

The Europeanization of Regional Interest Groups
Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales in a comparative perspective

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*This thesis has been written with the support of a
PIF2008 scholarship from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*

Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	1
2	RESEARCH DESIGN	7
2.1	CONCEPTUALIZING EUROPEANIZATION	8
2.1.1	EUROPEANIZATION AND REGIONAL ACTORS	15
2.1.2	EUROPEANIZATION, INTEREST GROUPS AND MEDIATING FACTORS	20
2.2	RESEARCH QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESES AND MAIN VARIABLES	31
2.3	RESEARCH STRATEGY	35
2.3.1	OPERATIONALIZING EUROPEANIZATION: THE EUROPEANIZATION INDEX	38
2.3.2	OPERATIONALIZING REGIONAL AUTHORITY: THE REGIONAL AUTHORITY INDEX	45
2.3.3	DEFINING MEDIATING FACTORS	49
2.3.4	POLICY AND REGION SELECTION	52
2.3.5	CASE SELECTION	55
2.3.6	DATA: DOCUMENTS AND INTERVIEWS	57
3	REGIONAL INTEREST GROUPS IN CATALONIA	61
3.1	SPANISH REGIONALISM AND THE CASE OF CATALONIA	63
3.2	REGIONAL AUTHORITY IN CATALONIA	65
3.3	ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN CATALONIA	68
3.4	THE EUROPEANIZATION OF RIGS IN CATALONIA	70
3.4.1	CATALAN ENVIRONMENTAL RIGS	71
3.4.2	CATALAN RURAL RIGS	82
3.4.3	CATALAN INDUSTRIALIST RIGS	92
3.4.4	DIMENSIONS OF EUROPEANIZATION COMPARED IN CATALONIA	104
3.5	MEDIATING FACTORS IN CATALONIA	107
3.6	FINAL REMARKS ON THE CASE OF CATALONIA	111
4	REGIONAL INTEREST GROUPS IN TUSCANY	113
4.1	ITALIAN REGIONALISM AND THE CASE OF TUSCANY	115
4.2	REGIONAL AUTHORITY IN TUSCANY	119

4.3	ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN TUSCANY	121
4.4	THE EUROPEANIZATION OF RIGS IN TUSCANY	122
4.4.1	TUSCAN ENVIRONMENTAL RIGS	123
4.4.2	TUSCAN RURAL RIGS	131
4.4.3	TUSCAN INDUSTRIALIST RIGS	141
4.4.4	DIMENSIONS OF EUROPEANIZATION COMPARED IN TUSCANY	150
4.5	MEDIATING FACTORS IN TUSCANY	154
4.6	FINAL REMARKS ON THE CASE OF TUSCANY	157
5	REGIONAL INTEREST GROUPS IN WALES	159
5.1	BRITISH REGIONALISM AND THE CASE OF WALES.....	161
5.2	REGIONAL AUTHORITY IN WALES.....	164
5.3	ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN WALES	167
5.4	THE EUROPEANIZATION OF RIGS IN WALES	168
5.4.1	WELSH ENVIRONMENTAL RIGS.....	170
5.4.2	WELSH RURAL RIGS	181
5.4.3	WELSH INDUSTRIALIST RIGS.....	192
5.4.4	DIMENSIONS OF EUROPEANIZATION COMPARED IN WALES.....	204
5.5	MEDIATING FACTORS IN WALES	207
5.6	FINAL REMARKS ON THE CASE OF WALES	210
6	EUROPEANIZATION OF REGIONAL INTEREST GROUPS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE	213
7	CONCLUSIONS	225
8	BIBLIOGRAPHY	237
9	ANNEXES	253
9.1	INTERVIEW LIST	253
9.2	INTERVIEW MODEL	254
9.3	RIG INFO FILES	256
9.3.1	CATALONIA	256
9.3.2	TUSCANY	262
9.3.3	WALES	268

Acknowledgements

This has not been an easy journey. Since I first started thinking about applying to a PHD to this final moment, it has been eight years of intense work and commitment. The path towards a finished thesis is plagued with challenges and difficulties, but also with successes and achievements. And it is a journey that is impossible to complete alone.

A taste for constant classification is one of the acquired qualities of a social scientist, so it is accurate to start my acknowledgements by stating that there are two different types of people I wish to thank: those who helped me professionally and those who helped me personally. On the first group, I would most importantly like to mention my thesis director Nuria Font. She has been an inspiration since the first days of the PhD Programme. She has pushed me when I needed encouragement and directed me in the right path when I went astray. She was always generous with her help and corrections, and was there with a helping hand even when I was thousands of kilometres away. For her, I have my sincerest admiration and gratitude.

I would like to mention Prof. Joaquim M. Molins, the director of the PhD Programme “Pensar i Governar les societats complexes”, who not only accepted me into the programme, but also helped me obtain the PIF 2008 Scholarship that funded most of this work. In this line, I would like to thank immensely the UAB for their support. On a professional level, I would like to mention John Etherington, Ana Mar Fernández and Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen, who helped me with their comments in different stages of this process. I would also like to mention the guidance of Prof. Michael Keating during my stage at the EUI in Florence, and Prof. Joan Costa-i-Font during my stage at the LSE in London. Finally, a special mention goes to Prof. Francesc Morata, whose support was instrumental for most of us working in European studies, and who will be sadly missed.

Of course, as always, there are subjects that defy classification. This is the case of those friends at the UAB and abroad who have also helped me academically, mostly during countless lunches. A dedicated mention goes to my office partners: Ivan Medina Iborra, who has helped me constantly and guided me towards obscure papers on our subject; and Patricia Correa Vila, who has always supported me and helped with any bureaucratic trouble I encountered.

The second group of people I wish to thank are those who helped me on a more personal level. Of course, my parents and my three beautiful sisters, who have always given moral (and sometimes financial) support and who are a source of constant love and gratification. There are also many friends who stood alongside me from the beginning. In Argentina, I would like to mention all my friends from Buenos Aires and Mar del Plata, but especially Adrian Jacobo, who inspired me to follow the PhD way, as well as Marie Thea, who was always generous to offer me her home, her friendship and her helping hand. In Barcelona, all my friends from the NpNg group deserve a mention, but most of all Irina, Katjuscia and Natalia, phd partners in crime since the beginning who are as smart as they are beautiful; Melissa and Paulo, my own torcida brasileira; Hattie and Miriam, the British front; and of course the guys, Pux, Fran, Oskar y Jon. They all were (and are) always there for me, and have been a source of joy as well as enlightenment in this journey.

Finally, none of this would be possible without Lore. She is my inseparable accomplice in our adventures around the globe. She never doubted I would finish this thesis, has pushed me when I needed it and has inspired me to go forward. She has always been there with a hug or a shoulder to cry in difficult times. She deserves at least half of the credit for all this, even if she does not believe it. I am a very lucky man to have her next to me.

1 Introduction

The main objective of this thesis is to analyse the process of Europeanization of regional interest groups (RIGs), exploring in which way, to which measure and due to which reasons RIGs have transformed their values, organization and strategies, adapting them to the logic and ways of the European Union (EU). A europeanized RIG has values and objectives that are championed by the EU and shares them with similar organizations around the continent. It has an organization that gives EU issues a prominent position, and is capable of searching for, receiving and administering EU funds with efficiency. Finally, it has strategies broader than the regional and national frontiers, which not only means working on pan-European organization, but also approaching actors and institutions beyond the regional and national arenas to try and influence EU policy-making.

During recent years, there has been a surge of research on the impact of European integration on the national and subnational levels, under the general concept of Europeanization. First of all, in the past decade there has been controversy in the literature over the basic concept of Europeanization. It has been defined by different authors either as: a) an historic phenomenon related to the exportation of the European authority and their social norms (Featherstone, 2003); b) the transnational cultural diffusion inside Europe (Olsen, 2002); c) the national institutional adaptation to belonging to the EU (Marks, 1996, Eising & Kohler-Koch, 1999b, Risse et al, 2001; among others); and d) the adaptation of policies and processes to the EU (Börzel & Risse, 2003; Radaelli, 2003; Bulmer, 2007; among others). Nowadays, nevertheless, there is a basic understanding that regards Europeanization generally as the domestic adaptation to European regional integration (Vink y Graziano 2007), a process and not an outcome (Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009).

To be more precise, this thesis will not be adding to the controversy on the concept but instead accepts the widely cited definition proposed by Claudio Radaelli (2003), due to its wide scope and the fact that it can be applied to interest groups:

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

Europeanization studies have multiplied in recent years, mostly considering Europeanization as ‘something that explains’ instead of ‘something to be explained’ (Radaelli, 2006). In contrast, this thesis subscribes to the increasing literature that states that Europeanization needs to be considered as a dependent variable (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007; McCauley, 2010). Most studies on Europeanization have focused on policies, institutional change and party politics (Vink & Graziano, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009; Graziano 2011). Inside the field of Europeanization, the study of interest groups has been relegated, although it has gained recognition through the years (Grote y Lang, 2003; Coen & Dannreuther, 2003; Constantelos, 2004; Ladrech, 2005; Eising, 2007; Beyers & Kerrermans, 2007; McCauley, 2010; Klüver, 2010; Dür & Mateo, 2014). The broad definition on interest groups adopted for this thesis is the one elaborated by Olson (1971), who defines an interest group as the association of individual members or collectives with a common interest, who pursue this interest and act in exchange of selective incentives, trying to redirect policies in their favour but without aiming to take office directly.

The literature on Europeanization and regions has also grown in recent years. After the emergence of the theories of new regionalism (Keating, 1998), and subnational as well as multilevel governance (Kohler Koch 1999; Hooghe y Marks, 2001) that claimed that regions had increased their political relevance both in EU policy-making as well as in their own national settings, research has more recently focused on the effects of EU integration on regional policies, institutions and actors (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003; Bursens & Deforche, 2008; Tatham, 2011; Stephenson, 2013; Tatham & Bauer, 2014) and vice-versa (Borghetto & Franchino, 2010; Neshkova, 2010; Knodt et al. 2011; Tatham, 2012). This thesis uses the definition of regions as the confluence of a functional and administrative space with its own political debate and, in some cases, a space of social and cultural identification, in a defined subnational territory (Keating, 1998).

The study of interest groups and the EU is not new and the literature is ample and varied. Most of the works have focused on national interest groups and their relationship with EU policy-making (Bouwen, 2004; Constantelos, 2007; Beyers, 2008; Beyers et al, 2008; Princen & Kerremans, 2008;

Callanan, 2011; Chalmers, 2011; Quittkat & Kotzian, 2011; Jarman, 2011; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Bunea, 2013) or national interest groups and Europeanization (Cram, 2001; Beyers, 2002; Grote y Lang, 2003; Coen & Dannreuther, 2003; Ladrech, 2005; Eising, 2007; Beyers & Kerrermans, 2007; Klüver, 2010; McCauley, 2010; Dür & Mateo, 2014). Some other works have focused instead on pan-European “umbrella-type” interest groups (Greenwood, 2003; Watson y Shakleton, 2003; Mazey y Richardson 2006; Dür, 2008; Ruzza, 2011). Yet the study of subnational interest groups in relation to the EU has only received little attention in the specialized literature. Some studies on subnational interest groups have focused on describing their strategies for influencing the European policy-making (Eising, 2007; Knodt, 2011; Knodt et al, 2011; Callanan, 2011; Keating & Wilson, 2014; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). Finally, some other studies of RIGs have focused more directly on the effects and dynamics of Europeanization (Roller & Sloat, 2002; Constantelos, 2004; McCauley, 2010).

This thesis subscribes to this new line of research and we can reasonably expect to find variations in Europeanization across regions and provide accounts for variations in the Europeanization of RIGs. The study of the Europeanization of RIGs presents an empirical and theoretical interest for political science, as it stands in the intersection of the studies of Europeanization, interest groups and regions, where research is still incipient (Roller & Sloat, 2002; Constantelos, 2004; McCauley, 2010). It would appear that the Europeanization of RIGs varies depending on the region we observe, which leads to our interest in explaining in which way these variations occur, and which could be its driving force. For this purpose, we first plan to measure the degree of Europeanization of RIGs, which will allow us to compare and identify variations amongst them. Secondly, we will try to explain those variations, making use of the variable of regional authority created by Marks et al. (2008), and taking account of the mediating factors (Risse et al, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003) that could intervene in this Europeanization.

Marks et al. (2008) have created an index of regional authority that is useful to assert the relationship of a region with the central government. The choice of this index in particular is explained in its own chapter, but we can say that since its inception in 2008, it has been used and accepted by many different scholars (Jeffery, 2009; Goldsmith & Page, 2010; Chaques & Palau, 2011; Tatham, 2011; Chacha, 2013; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). Through this index it is possible to measure the capacities of the region to participate in the decision-making over issues that affect them directly, and its capacities to develop their own policies. The authors divide their indicators in two dimensions, one referring to the authority of the regional government inside its territory (self-rule), and the other referring to the authority of the regional government or its representatives over the whole country (shared rule), both of which are explained in detail in section 2.3.2. As a measurement for the importance of a region in relation to the central government, its main benefit is that it builds on the work done previously by the authors while working on multilevel governance (Hooghe &

Marks, 2001), and relates to the variables developed to analyse how different regions display different capacities in the national and European polities (Keating, 1998; Jeffery, 2000; Christopoulos, 2006; Schakel, 2010; Tatham & Bauer, 2014).

The main hypothesis to be tested determines that the regional authority affects the Europeanization of the interest groups of a region. This will be tested through a comparative study across different regions, comparing the Europeanization of RIGs involved in environmental policy. If more regional authority leads to more Europeanization of RIGs, it is necessary to explore the conditions under which RIGs are more europeanized in regions with a higher regional authority. Some studies on the Europeanization of national interest groups have analysed the impact of the mediating factors of domestic institutions, identities and political cultures (Cram, 2001; Beyers, 2002; Grote & Lang, 2003; Beyers & Kerrermans, 2007; Klüver, 2010). This thesis will expand this field of research to include RIGs.

To analyse the Europeanization of RIGs, this thesis proposes a comparative study of the RIGs in three different regions of Europe. Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales were chosen for their similarities in many of their characteristics (Keating, 2009; Keating & Wilson, 2009; 2010) but their difference in relation to the independent variable of regional authority (Hooghe et al, 2008). It is interesting to note that the three regions selected belong to countries that can neither be defined as federal nor centralized. Spain, Italy and the United Kingdom have been involved for the last four decades in processes of devolution and decentralization, as well as recent statute reforms (Keating, 2009). The study expects to find differences in the Europeanization of RIGs from these three regions. The fact that they are similar in most other aspects helps minimize the possibility of other explanations. In this sense, Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales present an invaluable possibility for comparison.

The expected contribution of this thesis is both theoretical and empirical. On the theoretical side, it proposes an original link between regional authority and Europeanization, through the intervention of mediating factors. The debates on the literature pose several accounts for variations in the level and type of Europeanization, be it on policies or institutions. Specifically, this research tries to explain Europeanization on RIGs through variations in the institutional capacities of the regions. On the empirical side, this thesis aims to add upon an under-researched area in Europeanization and interest groups studies, focusing on RIGs and using comparative methods. For this purpose, the development of an original index of Europeanization used for the measurement of the dependant variable is another innovation of this research and will be explained in section 2.3.1. In the end, the thesis aims to be able to measure the level of Europeanization of a RIG and possibly identify the regional authority and its mediating factors as a defining variable for the differences across regions.

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework of this thesis. First, section 2.1 deals with the conceptualization of Europeanization, and a brief description of the main literature focusing on Europeanization, regions, mediating factors and interest groups. Section 2.2 describes the questions, hypotheses and variables that guide our research, while section 2.3 explains our research strategy, operationalizing our main variables and detailing the policy and case selection. Chapter 3 to 5 present the main empirical findings, detailing the Europeanization of RIGs in Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales. Chapter 6 compares the different RIGs beyond the region they belong to, trying to find different patterns of Europeanization. Finally, chapter 7 compares and analyses all the RIGs together and brings some conclusions and possible future lines of research.

2 Research Design

The study of the Europeanization of RIGs is based on three different literatures that need to be examined in detail: the theoretical debates of Europeanization in general, the literature on interest groups and the study of subnational or regional actors in multi-level governance settings. These three strands of literature offer the main structure over which this thesis builds its argument. The goal is to add onto the work done in these various fields of academia by providing new findings and tools for future research.

The fundamental theoretical framework for this research is the literature on Europeanization, which has generated a wide variety of literature and discussion in recent years (Bulmer, 2007). Secondly, the literature on interest groups can be traced back to the 1970s and even before, mainly thorough research and analysis of collective action (Olson, 1971). Our main interest in this strand of literature is the research of subnational interest groups and their relationship with the EU (Roller & Sloat, 2002; Constantelos, 2004; Eising, 2007; McCauley, 2010; Knodt, 2011; Knodt et al, 2011; Keating & Wilson, 2014; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). Similarly, with regards to regions, our focus is on the research on regions in the EU. This literature has generated many different theories since the 1990s, most of which need to be considered for this study (Keating, 1998; Loughlin, 2001; Hooghe y Marks, 2001 Marks, Hooghe & Schakel, 2008), as well as more recent research on the impact of EU integration on regions (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003; Bursens & Deforche, 2008; Borghetto & Franchino, 2010; Neshkova, 2010;Tatham, 2011; Knodt et al. 2011; Tatham, 2012; Stephenson, 2013;Tatham & Bauer, 2014).

The main theoretical framework of this thesis is presented in section 2.1. More in detail, section 2.1.1 analyses the recent literature on Europeanization, focusing on the debate around the concept and its implications, as well as its relation with the longstanding literature on regions. Section 2.1.2 in turn focuses on the literature on Europeanization and interest groups, leading to the recent work on RIGs, as well as presenting the notion of mediating factors for Europeanization. Section 2.2 presents the core of this research, namely its questions, hypotheses and variables. Finally, section 2.3 deals in more detail with the methodology used. While the sections 2.3.1 through 2.3.3 will present the operationalization of the main variables of this research, the sections 2.3.4 through 2.3.6 will explain the rationalities behind the policy and case selection as well as the data used.

2.1 Conceptualizing Europeanization

The main literature over which this thesis builds upon is the work done on Europeanization. This concept has been widely discussed by EU scholars in recent years, and its definition has been amongst the most contested issues. There are several approaches to the analysis of Europeanization, but in recent years, studies on Europeanization have tended to go beyond the approach of the classic theories on the EU and mainly tend to focus on the domestic level instead of on the European level (Vink y Graziano, 2007).

The traditional literature regarding the EU integration process presents three competing propositions that precede and contextualize the studies on Europeanization (Bulmer et al. 2005): integration strengthens the State; integration creates a multilevel structure of power which recalibrates how the actors respond; and the EU has transformed governance in all levels.

The first proposition, presented originally by Moravcsik (1993) through his theory of liberal intergovernmentalism, establishes that States keep their position as gatekeepers in the integration process. According to Moravcsik, the decisions are elaborated in two levels, the internal and the external. First, national governments discuss internally which is the most profitable policy for them. In this arena, the social actors, lobbies, political parties etc. are allowed to participate following the rules of modern governance. It is important to note that, despite Moravcsik's emphasis on internal governance, liberal intergovernmentalist literature has tended to overlook the importance of subnational actors in this moment of creation of preferences (Tatham, 2011; Chacha 2013). Once the governments take a position, they face the external arena where they negotiate their final decision. It is in these important negotiations, according to the author, where the studies on regional integration need to focus. Moravcsik claims that the States will resist any loss of sovereignty unless they are strengthened by this loss, warranting a complete access to information, the reduction of

transaction costs or a failsafe for the completion of agreements. For the author, the European institutions have a certain influence, but in no way are independent actors by themselves (Moravcsik, 1998).

