴⁷ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

4.2.1 Summing up on Analysis 1

To sum up this part of the analysis and to answer the first working question⁴⁸, the two administrations are both active in the approach to the European work, and they are taking a pro-active role in the Eurocities by chairing a Working Group and deputy-chairing a Forum. What differentiates them is that, even though the FAF has taken an active role, they are, in the words of the interviewees, still in the process of creating a consciousness among their colleagues and to make them aware of the potentials in a network such as the Eurocities. The MFF has been in the game for a longer time and thereby the organisation has been more accustomed to incorporate the European level in their work. But for both administrations, the European work is a supplement in their daily work and the daily operations have (in both administrations) higher priority. In my understanding from the interviews, the MFF has been using the Eurocities-network for quite a while, where the FAF is only just starting to use the European contacts in their daily work and in their planning of future policies in the municipality. From my analytical interpretation and understanding from the interviews, the FAF is in the mental phase, whereas the MFF is in the active. This can be visualized by using the above-shown box on the aspects with the two administrations plotted in:



This part one of my analytical chapter will enable me to continue with Analysis 2 and analyse and discuss the Europeanization continuum as presented above

⁴⁷ My translation: ”Jeg blev udstationeret i Bruxelles med henblik på at lave lobby på det femte miljøhandlingsprogram i 1996[og fordi]København var længere fremme[...]Det er et meget tæt samarbejde, og det kan ikke klares virtuelt med mindre man har en kerne af folk, der har et tæt personligt forhold.[...]vi ved hvad hinandens organisationer står for, og hvad vi skal bruge hinanden til. ”.

⁴⁸ “What characterizes the two administrations’ membership of Eurocities given passive, active and mental aspects?”.

4.3 Analysis 2

In this analytical part two I will look upon the interviews with the purpose to answer the second working question and to see what answers the abovementioned matrix can give me, when I ‘place’ the grid on the interviews. First, I will discuss and look at indicators that tell something about interaction. Hereafter it will be robustness, equilibration and discourse that I will look at in the two administrations. This will enable me to conclude whether the respective administration is going through a retrenchment, inertia, absorption or transformation process of Europeanization.

4.3.1 Interaction

In this section I will discuss the level of interaction. The interaction can both take place within the MoC, meaning intra-administration interaction, but it is also the respective administration’s interaction in the Eurocities-network with the Eurocities secretariat and the other participants.

The intra-administrative interaction is structured in a way nowadays that the MoC’s Brussels-office is having meetings every six months with the administrations in the MoC in order to structure the European effort. According to the MFF, the MoC’s Brussels-office used to be a highly integrated part of their administration, but is nowadays more used by all administrations and not only the MFF. The exchange of knowledge between the administrations and the MoC’s Brussels-office has improved: *“It’s gotten much better[...]in the past there wasn’t a very good connection between the Copenhagen-office [the MoC’s Brussels-office] and the majority of the administrations; we have always used the Copenhagen-office a lot, and before it was nearly our office, and it was sad that they [the MoC’s Brussels-office] started to relate to the other administrations too, but it was completely absurd that they didn’t have a connection to Brussels. Now there’s a structure where the Copenhagen-office takes a tour several times a year to the administrations, and briefs them about what’s going on on the European stage, and asks what they can do for the administrations.”*⁴⁹ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

These meetings are used to create a shared platform and exchange of knowledge on European projects, but the specific usage of the meetings is not so high, since the administrations are dealing with very specific tasks, which can

⁴⁹ My translation: *”Det er blevet meget bedre[...]der var ikke en ordentlig forbindelse mellem københavner-kontoret og hovedparten af forvaltningerne i gamle dage; vi har altid brugt københavner-kontoret meget, og det var næsten vores kontor i gamle dage, og det var jo trist at de [københavner-kontoret] begyndte at forholde sig til de andre forvaltninger også, men det var jo fuldstændigt absurd at de ikke havde en forbindelse til Bruxelles. Nu er der en struktur, hvor københavner-kontoret er på turne flere gange om året rund til forvaltningerne og orienterer om hvad der foregår på den europæiske scene og spørger hvad de kan gøre for forvaltningerne”.*

make the knowledge exchange difficult: *“Because we are very different from administration to administration, it can often be very difficult, because it is very often the really specific things one reports on. Maybe it shows more potentials and possibilities, but if an administration reports on something very specific, then it is difficult and the specific experiences are difficult to use...”*⁵⁰ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). Some of the administrations are only participating in the part of these meetings where the Eurocities is on the agenda and others show up to discussions concerning the broader international strategies: *“So there are these meetings, where we exchange experiences, and some only come to the Eurocities part, while others only come to the part of the International Strategy.”*⁵¹ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). So there is an intra-administrative exchange of experiences, but it seems difficult for the administrations to use the specific experiences from the other administrations in the MoC to something. They can, however, use the meetings to exchange some more overall experiences and there is a network opportunity to meet with the people from the MoC’s Brussels-office and the other administrations. Furthermore, the MoC’s Brussels-office is now a platform that all the administrations can use to get knowledge about the European level.

Both administrations use the MoC’s Brussels-office to a large extent and commend them for their work. Both the FAF and the MFF, however, are taking a more pro-active role, if there is something that is of vital interest for them: *“[...]if something’s coming that we care about, then we go down and take meetings with the Commission and the Parliament[...]partly through our representation office, but probably as much through our experts and politicians”*⁵² (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). *“If we are going to make some outreach contacts in Brussels, we use the office there. If we really want to get through with something, then we’ll go down there on our own.”*⁵³ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20).

The two administrations are participating in the Eurocities-network, but on different levels. The FAF is primarily using the Eurocities for their best practices activities: *“In Eurocities we are in the Urban Security, which is a group that builds on exchanges of best practices[...]”*⁵⁴ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). *“We’re on a best practices level so far, but depending on the interest, in the long run we might do something on the Commission level, and this is something that is slowly*

⁵⁰ My translation: *”Idet vi er meget forskellige fra forvaltning til forvaltning, så kan det tit være meget svært, da det tit er meget konkrete ting, man går ind og fortæller man har gjort. Det vist måske mere mulighederne, men hvis en forvaltning meget konkret fortæller om deres projekt, det er svært og de konkrete erfaringer er svære at bruge...”*.