The second proposition emerged mainly as an answer to Moravcsik's thesis and proposes the concept of multilevel governance (Hooghe & Marks, 2001). The idea suggests that the fragmentation of the State in multiple subnational authorities, along with the integration in supranational and intergovernmental organizations leads to a vertical fragmentation of power that weakens the State. Multilevel Governance implies as well a horizontal distribution of power amongst multiple actors in multiple levels of government. The role of the State, however, is still central in the European integration process (Stephenson, 2013). Even if there are new channels of access from subnational to supranational levels of government, States maintain and use their power and they even keep a monopoly over decision-making in some situations (Marks, 1996). Subnational mobilization does not necessarily mean that the regions will by-pass the central government, as recent research shows that devolution can lead to increased cooperation between regions and the centre (Tatham, 2008; 2011).

The third position is in line with the changes in the decision and policy-making models since the end of the 20th century and, in clear contrast with Moravcsik's ideas, proposes a blurring of the frontiers between the public and private spheres (Kohler-Koch, 1996). The model of governance and, more specifically, European governance, has shown the participation of new actors, public and private, from different levels in the decision-making and implementation process for European public policy. The State is transformed as part of this process. In a similar sense, the concept of supranational governance (Standholtz & Stone Sweet, 1998) suggests that the policies that will tend to translate to the European level are those where the activities of transnational actors are higher, while those in which there is no transnational activities will tend to remain at the intergovernmental level. In a similar way as the spillover effect described by the neofunctionalists decades before, the great influence of transnational actors leads to a supranationalization of those policies that benefit them (Standholtz y Stone Sweet, 1998).

The literature on Europeanization takes these precedents on EU theorization as a starting point but it has had problems defining its main concept (Vink & Graziano, 2007). The focus has widened, considering the effects that integration could be having on member States and subnational entities (Featherstone & Kazamias, 2000; Börzel, 2002b). The classic theories of integration were centred on matters such as whether the integration strengthened the State or if a new supranational entity was being born. The studies of Europeanization, on the other hand, underscore issues such as the adaptation to the EU of domestic institutions, actors, procedures and paradigms (Radaelli, 2003; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009).

There seems to be a consensus in Europeanization studies regarding the lack of a consolidated theory (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2005; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009). First, the classic line of Europeanization studies has focused on the domestic implementation of EU policies (Vink & Graziano, 2007). The grand theories of integration expected a process of convergence, either centralizing or decentralizing, as a result of the domestic strategic reorganization expected after a change in the structure of opportunities such as the European institutional development. A convergence was especially expected after the launch of the Common Market and the European Monetary Union. However, instead of a convergence, the impact of the European development was mostly divergent, and this divergence could not be explained. It was necessary to turn to top-down studies, which start from the integration and controls the level of fit of Member State and EU policies (Börzel, 2005; Töller, 2010).

As described by Featherstone & Kazamias (2000), many Europeanization studies have turned for support to the theoretical framework of the new institutionalism (March & Olsen, 1984; Hall & Taylor, 1996). Rationalist studies help explore the changes in the patterns of power relationships amongst domestic actors, regarding changes at the European level (Bulmer, 2007). Most of the studies of Europeanization and interest groups tend to belong to this rationalist school, given that they study the way in which these actors can benefit from the changes in the opportunities structure (Eising, 2007; Klüver 2010). Other types of Europeanization research that use the rational new institutionalist framework seek to analyse the design of the institutions at the European level, with the purpose of achieving a predefined effect at the domestic level (Börzel, 2002). Some other studies on Europeanization tend to use the sociological framework of new institutionalism when analysing the domestic systems and the changes that can be produced from the point of view of an assimilation of the European norms, rules, values and identities (Börzel & Risse, 2003; Töller, 2010). Some researchers have studied the language used by domestic elites when shaping the perception on their local arenas towards a certain opinion of the European issues (Tatham & Bauer, 2014). Lastly, the research of how the actors behave inside EU institutions and their socialization could be also considered as belonging to a variant of sociological new institutionalism (Bulmer, 2007).

A good part of these first studies on Europeanization was based on the top-down fit/misfit model (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001, Börzel, 2002). Domestic change could happen because of different reasons such as institutional obedience to the EU, a change in domestic structures of opportunities, a new framework for policies modifying the values of domestic actors, or by regulatory competence that pushes a spillover effect (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999). But for there to be a pressure for change, something has to need a change, there needs to be a misfit between the European and domestic levels on either the policy or the institutional arenas (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001). The two main arguments of the fit/misfit theory are that while the impact of the EU

on the member states varies depending on the place and policy in consideration, at the same time, the different impact is explained by the *'goodness of fit'*, between the national and European policies, institutions and processes, and by the existence of intervening variables or mediating factors (Börzel, 2005).

Similarly to the theoretical discussion, the literature is filled with contributions to define Europeanization. It has been used to explain different political and social changes throughout the years. The fact that there are multiple definitions is not a problem by itself, because it means that it is a debated concept (Radaelli, 2003). It is the researcher's obligation to give a precise meaning to avoid confusion (Featherstone, 2003) and conceptual stretch (Sartori, 1994).

To try to clarify this debate, Radaelli (2003) points to the need to distinguish the concept from terms such as convergence, harmonization, integration or policy formulation. In the case of the concept of convergence, one must not confuse a process with its results. Europeanization can produce convergence, but it can also produce divergence or limited convergence. Regarding the concept of harmonization, it implies a reduction in regulatory diversity, given that it presents a levelling field, while the result of Europeanization could be, in contrast, a heightening of regulatory diversity, intense competition or even distortions in competition. In the case of the concept of integration, we can of course state that Europeanization coexists with European integration but should not confuse both. The studies on European integration are ontological, focused on the understanding of reasons for the process, while Europeanization studies analyse the effects of the already formed and functioning European institutions. Lastly, we can say that Europeanization is related to policy formulation. Policy does not come out of thin air and there is an important role for Europeanization, but we must keep separate the process that leads to a policy from the effects that said policy could have.

Once we have cleared what Europeanization is not, we can go forward with its proper conceptualization and the definition used for this thesis. With this purpose in mind, Kevin Featherstone (2003) revised the literature on Europeanization from the preceding two decades. In his analysis, the author identifies four general tendencies in the use of this concept:

- a. Europeanization as a historical phenomenon**, regarding the exportation of a European authority and its social norms mainly through colonization done by Great Britain, France, Spain or Portugal. In a similar way, anthropologists have used the term as the changes that led some primitive human societies to become what today is considered the European people (Featherstone, 2003);

- b. Europeanization as transnational cultural diffusion**, regarding the propagation of cultural norms, ideas, identities and patterns of behaviour inside Europe. It is generally used in an ambiguous sense with almost no link to EU activities (Olsen, 2002).
- c. Europeanization as institutional adaptation**, the most used category nowadays which refers to the domestic adaptation to the pressure emanating directly or indirectly from the EU. This adaptation could refer to public administrations, political parties or organized interests. These changes are in many times related to the strengthening of multilevel or subnational governance (Marks, 1996), or to the appearance of a new kind of governance network, more focused on how European policies are developed than in their domestic impact (Eising y Kohler-Koch, 1999b).
- d. Europeanization as adaptation of policies and processes**, directly linked with the previous definition, this use of the concept is oriented to public policy rather than other adaptations to the EU. Its use is sometimes related to the restrictions imposed by European regulation to domestic politics, or the relationship between local and European regulatory systems (Börzel, 2005; Börzel y Risse, 2003). In this line, the term refers also to the convergence of public policy in member states, even though it is an asymmetrical convergence (Börzel y Risse, 2003; Radaelli, 2003; Bulmer, 2007).

In a similar work, Olsen (2002) also tries to clear the landscape identifying five different conceptualizations of Europeanization:

- a. Europeanization as changes in the external frontiers:** It refers to the expansion of the governance system to the whole of Europe
- b. Europeanization as the development of institutions at the European level:** It refers to the construction of a centre with the capacity for collective action, coordination and coherent, with the ability to develop and apply binding decisions and sanctions to those who do not comply.
- c. Europeanization as penetration of the centre in the national systems of governance:** It refers to the division of responsibilities and powers amongst the different levels of governance. It implies an adaptation of the systems of national and subnational governance to the European political centre and its norms.
- d. Europeanization as an export of political organization:** It refers to the export of the method for policy-making in Europe beyond its frontiers.

- e. **Europeanization as a Project of political unification:** It refers to the level in which all development of governance and integration leads to a stronger political entity in Europe, and its effects beyond its frontiers.

The work done by Featherstone (2003) and by Olsen (2002) has helped lay the groundwork for the main bulk of research done on Europeanization in the first decade of the century. These clarifications have been used by most of the scholars when trying to define the concept themselves (Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009). The works of Risse et al. (2001), Börzel (2002) and Radaelli (2003), come from a similar background as Featherstone (2003) and Olsen (2002). It is from this work that we can try to reach an operative definition of the concept. We should try to link Europeanization with its core meaning as a process of adaptation to the EU, beyond its use on policies and into a broader use including actors.

In this sense, Risse, Cowles & Caporaso (2001) present a classic definition widely cited in the literature, in the context of the research of change in institutions and policy structures. According to them Europeanization would refer to:

“The emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal and social institutions associated with political problem solving that formalizes interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules” (Risse, et al., 2001, p. 3).

In a similar vein, Börzel (2002) proposes a summary of the conceptualizations on the relationship between the EU and Member States, by describing distinctive processes. On one hand, there is a bottom-up process, which implies an institutionalization of the EU political system through the creation and consolidation of supranational institutions. On the other hand, there is a top-down process, which the author relates to the concept of Europeanization and implies the penetration of European rules and regulations to previously differentiated domestic spheres.

Even though the definitions proposed by Börzel (2002) and Risse et al. (2001) have been regularly accepted, their focus escapes the conceptual needs of this thesis. First, the emphasis of the definition proposed by Risse et al. (2001) on policy networks may leave other patterns of policy-making. At the same time, it only seems to focus on a top-down analysis of the impact of European policies at the different levels of policymaking. Similarly, the definition by Börzel (2002) focuses on a top-down approach but seems too ambiguous. However, it should be stated that her notion of a double process where integration and Europeanization are two sides of a coin is a useful proposition.

In contrast with these definitions, Ladrech (1994) focuses on a reorientation of politics towards the EU arena. According to Ladrech (1994):

“Europeanization is an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making” (Ladrech, 1994, p. 69).

This definition emphasizes change and domestic learning without restricting itself to a particular field of analysis. Nevertheless, while centring solely on institutional matters, it seems to ignore actors and interest groups, which are the main focus of this thesis.

Similarly, a definition of Europeanization very much in line with this research can be seen in the typology presented by Knill & Lehmkuhl (1999). The authors present three different mechanisms for Europeanization that adopt the principles of the new institutionalism. First, they define a mechanism of “positive integration”, related to historical institutionalism, which can present itself when the directives of the EU propose an institutional model to which the domestic arenas need to readjust. Second, they present a mechanism of “negative integration”, related to rational choice and rational institutionalism, where the impact of the EU can present itself when it changes the domestic structures of opportunity, modifying the strategic positions of domestic actors. Third, the authors present a mechanism of “framing integration”, related to sociological institutionalism, in which the European policies modify the beliefs and expectations of actors, who then modify their preferences and strategies. In a similar line of work, Pasquier (2005) proposes a cognitive Europeanization, in which the actors adapt their behaviour without structural pressures, according to an adaptation to new rules and values.

All these previous works on Europeanization as adaptation have helped build up to a new conceptualization of the term that is adopted for this research, relating it to values and strategies of actors and not only to the fit/misfit of national policies to the European model. This new conceptualizations of Europeanization help consider it as ‘something to be explained’ rather than ‘something that explains’ (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007; McCauley, 2010). As said above, the definition used in this thesis is the one proposed originally by Radaelli (2003), who presents Europeanization as referring to:

“Processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion, and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies” (Radaelli, 2003, p.30).

This definition has been selected for this research for four main reasons, which in a way sum up some of the contributions by previous authors. First, it was selected due to the fact that it presents a dual process, top-down and bottom-up as proposed by Börzel (2002), where agents condition the

European process and are conditioned by it. Second, it also emphasizes the importance of change and learning, as proposed by Ladrech (1994) and Pasquier (2005), implying that there is no direct pressure for adaptation. Third, this definition does not limit its use to an analysis of policies through the fit/misfit model (Risse et al, 2001; Börzel, 2002). Lastly, following the work done by authors as Knill & Lehmkuhl (1999), this definition easily lends itself to be used to analyse actors, institutions and, for the purpose of this thesis, RIGs. All in all, these four reasons help understand how the definition presented serves the main objectives of this thesis and is in a way a synthesis of the definitions previously proposed. Our analysis aims to be top-down and bottom-up, and taking into account the learning processes that support RIGs in their process of adaptation to the EU.

With the help of definitions as the one presented by Radaelli (2003), there has been some advancement towards the use of Europeanization as an independent variable for research instead of using it mainly as a context variable (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007; McCauley, 2010). The study of the effects of the EU on Member States is giving way to a more deep analysis of the effects of the integration process in other areas as well as the effects that national and subnational entities may have on the integration process due to their reactions and inputs. The more recent Europeanization studies tend to follow the bottom-up/top-down thesis presented by Börzel (2002) but changing in a certain way the notion of bottom-up for it to be able to include the retro-feeding linked to Europeanization. These lines of Europeanization studies start from the domestic level as a basis, describing actors, ideas, problems, rules, styles and outcomes and then go up to analyse the possible involvement of EU variables in the mix (Radaelli, 2003; Radaelli & Pasquier, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009). Some of these works are described in the following sections.

In synchronicity with these contributions, this thesis proposes the study of Europeanization as a dependent variable mainly following two working lines: the connection between Europeanization and domestic change in regions, and the ties between Europeanization, governance and interest groups.

2.1.1 Europeanization and Regional Actors

Subnational actors are varied, from historical regions with parliamentary competences, nationalist parties and an autonomous political project, to simple administrative divisions of the central state. The concept of regions has been tackled by several authors and has led to the creation of a whole new sub-literature in EU studies (Stephenson, 2013).

Before advancing any further, it is useful to know that the literature does not offer a clear definition of regions. Keating & Loughlin (1997) proposed an early and preliminary classification of the European regions. Firstly one can differentiate Political Regions from Administrative Regions, depending on the political system of the country. Federal States and Regionalized Unitary States are mainly subdivided in Political Regions, while Decentralized States or Centralized Unitary States are mainly divided in Administrative Regions. Secondly, a categorization can be achieved regarding the national identity of a region. Some regions in Europe are inhabited by social groups with a distinctive history, culture or language, which may consider themselves nations on their own. Thirdly, we can differentiate regions through their economical or geographical characteristics, mainly for administrative purposes, such as industrialist regions, rural regions, etc. This early classification of regions has been mostly repeated in the literature ever since. However, there was not a clear definition for the concept of region.

To propose a definition for this thesis, the seminal work done by Keating (1998b, 2003) is especially useful. According to the author, regions are “territorial spaces” (Keating, 1998b) between the central and the municipal governments, whose size varies depending on the state considered. For this thesis, regions are defined as the confluence of a functional/administrative space, with an autonomous political space for public debate and, in some cases, a space of social and cultural identification, inside a delimited subnational territory.

Beyond these conceptual issues, the literature in the last two decades has generally described and tried to explain subnational mobilization (Jeffery, 2000). All in all, the importance of subnational organizations in every day policy-making cannot be denied, and some of its main advocates still claim the relevance of territorial politics (Keating, 2008, 2008b; Schakel, 2010; Piattoni, 2011). It must be said that while the discussion on regions was en vogue in the 1990s and early 2000s; it has experienced some decay since the EU enlargement and the crisis of the Constitution (Hepburn, 2008) and even more in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis affecting the world and Europe in particular. However, the interest in regions has seen resurgence since the late 2000s (Tatham, 2012) due in part to the active mobilization of regions such as Scotland and Catalonia towards a referendum for independence, the regionalisation in the new Member States and the effects of the on-going devolution in older Member States (Keating, 2009; Keating & Wilson 2009; 2010; Tatham, 2011)

The academic discussion generally presents the increasing importance of regions framed in three main approaches that should not be confused: one top-down, another bottom-up (Loughlin, 1996; Keating & Loughlin, 1998) and a third one intermediate (Hooghe & Marks, 2001, Loughlin 2007). In the first approach, regionalization is defined as the traditional process of relationship between the

centre and the periphery, applied in Europe since the Second World War and especially after the 1960s, as a means for the modernization of the State (Loughlin 1996; Loughlin & Peters, 1997). Through regionalization, the policies to be applied on subnational territories are defined without including the representatives of said territories. Generally, the policies of regionalization had as a main purpose the reduction of regional differences inside a State, through central planning and Keynesian coordination. The regionalization could also be done as a means to strengthen the power and centralization of the State.

In contrast with this top-down approach, apparently de-politicized, the regionalism refers to the ideology and political and institutional movement that seeks a stronger participation of the people in the development and implementation of those policies that affect them directly (Loughlin, 1996; Keating, 1998; Keating & Loughlin, 1997). The regionalism can be understood as a reaction and a consequence of regionalization. Even though in the beginning it was also a challenge to regionalization, regionalism has evolved into a challenge to the central State as a whole. The regionalist movement oscillates between three different regionalism, not necessarily mutually exclusive (Loughlin, 1996): a) state citizenship regionalism, which requires from the central State an equal treatment towards all the regions, without preferences to the most developed; b) moderate autonomist regionalism, which seeks the control of regional issues in relation to the claims of a certain linguistic or ethnic group; and c) radical separatist regionalism, which seeks the establishment of an independent State on the basis of the self determination of the people, in which the national group will no longer be a minority¹.

One of the first theoretical frames proposed for the analysis of the regions was the new regionalism (Keating, 1998), which has its origin in the states' loss of centrality when facing globalization and the appearance of new spaces for government and governance in the national level, as well as the subnational and supranational. States are defied from below, above and its sides

¹ A different categorization of regionalism as a political movement considers six ideal types related with all kinds of Conservative regionalism: Related to old regionalism and the idea of an "affective community", it resists modernization and the secular State

Burgueois regionalism: In industrialized and economically advanced regions, the regional dynamic bourgeoisie tries to separate itself to the archaic centralizing State and try to develop their own political and administrative structures.

Modernizing regionalism: More technocratic and de-politicized, directly related to regionalization from the centre. The administrations and regional universities form technocrats to contribute with the modernization of regionalization.

Progressist regionalism: Related to avant-garde ideas of democracy, ecology, or underlining ideals from liberation movements. It is a left-leaning nationalist regionalism.

Populist right-leaning regionalism: Directed against the central State and its transferences to poorer regions. It is against the migration of workers from other regions and other States, fearing them to be prejudicial to their development.

Nationalist regionalism: It is the classical regionalism from historical European regions, where there is no clear difference between nationalism and regionalism, and it is related to independence or strongly autonomist movements.

(Loughlin, 2001; 2007). From above, the state is defied by integration and globalization. The movement of capital on a globalized world increasingly complicates the national management of the economy. In turn, the rise of transnational corporations and the European institutional framework and delegation of authority to Brussels in policy arenas once essential erode the power of the State (Hix, 1999). From the sides, the state is being confronted by the new role of civil society in the 21st century, with governance reconfiguring the way in which states behave (Kohler-Koch, 1999). From below, as said before, the state experiences an increasing subnational mobilization (Jeffery, 2000).

Two main elements characterize the new regionalism approach: a) it is not contained inside the borders of the State; and b) puts regions, on a global market, in a position of mutual competition for markets and resources instead of in a “national division of labour”. Regions will enforce that which makes them different and attractive, their “comparative advantages” in a neo-ricardian sense of competition, where the Nation State is no longer the central actor (Keating, 1998).

The new regionalism approach competes with multilevel governance in trying to find an explanation to the new role of regions on the European political system. Both approaches give regions an increasing role, but whereas new regionalism seems to announce a new era where regions will become the main European arena for political participation (Loughlin, 1996), multilevel governance proposes a more balanced approach to the decision process (Hooghe & Marks, 2001). Policy-making is no longer solely in the hands of central authority but include a multitude of citizen preferences with the participation of interest groups, media, individual citizens, political parties, etc. (Kohler-Koch, 1999). To the incorporation of citizen preferences, it must be added the fact that the state is divided in multiple subnational authorities with increasing capacities. On third hand, it must be considered that European states are involved in an integration process where the delegation of capacities to European institutions is increasing (Hix, 1999). Overall, multilevel governance implies a horizontal sharing of power between multiple actors, and a vertical sharing of power between different levels of government. There is an overlap of multilevel governance and the literature on Europeanization, where multilevel governance emphasises the dispersion of power, while Europeanization dealt with the mutual adjustments by institutions as a result of this multilevel interaction (Stephenson, 2013).

Even though there are new channels of access for the subnational level to the supranational level², the literature suggests that states continue exercising their power and sometimes even have

² It is important to point to the appearance of other “channels to Europe” (Hooghe y Marks, 2001; Chacha 2013). First, the Maastricht Treaty led to the creation of the Committee of the Regions, where subnational actors appear to be

monopoly in the decision-making and veto power (Hooghe & Marks, 2001; Greenwood, 2011; Noferini, 2012; Tatham 2012). The European governance model has given way to the participation of new actors, private as well as public, in the decision-making process and the implementation of European public policy (Kohler-Koch, 1999; Jeffery, 2000; Hooghe & Marks, 2004; Morata, 2004; Beyers et al., 2008; Borghetto & Franchino, 2010; Neshkova, 2010; Tatham, 2012). The regions, as the closest space of political representation with voice in the integration process, can become a reinforced scenario for the participation of interest groups (Mazey & Richardson, 2006; Constantelos, 2007; Medina et al, 2011; Medina, 2014; Tatham & Bauer, 2014).

The literature on regions has tried to measure the regional capacities with various results (Schakel, 2008). Keating (1998) analysed the regional power according to seven dimensions: the existence of institutions, the capacity for policy formulation, their competences, the integrative power, their financial resources, their inter-governmental system and their market relations. Jeffery (2000), on the other hand, proposes an index of regional power to see if a region is mobilized and has influence capacity on the European level. The indicators are the constitutional factors, the inter-governmental relations with the centre, the entrepreneurship and the legitimacy and social capital. Another index widely cited, proposed by Christopoulos (2006), analyses regional power regarding the importance of regional institutions and the relative weight of their economy.

Lastly, Marks et al. (2008) developed an index based on the concept of regional authority, used to measure the independence and autonomy of a region in relation to the central government. Their index is not free of limitations, but has been especially useful for comparing regions belonging to States with different institutional structures, as it allows a simple measurement of each region's capacities (Tatham, 2011). The authors divide their indicators in two dimensions, one referring to the authority of the regional government inside its territory (self-rule), and the other refers to the authority of the regional government or its representatives over the whole country (shared rule). The

represented. Nevertheless, it can be said that the Committee of the Regions is not an influential institution, mainly due to its merely advisory character and the great diversity of its members (Ramon, 2004, Greenwood, 2011). The opinions of the Committee tend to be weak, reflecting the lowest common denominator (Morata, 2004). It is useful to point out that some of the stronger regions have been able to appoint regional representatives at the Council of Minister meetings, representing the interests of all the State. Some regions have also been allowed to participate in meetings and working groups of the Council of Europe, this is especially common for Belgian regions, but has also become regular for Spanish meetings as well (Noferini, 2012). Lastly, it should be useful to point out the independent participations of regions, in particular through their Brussels representations and through trans-regional activities. Nowadays, the independent regional representations in Brussels are around 250 and their main objectives are the exchange of information and lobbying, with the purpose of achieving a privileged negotiating position and avoid surprising regulations (Badiello, 2004). It is interesting to add the increasing collaboration amongst regional offices, either between frontier regions or regions with convergent interests. This collaboration has given way to the creation of trans-regional networks, sometimes explicitly fomented by the Comisión, such as the Interreg program, but other times spontaneously formed by the regions, such as the Four Motors of Europe (Christiansen y Jorgensen, 2004).

self-rule depends on the independence of the regional government from the central government and the scope of regional decisions. The shared rule depends on the capacities of the regional government to influence the decisions taken at the central government. In the sub-chapter 2.3.2 the regional authority index is explained in detail. The selection of this index responds not only to its popularity in the literature (Jeffery, 2009; Goldsmith & Page, 2010; Chaques & Palau, 2011; Tatham, 2011; Chacha, 2013; Tatham & Bauer, 2014) but also to its ability to measure the capacities of the region to participate in the decision-making over issues that affect them directly, and its capacities to develop their own policies. The goal is to determine how both dimensions of regional authority can affect the Europeanization of RIGs.

2.1.2 Europeanization, Interest Groups and Mediating Factors

Interest groups have been objects of study for political scientists during almost all the 20th century. Next to political parties, interest groups have been the main link between those governing and those governed (Heywood, 1997), and are also much widespread than political parties (Beyers et al., 2008). It has been somewhat neglected traditionally, compared to other areas in political science, but has seen a resurgence in recent years (Beyers et al., 2008). The literature on interest groups uses different concepts, such as pressure groups, organized interests, lobbies, special groups, public interest groups or special interests (Petracca, 1992).

This thesis uses a definition of interest group based on the classic definition proposed by Mancur Olson (1971) and cited by many studies since then. Basically, Olson states that groups are formed by members with a common interest, who act according to the consecution of said interest and in exchange of selective incentives.³ The members of an interest group can be individuals or associations (Petracca, 1992). Most of the interest groups operating at the European level are not formed by individuals but by organizations that act as members (Mazey & Richardson, 2006). On the

³ For the development of this famous definition, Olson used the collective action dilemma. If the members of a big group try to maximize their personal benefit rationally, they will not act to advance their common or group goals, unless they is a coercion that forces them or at least a differentiated incentive, different to the one achieved if the common goal is achieved, is offered to members of the group individually under the condition that they help support the costs and burdens related to the consecution of said objectives (Olson, 1971). The actors act rationally to achieve their objectives at the lowest cost possible. The objectives that the interest groups pursue tend to be public, so anyone can benefit from them. According to the rational choice, this would foment the appearance of free-riders that will seek benefit without assuming costs. Public or collective benefits will necessarily be linked with selective or private incentives related to a participation in the group. It is because of these selective incentives that, in the end, interest groups exist and members still participate in them. If there were no selective incentives, individual rationality would lead to complete inactivity (Wilson, 1995).

other hand, interest groups seek to influence public policies, but without proposing candidates or seeking to take office (Grant, 1989). For this research, we define an interest group as any association of members with a common interest, who act in exchange of selective incentives, in pursuit of the achievement of said interest, while trying to influence public policy in their favour, but without trying to seek a governmental position for themselves.

Research on interest groups has mainly been framed in the different paradigms for the relationship between the State and society. The main theory used by the studies on interest groups is the theory of pluralism. According to pluralists, there are lots of different interests in a society, many times opposing each other. The different interests are organized in a way for them to be able to influence public policy in their favour and in the meantime avoiding the concentration of power (Grant, 1989).⁴

On the other hand, neo-Marxists such as Miliband (1970) and Poulantzas (1973) have developed a paradigm for the relationship between State and society that rivals the pluralist vision. While pluralist state that individual preferences are the basis of interest, neo-Marxists consider that the interest is originated in class conscience (Cawson, 1985). In this way, interest groups as well as the State will be delimited by the class structure of the society and will definitively represent class interests⁵. Facing the differences of neo-Marxism and pluralism, part of the literature considers corporatism as a synthesis of both (Cowles, 1985). In this sense, Schmitter (1981) defines corporatism as a system of representation of interests in which the units that compose it are

⁴ For pluralists, whose peak was reached halfway through the 20th century with the conductist theories, group politics is the basis for democracy (Heywood, 1997). Power is not hierarchically or competitively organized, but through a process of never ending exchange between groups with different interests. It is a responsibility of the government to protect the development of interests, avoiding the imposition of one faction over the others (Held, 1991). If an interest is attacked, there is a potential for the mobilization of a group to protect it (Grant, 1989). Different groups will not have the same access to the political system, depending on the capacities that each group has or the values they defend in relation to the predominant values in the society. Interest groups form due to the appearance of common interests and are maintained due to the support of members. The group politics are a reflection of the common interest of its members (Moe, 1980). Contradicting partially this pluralist argument, Robert Michels (1979), in his classic iron law of the oligarchy, states that group policies are not decided according to the common interests of its members, but according to the interests of certain leaders which guide the group in their favour.

⁵ For classical marxists, the role of the State is that of a class instrument, a bourgeois tool for oppression or a proletarian revolutionary tool for the expansion of communism (Held, 1991). For neo-marxists, on the other hand, the State is the arena where the class struggle takes place (Cawson, 1985). Even though the State is colonized by the dominant class, to be politically effective it must separate itself continually from the dominant class interests and even sometimes contradict them (Miliband, 1970). The capitalist State possesses some structural components that give it enough autonomy to protect the capitalist production model overall, even if it needs to conflict with the interest groups representing the dominant class. The degree of autonomy that the State possesses will depend on the intensity of social struggle (Held, 1991). The State will then act as a definitive unifier of interest groups and last resort guarantor for the survival of capitalism (Poulantzas, 1973).

organized in a limited number of categories, hierarchically ordered and recognized, authorized or even created by the State, that possess a monopoly or the representation.⁶

Following in part the pluralist notions but in greater extent the corporatism, another theory used to analyse interest groups is related to the notion of “policy communities”. According to Richardson & Jordan (1985), policy-making occurs in vertically segmented compartments inside which there are groups recognized by the State that work together with the respective department of government. The groups that are not recognized or the public in general cannot access these communities, and the most important differences are between different policy communities, which can have completely divergent characteristics (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992). The conflict persists, especially between recognized organized groups whose interests may collide. This can lead to the appearance of an elite of interest groups, which besides their differences will try to preserve the policy-making procedures (Grant, 1989). In recent years, while the discussion of interest groups inside the grand theories for the relationship between State and Society has lost some appeal, the resurgence of interest groups studies has been related to their importance in policy networks and policy communities, in contrast with traditional actors such as unions and parties (Beyers et al., 2008).

With regards to EU studies and interest groups, it must be said that neofunctionalists were amongst the first to predict an important role for them in policy-making at the EU level. According to neofunctionalist theory, technical cooperation on low-level politics would slowly but steadily lead to deeper European integration. As this happened, national interest groups would lose their focus on national politics and shift it towards EU level politics, reinforcing the spill-over effect towards more integration (Standholtz y Stone Sweet, 1998). It seems logic to assume that once interest groups noticed a delegation of sovereignty from the national to the European arenas (Hix, 1999), they decided to act at the European level as well (Mazey & Richardson, 2006). In the years following the Maastricht Treaty, the number of interest groups interacting with European institutions has had a

⁶ Basically, corporatism is usually understood as the tripartite arrangements between the government, the unions and the business organizations, but it has also been sometimes understood as the bilateral arrangements between the government and some guild or any organization linked to a sector of production (Grant, 1989). The origins of corporatism can be found in the development of capitalism in the 20th century, which have allowed for private capital to take advantage over unions while the labour movements could achieve a political role (Held, 1991). In front of the appearance of these powerful business and labour organizations, the State assumes a mediating role. According to corporatist theory and in contrast with marxist theory, even if classes have accumulated power, none is able to totally control the actions of the State. It must be clarified that in this mode of integration of interest groups in the policy-making process, it is expected that in exchange of the monopoly of representation, the policies finally adopted by the government will be accepted and supported (Schmitter, 1981). Nevertheless, it can be criticized the fact that these theories can only be applied in policies where it is logical to pursue a tripartite arrangement. Corporatist arrangement make no sense in policies where other interest groups are the main contenders. In a similar way, the clear loss of representation power of unions in the last couple of decades as well as the appearance of new social movements question the claim of corporatism as a pacifying alternative (Held, 1991).

constant growth⁷, related to the growth of European competences, the establishment of the QMV vote at the Council of Minister and the advancements in the co-decision process (Aspinwall & Greenwood, 1998). The organized interests acting in Brussels could be divided mainly in three categories (Watson & Shakleton, 2003):

- a.** Private interests seeking specific economic objectives. This one is, logically, the most extensive category, with more than 1000 organizations operating in Brussels, from small and specific to wide and pan-European like *Business Europe*. The most important companies tend to maintain their own contacts while belonging at the same time to euro-associations (Grote & Lang, 2003; Coen & Dannreuther, 2003).
- b.** Public interest bodies with non-economic objectives. It is estimated that these are more than 300 organizations, many of which depend on EU funds to function (Ruzza, 2011). Amongst these, the environmentalists are the most mobilized, but there are also important organizations defending fundamental rights, varied NGOs and media. Many of them regroup in euro-associations to gain strength and representation.
- c.** Non-governmental actors representing different levels of government but not belonging to the State representation in Brussels. These are around 360, amongst embassies from non-EU countries and regional offices from EU countries. Even though these are organized interests seeking influence at European policy-making and operating similarly to lobbies (Greenwood, 2011), they cannot be classified as interest groups according to our definition.

At the appearance of a new structure of opportunities, the groups redefine their strategies trying to obtain the maximum benefit (Princen & Kerremans, 2009; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Bunea, 2012). According to Grant (1989), the interest groups have three main ways to influence the policy-making process at the European level:

- 1.** *At the national level, influencing the position that their government is going to adopt when taking European decisions, and trying to influence their implementation.*
- 2.** *Through euro-associations that are put together by national interest groups.*
- 3.** *By themselves through their own representatives in Brussels.*

⁷ For a detailed analysis of this growth as well as a classification of the different interest groups operating at the European level, see Greenwood (2003, p. 7-28) and Watson & Shakleton (2003, p. 88-98)

EU institutions as well empower or disenfranchise interest groups by creating consultation rules, lobbying venues and decision-making procedures (Bunea, 2012). The strategies of the actors at the EU level reflect the duality of the system, between intergovernmental and supranational, and its multilevel nature (Eising, 2007), as well as the issues that the interest groups are trying to solve. In a wide sense, the strategies used by interest groups tend to be non-confrontational (Beyers, 2009). However, this participation is not equal for all groups, as resources become a limitation to engage in lobbying the EU (Beyers & Kerremans, 2007; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Dür & Mateo, 2014), the ability to process and deliver information becomes a fundamental currency (Chalmers, 2011), or even the organizational structure and characteristics like membership size or the advocate type affect the success of the interest groups (Bunea, 2012). In general, the national interest groups and RIGs tend to use the tools and institutions that lean towards the intergovernmental part of the system, while the euro-associations tend to try to influence the institutions with a more supranational nature (Ladrech, 2005). There may be differences between the type of interest group considered, with business associations having a better access to the EU institutions due to their resources and expertise (Dür & Mateo, 2014), while public interest groups may focus on direct action and influencing public opinion (Dür & Mateo, 2012). As suggested by Mazey & Richardson (2006), the interest groups act at the European level in a promiscuous manner. They generally apply a strategy of “venue shopping”, not only with the EU institutions but also with the national or supranational arenas (Callanan, 2011; Dür & Mateo, 2012).

The permeability of the European institutions towards participation weakens the ability of member states to control the agenda and their national interest groups (Beyers, 2002; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). The Europeanization of national interest groups leads to a weakening of the position of the States and, as time passes by, the groups learn to act more transnationally (Standholtz & Stone Sweet, 1998; Dür & Mateo, 2012). The development of an interest group system at the European level is a natural evolution of the development of a European policy-making system (Knodt et al., 2011). Interest groups seek to benefit from new opportunities and it is the European institutions the ones that promote participation. As a bigger number of interest groups respond, there is a calling effect on the rest (Ladrech, 2005). The increase in transnational exchanges strengthens supranational governance (Standholtz & Stone Sweet, 1998). Apart from participation in formal advisory institutions as the Social and Economic Committee or the Committee of the Regions, the interest groups seek to influence the rest of the EU institutions, typically the Commission and the European Parliament (Greenwood, 2003; 2011).

The Commission was quickly recognized by the interest groups as an agenda setter, and was indeed the first lobby objective for them in Brussels (Greenwood, 2003). At the same time, the Commission has participated in the construction and development of a constellation of interests

around different policy sectors, promoting the Europeanization of policies and their stability in the medium run (Richardson, 2006). The pursuit of openness and transparency can be seen in policies as the Internet consultations and the increase of advisory green papers, the development of a database on advisory interest groups or the direct financing of European lobbies for public interest (Quittkat & Kotzian, 2011; Jarman, 2011). For the Commission, the interest groups are a strong democratic support and a source of information on possible answers before facing the Council. In a similar way, the groups can provide the Commission with useful information on the possible implementation of the policies and their impact (Greenwood, 2003; Beyers et al., 2008). The Commission employs two kinds of strategies for the involvement of interest groups. In a first stage of the policy-making process they organize advisory meetings in a big scale, including Internet general consultations, trying to include all those interested in the subject. In a second stage, on the other hand, the formulation and implementation of proposals is done through selective committees where only national experts and representative of major groups, generally euro-associations, can participate (Mazey & Richardson, 2006).

On the other hand, the European Parliament has become an important goal for lobby since it has seen its powers increased by co-decision. According to Mazey & Richardson (2006), the groups that historically had a more complicated access to the Commission or to national governments, such as environmentalists, have reoriented their efforts towards lobbying members of the Parliament. The relationship between the Parliament and the different interest groups can be seen as a quid pro quo where they exchange benefits for access. In contrast with the Commission, the interest groups give the European Parliament visibility and electoral benefits, besides providing information on the public opinion on what is about to be decided (Bouwen, 2004).

In a similar way, the European Court of Justice has gained notoriety for the interest groups in line with the increase of its institutional power. It is not possible to lobby the Court directly (Greenwood, 2003), but when the groups are not able to obtain their objective through other institutions they can fall back to litigation. This is another strategy frequently used by the interest groups traditionally relegated in the decision-making (Mazey & Richardson, 2006). They tend to group together and push forward a common litigation. This option may prove to be one of the most beneficial, given that they can set a precedent at the European level and can lead to profound internal changes in Member States (Bouwen, 2004), but it is also one of the most difficult, given that litigation to the ECJ is expensive, bureaucratic and should be done via the central governments.

Lastly, the interest groups always have the resort of the “national route” to exert their influence (Greenwood, 2003). The Council of Ministers is the classic intergovernmental institution in the European policy-making. Some authors compare the Council with a Cabinet at the national level,

claiming that in both, any influence that the interest groups may try to exert will be indirect and not direct as in the other institutions (Mazey y Richardson, 2006). This influence may be applied mainly through three channels. First, the national interest groups will try to lobby their national offices in Brussels, particularly the members of the COREPER⁸. This is the first line where the groups have the best possibility for influence, given that it is in the COREPER where the national administrations try to reach a consensus, and where most of the issues are approved. If the groups have a transnational vision, or if they are euro-associations, they will try to influence several delegations at the same time. Second, the groups may try to lobby the working groups of the Council. These working groups are the effective bureaucracy of the Council, responsible for a good part of the technical work done outside the Commission. These groups will try to provide as much information as possible, making sure their position is considered. Third, the most profitable option for influence is through their national governments. The groups are taken into account seriously at the national level (Moravcsik, 1998). However, with the increase in QMV at the Council of Ministers, the capacity of interest groups for achieving a veto on a controversial project has been seriously reduced.

The literature analysed seems to suggest that on a European level policies are developed in arenas that tend to be open to inputs by those involved (Greenwood, 2003). However, it is not possible to completely classify the European political system as pluralist, given that certain groups prevail in their policy areas thanks to their means and resources (Schmidt, 2006). Although measuring the influence of interest groups could prove difficult (Dür, 2008; Chalmers, 2011), we can argue that the development of European policies can be costly and technified, and this can be an impediment for certain groups. In the same way, those interest groups whose objectives are in line with the general objectives of the EU or with a general opinion in certain policy areas can have better chances of success (Greenwood, 2003). Even though the system tends towards pluralism, when analysing the difference between policy areas this pluralism can be greatly reduced (Falkner, 2000).