⁵¹ My translation: *”Så på den måde er der disse møder, hvor vi udveksler erfaringer, og nogle kommer kun til Eurocities delen, mens andre kun kommer til den Internationale handlingsplansdel”*.

⁵² My translation: *”[...]hvis der kommer noget, der går vores interesser for nær, så går vi selv ned og tager møder med Kommissionen og Parlamentet[...]Dels gennem vores repræsentationskontor, men nok lige så meget gennem vores fageksperter og politikere”*.

⁵³ My translation: *”Hvis vi skal have opsøgende kontakt i Bruxelles bruger vi kontoret der. Hvis vi virkelig skal igennem med noget, så vil vi selv tage derned”*.

⁵⁴ My translation: *”Under Eurocities er vi med i Urban Security, som er en gruppe, der bygger på best practice udveksling[...]*”.

evolving—the more attention you’ve got on what’s going on.”⁵⁵ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). In the long run, the FAF could consider going a step further in their cooperation within the Social Forum and start to engage in lobby activities towards the Commission. These kinds of activities have been on the agenda for the MFF for a long time and they are mainly involved in this. Even though they are visiting each other in the Waste Management Working Group, they do not use those visits primarily to exchange best practices, but just as much as an opportunity to socialise: *“We are not exchanging best practices, we are deeply involved in the lobby work. Our membership in the Waste Management is about lobby work, but we visit each other and we visit each others’ waste sites, water treatment plants, which is an exchange of best practices. But I do not know how much we learn from each other, but it is a way to get to know each other, but we are mostly involved in making positions papers to the Commission[...]So it is definitely lobby work in the Waste Management[that is the leading force].”*⁵⁶ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). The MFF is also involved in other projects, and they are participating in a project together with the Commission, where there is some level of best practice exchange: *“[...]we are in a project together with the Commission, which is called Liveable Cities, which is a development project, where there is some sort of best practice exchange.”*⁵⁷ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

The two administrations assess their membership of the Eurocities positive, and in their evaluation of the international involvement Eurocities has remained a cooperation that they are willing to put energy in. *“It has meant a great deal that we have been a member of Eurocities”*⁵⁸ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). *“[...]Eurocities has enormous influence, because Eurocities is the representative for the big cities in Europe. When Eurocities speaks, then the big cities of Europe speak with force.”*⁵⁹ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

The two administrations emphasise different aspects of their membership of Eurocities, but have a common line on the level of the bureaucracy in the organisation: *“Eurocities is a big organisation, that is both a bureaucracy and a powerful organisation[...]But it is clear that Eurocities is slow, it takes ages to*

⁵⁵ My translation: *“Vi er på best practice niveau indtil videre, og alt efter hvad interessen er, kan vi på sigt gå ind og gøre noget på Kommissions niveau, og det er noget, der langsomt sker jo mere opmærksomhed du får på det der sker”*.

⁵⁶ My translation: *“Vi udveksler jo ikke best practices, vi er gået dybt ind i lobby-arbejdet. Vores medlemskab af Waste Management er jo omkring lobby-arbejde, men vi besøger hinanden, vi besøger hinandens lossepladser, rensningsanlæg, det er da udveksling af best practices. Men jeg ved ikke hvor meget at vi lærer af hinanden, men det er en måde at lære hinanden at kende på[...]Så det er afgjort lobby virksomhed i Waste Management[som er den styrende kræft]”*.

⁵⁷ My translation: *“[...]vi er med i et projekt sammen med Kommission, som hedder Liveable Cities, det er et udviklingsprojekt, hvor der foregår lidt best practice udveksling”*.

⁵⁸ My translation: *“Det har betydet meget, at vi har været medlem af Eurocities”*.

⁵⁹ My translation: *“[...]Eurocities har enorm indflydelse, fordi Eurocities kommer som repræsentant for de store byer i Europa. Når Eurocities taler, så taler Europas storbyer med massiv vægt.[...]På nogle ting er de meget EU orienteret, hvor vi andre måske tænker mere på best practice og tænker ikke så meget på at formulere store europæiske politikker. Så der kan distancen virke størst”*.

get a decision through Eurocities”⁶⁰ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). “There is something formalistic in connection with contacting the Eurocities[...]there’s a whole lot of mail, that is circulating around in the international context[...]I can sometimes receive the same mail several times, and there is a large amount of information that one has to sort out, and sometimes their[Eurocities]flow of information seems like a post office[...]”⁶¹ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). For the FAF the issue about bureaucracy is something that they are aware of, but they emphasise the distance to the secretariat of Eurocities as a bigger challenge: “Well, this administration[FAF] is very logical [i.e. bureaucratic]in its decision-making process, so it is not that far away from me, the problem is more that one feels a distance to that secretariat, which sits down in Brussels and is very Brussels-oriented.[...]On certain issues they are very EU-oriented, where we may be thinking more in best practices and do not think about formulating big European policies. There, the distance can seem the greatest.”⁶² (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20).

As indicated in the above section on the active-passive aspect, the MFF is in an active phase, whereas the FAF, although they are active, is still going through a mental phase. This also expresses itself in the ways the two administrations perceive the cooperation on and how they articulate it: “[...]we know what each others’ organisations stand for, and what we are going to use each other for. We know each other socially, know each other, and feel comfortable with each other[...]In that sense we are continuously inspiring each other in a very informal way[...]It is a very close bond[...]”⁶³ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). The FAF is also using its partners, but there is also an emphasis on matters that could be improved in the network: “It is actually some of that, which I see as the most important task as deputy chairman or as chairman in the long run, to enter and structure these meetings better, so you have a better through line and for instance a theme for the meeting[...]To have a link between the different things; I think that is somewhat missing[...]”⁶⁴ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). In the view of the FAF there are matters to improve in the cooperation, and they want to make their voice heard by taking an actively approach, which they have done recently by becoming the deputy chairman. There are, however, still things that are

⁶⁰ My translation: “Men det er klart at Eurocities tager langsomt, det tager syv lange og syv brede at få en beslutning igennem Eurocities”.