The analysis of the Europeanization of interest groups is a relatively new subject in EU studies on groups, centred mostly on national interest groups (Grote y Lang, 2003; Coen & Dannreuther, 2003; Ladrech, 2005; Eising, 2007; Beyers & Kerrermans, 2007; Klüver, 2010; McCauley, 2010; Dür & Mateo, 2014). For national interest groups, the innovation or development in relation to the EU is complementary and not alternative to their domestic work (Ladrech, 2005). The national interest groups continue participating actively at the domestic arena for the benefit of maintaining a privileged relationship with policy makers, the possibility of influencing European policy through the

⁸ Committee of Permanent Representatives

“national route” and because sometimes they are not able to obtain European allies (Greenwood, 2003; Klüver, 2010). Besides, lobbying at the European level can be too costly for many domestic interest groups (Beyers & Kerrermans, 2007; Dür & Mateo, 2014) and participating in euro-associations may prove to be fruitless. Nevertheless, their domestic activities may be modified by the impact of European integration (Dür & Mateo, 2014). Groups with a privileged access in corporatist systems or in policy communities can see their influence diminished when competences are transferred to the EU, and in the same way others may profit and suddenly be heard (Eising, 2007). In turn, the interest groups that are part of euro-associations may see their strategies modified considerably as well as an increase in their access to information (Pleines, 2011; Chalmers, 2011). Euro-associations as well can seek to influence the activities of national administrations, forcing the national interest groups to reevaluate their position (Mazey & Richardson, 2003). For these interest groups, it seems that the permeability and multilevel nature of the European system of intermediation has allowed for a stronger Europeanization, by the increase of multiple beneficial mediating factors (Ladrech, 2005; Klüver, 2010).

While most of the research on Europeanization and interest groups has focused on the national level, this research in turn deals with the regional level. As we mentioned before, most of the research on RIGs does not deal directly with Europeanization (Eising, 2007; Knodt, 2011; Knodt et al, 2011; Callanan, 2011; Keating & Wilson, 2014; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). Knodt (2011) and Knodt et al. (2011) described the interrelation of functional and territorial interests, and their convergence at the EU governance. RIGs may share interests with the regional representatives and work alongside them to achieve their objectives at the EU institutions. Mark Callanan (2011) analysed local government interests and their strategies to by-pass national policy-making when they are not sufficiently influential. More recently, Tatham & Bauer (2014) studied the influence of regional civil servants on regional support for European integration. In another interesting recent study, Keating & Wilson (2014) analysed that the regionalization of economic and social interest groups depends on the strength of regional government and regional identities. Their research is particularly interesting for this thesis because it shows one of the possible ways in which regional authority could influence the behaviour of interest groups, but instead of analysing their Europeanization it analyses their regionalization.

Some others, more in line with this thesis, have focused directly on the description of the Europeanization of RIGs and its dynamics (Roller & Sloat, 2002; Constantelos, 2004; McCauley, 2010). Roller & Sloat (2002) described the process of Europeanization of political elites in Catalonia and Scotland, adapting their strategies to the new opportunity structure of the EU. Constantelos (2004; 2007) has analysed the business associations in the regions of the north of Italy and their work at the

European arena. More recently, McCauley (2010) has worked on the Europeanization of social movements including their subnational activities in a multi-level policy-making structure.

When focusing on the relation between Europeanization and interest groups, it is useful to take into account the emergence of governance and different patterns of policy-making in the EU. We understand governance as presented by Kohler-Koch (1999):

“The ways and means in which the divergent preferences of citizens are translated into effective policy choices, (...) how the plurality of societal interests are transformed into unitary action and the compliance of social actors is achieved” (Kohler-Koch, 1999, p. 14).

Based in this definition, Eising & Kohler-Koch (1999a) proposed four ideal types of governance: statism, corporatism, pluralism and network governance. These ideal types are constructed according to the organizational principle of the political relations, either majoritarian or consociational, and the constitutive logic of the political system, either oriented to the common good or individual interest. For the authors, the EU is mainly governed through a pattern of network governance and this pattern is disseminated to the Member States and their subnational entities through a process of Europeanization. The development of the EU implies constant changes inside political systems that are not easily changed. To achieve this hard task, there necessarily has to be consensus and not a unilateral management. A hierarchical model of governance would never work. The EU tends, then, to be a system of negotiation with variable geometry, given that depending on the issues in negotiation, different actors would intervene (Kohler-Koch, 1999). The institutional role of the EU is to attract the main actors of the society and encourage dialogue, without necessarily imposing the search for a common good above the particular interests.

In a similar vein, Schmidt (1999) understood the European model for policy-making not so much as network governance but more in line with the pluralist system of the United States. The author defines it as a semi pluralist model, where social actors have access to the formulation and discussion of policies, while the implementation is left to institutional actors and decisions are taken in a cooperative and technical manner, more than in a competitive and political manner. This semi pluralist model conflicts in different European states that have alternative schemes of relationship between the public and the private arenas. States with a corporatist policy-making pattern, with a participation of social actors in the formulation of public policy, will experience a higher fit with the European model than those countries with a more statist tradition, where the formulation of policies is an exclusive competence of the State but implementation is loose. The Europeanization, in this

case, will lead to an adaptation of the domestic model of policy-making, eliminating the monopoly of the state in the formulation of public policy and incorporating new social actors (Schmidt, 2006).

Falkner (2000), deepening the premises of Kohler-Koch (1999) and influencing directly the work of Schmidt (2005) insists that to understand the relationship between the European and domestic arenas it is not enough to analyse the national or European patterns of governance, but it is necessary to add the policy to be considered. This means that not only there is a link between Europeanization and territory, but also between Europeanization and the policy arenas.⁹

In a similar sense the participation of interest groups in the national and European networks of policy-making can lead to changes in their organization, values, resources and strategies such as the import of new ways to achieve consensus or to push for certain policies. If groups participate in both networks it can lead to an easier adaptation to European policies (Knodt, 2011). Similarly, it can lead to the development of strategic alliances with similar groups across the EU, which can influence the domestic policymaking (Falkner, 2000). These effects, according to the model presented in this thesis, will vary across different regions depending on the effects on mediating factors of the different regional authority.

The empirical evidence cited by Börzel & Risse (2003) suggests, in line with the objectives of this research, that Europeanization does not favour systematically the same actors in all the territories and policy areas. Domestic actors are filters and users of European norms and rules (Pasquier & Radaelli, 2006). The actors go back and forth, basing their “usages of Europe” on the constraints and opportunities they may find (Jacquot, 2008). Europeanization leads to a redistribution of resources if there is a misfit and a mobilization of the actors if they are able to reach for these new opportunities (Graziano, 2011).

In this sense, Risse, Cowles & Caporaso (2001) as well as Börzel & Risse (2003) pioneered the analysis of these constraints and opportunities with the introduction of the notion of mediating factors for Europeanization, which is crucial for this thesis. Risse et al. (2001) presented two main

⁹ Falkner (2000) claims that it is possible to present sub systems of interest intermediation rather than large patterns of governance. The author defines four ideal types of public/private interaction in the policy networks, following Rhodes & Marsh (1992), depending on the variables of membership and implication of the interest groups:
Statist: The membership and implication are nearly inexistent; the interest groups do not exist or are not considered.
Issue Network: The membership of interest groups to the network is unstable; the network is open to different interests. The implication is merely consultative; lobbies are common practice.
Policy Community: The membership is stable; the networks tend to be closed. The implication is participative; the formulation of decisions is through a common process.
Corporativist: The membership is stable; the members of the network are exclusive. The implication is decisive; interest groups are formal co-authors of public policy.

mediating factors: the existence of veto players and formal facilitating institutions. Regarding the former, Tsebelis (2002) defined veto players as those political actors able to stop any change in status quo by declining a choice being made. Players come in a variety of forms, and may be groups. They refer to the existence of a multitude of actors with a say in the decision-making process. The more actors implicated in the process, the more difficult the Europeanization or the adaptation to the EU integration process, because if power is dispersed instead of concentrated, there is an increasing possibility any change proposed could be vetoed. Multiple departments of government or different levels of policy-making imply a greater number of veto players, while if a policy is mainly decided through a small number of decision makers, influencing on the outcome of the policy could become easier and the participation of interest groups would be less costly and more efficient. A reduced amount of veto players can be expected on regions with a higher regional authority, given the fact that there is more autonomy for the region's decision-making abilities.

Regarding the facilitating institutions, the authors referred to the institutions that are able to provide the resources that the actors need to take advantage of the European integration, promoting domestic adaptation. These resources provided by the institutions may be either material or normative (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003; Börzel, 2005). Recently, Chacha (2013) suggested in a similar line to this thesis that a strong regional attachment, albeit not a closed nationalism, would lead to support to European integration by individuals. In this way, inclusive regional attachment would be a facilitating informal institution favouring Europeanization.

Along with these, the authors also present as secondary mediating factors the political and organizational cultures, the differential empowerment of actors and the possibilities for learning (Risse, et al., 2001). The mediating factor of political and organizational cultures is redefined later by Börzel & Risse (2003) as informal cooperative institutions. Notions as political culture and social capital may favour the construction of consensus, trust and burden sharing (Jordana et al, 2012). These informal institutions help surpass the influence of possible veto players, as well as diminish the transaction costs that may appear in the domestic change. The European institutions are, according to this view, much more than a change in the structures of opportunities. The interest groups are already socialized under European norms and values, through a process of persuasion and social learning (Jacquot, 2008). As long as these norms, ideas and structures of signification fit with those present domestically, they will be easily incorporated and domestic change will be better (Börzel, 2005). The mediating factors of differential empowerment of actors and the possibilities of learning (Risse, et al., 2001) is redefined by Börzel & Risse (2003) as the influence of agents of change. Agents of change, sometimes described as policy entrepreneurs (Huitema & Meijerink, 2010; Font & Subirats, 2010), are those that are mobilized domestically to persuade the other actors in a redefinition of their values and identities in line with the changes produced at the European level.

Summarizing, if we follow the literature, the number of veto players, formal facilitating institutions, informal cooperative institutions and agents of change intervene in the pressures for change that come from the European arena (Börzel, 2005). Whereas the multilevel system of the EU helps the spread of RIGs (Beyers et al., 2008), depending on the mediating factors, there will be a different level of Europeanization, according to the differences of power of the actors. In concordance with the ideas proposed by Börzel & Risse (2003), this research aims to incorporate the mediating factors present in different regional authorities and relate them to the Europeanization of RIGs. The changes derived from Europeanization inevitably lead to a change in the empowerment of some actors, which will then push for a more profound Europeanization. These actors will see Europeanization as a way to further their goals (Risse et al., 2001), but their possibility to do so may be constrained by institutional difficulties. The goal of this research is to disentangle this relation between Europeanization and mediating factors in regions with higher regional authority.

Building on the above mentioned theoretical debates, we propose the Europeanization of RIGs as our dependent variable, for which we apply the definition by Radaelli (2003); Regional Authority, as defined by Marks, et al. (2008), as an independent variable; and Mediating Factors for policy-making, as presented by Risse et al. (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003), as an intermediate variable. It should be useful to say that, following the analysis of recent literature (Constantelos, 2004, 2007; Beyers & Kerremans, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009; Töller, 2010; Graziano, 2011; Klüver, 2010; McCauley, 2010; Callanan, 2011), this research does not aim to prove the Europeanization on the RIGs. It departs from the assumption that Europeanization is an integral part of politics in a multilevel system as the EU. Our research will first try to determine the degree of Europeanization of the RIGs in Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales and then analyse whether the variation in Europeanization is related to the differences in regional authority and the intervention of mediating factors in the policy-making process.

2.2 Research Questions, Hypotheses and Main Variables

Risse, et al. (2001) proposed a three step approach for the research of Europeanization which can be applied to RIGs. The starting point is the identification of a relevant pressure for Europeanization. In our research, this pressure for Europeanization comes from the policy selected, as environmental policy is delineated at the European level and transposed to regions. The second step is the identification of the relation between the policy process and the national or in this case subnational setting. In our research, this step is covered by the notion of regional authority. A region with higher regional authority is expected to ease the implementation of policies and the inclusion of RIGs. The third step is the identification of the mediating factors that lead to a differentiated

Europeanization result in the RIGs. Based on these ideas, we propose the following research questions:

- i. To what extent and in which aspects have RIGs europeanized?
- ii. Why are some RIGs more europeanized than others?
- iii. In which modes does regional authority lead to more europeanized RIGs?

From these questions and the theoretical debates surrounding Europeanization, regions and interest groups we developed our main hypothesis. The hypotheses proposed are based on the literature on Europeanization, interest groups and in a lesser extent the literature on regions. The independent variable of regional authority is derived from the work of Marks et al. (2008); the variable of Europeanization is defined and operationalized for this research based on the work done by Radaelli (2003), while the notion of mediating factors is based on the work of Risse, et al. (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003).

This first hypothesis is derived from the works done on Europeanization mentioned on the previous chapter. The definition of Europeanization presented by Radaelli (2003) mentions the institutionalization of formal and informal rules and procedures, which are in this hypothesis regrouped under the organization dimension; policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', which are regrouped under the strategies dimension; and shared beliefs and norms, which are regrouped under the values dimension. It subscribes to the side of the theoretical debate on Europeanization which claims there is a push for adaptation to the EU that is applied not only to institutions but also to political actors, and not only at the national level but also on the subnational level. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: The Europeanization of RIGs can be detected through the adaptation of their values, organization and strategies

A second hypothesis takes the results of the first hypothesis to a deeper level of analysis, trying to find regularity in the variation of Europeanization and regional authority. This hypothesis is linked to the works done on regional authority by Marks et al. (2008) previously mentioned, and the effects that regional authority may have on RIGs. It is expected that regions with a higher regional authority

may present RIGs with a higher Europeanization. If this is correct, we can go on to find the reasons behind this regularity.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of Europeanization of RIGs are present on regions with a high Regional Authority.

If and once we are able to find a relation between Europeanization and regional authority, we need to try and understand why this occurs. For this purpose, the mediating factors previously described and based in the works done by Risse et al. (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003) are especially helpful. This thesis subscribes to the importance of mediating factors between institutions and RIGs. Through a careful analysis of the presence and impact of these mediating factors in the institutional structure of the region we can find how they are related to regional authority. As previously mentioned, the mediating factors are veto players, formal and informal cooperative institutions, and agents of change.

Hypothesis 3: The Mediating Factors of veto players, formal and informal cooperative institutions and agents of change can affect the effect of Regional Authority on the Europeanization of RIGs.

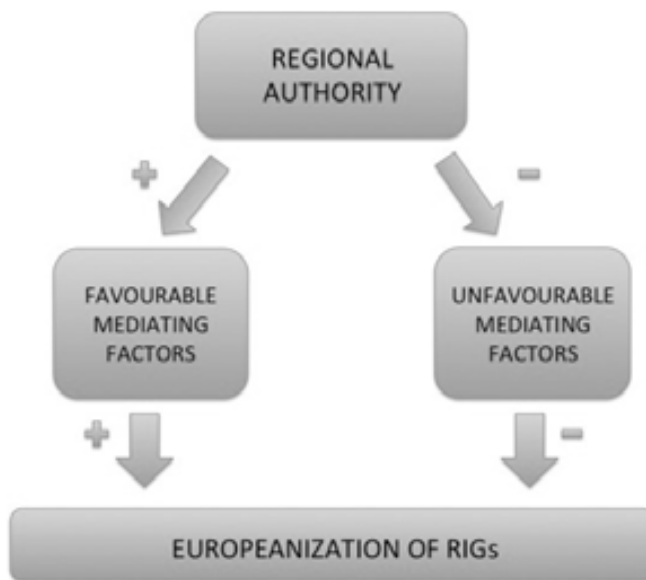
Finally, the last hypothesis will try to round up the findings of the previous hypotheses and the various theoretical debates surrounding Europeanization. If there is a differentiated Europeanization of RIGs, related to differences in the level of regional authority, and if the mediating factors vary across regions with different regional authority, we may be able to cast light to the reasons behind the relation between regional authority and the Europeanization of RIGs. Mediating factors may be favourable or unfavourable to participation of RIGs.

Hypothesis 4: The higher Regional Authority and favourable Mediating Factors for policy-making, lead to a higher Europeanization of RIGs.

These hypotheses mainly focus on these variables (See Graphic 1):

- Variable explanandum – Europeanization of RIGs: The adaptation of RIGs to the EU through the incorporation, construction and institutionalization of rules, procedures, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared norms originated in the EU level.
- Variable explanans – Regional Authority: The capacities of a region regarding their level of self-rule and their level of shared rule.
- Intervening variable – Mediating factors for policy-making: Veto players, formal facilitating institutions, informal cooperative institutions and agents of change.

Graphic 1 Relation between main variables



Source: developed by the author

Some other variables could be considered as intervening in the process of Europeanization of RIGs, such as the organizational structure (Beyers, 2008) and the resources of the RIG (Beyers & Kerreman, 2007; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Dür & Mateo, 2014), their type of interest (Schmidt, 2006; Dür & Mateo, 2014), their access to information (Chalmers, 2011), the pattern of public/private interaction of the policy they work in (Falkner, 2000; Schmidt, 2006; Knodt, 2011; Dür & Mateo, 2014), the fit/misfit of the policy with European policy (Börzel, 2002), or even the economical or demographical characteristics of the region (Keating, 2008; Piattoni, 2011). The choice of regional authority deals with the importance of the capabilities of the region for the RIGs. As we propose in our hypotheses, a higher regional authority would provide with better opportunities for the

Europeanization of the RIGs and more favourable mediating factors for policy-making. While we do not negate the possible effects of the other variables, we tried to isolate them by choosing similar regions. We also believe the nature of the regional authority to have an essential effect in the way RIGs are organized and funded, the values they promote and the strategies they follow. All these factors have led to our choosing of the regional authority as our main independent variable.

2.3 Research Strategy

To analyse the Europeanization of RIGs, this thesis proposes a comparative study of the RIGs in three different regions of Europe. The selection of Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales as case studies has been done following the similar cases method. Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales were chosen for their similarities in many of their characteristics (Keating, 2009; Keating & Wilson, 2009; 2010) but their difference in relation to the independent variable of regional authority (Hooghe et al, 2008). In particular, our explicative model will control the geo-demographical variables of size and population, as well as the economic matrix for the three cases presented. The fact that they are similar in most other aspects helps minimize the possibility of other explanations. In this sense, Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales present an invaluable possibility for comparison.

It is an explicit choice for none of the regions selected to belong to countries that can either be defined as federal or centralized. Spain, Italy and the United Kingdom have been involved for the last four decades in processes of devolution and decentralization, as well as statute reforms. Regarding the independent variable, even if the three regions are part of the group of Regions with Legislative Power¹⁰, their institutional capacities vary considerably, which has been the main reason for the selection of these cases. Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales belong to political systems known for their constant processes of territorial and institutional reform, as well as their processes of devolution or reconfiguration of the relationships with the central state. Catalonia started recently a process of re-negotiation with the central government, mainly through the discussion of the reforms to the “Estatut d’Autonomia”¹¹, approved during 2006 (Colino, 2009) and in the aftermath of the 2011 protests it has strengthened its claim for independence. In Italy, since the Prodi administration of 1997 there has been a deepening of regionalism and a steady path to a stronger federalism, which

¹⁰The group of Regions with Legislative Power (REGLEG) includes all 9 states of Austria, all 5 regions and communities of Belgium, the Aland islands of Finland, all 16 states of Germany, all 20 regions of Italy (including Tuscany), Azores and Madeira from Portugal, all 17 autonomous communities in Spain (including Catalonia), and Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales from the UK. <http://cor.europa.eu/en/activities/interregionalgroups/legislativepower/Pages/index.aspx>

¹¹Statute of Autonomy

has led to a gain of power for regions like Tuscany (Baldi, 2006), however put on hold by the consequences of the 2008 economic and institutional crisis in the country. In the same way, Wales began through the Blair government in 1997 a process of devolution that led to the election of the Welsh Assembly in 1999, and the first Welsh Assembly Government in 2006, as well as gaining increased powers through referendum in 2011 (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). Their regional authority varies from a very autonomous region like Catalonia, to an intermediate region in a struggling process of federalization like Tuscany, to a relatively new and evolving polity like Wales, still very dependent from the central power (Hooghe et al, 2008b). While the three regions are involved in a decentralization process, they still have strong differences, accounted in the regional authority index we use in this research and as demonstrated by Marks et al. (2008) and other scholars in regionalism such as Keating (2008b) or Christopoulos (2006). These differences are related mainly to the way they are allowed to participate in the policy-making process, and how they incorporate the civil society. Nevertheless, it should be said that they share a similar amount of regional authority when compared to regions of centralized countries (Hooghe et al, 2008b). All in all, the differences in regional authority found between Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales can be part of why we expect to find differences in the Europeanization of their RIGs. These differences, central to the main argument presented in this thesis, will be analysed in the empirical chapters and in the conclusion.

In order to avoid an interference of the features of the policy analysed, this research was designed to focus on only one policy. This decision helps maintain constant the possible variances of choosing RIGs interested in various policy areas and helps simplify the parameterization of the cases, avoiding unwanted interferences. We have selected a policy in which the EU has a considerable regulative capacity, and which is implemented not only on the national level but mainly on the regional level. The environmental policy fulfils these requirements; given that it is one of the most supranationalized policies in which regions have most of the administrative responsibilities (Brown, 2001; Jordan, 2006; Borghetto & Franchino, 2010). According to the literature (Font, 2000; Jordan & Liefferink, 2004; Jordan, 2005; Werzel, 2006; Font & Subirats, 2010), the pattern of public/private interaction on the environmental policy-making tends to follow an issue network. The interest groups come into and out of the policy-making process as they will, and their participation is fundamentally consultative (Falkner, 2000; Schmidt, 2006). The environmental policy is a regulative policy (Lowi, 1972), which implies a series of constraints and opportunities for the actors. Mainly, it allows for the mobilization of actors at different levels, not only national but regional and European. There have been some improvements in the governance process of the environmental policy that have enhanced the participation of non-state actors even in countries without a tradition of governance (Fernandez et al, 2010).

Finally, regarding the selection of the units for analysis, we begin with the assumption that there are mainly three kinds of relevant actors on environmental policy-making: bureaucrats, environmentalists and industrialists (Mazey & Richardson, 2002). From these three groups, environmentalists and industrialists can be considered interest groups (Greenwood, 2003), given that they actively participate in the policy-making process through various methods such as consultations, lobbying policy makers, promoting awareness campaigns or even through direct action. It is worth noting that there is some controversy over the definition of environmental groups as interest groups. However, the bulk of the specialized literature considers that interests could be either private or public, and environmental groups would then be public interest groups (Ruzza, 2011). For this thesis we have added a third group incorporating the rural RIGs, given the importance of the environmental policy to their livelihood and the tradition of interest representation that is usually present in rural areas. It is useful to remember that the interest groups chosen for this research needed to be regional and could not be national or pan-European. Even on a decentralized policy as the environmental policy, the influence of national and European groups tends to reduce the incentives for the RIGs. This fact reduced considerably the field of study, given that interest groups at the regional level are not as common. However, this also made it possible to focus on those groups at the subnational level. The final selection is restricted but representative of the matrix of RIGs present, aiming to find two environmental, two rural and two industrialist RIGs for each region, for a total of eighteen RIGs analysed.

As said in the introduction, our research will first try to determine the degree of Europeanization of the RIGs and then analyse whether the variation in Europeanization is related to the differences in regional authority present in the cases selected. It should be useful to repeat that, following the analysis of recent literature (Constantelos, 2004; 2007; Beyers & Kerremans, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009; Töller, 2010; Graziano, 2011; Klüver, 2010; McCauley, 2010; Callanan, 2011) on the subject, this research does not need to prove the Europeanization on the RIGs. This is taken for granted in an integrated and multilevel system as the EU (Jacqot, 2008; Graziano, 2011).

At this moment it is worth repeating that the main structure of the thesis is based on the three-step approach proposed by Risse et al. (2001) for the research of Europeanization. The first step is the identification of a relevant pressure for Europeanization. In our research, this pressure comes from the environmental policy, which is developed at the EU level and implemented at the regional level. The second step is the identification of the relation between the policy process and the national or in this case subnational setting. In our research, this step is covered by the variable of regional authority. A region with higher regional authority is expected to be able to ease the implementation of environmental policy and the inclusion of RIGs. The third step is the identification of the mediating factors that lead to a differentiated Europeanization result in the RIGs.

2.3.1 Operationalizing Europeanization: The Europeanization Index

As said above, Europeanization is understood as the process of adaptation to the EU, characterized by the construction, diffusion and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and beliefs and norms shared that are first defined and consolidated on the EU policy and policy-making, and are then incorporated to the domestic logic of discourse, identity, policy structure and public policy (Radaelli, 2003). Our objective is to measure and account for differences in Europeanization. The measurement of Europeanization has only been relatively applied through the fit/misfit model previously described (Risse et al, 2001; Börzel, 2002). An Europeanization index applicable to actors and not to policies can be an interesting and useful contribution to Europeanization research, as well as help achieve a better understanding of Europeanization, by positioning it as a dependent variable, as proposed by Radaelli (2006) and Vink & Graziano (2007).

An index was constructed to measure the adaptation of the RIGs to the EU (See Table 1). This index is conceptually based on the definition of Europeanization presented by Radaelli (2003) and involves not only the output of the RIGs, but also their inner-work mechanisms and their purposes. The objective was to use Radaelli's definition as a starting point for the direct measurement of Europeanization, assigning values to the different layers of the concept. Radaelli (2003) refers to formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared beliefs and norms incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies. In this way, we separate these different aspects in three dimensions of value adaptation, organization adaptation and strategy adaptation. Shared beliefs and norms as well as informal rules in Radaelli's definition are operationalized in the value adaptation dimension. Formal rules, procedures and policy paradigms are incorporated on the operational adaptation. Styles and 'ways of doing things' are operationalized in the strategic adaptation. From this rough differentiation, we used the preliminary information obtained from the cases to be studied (See Section 2.3.6) and adapted it into indicators that would fit the dimensions described. In this way, the Europeanization index was constructed from the guidelines of Radaelli's definition and with the help of the rough information obtained from the RIGs in the regions studied.

Table 1 – Europeanization of RIGs

<i>DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS</i>	<i>WEIGHT</i>	<i>CODE</i>
VALUE ADAPTATION	<i>0.33</i>	<i>10</i>
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change -Rhetorical changes -Changes but delegation to pan-European organization -Considerable changes -Considerable changes and inclusion in the statutes		0 1 2 3 4
Identification with EU values -No identification -Identification with criticism -Complete identification -Complete identification and inclusion in the statutes		0 1 2 3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions -No relation and no identification -No identification but relation -Identification but no relation -Identification and relation		0 1 2 3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	<i>0.33</i>	<i>10</i>
Departments working on EU matters -No departments on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them -Dedicated department on EU matters -Dedicated department on EU matters and participation on national or pan-European depts.		0 1 2 3 4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is not interested in EU funding -The RIG is interested in EU funding but has never applied -The RIG has applied but has never received EU funding -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically -The RIG receives EU funding regularly		0 1 2 3 4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG for EU resources -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG		0 1 2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	<i>0.33</i>	<i>10</i>
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -No participation -Membership but not active participation or through national organization -Active Participation by itself		0 1 2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -No interest on EU programs -Interest but no participation by itself, only with national or pan European organizations -Participation by itself		0 1 2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament -Complaints to EU institutions -Lobby to members of the COREPER or the Council of Ministers		<i>0.5 each</i>
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government -Direct action		<i>0.5 each</i>
Total	<i>1</i>	<i>30</i>

Source: Developed by the author

As mentioned, three dimensions of adaptation to the EU form the Europeanization index: value adaptation, organizational adaptation and strategic adaptation. Each dimension has a number of indicators with a total value of 0 to 10 and has a weight of 33%. Each indicator has different scales of values to go from 0 where Europeanization is null, and the highest where Europeanization is actively present. The differences in scales are according to differences in the importance of certain indicators to the total calculation. As it was, the work on formulation and implementation of environmental policy, which could in total lead to a maximum of 6, have more impact on the final result than other indicators.

Of course, this index has been developed to operationalize the concept of Europeanization of RIGs and, though adaptable to other actors, its scope is limited to this specific purpose. As with any index, it has its disadvantages and advantages. On one hand, it can lose sight of some relevant details by obscuring them through rough indicators and it does not offer a clear longitudinal view. It is also debatable whether all dimensions should carry the same weight, and whether it accounts for specificities. For some cases, the difference between assigning one value or another was not very clear and it turned down to a detail in their interviews or internal documents, which points out that some of the indicators may need more detailed work. However, as it is, the index allows a reasonable measure of Europeanization and as such it is a new tool for Europeanization research. It also has the ability to be generalized to groups of different sizes and types, and it can even be applied to other actors beyond interest groups, such as social movements or political parties.

Before analysing each indicator, it is useful to remember that for the construction of the items, we used the information obtained through the preliminary research and fit into Radaelli's definition. The index is constructed as follows:

Value Adaptation: The indicators for this dimension focus mainly on whether there are new objectives, interests and values promoted by the RIGs and favouring the European integration. The classification of each RIG derives mostly from the interviews, but also from an analysis of the public information presented by each RIG either in their statutes, minutes from internal meetings when available, institutional websites and brochures, as well as in declarations to the media. The values for each indicator are assigned according to the increasing degree of support to the EU integration.

- a.** Inclusion of EU related objectives. The adaptation to the EU should lead to new interests in the European arena, mainly internationalization of their priorities, joint ventures, etc., which should be internalized by the RIG and included in their statutes.

- 0** - The RIG has not changed its priorities to adequate them to European matters

- 1** - The RIG considers only rhetorically that participating in European matters is a priority, there is no clear example apart from public declarations

- 2- The RIG considers the EU a priority but mainly entitles a pan-European organization to represent its demands
 - 3- The RIG considers the EU a priority and works directly to increase its European involvement
 - 4- The RIG considers the EU a priority and there is also a specific reference to EU objectives on the RIG's statute, manifesto or internal rules
- b.** Identification with values promoted by the EU and a positive valuation of the EU by the RIGs on internal and external media. A more europeanized RIG should increasingly be represented by the values defended by the EU and express it publicly.
- 0- The RIG does not identify itself with EU values, has no clear idea about Europe or avoids giving a concrete opinion on the matter
 - 1- The RIG feels that the EU represents or defends the same values they do, but has some criticisms or reservations and is not afraid of making them explicit
 - 2- The RIG identifies itself with EU values
 - 3- The RIG identifies itself with EU values and there is a specific reference to EU values on the RIG's statute, manifesto or internal rules
- c.** Identification with values and interests of similar organizations in other EU regions. The Europeanization of a RIG should be clear when there is an increase in their collaboration across national and international borders, product of the identification of a common cause with other RIGs. Even if working with similar RIGs in other regions is very important, the emphasis is on identification more than on joint work, so values are assigned accordingly.
- 0- The RIG does not relate to the values and interests of similar organizations in other EU regions, and does not work with them
 - 1- The RIG does not relate to values and interests with other similar organizations in other EU regions, but does work with them
 - 2- The RIG identifies similar values and interests with other similar organizations in other EU regions, but does not work with them
 - 3- The RIG identifies similar values and interests with other similar organizations in other EU regions, and works with them regularly

Organizational Adaptation: The indicators for this dimension focus on internal changes, mostly institutional. Without taking into account values or strategies, these dimension focuses on practical or functional changes in the organization of the RIG, such as new units, services, etc. and specially the source of their funding and resources. The classification of each RIG derives mostly from an analysis of their statutes and internal organization, but this information is supported by interviews.

The values for each indicator are assigned according to an increasing importance and presence of the EU as a factor in the internal organization of the RIG and as a source for funding.

a. Specific EU Departments: the RIGs may need to redirect their material or human resources to departments because of an increase in activities related to European matters. A reorientation of resources may not be enough to deal with European issues, and there may appear the need to create centralized departments that are involved directly in dealing with the EU.

0- The RIG has no departments dealing with EU matters, and does not delegate this work to other organizations

1- The RIG delegates EU matters to a national or pan-European organization

2- The RIG has departments which deal with EU matters but not on a dedicated basis

3- The RIG has a department specifically dealing with EU matters that works actively on EU issues

4- The RIG has a department specifically dealing with EU matters but also work closely with similar departments on national or pan-European organizations

b. Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources

0- The RIG is not interested in EU funding

1- The RIG is interested in EU funding but has never applied for it

2- The RIG has applied but never received EU funding

3- The RIG has received EU funding sporadically

4- The RIG regularly receives EU funding

c. Search of EU resources among its members: the RIGs can incentivize among its members the search for subsidies and direct EU resources for the development of their activities

0- The RIG does not incentivize among its members the search for EU resources

1- Even though the RIG does not incentivize the search for EU resources, some of its members have received resources from the EU

2- The RIG incentivizes actively among its members the search for EU resources

Strategic Adaptation: The indicators for this dimension focus on the strategies adopted by the RIGs for the achievement of their goals. These include not only the strategies for venue seeking for influencing policy-making but also the partners each RIG works with. The classification of each RIG derives mostly from the interviews and some of the information was also obtained from internal documents. The values for each indicator are assigned according to an increasing importance and presence of the European policy-making arena as a focus point for the RIGs political activities.

a. Active participation in pan-European organizations

- 0 - The RIG does not belong or participate on pan-European organizations
 - 1 - The RIG belongs to a pan-European organization but does not participate actively by itself, only through a national organization
 - 2 - The RIG participates actively by itself
- b.** Participation on EU programs oriented to regions: programs as RIS or FEDER can require the active participation of RIGs.
 - 0 - The RIG does not participate on any European programmes
 - 1 - The RIG is interested but has not been able to participate by itself on European programmes oriented to regions, and has only done so on partnership with national or pan European organizations
 - 2 - The RIG participates on European programmes by itself
- c.** Involvement on the formulation of EU policies: RIGs can have a direct involvement on EU policy-making through several ways. This involvement can be either a direct lobby, consultation or the provision of relevant technical information.
 - 0.5- For each one of the following:
 - The RIG tries to influence the policy-making incorporating their staff in pan-European organizations
 - The RIG participates in the development of EU policies through consultative committees and working groups of the European Commission.
 - The RIG undertakes lobby activities addressed to the members of the European Parliament
 - The RIG tries to affect the implementation of European policies by presenting complaints to EU institutions (if not directly, through their national or pan-European representatives)
 - The RIG tries to exert influence working directly with the regional office in Brussels
 - The RIG has regular contact with members of the permanent national delegation to the EU or the workgroups of the Council of Ministers
- d.** Involvement in the implementation of EU policies: RIGs can have an indirect involvement on policy-making by participating through lower levels of government, mainly on the moment of transposition of policies. This involvement can be a direct lobby, consultation or the provision of relevant technical information.
 - 0.5- For each one of the following:

- The RIG tries to affect the implementation of EU policies by lobbying the national government directly or through their national organization
- The RIG participates on advisory committees at the regional level
- The RIG has had a direct effect on policy implementation
- The RIG has routine formal meetings with representatives of the regional government
- The RIG tries to affect the implementation of a certain EU policy by directly lobbying members of the regional government
- The RIG tries to affect the implementation of a certain EU policy through direct action (demonstrations, protests, strikes, etc.)

The total outcomes are then grouped in four categories:

- a) Limited Europeanization: A RIG whose degree of Europeanization is situated between 0% and 24,9% presents less than 8/30 points of our indicators. The interest group seems to have its organization, values, resources and strategies oriented to the national or regional arenas mainly.
- b) Moderate Europeanization: A RIG with a degree of Europeanization between 25% and 49,9% could have some Europeanization, but its potential is far from the maximum. The interest group presents less than half the points of the indicators but more than eight points, which implies that there is probably Europeanization in more than one dimension. Even though it can be that the group still focuses its activities on the regional or national arenas, the EU seems to start being a fundamental actor.
- c) Advanced Europeanization: A RIG whose degree of Europeanization is between 50% and 74,9% seems to have an advanced Europeanization. The interest group presents between 16 and 24 points from the indicators, which implies that there is Europeanization in all or almost all the adaptations. An advanced Europeanization can imply that the interest group, even though it is still greatly involved with the regional and national arenas, seems to have followed an important process of adaptation to the EU. There are still factors where the Europeanization can be deepened.
- d) Fully consolidated Europeanization: A RIG whose degree of Europeanization is between 75% and 100% presents more than 24 of the points from the indicators. If this is so, the Europeanization is definitely present in all adaptations. The interest group seems to have the EU as the fundamental factor to be taken into account when determining its organization, values, resources and strategies. This can imply that the RIG participates actively in the

European arena, but does not imply that it has stopped participating on the national and regional arenas, but in this case, both seem secondary.

These are ideal types for RIGs inside these ranks, and the classification is just a way to identify Europeanization more easily. As it is, the frontier zone between different categories should prove to be problematic. If a RIG, for example, reaches a total of 74%, it would not be considered as having Fully Consolidated Europeanization. However, it is not the same case as a RIG with 60%, which is clearly Advanced Europeanization. A clarification and detailed description would clear out these difficulties and explain the Europeanization of the RIG beyond the classifications. This is, after all, a qualitative more than quantitative research.

2.3.2 Operationalizing Regional Authority: The Regional Authority index

The government, understood as the exercise of legitimate authority, is structured in multiple levels of jurisdiction that do not superimpose each other (Marks, Hooghe y Schakel, 2008). The regional governments are those managing the territory between the local and the national level that have authoritative decision. Different regions have different capacities to act and pressure at the national and the European level. These structural and institutional differences imply that their capacity for influence will vary.

As said above, the independent variable in the thesis is the regional authority developed by Marks et al. (2008) (See Table 2). Even if the index has some limitations, since its inception in 2008, it has been used and accepted by many different scholars as the best indicator to measure devolution (Jeffery, 2009; Goldsmith & Page, 2010; Chaques & Palau, 2011; Tatham, 2011; Chacha, 2013; Tatham & Bauer, 2014).

The authors divide their indicators in two dimensions, one referring to the authority of the regional government inside its territory (self-rule), and the other refers to the authority of the regional government or its representatives over the whole country (shared rule). Through this index it is possible to measure the capacities of the region to participate in the decision-making over issues that affect them directly, and its capacities to develop their own policies.

Table 2 – Regional Authority

Variable	Type or variable	Concept	Indicators
Regional Authority	Independent	<p>The regional authority measures the capacities of the region regarding its capacity for self-rule and its level of shared rule.</p> <p>The self-rule depends on the independence of the regional government from the central government and the scope of regional decisions. The shared rule depends on the capacities of the regional government to influence the decisions taken at the central government.</p>	<p>Self-rule</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Institutional Depth (values from 0 to 3) -Policy Scope (0/4) -Fiscal Autonomy (0/4) -Representation (0/4) <p>Shared rule</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Law making (0/2) -Executive Control (0/2) -Fiscal Control (0/2) -Constitutional Reform (0/3)

Source: Hooghe, Marks y Schakel (2008)

The Regional Authority Index is constructed as follows:

Self-rule Dimension:

a. Institutional Depth: This indicator can go from a total lack of autonomy from the central government, to complete autonomy. Depending on the level of autonomy it can occupy this four points in the scale:

- 0** - No administration at the regional level.
- 1** - A decentralized, general-purpose administration that possesses self-rule but is basically a branch of the central government.
- 2** - A non-decentralized general-purpose administration, with its own authority but subject to veto by the central government.
- 3** - A non-decentralized general purpose administration not subject to veto by the central government

b. Policy scope: It refers to the authority of regions on the development of their own policies. The authors divide the policies between economic, cultural-educational and welfare and categorize regions according to the amount of policies they exercise authority in:

- 0** - The regional government has no authority on any of these policies
- 1** - The regional government has competences in one of these policies
- 2** - The regional government has competences in at least two of these policies
- 3** - The regional government meets the criteria for 2 and is endowed with at least two of the following: residual powers, regional police force, authority over own institution set-up, authority over local government

4 - The regional government meets the criteria for 3 and has authority over immigration and citizenship

c. Fiscal Autonomy: With this indicator, it is important not only to know how much money the region spends, but also to know the capacity for complex decision-making over money spending. In this way, the authors distinguish between major taxes (personal income, corporate, VAT or sales tax) and the rest of the taxes. In this indicator they take into account the region's capacity to control the base and the rate unilaterally.