⁶¹ My translation: “Der er noget formalistisk forbundet med at kontakte en fra Eurocities[...]Der er ekstremt mange mails, der farer rundt i sådan en international sammenhæng[...]jeg får mailene mange gange, og en stor mængde af information, som man skal sortere fra, og nogle gange virker deres informationsstrømme som et postkontor[...]”.

⁶² My translation: “Nu er denne forvaltning[FAF]meget stringent[i.e. bureaukratisk]i sin beslutningsproces, så det ligger mig ikke så fjernt, problemet er mere at man føler en afstand fra det der sekretariat, som sidder dernede i Bruxelles og er meget Bruxelles-orienteret”.

⁶³ My translation: “[...]vi ved hvad hinandens organisationer står for og hvad vi skal bruge hinanden til. Og kender hinanden socialt, kender hinanden, og føler trygge ved hinanden[...]På den måde inspirerer vi hinanden hele tiden på et meget uformelt plan[...]Det er et meget tæt samarbejde[...]”.

⁶⁴ My translation: “Det er faktisk noget af det, som jeg ser som den vigtigste opgave som næstformand eller formand på sigt, det er at gå ind og strukturere disse møder bedre og bedre struktur, så har du en rød tråd og fx et tema for mødet[...]”.

problematic, and this is an indicator that they are still going through the mental phase: “*Well, one can also feel that there is a tendency that some of the issues, which were there the first time, are more easily [dealt with]the next time. The next time there’re more of us, and the others have also been in some cooperation, and we know by now where the pitfalls are, and so we can quickly step in and define the issues. And I would say that there are some initial difficulties, which I think will be easier along the way.*”⁶⁵ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). The FAF is still in a process where they are developing the network, whereas the MFF seems to be a step further ahead and does not have these initial difficulties as the FAF experiences.

I have now, through the above discussion and analysis, established an understanding on how the interaction is respectively between the administrations and the Eurocities – how they perceive the cooperation and the network – and the intra-interaction between the different administrations in the MoC and the MoC’s Brussels-office. This analysis leads me to proceed and in the following I will analyse and discuss the level of robustness.

4.3.2 Robustness

In the previous section there was also traces of robustness in the sense that some of the quotations also had the dimension on what is going on inside the MoC in relation to the participation in Eurocities. This issue I will elaborate further on in the following

One thing that can be understood from the above quotation is that the MoC’s International Strategy and the administration’s international plan of action, and the pro-active attitude of the MoC’s Brussels-office, has meant that the intra-administrative coordination, talk and exchange of experiences has been improved, though some of it is not so much on a specific level. The membership of Eurocities, and the preparation to the meetings has also meant that the administrative procedures are now, more or less, capable of dealing with a European perspective. This is, however, not at a stage, where the European perspective is dominating and the daily operations are still the primary focus and goal for the civil servants work. The MFF has for several years taken the pro-active role in the Environment Forum and the leadership of the Waste Management Working Group. This means that the European perspective has had time to diffuse through the MFF organisation: “[...]the international work is an integrated part. Till a couple of years ago it was mostly on the technical level, but now we have moved beyond the technical level.[...but]the international is like the icing on the cake; it is the mayor’s demands; it is a noise complaint; it is what is

⁶⁵ My underlining. My translation: ”*Jarh, man kan også mærke at det ligesom er en tendens at nogle af de ting, der var der første gang, går lettere næste gang. Næste gang er vi flere, og de andre har også været med i noget samarbejde, og vi ved efterhånden godt hvor faldgrupperne er, og derfor kan vi hurtigt gå ind og sige at vi går ind og definere tingene. Og jeg vil sige, at der er nogle begyndervanskeligheder, som jeg tror bliver lettere hen af vejen*” (My underlining).

on the desk, that has to be taken care of.”⁶⁶ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). The issue about prioritising the tasks and thereby prioritising the daily operations is also something that the FAF is doing. *“The daily operations have first priority, but one [the politicians]are still interested in, that we are active on an international level[...]*”⁶⁷ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20).

The MFF has used the MoC’s Brussels-office for a long time, and they have had people posted there, so they know the European routines and have a large European network, and they also stress the importance of the social contacts that are being established there and the continuous contact: *“Those big exchange-of-experiences-projects are interesting, but it is the regular and continuous contact, that is the most important contact for the cities[...]*It is a very close cooperation[...]*and this kind of networking is only achieved by frequently contact.*”⁶⁸ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). The FAF has not previously used the MoC’s Brussels-office much, but with a greater focus on the European perspective, there is a likelihood that they will. Furthermore, the membership of Eurocities has given a broad range of contacts, which they are using in their daily work: *“If you are comparing with other cities, you will quickly have someone to contact[...]* and then you will not have to use as much strength establishing a bond[...]*the outreach work is already done – you have the names for the cities beforehand[...]*it is obvious if I were to chose someone, I would chose someone from that list, that is what the advantage is.”⁶⁹ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). *“What one takes home and which is overwhelming is, for instance, how seriously one has to think about preventing. One is coming home after these experiences and says that this is something that we have to take seriously and we have to be prepared as a system to handle this*”⁷⁰ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15).

To sum up both administrations point out that they can use the contacts in their daily work, and in that sense, institutional robustness has been created in the administrations. This can be supported by the intra-administrative interaction, which is, according to the interviewees, a relatively new creation, and has improved the contact between the administrations and the MoC’s Brussels-office. In relation to the European cooperation the FAF is somewhat limited in their

⁶⁶ My translation: ”[...]det internationale arbejde er en integreret del. Indtil for nogle år siden var det nok kun mest på det tekniske plan, men nu går vi udover det tekniske plan.[... men]det internationale er ligesom krymlet på lagkagen; det er borgmesterens krav; det er en støjklage; det er det, der ligger på skrivebordet, som skal klares.”

⁶⁷ My translation: ”Driftsopgaverne har første prioritet, men man [politikkerne] er stadig interesseret i, at vi er internationalt aktive[...].”

⁶⁸ My translation: ”De der store forkromede erfaringsudvekslingsprojekter er da givende, men det er den regelmæssige løbende kontakt, der er den vigtigste kontakt for byerne[...]Det er et meget tæt samarbejde[...]*og denne form for netværk fås kun ved hyppig kontakt*”.