0 - The central government sets the base and rate of all regional taxes.

1 - The regional government sets the rate of minor taxes.

2 - The regional government sets the base and rate of minor taxes.

3 - The regional government sets the rate of at least one of the major taxes.

4 - The regional government sets the rate and base of at least one of the major taxes.

d. Representation: This indicator deals with the capacity of regions to choose regional representatives for their own executive and legislative power.

Legislative Power

0 - The region has no regional assembly.

1 - The region has an indirectly elected regional assembly.

2 - The region has a directly elected regional assembly.

Executive Power

0 - The regional executive is appointed by the central government

1 - There is a dual regional executive, appointed by the central government and the regional assembly

2 - The regional executive is directly elected or appointed by the regional assembly.

Shared Rule Dimension

a. Law Making: With this indicator the authors want to know the role of the region in the creation of national legislation. They aim to know if the regions have a representation as such in the National Legislative Power, if they are a majority and if they have veto power.

0.5- For each one of the following

- Regions are the unit of representation in the legislature; the distribution of representative is determined by regional weights.
- Regional governments designate representatives in the legislature
- If at least one of the first two first conditions is met, the regions at a given level have majority representation in the legislature.

- If at least one of the two first conditions is met, a legislature with regional representation has extensive legislative authority, such as veto power only revocable by super majority.

b. Executive Control: The regional governments can share executive authority with the central government in routine intergovernmental meetings.

- 0-** There are no routine meetings between the central government and the regional government to negotiate policy.
- 1-** There are routine meetings between the central government and the regional government without legally binding authority.
- 2-** There are routine meetings between the central government and the regional government, with authority to reach legally binding decisions.

c. Fiscal Control: The regional governments or their representatives can codetermine the distribution of income by national taxes.

- 0-** The regional governments or their representatives in the legislature are not consulted over the distribution of tax revenues.
- 1-** The regional governments or their representatives in the legislature negotiate over the distribution of tax revenue but have no veto power.
- 2-** The regional governments or their representatives in the legislature have a veto over the distribution of tax revenues.

d. Constitutional Reform: This indicator aims to see if the representatives of the regions can have constitutional authority and can participate in the processes of constitutional change.

- 0-** The central government and/or the national electorate can unilaterally change the constitution.
- 1-** A legislature based on the principle of regional representation must approve constitutional change, or constitutional change requires a referendum based on the principle of equal regional representation.
- 2-** The regional governments are a directly represented majority in a legislature that can do one or more of the following:
 - Postpone constitutional reform
 - Introduce amendments
 - Raise the decision hurdle in the other chamber
 - Require a second vote in the other chamber
 - Require a popular referendum
- 3-** A majority of regional governments can veto constitutional change

2.3.3 Defining Mediating factors

One can consider, consequently, that a higher regional authority would increase the capacity of the region to influence on the development of EU policies, either directly or indirectly (Hooghe, et al, 2008). In this sense, we can infer that favourable mediating factors may enhance the effects of regional authority on the Europeanization of RIGs. The mediating factors proposed in the theoretical debates on Risse et al. (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003) are the number of veto players, the formal institutions, the informal cooperative institutions and the agents of change (See Table 3). We can thus expect to find more favourable mediating factors in regions with a higher regional authority.

Table 3 – Mediating Factors

Mediating Factor	Definition	Example
<i>Multiple Veto Players</i>	Existence of multiple actors with decision-making power and the ability to obstruct any advancement. Dispersion of power.	Multiple different departments involved in a policy.
<i>Formal Facilitating Institutions</i>	Institutions which empower actors with resources, information, access, etc.	Consortiums, Advisory Committees
<i>Informal Cooperative Institutions</i>	Cultural understandings which define the realm of what is legitimately possible	A non-written rule for consensus seeking in the administration. A positive attitude towards the EU.
<i>Agents of change</i>	Actors mobilized domestically to persuade others to Europeanize their values and identities	Any interest group or institutional actor favoured by Europeanization.

Source: developed by the author based on Risse, Caporaso & Cowles (2001); Börzel & Risse (2003)

As mentioned previously, veto players are those institutional or partisan actors with decision-making power or the ability to obstruct advancement on a certain policy (Tsebelis, 2002). If power is dispersed instead of concentrated, there is an increasing possibility any change proposed could be vetoed by political actors. For this research, we have considered institutional veto players, meaning political actors with decision making capabilities and involved in the environmental policy making process. The fact that there are more policy makers involved does not necessarily mean that the policy will be obstructed, but the possibility is greater (Tsebelis, 2002). The number of veto players is determined through an analysis of the institutional structure for environmental policy in each region, as well as from information provided through the interviews and documents. A reduced amount of veto players can be expected on regions with a higher regional authority, given the fact that there is more autonomy for the region's decision-making abilities.

Cooperative or facilitating institutions are those that empower actors with resources, information or even access to policy-making, and can be either formal or informal. Formal facilitating institutions, defined originally as mediating formal institutions by Börzel & Risse (2003), generally create a space for discussion between public and private actors and allow for the pre-emptive

analysis of a policy. These formal facilitating institutions can range from an institutionalized consultation process, to consortiums or advisory committees. These are in line with the more classic institutions described by new institutionalism (March & Olsen, 1983). Formal facilitating institutions are present in all regions studied, but it is expected that their influence and capacities will vary in relation to the regional authority of each region. We have been able to identify these cooperative formal institutions mainly through an analysis of policy-making in recent years.

Informal cooperative institutions, on the other hand, are cultural understandings that define the realm of what is legitimately possible (Börzel & Risse, 2003). These institutions are in line with sociological institutionalism (Hall & Taylor, 1996), in that they are intangible and more related to normative and morality, but have an impact on decision-making nonetheless. A favourable informal cooperative institution could be a non-written rule for consensus seeking, or in some regions, a common goal between the regional government and the RIGs towards the advancement of the region's autonomy. An increased regional authority can ease the implementation of favourable informal cooperative institutions that can help RIGs influence policy-making and forward their Europeanization. As these informal cooperative institutions cannot be formally traced, they were detected through the interviews and through public sociological data regarding the regions, which could point more favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards the EU. Some recent papers related to the importance given by RIGs to the regional arena were also used as a guideline for this indicator (Medina et al, 2011; Medina, 2014)

Finally, agents of change, sometimes described as policy entrepreneurs (Huitema & Meijerink, 2010; Font & Subirats, 2010), are actors mobilized to persuade others of the value of Europeanization. As opposed to veto players, agents of change are facilitators instead of obstructers. Agents of change are different to formal facilitating institutions in the fact that they are not institutions but actors such as individual people, think tanks or foundations. The agents of change were found through the interviews and through the analysis of individual participation in formal facilitating institutions and in the policy-making process in general. They are present in all the regions studied, but their influence and involvement is different. Agents of change can be very influential if they can show good results from working directly on EU issues. Through their example and their presence on local chambers of commerce and similar regional institutions, they can lead to an increasing interest in Europeanization by other similar RIGs. On contrast, the absence of these agents of change can lag the Europeanization of RIGs.

Table 4 – Summary of Variables

	Regional Authority	Mediating Factors	Europeanization of RIGs
<i>Type of variable</i>	Independent	Intervening	Dependent
<i>Definition</i>	The capacities of a region regarding their level of self-rule and their level of shared rule.	Elements between the push for Europeanization and the effective Europeanization	The adaptation of RIGs to the EU through the incorporation, construction and institutionalization of rules, procedures, 'ways of doing things' and shared norms originated in the EU level.
<i>Source</i>	Hooghe, Marks y Schakel (2008)	Developed by the author based on Risse, Caporaso & Cowles (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003)	Developed by the author
<i>Operationalization</i>	<p>SELF RULE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Institutional Depth (values from 0 to 3) -Policy Scope (0/4) -Fiscal Autonomy (0/4) -Representation (0/4) <p>SHARED RULE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Law making (0/2) -Executive Control (0/2) -Fiscal Control (0/2) -Constitutional Reform (0/3) 	<p>VETO PLAYERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Number of political actors with decision making capabilities <p>FORMAL FACILITATING INSTITUTIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Existence of institutionalized arenas for the information, consultation and participation of RIGs <p>INFORMAL COOPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appearance of attitudes, norms and values favouring Europeanization <p>AGENTS OF CHANGE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of Individual influential actors pushing for Europeanization 	<p>VALUE ADAPTATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inclusion of EU related objectives (value from 0 to 4) - Identification with EU values (0/3) - Identification similar organizations in other EU regions (0/3) <p>ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Departments working on EU matters (0/4) - Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources (0/4) - Search of EU resources among its members (0/2) <p>STRATEGIC ADAPTATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Active Participation in pan-European organizations (0/2) - Participation on EU programs oriented to regions (0/2) - Involvement on the formulation of EU policies (0/3) - Involvement in the implementation of EU policies (0/3)

Source: developed by the author based on own work, Hooghe, Marks y Schakel (2008); Risse, Caporaso & Cowles (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003)

2.3.4 Policy and Region Selection

Even if we can trace the European regional policy all the way to the Treaty of Rome, we can say that it was not until the reform of the cohesion policy and the structural funds that regions gained real relevance (Hooghe, 1996). The SEA meant the beginning of the uniformization of regional policies, regardless of the ample diversity of national contexts, and transformed the structural funds into a real European redistributive policy. The search for regional homogeneity was no longer considered a privative policy of Member States (Keating, 2003). The impossibility for States to fulfil by their own with the implementation of cohesion policies, along with the application of the subsidiarity principle, allowed the regions to negotiate directly with Brussels the policies to be applied to their territories (Fernández Pasarín, 2001; Van Hecke, 2003; Chacha, 2013).

In order to avoid interference between our independent and dependent variables, this research was designed to focus on only one policy arena. We have selected a policy in which the EU has a considerable regulatory capacity, and which is implemented not only on the national level but mainly on the regional level. Clearly, the environmental policy fulfils these requirements¹²; given that it is one of the most europeanized policies in which regions have most of the administrative responsibilities (Brown, 2001; Borghetto y Franchino, 2010; Tatham, 2012). The share of tasks is divided between the general regulation at the supranational level and the formulation and provision at the regional level. The involvement of the regional government on environmental policy clearly

¹² Even if it was not part of the objectives of the Treaty of Rome, the environmental protection has won its place. The history of the European environmental policy can be divided in four clear stages (Font, 2000). A first stage goes from the Treaty of Rome in 1957 to 1972, where there is no formal recognition of the environmental limits for economic development. Even though the unanimity rule of the Council made it difficult for any regulation to be approved, there was a constant advancement on environmental policy, following the functionalist pattern through the regulations trying to achieve the common market (Weale, 2002).

The Paris Conference of 1972 marks a changing point and the start of the second stage. The environmental issue was added to the political agenda and the Plans of Environmental Action started to be applied. From 1972 to 1986 the bases for environmental regulation were established, pushing prevention, rationalization of natural resources and intersectorial integration on environmental issues (Kelemen, 2010).

The third stage, between the SEA in 1987 and the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 was characterized with the widest environmental regulation expansion in the history of European integration. Basically, this expansion was due to the application of the QMV at the Council of Minister, due to the dynamic role of the Commission and due to the co-decision process with the European Parliament (Hildebrand, 2002). The basic principles that guided the environmental policy and the expansion were based on prevention, the acceptance of costs by the polluter, the integration of environmental respect in all communitarian areas and the subsidiarity principle (Font, 2000).

From Maastricht onwards, the issues presented at the SEA have been institutionalized, deepening the co-decision process and the QMV and incorporation the environmental issue as a fundamental factor in development, through the notion of sustainability (Wilkinson, 2002; Jordan, 2006; Werzel, 2006). The policy victories of environmentalists led to a regulatory competition where firms had strong incentives to see competitors share the same regulatory burdens (Kelemen, 2010). This stage of consolidation continues until today, with an active role of the European institutions, but with less regulative focus, oriented to voluntary action and shared responsibility, and with new challenges after the enlargement of 2004 (Börzel, 2009; Fernandez et al, 2010). For an in depth analysis of the history of environmental policy, see Hildebrand (2002); Wilkinson (2002); Jordan and Liefferink (2004); Jordan (2005) and Werzel, (2006).

overshadows its involvement in other similarly europeanized policies. We can see then that this is an exceptional case of high Europeanization and high regionalization of a policy at the same time (Brugué et al., 2001).

The environmental policy is considered one of the best-researched fields for the domestic impact of the EU (Haverland, 2007). Mostly, it has been used as a case study for policy adaptation within the national settings (Knill, 1998; Börzel, 2000; Haverland, 2000; Jordan, 2006; Fernandez et al, 2010), and it has also been analysed in the regional arena (Brown, 2001; Tatham, 2012) and even in a global setting (Kelemen, 2010). More recent research has also focused on the impact of interest groups in the formulation of EU environmental policy (Bunea, 2012). Nevertheless, the focus of this study is not the Europeanization of environmental policy but the Europeanization of RIGs related to environmental policy.

The environmental policy tends to follow an issue network pattern for policy-making that promotes participation (Font, 2000; Jordan & Liefferink, 2004; Jordan, 2005; Werzel, 2006; Font & Subirats, 2010). The interest groups come into and out of the policy-making process as they will and their participation is fundamentally consultative (Falkner, 2000, Schmidt, 2006; Bunea, 2012). There are different policy initiators and multiple opportunities for interest groups to make themselves heard, especially those with less power on the domestic level (Mazey y Richardson, 2002). Environmental interest groups would act promiscuously to achieve their objectives, lobbying the different European institutions (Mazey y Richardson, 2006; Bunea, 2012). The DG XI, being one of the smallest on the Commission, adopts a strategy of mutual support and work with the interest groups and the pace-setting, more forward thinking states (Börzel, 2002). There is a mutual benefit from the establishment of issue networks, given that the DG XI can identify the problems more easily, establish the agenda and mobilize interest thanks to the information and support given by the organized interests (Font, 2000). Mazey & Richardson (2002) cite two DG XI officials that describe the environmental policy-making process as:

“Free for all, leaving the door open for any groups wishing to contact Commission officers, rather than a selective grouping” (Mazey y Richardson, 2002, p. 142).

Nevertheless, in their analysis of the application of environmental policy in Southern Europe, Fernandez et al. (2010) emphasize the recent changes in environmental policy-making, from a hierarchical command-and-control pattern, to a cooperative scheme, related to the new patterns of governance. There have been some improvements in the governance process of the environmental policy that have enhanced the participation of non-state actors even in countries without a tradition of governance (Jordan, 2006). The new environmental policy instruments proposed by non-state actors that go beyond traditional regulation, such as market-based instruments, eco-labels,

environmental management systems and voluntary agreements, has been of special importance in this sense (Jordan et al, 2005). The adoption of these new instruments in a combined fashion was a way to address EU wide problems such as irregular implementation, lack of coordination with the Commission or disparities on environmental quality, as well as the eternal problem of democratic legitimacy. New research suggests that these policy instruments have led to a two-tier system of governance with actors and interests (Halpern, 2010; Tatham, 2012).

As regards to the regional approach, we have decided to compare the main RIGs related to environmental policy in three different regions (See Table 5). As we said in the introduction, the selection of Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales as case studies has been done following the similar cases method. The United Kingdom, Spain and Italy are devolved states with different models of regionalism. The United Kingdom has until recently been a unitary state, and devolved assemblies were established in 1999 in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain had demands of autonomy since before Franco's dictatorship, but only through democracy this was traduced into the State of the Autonomies. Italy only started a real regionalism since the 1970s, even if the post-war constitution established them much earlier. All three countries are in a process of reform that still continues today (Keating, 2009). The internal processes of each country are described in the following chapters.

Our explicative model will maintain controlled the variables of size, GDP per capita¹³, as well as the economic matrix that, for all the cases presented, shows dynamic economies populated with numerous interest groups (Caciagli, 2006). With regards to social capital and associationism, based on the European Values Study¹⁴ the regions present similar results (Beugelsdijk & van Schaik, 2005). It is interesting to note, as it was said in the introduction, that Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales belong to countries that have been involved for the last four decades in processes of devolution and decentralization, as well as statute reforms, which make their study much more interesting. Their values of Regional Authority differ, from 16.5 in Catalonia to 14 in Tuscany and 12.5 in Wales, over a possible total of 24. As a reference, it is interesting to note that in the original Regional Authority study (Hooghe et al, 2008), Northern Ireland scores a Regional Authority of 1, the lowest in the EU, while the French *régions* have a Regional Authority score of 8, and the German *Länder* have a score of 21, the highest in the EU.

¹³ It must be said that as of 2013, Catalonia shows diverging percentages in population and total GDP, with a 15,8% of the total population of Spain and a 14,2% of the total GDP, while Tuscany has 6,15% population, 5,8% GDP and Wales has a 4,82% population and 3,45% GDP. Source: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistical-atlas/gis/viewer/>

¹⁴ <http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/>

Table 5 – Regions selected

Variable	Catalonia	Tuscany	Wales
<i>Economic Matrix</i> (% share of the economy)	Tourism and services (66,9%) Industry (20,9%) Construction (12,3%) Agriculture (1,4%)	Tourism and services (58,9%) Industry (29,4%) Construction (11,3%) Agriculture (1,8%)	Tourism and services (70,3%) Industry (21,4%) Construction (9%) Agriculture (livestock) (0,6%)
<i>Territory</i> (% of total country)	6,37%	7,63%	8,52%
<i>GDP Per capita</i>	€26,600	€25,700	€19,900
<i>Population</i>	7,5 million (15,8% of Spain)	3,7 million (6,15% of Italy)	4 million (4,82% of UK)
<i>Regional Authority</i>	16.5	14	12.5

Source: Eurostat (2013) and Hooghe, Marks & Schakel (2008b)
<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistical-atlas/gis/viewer/>

2.3.5 Case Selection

Finally, regarding the selection of the units for analysis, as we mentioned before, there are mainly three kinds of relevant actors on environmental policy-making: bureaucrats, environmentalists and industrialists (Mazey y Richardson, 2002), but we would only consider environmentalist and industrialist as interest groups, and would like to add rural RIGs as a third group, given the importance of the environmental policy to their livelihood and the tradition of interest representation that is usually present in rural areas. Environmental RIGs are public interest groups (Ruzza, 2011) that defend environmental interests beyond the material interests of their members. Industrialists RIGs are mostly business organizations and chambers of commerce that have companies as members and defend the interests of their economic centre or of business in general (Dür & Mateo, 2012). As rural RIGs we propose to consider those organizations of landowners or farmers that can either promote their interests through direct action in the form and ways of a union, or promote common rural interests through non-syndicalized ways.

For each of the regions considered, the RIGs taken into account (See Table 6) needed to have a minimum level of visibility (Dür & Mateo, 2012). The relative importance, in members and activity, of the RIG inside the politics and society of the region was especially considered. It is useful to remember that the interest groups chosen could not be national or pan-European. This fact reduced considerably the field of study, given that even though there is regional mobilization and there is an active civil society in each region, there are not many RIGs available in general. The final selection is

restricted but representative of the matrix of RIGs present, aiming to find the environmentalist, rural and industrialist RIGs for each region.

Table 6 – Units of analysis selected

Region	Type of RIG	RIG
Catalonia	<i>Environmentalist</i>	DEPANA
	<i>Environmentalist</i>	Ecologistas de Catalunya
	<i>Rural</i>	Federació de Cooperatives Agràries de Catalunya
	<i>Rural</i>	Associació d'iniciatives rurals de Catalunya
	<i>Industrialist</i>	FedeQuim
	<i>Industrialist</i>	Foment del Treball Nacional
Tuscany	<i>Environmentalist</i>	Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile
	<i>Environmentalist</i>	Legambiente Toscana
	<i>Rural</i>	CIA Toscana
	<i>Rural</i>	Assogal Toscana
	<i>Industrialist</i>	Unioncamere Toscana
	<i>Industrialist</i>	Confindustria Toscana
Wales	<i>Environmentalist</i>	Wales Environment Link
	<i>Environmentalist</i>	Sustain Wales
	<i>Rural</i>	Country, Land and Business Wales
	<i>Rural</i>	Farmer's Union of Wales
	<i>Industrialist</i>	South Wales Chamber of Commerce
	<i>Industrialist</i>	Federation of Small Business or CBI Wales

Source: developed by the author

In all the regions considered, environmental interests are usually defended by large international organizations such as WWF or Greenpeace. These are decentralized organizations that commonly have subsidiaries at the regional or local level. In a certain way, these organizations are competitors to the environmental RIGs researched in this thesis. RIGs need to be regionally based or, if linked to a national or international organization, need to show a real independence of ways and means. It was possible to find smaller RIGs in each of the regions analysed working on environmental issues, either by themselves or federally organized inside the region.

Similarly, rural RIGs are generally linked to national rural organizations. In two of the three regions considered, it was possible to find rural RIGs formed after the impact of the LEADER¹⁵ program in the region. At first it would appear that the RIGs formed by LEADER local action groups would demonstrate a closer link to the EU arena, but that was not necessarily the case.

¹⁵ Links between the rural economy and development actions, Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale

Finally, it is important to note that it was in industrialist RIGs where the link between regional and national organizations was more diffused. Some of the RIGs selected have close links to the national organizations, in a way that may be considered as a subsidiary. However, two factors were considered in detail to separate them from the national organization, namely the management of their budget and the preparation of objectives of their own. Even if the groups were related to their national counterparts, these two facts were crucial to consider them as RIGs. It is interesting to note as well that a couple of industrial RIGs are sectorial, such as representing chemical industries or the companies from a sub region. When this was the case, the defining factor was the representativeness of the RIG, mainly due to the number of members, which justified it to be equated to a regional counterpart and not as a single sub regional entity.

2.3.6 Data: documents and interviews

The first and most abundant tool used for data collecting was the review of documentation, either paper based or digital. As a first approximation to the RIGs selected, the analysis of their public information offered through their statutes, websites, bulletins, reports, press releases, etc., is essential. Once the RIGs were contacted, it was possible to consult less public and more scarce information, such as minutes from management board meetings, work programmes, internal behaviour guidelines, etc., when those were accessible. It must be taken into account that there are important divergences between the documents available from different organizations. RIGs with a longer background, history and budget can offer an enormous amount of documents, while there is a certain deficit in some others. This difference, as it was usually perceived on the preparatory work before the interviews, has been partially compensated with information provided by the interviewee or with private information provided to the RIG.

To balance the opinions of the interviewees, we also contacted representatives of the regional governments. These contacts were done after the interviews were finished, and intended to find out about the participatory processes for RIGs in regions. For Catalonia it was possible to do a direct interview with a representative, while Tuscany and Wales civil servants responded through digital channels and answered an online survey.

This research is mainly based on data obtained from the documentation, complemented by first hand data obtained from interviews to representatives of the RIGs. These interviews were conducted and updated between 2009 and 2013 in Barcelona, Molins del Rei, Florence, Pisa, Newport, Cardiff and London, as well as through digital tools such as Skype. A directive of each RIG was contacted for the main formal interview, while some adjacent information was obtained through informal talks

with members of the RIG's staff during the meetings. A total of twelve formal face-to-face interviews, five formal interviews through Skype, and four written interviews were conducted for the research as well as an array of informal talks.

The interviews had the main objective of finding out directly if there was a link between regional authority and Europeanization, or whether the RIG's choice for more adaptation to Europe was instead related to different factors. Corbetta (2003) defines a qualitative interview as a provoked conversation guided by the interviewer on the basis of a flexible and non-standardized scheme of interrogation, directed to subjects selected on the basis of a research plan and with a cognitive purpose. Methodologically, the interviews were done through a semi-structured model. Even though there was a pre-established script with standardized questions on every subject, each interview has followed its own path, according to the answers given by each interviewee and the need for clarification or expansion on a detail. This does not mean that the interviewer lost objectivity in any sense. These semi-structured interviews were not questionnaires but guided conversations that usually lasted around one hour. In most cases, the subjects interviewed were directives or responsible members of each RIG, as well as bureaucrats, selected by their importance within the organization.

The documents reviewed and the interviews conducted were used to achieve three main goals. First and foremost, the information allowed us to develop and fine-tune the Europeanization index. It was through the data obtained that we could find the main indicators for each dimension of our dependent variable. Secondly, through the information obtained, we were able to measure the Europeanization of RIGs and achieve the results presented in the following chapters. Third, through a comparison of the information and an analysis of the interviews of RIGs and institutional actors, we were able to confront our variables to try to find validation to our hypotheses. At the same time, the interviews helped refine the hypotheses, as a description of some of the mediating factors for the Europeanization of RIGs first appeared during the first round of interviews in Catalonia in 2009 and 2010. This finding led to the need for a round of interviews and surveys of civil servants that would not have been done otherwise.

Most interviews were recorded with the knowledge of the interviewee, while some preferred a written interview through e-mail. Only in one case some information was provided off the record. The interviews were not anonymous but the names of the interviewees will only be provided separately if needed. The written interviews were in general much less quotable, as the interviewee tended to answer shortly and there was no opportunity for follow-up questions. This relatively lack of richness in the information was supplemented with public documents and statements available on the RIGs websites. Apart from this, the main problems found were the aforementioned variances in

availability of internal documents in different RIGs. Nevertheless, this has not led to a true complication in the research, given the fact that all interviewees were open to being contacted more than once to supply additional information whenever needed. There were no substantial differences of opinion or contrast that should be addressed between the formal and informal interviews and the documents. A list of the dates and locations of the interviews conducted, along with basic information of the RIGs selected is available in the Annexes of this thesis.

3 Regional Interest Groups in Catalonia

Catalonia has been a study case ever since there has been research on regions and regionalism. Its importance is not only related to economic, geographical or demographic factors, but also because it is part of a State that has been involved in enormous transformations in the last three decades. These transformations have been of Spain's own making as well as of the influence of European integration (Aja, 2003). The choice of Catalonia is related to the fact that, according to the literature, its economic, political and institutional capacities allow it to be a region with an active participation on the European process (Keating, 1998; Christopoulos, 2006; Morata, 2006). Catalonia is one of the main industrialized regions in Europe. Even though it occupies 6% of the Spanish territory, it has 25.5% of its industrial production and unemployment significantly inferior to the national media. Its history of industrialization allows Catalonia to have today a diversified industrial structure, with an important chemical and pharmaceutical sector, a great concentration of small enterprises, more than 30% of the Spanish biomedical research and an economy based on knowledge and oriented to exportation¹⁶. Partly as a result of its industrial power, Catalonia has a multitude of interest groups that may have the capacity and interest to participate actively in EU politics (Castiñeira & Vidal, 2003).

This industrial predominance as well as its institutional claims of autonomy has made Catalonia a recurrent case on regional studies. Transcribing an exhaustive list of all the works in which Catalonia

¹⁶Data presented by the IRE Network: <http://www.innova-europe.eu>

is cited would be a futile job, but it is interesting to mention the most important ones. In one of his first papers, Michael Keating (1992) already mentions the case of Catalonia as a region with its own interests inside the Spanish context, as well as with a differentiated strategy at the European level. In his now seminal work *The New Regionalism in Western Europe* (Keating, 1998) he describes Catalonia's history and institutions, and its growing importance in the regional network in Europe. Catalonia usually appears as a pioneering region amongst those seeking to gain a higher relevance on their own in the European arena, given its differentiating factors (Keating, 1997; 1998; Morata, 2006). Not only the institutions are taken into account, but usually also the importance of the Catalan civil society and RIGs are considered an important factor (Keating, 1999b). The relative importance of Catalonia in relation with the rest of Spain and in the European context is also mentioned in inter-regional analysis. Christopoulos (2006) compares Spanish, Polish and British regions and Catalonia scores clearly as one of the highest in economic relevance and institutional autonomy. Similarly, Jeffery (2000) places Catalonia at the highest position as well, related to its influence capacity and constitutional strength, giving it even a higher influence on European policy than some German länder.

In section 3.1 we track down the history of regionalism in Spain and Catalonia, mainly focusing on the State of Autonomies established with the return of democracy in 1978. It is important to remind the reader that the purpose of this thesis is not to describe Catalan, Tuscan or Welsh regionalism but this section and the similar sections in other chapters are very short introductions to each region's history to offer some context to the phenomena analysed. Section 3.2 deals with the score of Catalonia in the regional authority index by Hooghe et al. (2008b), and its modification due to the changes introduced by the 2006 Statute of Autonomy. In section 3.3 we describe how environmental policy is implemented in Catalonia, and the institutions that deal with it. Afterwards, sections and subsections in 3.4.1 through 3.4.3 analyse in detail the Catalan environmental, rural and industrial RIGs and 3.4.4 provides a comparison between RIGs. Finally, section 3.5 describes the mediating factors for the Europeanization of RIGs in Catalonia. We end this chapter with some final remarks.

3.1 Spanish Regionalism and the case of Catalonia

Catalonia's history is long and profound and can be traced to medieval times. However, the role that Catalonia has played in modern Spain can have a starting point in the sanction of the Constitution of 1978. Spanish transition to democracy gave birth to quite an unusual political and institutional structure, half way from a unitary State but not achieving a complete federal organization. Scholars and jurist defined the formula adopted as a State of the Autonomies, and its structure has been in place with small changes since 1978. This definition is not included in the Constitution, but besides its sui generis character, it has become the most adequate description of the Spanish institutional structure (Aja, 2003; Noferini, 2012)

Even if the State of the Autonomies contains some federal elements, Spain remains one of the most decentralized unitary countries in Europe (Noferini, 2012). Between the central government and the local government, there are seventeen Autonomous Communities (ACs) in Spain. These ACs elect their own authorities and possess a great deal of exclusive competences, they mostly have their own financing, protected against regular laws, they dictate their own Statutes of Autonomy for their self-rule, which must be approved by the central legislature, and any conflict of competences between different levels of government can only be resolved through the Constitutional Tribunal. All these attributes of the ACs are constitutionally protected.

Amongst the particularities of the Spanish system we can count the "differentiating facts", as some particularities that discriminate between ACs are known. These differentiating facts have a clearly historical origin and are, for example, a different tax system or a different language, reflected in the Constitution and the Statutes of Autonomy. Another particular trait differentiating the State of Autonomies from a complete federalism is the lack of a territorial legislative chamber representing the ACs directly. This absence has complicated the negotiations and dialogue amongst ACs and between the ACs and the central State (Colomer, 1998; Noferini, 2012). This has become more evident in matters related to European integration, in which ACs can lose competences to a supranational instance where the central State is represented but where the ACs have no direct decision-making. This lack of a true chamber of territorial representation has been the main handicap for routine intergovernmental relations (Noferini, 2012).

It must also be said that the system has not been rigid or stale, but it has evolved during the years in favour of a higher autonomy for the ACs. This has led to a system which is asymmetrically decentralized and where responsibilities are hard to pinpoint, especially in matters related to spending and tax collection (León, 2011). Decentralization was achieved through two different procedures, according to the articles 143 and 151 of the 1978 Constitution. Firstly, a number of

common competences were decentralized to all ACs in the same way. Secondly, a fast track was established for the Basque Country, Navarre, the Canary Islands, Galicia, Andalusia and Catalonia, by which they assumed autonomy in competences referred to health, education and environment during the early 1980s. On the other hand, the slow-track was established for the rest of the ACs, which started to assume these competences during the 1990s (Aja, 2003).

Even though article 149 of the Spanish Constitution clearly states which competences must be maintained under the central government's responsibility, article 159.2 establishes that any of those can also be ceded or delegated, which has led to a deeper decentralization than that stipulated originally by articles 143 and 151 (Toboso & Scorsone, 2010). In general, the ACs have seen a rapid expansion of their competences since the establishment of the State of Autonomies, all of which has made the Spanish decentralization one of the most successful in Europe (Toboso & Scorsone, 2010). Spending and public employment in the ACs has multiplied and the fiscal autonomy of regions in Spain is amongst the highest of the OCDE (Böcklinger & Rabesona, 2009). Recently, the ACs even gained formal participation in meetings of the Council of the EU, though not in the same way as in Belgium, where regional ministers are able to chair the meeting (Noferini, 2012).

In regards to Catalonia particularly, there have been claims for autonomy and sovereignty at least since 1714, but they have only achieved this on three occasions: 1914-1925, 1931-1939 and 1978-present day (Vernet i Llobet, 1998). The recuperation of self-rule has implied the appearance of a Catalan perspective in the development of public policy. If we follow the basic model established by the subsidiarity principle, the role of the Catalan government in the transposition of EU policies and the formulation of their own policies has grown enormously, even overshadowing the central government and, to a lower degree, the EU. The real influence in competences as well as in direct investment of the EU and the central State has decreased in favour of the regional government (Morata, 2012). In the same way, the regional government has been able to increase its fiscal autonomy and independence, especially since the drafting of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy.

The Statutes of Autonomy, as we said above, are organic laws that establish the competences, limits and financial resources of the ACs in relation to the central State (Aja, 2003). Through these statutes the ACs are able to negotiate their degree of autonomy. The Santillana Pact of 2003 opened the way for the reforms of the statutes, which were finally conducted after the change of government in 2004. These reforms wanted to deepen the territorial decentralization of Spain (Keating, 2009; Orte & Wilson, 2009; Keating & Wilson, 2009). In the case of Catalonia, the main reforms in the Statute drafted in 2006 included symbolic issues related to the national character of the region as well as self-rule competences related to the administration of justice and financing (Colino, 2009). The main opposing party objected many of these reforms at the Constitutional

Tribunal. A final sentence was achieved in June 2010 and even though some competences were cut, the new Statute mostly maintained its formulation, deepening the autonomy of Catalonia.

Even though it has always been present in Catalonia, in recent years there has been a stronger movement claiming for independence. Traditionally, Catalan nationalism had been resolved inside the institutional framework of the State of the Autonomies, exchanging autonomy for support at the national level (Dowling, 2013). The convoluted process of approval of the 2006 Statute, along with the impact of the 2008 economic crisis, had serious consequences for the government of the Socialist Party.

The victory of the conservative nationalist party CiU in the regional Catalan elections of 2010 along with the victory of the Popular Party in 2011 was expected to lead to the traditional pact-friendly relationship between the central government and the Generalitat. However, the tragic effects of the economic crisis helped fuel the growth of the independent movement, expressed in several protests as well as in referendums held by independentist parties in small municipalities all around Catalonia. In September 2012, after the failure of a new fiscal pact with the central government and a massive catalanist demonstration, the president of the Generalitat called for early elections and reformulated its government with a possible consultation on sovereignty as its main proposal. Even if CiU lost 12 legislators in this election, the sovereignty claim was reinforced. In December 2013, a non-binding referendum was announced for November 9th 2014 to consult the Catalan population over the issue of independence, provoking the almost instant rejection by the central government. The future results of this renewed push for independence in Catalonia remain uncertain at the moment of writing this thesis.

3.2 Regional Authority in Catalonia

In the regional authority study we use as one of the basis for this thesis (Hooghe, et al. 2008b) Catalonia scores a total of 14.5 points over 24. This is above the general average of 11.7 from all the EU regions studied by the authors and represents the highest point for the region up to the year of the publication of the original study. Catalonia starts with 0 points in 1978 and reaches 14.5 just before 2006. Nevertheless, we consider that these scores need to be updated in light of the changes formulated in the Statute of Autonomy of 2006 and the evolution of Spanish and regional politics. In the following paragraphs I present a step-by-step look at the attributes of regional authority we can find in Catalonia. Considering the changes seen in recent years, we have recalculated the final score for Catalonia, which rises to 16.5 over a total of 24 (See Table 7).

First, we start analysing the self-rule dimension. In the first indicator, we deal with institutional depth, which goes from a total lack of autonomy from the central government to a complete autonomy. In the case of Catalonia, we can consider that it reaches the maximum level of 3 points, given that it has an administration with its own authority and is free from vetoes from the central government. Of course, this does not mean a total independence for policy-making, but it does imply a certain level of freedom within the boundaries imposed by the central state. These boundaries have provoked certain clashes between the regional and central government in recent years, particularly regarding the writing and approval of the Statute. This may lead to an appearance of lack of self-rule. Nevertheless, self-rule is not total independence but autonomy within the Spanish institutional framework.

The second indicator deals with the policy scope or the authority of the region for developing its own economic, cultural or welfare policies. In this indicator, Catalonia scores 3 points on a 0-4 scale where 0 means no authority and 3 means authority over several policies but not over citizenship or immigration, as mentioned before. Catalonia has residual powers, a regional police force, and authority over the institutional structure but it has no authority over immigration or citizenship policies, which are still the responsibility of the central government in Madrid.

Regarding the indicator of fiscal autonomy, we must remember that it is not only important to know how much money the region spends, but also to know its decision-making abilities on how that money is spent. It distinguishes between the personal income tax, corporate, VAT and sales tax and the rest of the taxes, taking into account the region's ability to set its base and rate unilaterally. The authors claim that Catalonia deserves 3 points, given that the region controls the rate of at least one of the important taxes. Nevertheless, we believe that we should raise the score to 4 points given the changes after the Hooghe, et al. (2008b) paper was written. If we analyse the Statute of Autonomy of 2006, especially chapter 1 referring to Finances in Catalonia, we can see that article 203 shows that the financial competences have been increased. The resolution of the Constitutional Tribunal of June 28th 2010 has modified some of the articles in chapter 1, but generally those referring to Catalonia's solidarity with the rest of Spain and not its capacities for taxation. We believe as a result that, following Toboso & Scorsone (2010), Catalonia's taxation capacities have been increased in recent years, which merits this change in the original score given by Hooghe, et al. (2008b).

The last indicator in the self-rule dimension refers to representation or the region's capacity to elect its own regional representatives. In this category, Catalonia, as well as the rest of the Spanish ACs, scores 2 points for being able to elect its own Legislative Power directly, and 2 points for having a regional Executive Power assigned by the regional Assembly.

If we analyse now the dimension of shared rule, we can deal with the amount of influence Catalonia has in the central government's decisions. In this sense, the first indicator is about the law making capabilities, in which we try to elucidate the role of the region in the national legislature. Given the institutional restrictions previously mentioned, in particular the lack of a territorial chamber representing the ACs in the national legislature, we can only assign a maximum of 0.5 points to Catalonia in this category. This score is obtained because of the region's ability to assign representative to the legislature.

With regards to executive control, we aim to know if there are routine intergovernmental meetings between the central government and Catalonia. In this indicator, Hooghe, et al. (2008b) consider that there are no routine meetings and Catalonia should have a score of 0. However, we can claim that the meetings between the central government and the regional government of Catalonia have acquired certain regularity, even if there are no binding decisions that are taken in those meetings. Especially in relation to environmental policy, we can say that many new channels of cooperation have been established (Fernández et al., 2010). We can then assign to this indicator a total value of 1.

In relation to the fiscal control indicator, the authors wanted to measure if the regions can codetermine the income distribution of national taxes. As we have said before, through the Statute of Autonomy of 2006 Catalonia tried to establish a new mechanism that gave it a certain veto power on the tax distribution regarding the inputs given by the central government. This would have certainly increased Catalonia's regional authority however; these articles were rejected by the main opposing national party and declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Tribunal in 2010. The score then remains in 1, the same as established by Hooghe, et al. (2008b), which implies that the regional government negotiates the distribution of income but has no veto power at all.