⁶⁹ My translation: ”Jamen, det er hvis du skal sammenligne med andre byer, så vil du hurtig have en kontaktflade[...]*og så vil du ikke skulle bruge så mange kræfter på at etablere et samarbejde[...]*Det opsøgende arbejde er jo allerede gjort – du har jo navne på byerne på forhånd[...]*og det er klart, at hvis jeg skal vælge nogle så vil jeg vælge nogen, der er på den liste, det er det, der er fordelten*”.

⁷⁰ My translation: ”Det, man tager med hjem, og som er overvældende, er fx, hvor seriøst man skal tænke på at forebygge, hvor man kommer hjem med nogle oplevelser, og siger at dette her, skal vi tage alvorligt, og vi skal være klædt på som system til at kunne klare dette”.

‘freedom of drive’, because of the upcoming reform of the Danish local governmental system: “*Right now we’ve got the reform of the local governmental system, and our administration is losing the administration of the labour market, and this means that there are some changes on their way in our administration, and it also means that before we know what these changes will look like, there’s a kind of momentary stop on all innovation, when we do not know where we’re going to end up, so right now we’re on the braking.*”⁷¹ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). For the moment the innovative power in the FAF is circumscribed by the upcoming reform. This affects the robustness in their organisation, because of the uncertainty⁷². I will now turn to a discussion concerning the level of Equilibration.

4.3.3 Equilibration

The next analytical step is to understand the level of equilibration. This includes two things. First of all, if the administrations have experienced any crisis in the Eurocities membership, where the well-known ways of action has not been sufficient. Secondly, if the membership of Eurocities has lead to any cognitive developments (new approaches to the new knowledge obtained in the network)⁷³ both in the institutional thinking and in the actor’s way of thinking.

Concerning the first issue, the interviewees have not been pointing to situations, where a crisis has occurred and they have been forced to redefine their arsenal of possibilities: “*Practically no, we have something about the way you...no, actually not.*”⁷⁴ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). This reflection on whether or not there has been crisis goes for both administrations. Both the FAF and the MFF have used the European experiences in their daily work, but not in a way that any institutional paradigmatic change has occurred. I will therefore turn to the second aspect of the equilibration dimension.

One thing that is interesting is if there is some sort of diffusion of knowledge inside the respective administration in the MoC. As I showed in the previous section. the MFF is using the obtained experiences in their daily work, but nevertheless the MFF also experiences problems with getting the information and knowledge diffused through the organisation, which implies that even though they have a long experience in European cooperation there is still work to be done. On the question whether there is an understanding for participating in meetings on a European level, the reply from the interviewee is: “*Indeed yes, but the difficult thing is to get the knowledge diffused in the organisation[...]and there are several*

⁷¹ My translation: “*Lige nu og her har vi jo Kommunalreformen, og vores forvaltning mister jo vores arbejdsmarkedsområde, og det gør jo at der er nogle forandringer på vej i vores forvaltning, og det betyder også at inden vi ved hvordan disse forandringer kommer til at se ud, er der ligesom en bremse på hvordan al innovation, når vi ikke ved hvor vi ender, så det er lidt en bremse nu*”.

⁷² Whether or not the MFF is affected by the reform was not an issue that was taken up during the interview, so it is difficult to conclude anything on this matter in relation to them.

⁷³ See the previous chapter for a distinction between simple learning and cognitive dimensions.

⁷⁴ My translation: “*Stort set ikke, vi har lidt omkring måden man...nej, faktisk ikke*”.

*of us who travel, and there is a cooperation among the travelling employees[...]So in that sense we also use the knowledge that's available."*⁷⁵ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). This indicates that among the colleagues, who are working with an European dimension there is an understanding of the European perspective, but the more people do not have a link to this, the more difficult and more distanced they are towards these kinds of inputs from the outside: *"The distance to Brussels is still very long, mentally it is getting shorter and shorter, but for the majority of the technical desk officers, we are still a long way from Brussels."*⁷⁶ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19).

The FAF has been able to use the European experiences on some of their working areas: *"The greatest influence on, for instance, the area of drug abuse is coming from the Netherlands, where they have had a more liberal attitude to that kind of thing, [and] I know that they [the administration] have started to work it into the new sector planning and started to get the politicians to legislate on new initiatives here in the municipality."*⁷⁷ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). Furthermore, as one of the interviewees points out, they have weekly meetings, where they exchange knowledge among their colleagues, and the membership of Eurocities gives inspiration to their work: *"Yes, we have weekly office meetings, where we present new things to each other, and talk about what has happened in different areas. And when we return from something, then we also tell about what we thought was interesting and what could be used[...]They [the colleagues] think it is really interesting, and there is really some interest in it[...]and it works pretty well with these Eurocities, in the sense that you get input from the outside, and get the time allocated to concentrate on a specific topic, and to get inspiration, and that is interesting[...]and often I have used that knowledge, and I have several times used presentations, which I have made in a European context, which I have used here at home either before or after, [and there]you also got to discuss it with your own institutions. And sometimes you draw inspiration from there and say: hey, they work in an interesting way ."*⁷⁸ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). This commitment is, according to an interviewee from the FAF, dependant on the personal involvement: *"[...]I think it depends on what you are working with. But I also think that a lot of it is the way you think already, so I don't think it is only*

⁷⁵ My translation: "Ork ja, men det der er svært er at få spredt viden i organisationen[...]vi er flere, der rejser, og der er et samarbejde med de rejsende medarbejdere[...]Så på den måde får vi også brugt den viden der er".

⁷⁶ My translation: "Afstanden til Bruxelles er stadig meget lang, den bliver kortere og kortere mentalt, men for de fleste tekniske sagsbehandlere er der stadigvæk meget langt til Bruxelles".

⁷⁷ My translation: "Den største påvirkning fx på stofmisbrugsområdet kommer fra Holland, hvor de har haft en mere liberal holdning til den slags ting, [og]jeg ved at de [forvaltningen]er i gang med at strikke det ind i en ny sektorplan og få politikerne med til at vedtage nye initiativer her i kommunen".

⁷⁸ My translation: "Ja, vi har ugentlige kontormøder, hvor vi fremlægger nye ting for hinanden, og snakker om hvad der er sket på det og det felt. Og når vi kommer tilbage fra noget, så fortæller vi også om hvad vi synes, der var spændende og hvad der kunne bruges[...]De[kollegaerne]synes det er enormt spændende, og det er der virkelig nysgerrighed for [hvad]er[...]og der fungerer det meget godt med de der Eurocities på den måde, at man får input udefra, og får sat den tid af til at koncentrere sig om et bestemt emne, og få inspiration, og det er spændende[...]og det er tit, at jeg har brugt den viden, og ofte har jeg brugt oplæg, som jeg har lavet til en europæisk sammenhæng, som jeg har brugt herhjemme enten før eller efter, så man også fik en diskussion med vores egne institutioner".

*related to what you are working with that determines how you think. Are you open minded or are you not open minded.[...]The way it functions is very determined by the persons working with it[...]there will always be people who generate ideas and run that way, and if you have 2-3 of them in each office, then you will also think more internationally[...]so it is very dependent on the persons in the administration.[...]one has to remember the ordinary daily tasks, and there is not always sufficient time for that, so you've just got to get people to think about what the international opportunities are; so it is the actual creation of consciousness that we are involved in now in some way.”⁷⁹ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20). What is pointed to here is that personal commitment is a determinant for the outcome of the European projects, and even though there is a level of exchange of the European experiences, the FAF is still in an ongoing mental phase, where they have to get used to integrate the European dimension into their work. To use a colloquialism, not all the civil servants are fiery souls, and they are first and foremost administrators of different type of projects and programmes, and for some it is of less importance whether it is a European one or not: “*I think it is very different, and if you work with a specific EU project and if you are a project leader on an EU project, then I do not think that during the working days you're thinking that this is a EU project, then when you work with a project that goes to meetings you are required to, and perhaps it is the case that it is abroad, but it is as much project-oriented and very specific in a way[...]”⁸⁰ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20).**

Not all employees are reflexive about their work, and what is important is different from person to person, and the civil servants from the two administrations are also reflecting differently over their involvement in the Eurocities: “[...]it is important to meet each other and get to know each other.[...]If you have been away from one or two meetings, then you are suddenly very far away. And to network necessitates that you effortlessly can pick up the phone and call Paul or Hank, or whatever their names are, and say: I have this problem isn't that something you can help me with.[...]I have just been in contact with one from Vienna, where I should use their agenda plan, and Vienna is competent in this area, and I only know this because I have been together with her [the Vienna representative]so many times. Three hours later the answer is in an email, and this kind of network is only obtainable by frequent contact.”⁸¹ (Civil

⁷⁹ My translation: “Men jeg tror også at meget af det, er den tankegang du har i forvejen, så jeg tror ikke at det kun er det du sidder med, der afgør hvordan du tænker. Er man åben eller er man ikke åben.[...]Det er meget personorienteret for hvordan det kører.[...]der er altid folk, der generer ideer og som kører tingene ekstremt så'en, og hvis man har 2-3 af dem i hvert kontor, så vil man også kunne tænke mere internationalt[...]så det kommer meget an på hvilke personer, der er i forvaltningen”.

⁸⁰ My translation: “Jeg tror det er meget forskelligt, og hvis du sidder med et konkret EU projekt og hvis du er projektleder på et EU projekt, så tror jeg ikke at du i hverdagen vil tænke over at det her er et EU projekt, så sidder du med projektet og tager til de møder du skal og godt nok kan det være at det er i udlandet, men det er ligeså meget projektorienteret og meget konkret på sin vis[...]”.

⁸¹ My translation: “[...]det er vigtigt at møde hinanden og kende hinanden.[...]hvis du har været væk fra et eller to møder, så er du pludselig meget langt væk. Og det at kunne netværke, kræver at man ubesværet kan tage telefonen og ringe til Paul eller Hank, eller hvad de nu hedder, og sige: jeg har et problem, er det ikke noget du

servant, MFF, 04/19). The reflections made by the FAF are not so much focused on the network and its advantages, but more inwardly to the administration: “[...] *I think there are some features and tendencies that you suddenly can see differently, and some risks which you can see.[...]In that sense it can open the eyes for some tendencies and the development of methods.[...]then I think it is very rewarding – really. As well because one sees his/her own administration in perspective.*”⁸² (Civil servant, FAF, 04/15). What is pointed to here, is that the participation in Eurocities makes the civil servant look at the administration in perspective and thereby there is a degree of reflection taking place. What is the important future task for the FAF, and what is also a natural step in their mental phase, is to create attention on the European dimension, so these reflection processes can take place on all levels: “[...] *the more you draw attention the more it ought to, in the long run, diffuse through the organisation.*”⁸³ (civil servant, FAF, 04/20).

To sum up this part on equilibration, I have found out that none of the interviewees pointed to any situations where crisis had occurred and where the administrations have had to redefine the ways of doing things. Concerning the second part on cognitive developments, the FAF has got new ways of thinking in relations to domestic projects because of an inspiration from the contacts in the Eurocities. This has also led to a process, where they are trying to implement new policies in the MoC on the area of drug abuse. These new ways of thinking are, however, still related to a relatively small amount of people and it is very much up to the persons working with the projects. It is not so much found in the institutional structure where changes occur as it is in the individual commitment to do something on a European level and get the knowledge ‘transferred’ to the domestic administration. But on the other hand, cognitive developments are taking place in the sense that the cooperation in Eurocities enables the civil servants to put their daily work into a perspective in the meaning of reflections on their work. Whether or not this changes anything is unsaid, but reflections are made. This is also the outcome of the interviews that I have been able to detect more self-reflections from the FAF interviews than from the MFF. The MFF is highlighting the network-perspective and the good contacts to a wide range of European administrators that can be contacted if needed. Both the MFF and the FAF experience difficulties getting European knowledge diffused into the organisation and even though it is improving, the mental and physical distance to Brussels still seems like an obstacle.

I will now turn to the issue on discourse and Europeanization.

kan hjælpe mig med.[...]Jeg har lige været i kontakt med en fra Wien, hvor jeg skulle bruge deres agenda-plan, og Wien kan noget på det område, og det ved jeg udelukkende fordi jeg har været sammen med hende så mange gange. Tre timer senere tigger det ind på mailen, og denne form for netværk fås kun ved hyppig kontakt.”

⁸² My translation: “[...] *jeg synes, at der er nogle træk og tendenser, som du pludselig kan se er anderledes, og nogle farer, som man kan se.[...]På den måde kan det åbne øjnene for nogle tendenser, og metodeudvikling.[...]så synes jeg, at det er meget givtigt – virkelig. Også fordi man får sat sin egen forvaltning i perspektiv.*”

⁸³ My translation: “[...] *jo mere du skaber opmærksomhed jo mere burde det jo på sigt også gennemstrømme organisationen.*”

4.3.4 Discourse

In this section I will see if I can detect any tendencies towards any discursive changes.

In my interpretation of the interviews it has been very difficult to find any explicit traces of this. As mentioned above in the other analytical sections, there has been a tendency in the two administrations to take in experiences and knowledge from their participation in the Eurocities-network, though in different ways. It is, however, as I have shown above, mainly the people, who are directly involved with European projects that have the overview of the benefits from the participation. What was also clear from the above analysis is that the mental distance to Brussels is still an influential factor for some of the people in the administrations. *“The distance to Brussels is still very long, mentally it is getting shorter and shorter, but for the majority of the technical desk officers, we’re still a long way from Brussels.”*⁸⁴ (Civil servant, MFF, 04/19). The mental distance is still present, and for the FAF the European dimension is not justified per se but has to be proved and approved, which takes time: *“[...]the more you prove that it[the European cooperation]has an effect and it can add value to your working place, the less you will properly encounter it[the discrimination/”Janteloven”], but there will always be someone that’s going to question it[the European cooperation], and it depends on how used to the daily operational tasks you are, and it is a matter of who you are as a person.”*⁸⁵ (Civil servant, FAF, 04/20).

From this I would say that there is still a long process to go through before a discursive change can occur in the FAF.

I will now conclude on the second analytical part.

4.3.5 Summing up on Analysis 2

This analysis has been divided into four different analytical sections dealing with interaction, robustness, equilibration and discourse with the purpose of answering the second working question⁸⁶.

To sum up this analytical part the section on interaction gave indications on transformation for both administrations, whereas robustness and equilibration gave indications that resembles absorption.

Concerning discourse I was not able to detect any real statements that could give a clear picture on the matter⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ My translation: *”Afstanden til Bruxelles er stadig meget lang, den bliver kortere og kortere mentalt, men for de fleste tekniske sagsbehandlere er der stadigvæk meget langt til Bruxelles”.*

⁸⁵ My translation: *”[...]jo mere du ligesom påviser at det har en effekt og tilfører værdi til din arbejdsplads jo mindre vil du nok møde den[diskriminationen/Janteloven]men der vil altid være nogle, der vil sige at hvad skal det til for, og det kommer an på hvor driftsorienteret du, og det er personorienteret.”.*

⁸⁶ *“Where can the two administrations be placed on a Europeanization continuum?”*

⁸⁷ I was, however, able to find that there is still a relative big mental distance towards the European level in both the MFF and the FAF from people not working with European projects. This could resemble inertia, but since I

5 Conclusion⁸⁹

At this stage of the thesis I will present my conclusion. I started out with the following main question/problem:

“What kind of Europeanization process is taking place in the two administrations in the Municipality of Copenhagen?”

The conclusion is derived from the previous chapters and in particularly the very last chapter, which consisted of my analysis of the empirical context. My empirical findings were taken from three interviews made with civil servants from two different administrations in the MoC – the FAF and the MFF. The questions that I asked them were mainly derived from my theoretical chapter, where I developed my theoretical indicators and elaborated on Radaelli’s and Dosenrode’s Europeanization theories. Some of the questions, however, were also the result of my pre-interviews with the MoC’s Brussels-office and Eurocities. These interviews enabled me to narrow the thesis’s main problem/question down and have been a part of my preunderstanding

As it was pointed out in the summing up sections of the two analyses in the previous chapter, there are similarities and dissimilarities concerning their process of Europeanization within this context. Concerning Analysis 1, both administrations are active in the approach to the European cooperation and Eurocities, and they are taking a pro-active role as deputy-chairman in the Social Forum (FAF) and as chairman of the Waste Management Working Group (MFF). What differentiates the two administrations is the time during which they have been engaged in the work in Eurocities. The MFF has due to the long tradition for EU-legislation on the environment area and in particularly on the issue of waste been actively involved in the work for a long time. The FAF has more recently become active and they are still in the process of making their colleagues more aware of the possibilities at the European level – a creation of consciousness. Hereby, I could conclude that the FAF is still in their mental phase, whereas the MFF is in the active.

The second part of the analytical chapter concerned the four indicators and their relation to retrenchment, inertia, absorption and transformation.

⁸⁹ The conclusion does not put the thesis into perspective section, but this will be discussed at the oral examination.

As seen in the section on interaction, it can be divided up in two parts – an intra-administrative interaction and an interaction concerning the Eurocities, the secretariat and the participants. There is an established structure in which the different administrations in the MoC meet and give the MoC's Brussels-office the opportunity to inform each other on what is happening at the European level and for the administrations to exchange ideas. However, it seems difficult for the administrations to use the very specific knowledge to something specific. The two administrations are using the MoC's Brussels-office, but they take a more proactive role themselves if they have something very dear to them on the agenda. They did, however, emphasise different aspects of the interaction as important and their level of work also differentiated from one another. The MFF is deeply involved in the lobby-work towards the Commission and they have been an active player in Eurocities' positions papers and contributed to the Commission's framework programmes on environment. The MFF uses the mutual visits to extend the networking possibilities. The FAF is first and foremost involved in the exchange of best practices and these mutual visits have resulted in inspirations that have led to new policies to be implemented in the MoC. Both administrations significantly weigh the membership of Eurocities, but agree upon the bureaucratic nature of the organisation. For the MFF it seems to be that they emphasise the 'power' of the organisation, whereas the FAF sees the bureaucratic nature as something that creates a distance to the secretariat in Brussels. The MFF emphasises the personal contacts that have been established, whereas the FAF is emphasising the future improvements they want to do in relations to the structure of the visits. In my understanding and from my interpretation from the interviews, the MFF is a step further ahead and the FAF is still encountering 'some initial difficulties' and teething troubles in their cooperation. On the intra-administration interaction the MFF has made its transformation at an earlier stage, whereas the FAF's more recent opening towards the European level and the MoC's Brussels-office has meant that they have gone through a recent transformation in interaction.

Concerning robustness, both the FAF and the MFF are using their contacts, which they have gained at the European level, in their daily work. In that sense, institutional robustness has been created via European cooperation. But for both administrations the first priority is the daily operational tasks, and for the FAF the upcoming reform of the local governmental system in Denmark has in the area of the labour market created a brake on the level of innovation. This is the only sign of inertia that I was able to detect in the interviews. It is, however, not strong and overarching because the FAF is playing on more than one string. Overall, the two administrations have created institutional robustness to a degree that resembles absorption.

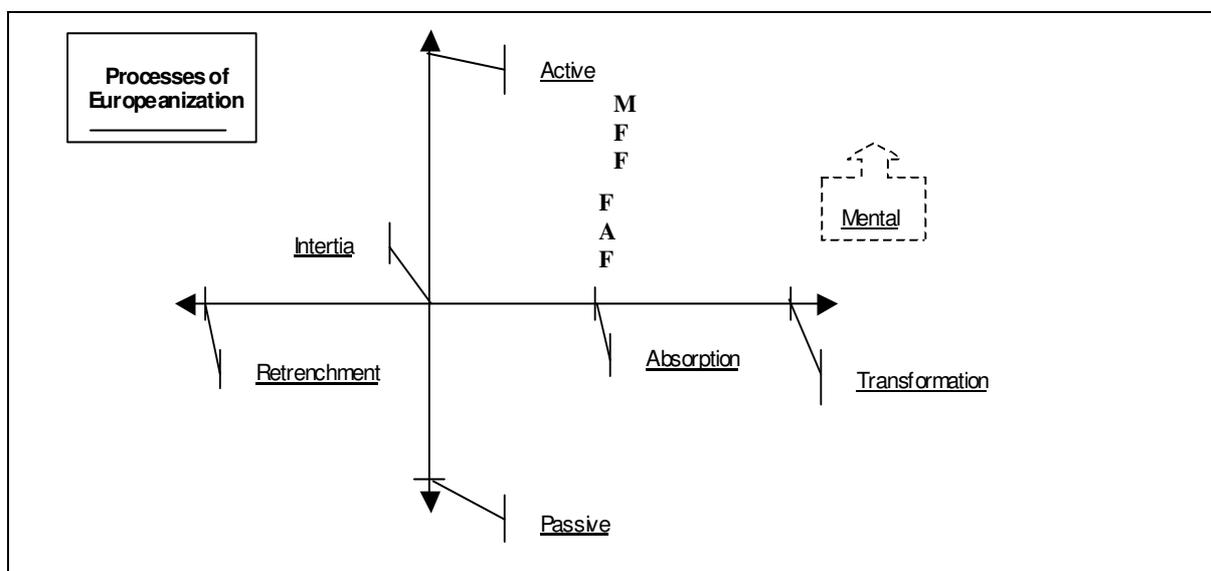
I will now turn to the conclusion concerning equilibration. As I indicated in my summing up of that section, none of the two administrations had experienced any crisis that had led to a redefinition of the way they are doing things. The reflections made by the interviewees from the FAF were better in regard to understanding something at the cognitive level. Both organisations experienced difficulties with getting the European knowledge diffused through their

organisations. The FAF is implementing new policies derived from inspiration from Eurocities and in that sense they have been through a transformation process, but it is still related to a relatively small amount of people, and it is very much up to the persons working with the projects. It is not so much in the institutional structure changes are happening as it is in the individual commitment to do something on a European level and get the knowledge ‘transferred’ to the domestic administration. The MFF has experienced some difficulties with the mental distance to the European level from the technical desk officers. The MFF is highlighting the networking as an important feature in Eurocities, whereas the importance for the FAF is more inwardly concerned in the domestic organisation. Concerning equilibration, both the FAF and the MFF have gone through a level of absorption in their processes of Europeanization, and they have experienced changes, but not in a way that any paradigmatic changes have occurred.

Concerning discourse, I was not able to detect any real statements that could give a clear picture on the matter. I was, however, able to find that there is still a relatively big mental distance towards the European level in both the MFF and the FAF from people not working with European projects. This could resemble inertia, but, as I also stated in the previous chapter, I did not conduct any interviews with people having a distance to the European level themselves. Furthermore, I did not interview people not working; this conclusion is rather vague and is therefore kept in brackets in the previous chapter.

From this I can thereby conclude that they two administrations in the MoC can be placed on the absorption level of Europeanization. What differentiates them is their level of work, meaning what activities they are engaged in in Eurocities (lobby activities for the MFF and best practise exchange for the FAF). Furthermore, the MFF has been involved in the European cooperation for longer time, whereas the FAF is still in the mental process and they are still creating more awareness for the European level. But both administrations experiences problems with getting the ‘European’ knowledge diffused through the organisation.

Box 5.1 – Processes of Europeanization – a classification scheme.



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7 Appendix

7.1 Appendix 1 – Design of the Interviews

I have chosen to have this appendix, because I think it is important to have the following considerations included.

I use the comparative method and it is good in analysing differences, but the obvious problem can be that one ends up with too many variables and too few cases, but here is important not just to abandon the comparative approach as simply non-controllable, but see it as a instrument to understand and ‘open up’ different cases (Lijphart 1971:685). In my paper this is done by analysing the two administrations that are operating in the same organisation. The danger in using the comparative method is that too much significance is being attached to negative findings and the cases are chosen to buttress the hypothesis (Lijphart, 1971:686). In reflecting over this paper-writing process and two relate to the abovementioned problem with too many variables and too few cases, one could chose to link some of the variables in order to arrive to a less ‘muddy’ picture (Lijphart, 1971:687). In doing this, however, one also risks to generalize too much and connect things that might not be linkable. But in this paper I will keep the number of variables down to a manageable level in order to have a clear and consistent analysis

In my approach to conduct the interviews I have a hermeneutical approach. In ideal research project the circular process leads to new interviews with the same people since the interpretation process gives a new understanding of the problem that are being researched. This has, however, not been possible in this paper, mainly due to time and resources, but I have conducted two interviews (not recorded) in Brussels, which has given me an understanding of the case, and which has also been a part of my formulation of the problem.

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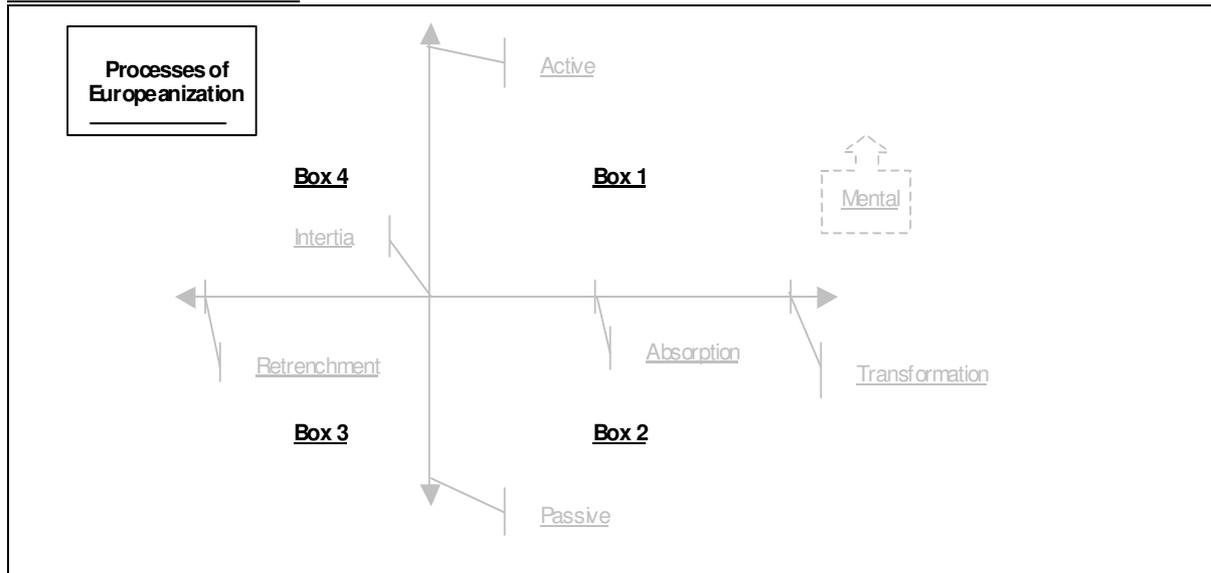
The two pre-interviews was not recorded, but used as a kind of accumulation of knowledge and clarification of my overall approach and problem for the paper. These interviews gave me ideas and contacts to continue the work and was in that regard very helpful. It also helped me in delimiting the problem

and work, since a handful of possible approaches arrived from those talks. The meeting with the MoC's Brussels-office managed to narrow my focus down to two administrations from the MoC and look at their international strategy and plan of action, and to narrow it further down I am looking at it in relation to Eurocities. I contacted three persons from the administrations from the MoC and presented them for the idea and they volunteered to participate in the semi-structured interviews. Because of the limited number of interviews the level of generalizing (I draw on the work made by Kvale (1997) and his seven phases of interviews and his definitions of the level of generalizing, validity and reliability) is not very high, meaning that I am not able to draw conclusion on, let's say, other municipalities and their process of Europeanization from my conclusion in this paper. I can, however, draw up some tendencies and show some patterns of the MoC's process of Europeanization that could contribute to a discussion with another research investigation. I have, in agreement with the interviewees, made them anonymous, but kept the name of the administration in the quotation in order to be able to differentiate between the two processes of Europeanization. I have intended to keep the level of validity as high as possible (Kvale 1997:232). I have done that by asking in depth questions that have been derived from my work with and further development of the theory, and I have carefully repeated questions if their answers had been unclear. I have used the same set of questions to all three interviews and thereby I have intended to reach some kind of objectivity in the meaning of inter-subjectivity (Kvale 1997:74). My set of questions can be used by other students/researchers and asked to different municipalities participating in the Eurocities. In order to use the quotations in the text I have translated them into English and put the original quotation in a footnote. The problem with translating the quotation is that the interviews are transcribed in the exact way that the interviewees answered the questions. Therefore, the quotation in Danish (and to a large extent in the English translation) is in spoken language, and since I have tried to keep the translation as close to the original, there is a high degree of written spoken language in the quotations. In doing so there is a risk that some of the linguistic and semantic meanings are lost in the translation, and this can also affect the conclusions. My conclusions in this paper are primarily derived from the original statements.

7.2 Appendix 2 – Box 3.6 revisited

This appendix is meant as an elaborated discussion and explanation of Box 3.6

Box 7.2.1 – the four boxes.



In box 1 there is an active and conscious aspect of Europeanization taking place. This can either give the outcome of absorption or transformation depending on the level of the mental aspect; the stronger the mental aspect the more actively things deriving from the European level will be included in the organization and the more likely a transformation will take place. If it is ‘only’ a matter of adaptation and no change in the institutional logic, it is a situation of absorption. The dotted line that encircles the *mental* aspect in box 1 is referring to a process that takes place in all places of box 1. The mental aspect leads to an active approach to European cooperation and a successfully mental aspect will, over time, lead to transformation, but in the first place it leads to the active aspect. In box 2 there can be a situation, where a passive absorption takes place. This situation involves, however, not a mental aspect, since this is exclusive happening in box 1, but it is possible to enter box 1 from box 2 by entering into an active stage. Inertia has not been given any box, since it involves a situation where nothing happens, but it involves a level of passiveness towards European cooperation, which indicates a link to box 3. In box 3 there is a ‘negative’ effect and results in a passive-retrenchment aspect of the European cooperation. Box 4 is a non-box, which means that no activities can take place in this box. One could argue that an active aversion and withstanding against the European cooperation could take place, but that would be inconsistent and contradictory to the definition of *active*⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 3, Box 3.5 for a definition