Lastly, regarding its capacity for constitutional reform, the regional authority of Catalonia and the rest of the Spanish ACs is severely limited, given that they do not participate in the processes of constitutional change and either the central government or the national electorate can change the Constitution unilaterally. The lack of representation of the ACs in the central government appears again as the main deficit in Catalonia's regional authority. This fact paired with the complete inability to veto any kind of reform gives the region a score of 0.

Table 7 – Regional Authority in Catalonia

Regional Authority in Catalonia			
Variable	Dimensions	Indicators	Value
Regional Authority	Self-rule	Institutional Depth (0/3)	3
		Policy Scope (0/4)	3
		Fiscal Autonomy (0/4)	4
		Representation (0/4)	4
	Shared rule	Law making (0/2)	0.5
		Executive Control (0/2)	1
		Fiscal Control (0/2)	1
		Constitutional Reform (0/3)	0
Total (0/24)			16.5

Source: developed by the author based on Hooghe, Marks & Schakel (2008b)

3.3 Environmental Policy in Catalonia

In a context of multilevel governance and subsidiarity, the distribution of competences amongst different levels of government is done according to the most efficient and closer to the people level (Van Hecke, 2003). Each level of government specializes in different policy areas and the interest groups are able to articulate their demands in different ways. The concentrated costs and diffuse benefits of the environmental policy have oriented its development to the European arena, while its implementation has been delegated to the regional arena (Subirats, 1999). The way the tasks are usually divided for the most europeanized policies implies that the EU deals with the strategic regulation, the central State is in charge of the formulation of the policy and the regional government deals with the implementation, following a top-down approach for policy-making (Börzel, 2002). The employment or migration policies, for example, clearly follow this approach in Catalonia (Brugué et al, 2001). Nevertheless, as said above, in the case of the environmental policy, we can see that the role of the central government is more reduced, the involvement of the regional government on environmental policy clearly overshadows its involvement in other similarly europeanized policies (Brugué et al., 2001; Brouwer et al., 2012). At the same time, there is a role to be given to social actors in general and RIGs in particular. The role of policy entrepreneurs in a fundamental issue for Spain as water management is a prime example of their possible involvement promoting alternatives and building coalitions towards the achievement of their objectives (Font & Subirats, 2010)

On the Spanish arena, environmental issues were somewhat always present, such as in the previously mentioned case of water management (Font & Subirats, 2010). The transfer of competences from the central government to the Autonomous Communities has had difficulties on

the issue of environmental policies¹⁷. Understaffed administrations, a lack of appreciation on environmental issues and a mostly technical orientation did not make matters easier (Fernández et al. 2010). Respecting what the Spanish Constitution already established, most of the environmental competencies were transferred definitely between 1983 and 1984. The growing involvement of the EU on environmental policy-making has transformed the Autonomous Communities into implementation agents of European policy. In addition, the Spanish Constitution also gives them administrative rights on environmental competences, and the right to establish additional environmental legislation. Following these competences, most of the Autonomous Communities have adopted a legislative role and have created their own environmental institutions (Aguilar Fernández et al, 1999). This has led to some conflict and coordination problems with the national environmental institutions (Font, 1999; Fernández, et al. 2010). Roughly then, even if some conflicts in competences persist, the Spanish ACs have become essential actors in the European policy implementation, even if not so much in the actual policy-making. The institutional salience and decentralized structure of the environmental policy in Spain has encouraged the involvement of RIGs (Fernández, et al. 2010). The issue network pattern for policy-making, predominant at the European level, has tended to be reproduced at the subnational arena.

The environmental policy, given its special characteristics previously mentioned, is a policy of great institutional importance for the Generalitat, Catalonia's regional government. The implementation of environmental policy in Catalonia follows to a certain extent a similar pattern to the rest of the Spanish ACs. Multilevel governance and the new public management applied across the EU imposed the openness in policy-making to non-governmental actors (Kohler-Koch, 1999). This process was reinforced by the Lisbon agenda and the provision by the Commission of financial incentives and technical assistance for the application of cooperative styles of governance in the regions (Fernández, et al., 2010). In this sense, Catalonia has been the first to promote cooperation with other levels of government through intergovernmental channels so as to better the management of these environmental policies developed mainly in the European stage. On the other hand, there has been an enhancement of consults and negotiations in the region between Catalan public and private actors at the moment of transposition of the environmental policy (Morata & Hanf, 2000). Amongst the RIGs and other Catalan private actors the regional government is clearly

¹⁷ Between 1984 and 1994, 56.8% of the dispositions on environmental matters were referred to the Constitutional Tribunal (Aguilar Fernández et al, 1999, p. 15). *"Some of the competences of the ACs on environmental policy established by the 1978 Constitution were the ordination of territory, urbanism and housing, public work of interest for the ACs in their own territory, agriculture and farming according to the general order of the economy, hills and forests development, projects, construction and exploitation of hydraulic developments, mineral and thermal waters, river fishing and hunting and the promotion and order of tourism"* (Aguilar Fernández et al, 1999, p.20).

considered as an actor of great relevance as well as of considerable accessibility (Morata & Hanf, 2000). The DMAH¹⁸ is the main regional responsible for the transposition of policy and the inclusion of the RIGs in processes of consultation. This is done mainly through the Advisory Councils and through spaces such as the Table for the Sustainable Development of Catalonia or the Council for the Protection of Nature. In this way, the Generalitat shows its permeability to citizenship participation through open but temporary spaces¹⁹, as well as to the inputs of RIGs related to environmental policy through more stable but relatively closed spaces²⁰.

3.4 The Europeanization of RIGs in Catalonia

In terms of participation, cultural involvement and levels of trust, social capital in Catalonia surpasses the Spanish average (Richards & Wilson, 2004). Associationism has always been an important part of Catalonia's culture. Surveys conducted by the Generalitat shows that before the 2008 crisis, levels of cultural activities and social participation rose steadily since the 1970s, particularly since the death of Franco.²¹ Similarly to cultural organizations, Catalonia has seen a continuous increase in voluntary participation up to 2008, and it has remained steady since then.

Catalonia has relatively high levels of trust compared to the rest of Spain and approaches levels usually found in Scandinavia (Richards & Wilson, 2004). The reason for this can be found in the history of the country and its turbulent relationship with both France and Spain over the years. Social capital is most easily created in opposition to something or someone else (Putnam, 2000). Catalan civil society resisted Franco's dictatorship through an intense network of associations that provided services sometimes forbidden, such as education in Catalan.

Associationism is, therefore, present in relation to environmental policy as well. Among the most representative groups whose field of activity is exclusively Catalonia, we have chosen six units of observation following the same pattern (See Table 8). It is expected to find differing results on the Europeanization of environmental RIGs, rural RIGs and industrialist RIGs, which is why the results for each sub-group are shown separately. In the final remarks of this chapter, there is a comparative

¹⁸ Department of Environment and Home, Departament de Medi Ambient y Habitatge

¹⁹ Active in 2014: Mesa del Agua, Plan de mejora de la Calidad del Aire 2011-2015, Plan de Apoyo al Tercer Sector Medioambiental 2011-2014, Evaluación Ambiental.

²⁰ Consejo para la prevención y gestión de residuos, Consejos de Cuencas, Consejo para el uso sostenible del agua (CUSA), Comisión para la sostenibilidad de las Tierras del Ebro.

²¹ Information provided by the Generalitat through the website [Voluntariat.org](http://www.voluntariat.org/ElvoluntariataCatalunya.aspx)
<http://www.voluntariat.org/ElvoluntariataCatalunya.aspx>

analysis of the differences between the Europeanization of environmental, rural and industrialist RIGs. In the conclusions of this thesis, a trans-regional comparison will provide more information and some clarity to our research.

Table 8 – Units of analysis selected for Catalonia

RIG	Type of RIG	Year	Members
DEPANA	<i>Environmentalist</i>	1970	Individuals
EdC	<i>Environmentalist</i>	1998	Other NGOs
FCAC	<i>Rural</i>	1983	Rural cooperatives
ARCA	<i>Rural</i>	2005	Rural LAGs
FedeQuim	<i>Industrialist</i>	1976	Chemical industries
Foment del Treball Nacional	<i>Industrialist</i>	1771	Business & industries

Source: developed by the author

3.4.1 Catalan Environmental RIGs

Environmental RIGs are those whose main interest is the defence of the environment above all. Usually, environmental interests are defended by big international organizations such as WWF or Greenpeace, both of which have their representatives in Catalonia. However, there are also smaller groups with interests based on the region. For the case of Catalonia, there are mainly two groups representing environmental interests: *Ecologistas de Catalunya*, which is an umbrella organization that federates small associations throughout all the Catalan territory; and DEPANA, which acts independently and is a unitary organization based in Barcelona.

3.4.1.1 DEPANA

Also known as the League for the Defence of the Natural Patrimony²², DEPANA is one of the main environmentalist organizations in Catalonia. Founded in 1976, and declared as a public purpose organization in 1979, its main purpose is defending the natural patrimony of the region with a globalizing perspective of the environmental problems, defending the public interest of enjoying a healthy and better quality of life. It has more than 1800 individual members in all of Catalonia's territory and performs multiple tasks of awareness and protection, while giving advice and working alongside public entities.

Even though it is a non-profit organization financed mainly by its members and maintained through volunteer work, it also receives public financing. The RIG seeks to promote a change in the mentality of Catalan society towards a more sustainable future for the region. With this in mind, they work proposing new juridical instruments for the defence of environmental rights, helping and working in conservationist campaigns and projects and teaching the values of respect for nature in general. According to DEPANA's statute, reformed in 2011, the main objective of the organization is the study and defence of the Catalan environment taking into account the species, ecosystems and the relationship of the people with the environment. This includes the management of the territory, with its social and economic dimension. To achieve this purpose, DEPANA has several lines of action including: the promotion and organization of activities of conservation and formation alongside associations with similar interests; the promotion of educational activities directed to the youth; the elaboration of reports related to nature and the environment; the collaboration with other non-profit organizations; the supervision of urban planning and the management of the region for it to be respectful of nature; the search for better regulation regarding the protection of the natural patrimony, and ensuring its correct application; the participation on national and international forums for the defence of the environment, as well as in any organisms and administrations that ask for their involvement in the defence and study of nature; and the management of land acquired by purchase, donation or rent with the purpose of conservation.

All in all, DEPANA is an organization with a long-standing credibility in Catalonia, based on their history and involvement with the regional administration, as well as their proved scientific and management skills. This RIG has been especially active at all levels of government, with a tradition of coherence and independence. Amongst the Catalan RIGs considered in this study, DEPANA is one of

²² Lliga per a la Defensa del Patrimoni Natural

the most Europeanized of all with a total score of 22/30 points in our index, which represents a total of 73,3% and an almost fully consolidated Europeanization (See Table 9).

If we analyse the indicators separately, one can see first in the dimension of value adaptation that the interviewee does not hesitate to affirm that a good part of the activities has been modified according to what they have learnt working in the European arena. The centrality of the EU, according to the interviewee, is more than obvious, given the fact that:

*“Basically most of the norms that are applied in Catalonia come from the EU, and the state must implement those laws (...) which leads to our main activity of control of the fulfilment of these directives”.*²³

However, he emphasises that even if his organization could have a more active participation on EU matters, this participation would surpass their capacities without necessarily providing more benefits than those they are already obtaining. It can be appreciated through the analysis of DEPANA’s documents that they have a clear Europeanist vocation even if there are only rhetorical references to the EU in their statutes. Regarding the identification with EU values, the internal documents and the interviews reflect a clear favourable position, defining it once even as *“forward thinking and an environmental paradise”*²⁴. At the same time, they have expressed in their statutes their will to work alongside similar organizations²⁵, no matter if they are from different regions. The interviewee especially mentions the personal relationships they have forged through European environmentalist congresses and the exchange of experiences, information and mutual support.

With respects to the dimension of organizational adaptation, the RIG scores a total of 8/10. First and foremost, their legal department is dedicated to EU matters, given the fact that a lot of their EU work is through judicial action for the non-observance of a certain directive or legislation. With regards to the financing, DEPANA does not receive regular funding from the EU, mainly because it is formed by individual volunteers. However, they have received EU funds sporadically through LIFE²⁶ when working on specific programs such as their work on the natural park of Punta de la Móra. When asked if they foment the search for European resources amongst its members, the interview

²³ *“Básicamente de la Unión Europea se deriva buena parte de la normativa ambiental que es aplicable en Cataluña. Nuestra relación es que el Estado tiene la obligación de trasponer estas directivas o reglamentos, (...) la normativa ampara muchas de nuestras acciones por el cumplimiento de las directivas.”* Interview 1, 21/01/09

²⁴ Op. cit.

²⁵ *“Col.laborar amb altres entitats o associacions sense ànim de lucre, que tinguin com a objectiu la defensa de l’interès general, amb especial èmfasi a les dedicades a la defensa del medi ambient.”* Statute DEPANA, Art. 2.2 inc. d)

²⁶ LIFE is the EU’s financial instrument supporting environmental and nature conservation projects throughout the EU. Since 1992, LIFE has co-financed some 3708 projects, contributing approximately €2.8 billion to the protection of the environment. <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/index.htm>

expresses that given the fact that their members are mostly individuals, they do not push for EU funding. However, some of its members are also private institutions that have received EU funds on their own and have reoriented them to their work on DEPANA.

Lastly, in the dimension of strategic adaptation we can see the higher importance of the Europeanization. Regarding their participation on EU programs directed to regions, the RIG has done so mostly the LIFE programme, while also coordinating with other organizations in different regions. However, they do not claim to have modified in great deal their procedures, mainly because they do not have enough resources to increase their activities. Nevertheless, DEPANA shows an active membership to pan-European organizations, mainly the European Environmental Bureau (EEB)²⁷ and Eurosite²⁸, but also platform organizations such as ENDCAP²⁹. According to the interviewee, this is in part related to the relatively small size of the organization and to the fact that a good part of the relations with the EU are through legal matters that may sometimes exceed them. Their active participation on these pan-European associations, has led to important effects on legislation. DEPANA takes special pride, for example, on their collaboration on the redaction of the legislation on animal transportation. Apart from the work done through pan-European organizations, DEPANA has expressed their position regularly at the EU level by lobbying members of Parliament linked to Catalonia and working alongside the regional office in Brussels. The interviewee underscored their work on judicial complaints to EU institutions, whenever possible:

“We present complaints and go to Brussels to follow some of them, to see how they are taken into account at the DG. We either go by ourselves or with another organization such as the EEB. (...) They may take notice of us or not... but this work has been more active than that of policy-making”³⁰.

They claim to have taken part in numerous litigations since the mid-1990s and this strategy seems to have been the most favourable one for the defence of their interests. In this sense, we could say that they have had a direct impact on the development of environmental policies at the European level.

²⁷ The European Environmental Bureau, a federation of over 140 environmental citizens' organisations based in all 27 EU Member States, <http://www.eeb.org/>

²⁸ There are 61 members of the Eurosite network in 21 different countries across Europe. Eurosite's mission is to exchange, enhance and promote expertise in the management of sites for nature throughout Europe. <http://www.eurosite.org>

²⁹ ENDCAP is a coalition of European animal welfare organisations and wildlife professionals who seek greater protection for wild animals in captivity and share the position that wild animals should not be exploited for human entertainment. <http://endcap.eu/>

³⁰ *“En la presentación de las quejas, ir a Bruselas a ver el seguimiento de alguna de estas quejas, como están en la Dirección General. Nosotros directamente o acompañados de algún otro organismo como el Bureau. (...) nos harán caso o no nos harán caso... ya ha sido mas activo este papel que no tanto en la parte de gobierno”, Interview 1, 21/01/2009*

This shows some advancement in Europeanization through strategic adaptation. DEPANA oriented its strategies towards litigation at the EU level and has had results accordingly. At the same time, DEPANA expresses how the regional authority of Catalonia has helped in this development:

“What we do is vindicate the application of the directive through the terms provided by the directive. Before, the transposition of directives was first done by the state and then by Catalonia. Nowadays it is Catalonia the one that has to apply the policies. (...) A good part of our job is to complain when a directive is not followed. Or to denounce it to European authorities saying that the directive is not being followed and not being transposed and that there is an obligation to do so.”³¹

These complaints have included a protest on bird hunt on protected areas, and the directive on habitats. According to the interviewee, some of these complaints are filed but usually they are listened. A complaint that has caused some problems has been the opposition to the enlargement of the El Prat airport in Barcelona, next to the Llobregat delta. DEPANA has expressed its concerns given the fact that it is an area of environmental interest according to EU legislation. DEPANA took its concerns over the initial project to the European level and was able to make the policy makers change their original plans to take into consideration these protected areas.

The RIG's main work is done in the moment of the implementation of legislation to the national and regional arenas. DEPANA performs a strong activity of control of the implementation of environmental policies and the fulfilment of European directives in Catalonia. They claim that, given their importance as an environmental RIG in Catalonia, they have been invited to participate on several commissions and advisory groups such as the Council on the Protection of Nature or the Natural Park, Reserves and Hunting Grounds Joint Commission. Through this work, they have been able to participate on policy transposition from an early draft. This, of course, does not mean that their opinion is taken always in consideration. As the interviewee says,

³¹ *“Lo que hacemos desde hace muchos años es reivindicar la aplicación de las directivas dentro de los términos que fija la propia directiva. Antes siempre aplicábamos antes la directiva el gobierno español que el catalán. En estos momentos, el régimen autonómico que tiene Cataluña le permite aplicar, o hacer una transposición de la directiva, de aquellas competencias que le son propias. Antes siempre se avanzaba, el gobierno de Cataluña se avanzaba al estado. Buena parte de nuestra acción es básicamente quejas de incumplimiento de la directiva. O una denuncia a las autoridades europeas que diga usted no está cumpliendo la directiva, no está trasponiendo la directiva, por lo tanto tiene la obligación de hacerlo.” Op. cit.*

“Participating does not mean that you will be heard, I mean, of course, you can talk with all those people and yes, it is very interesting that they let you participate, but they will do what is convenient for them”³².

Nevertheless, DEPANA has other ways of making them be noticed, mainly through judicial action in any level of government but also through direct action.

Table 9: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – DEPANA

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives		
-Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values		
-Complete identification	2	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.		
-Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	6	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters		
-Dedicated department on EU matters	3	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources		
-The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members		
-No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	7	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations		
-Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions		
-Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies		
-Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations	0.5	0.5 each
-Work with the Regional Office	0.5	
-Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5	
-Complaints to EU institutions	0.5	
-Lobby to members of the COREPER or the Council of Ministers	0.5	
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies		
-Work on advisory committees at the regional level	0.5	0.5 each
-Direct work on drafts of policy implementation	0.5	
-Routine regular meetings with the regional government	0.5	
-Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5	
-Direct action	0.5	
SUBTOTAL	9	
Total	22	30

Source: Developed by the author

³²*“Lo que pasa es que la participación no quiere decir que lo que digas te hagan caso. Es decir, claro, yo participo aquí, hablo por toda esta gente, y si, muy interesante pero ya te han dejado participar, pero ya harán lo que les convenga” Op. cit.*

3.4.1.2 *Ecologistes de Catalunya*

Ecologistes de Catalunya (EdC) is a federation that gathers more than 20 environmentalist organizations in all of Catalonia. Unlike DEPANA, EdC is a completely independent organization from all administrations, unions, political parties or businesses. Its origins date back to 1966 when a group of Catalan environmental organizations initiated a process of coordination and debate about the state of environmentalism in Catalonia. This coordination was originally just a list of contacts to be able to act jointly in case of ecological emergency, a joint informative space to spread their activities and an annual meeting. This coordination led with time to a more profound work and to the formation in 1998 of the AEEC³³, an assembly open to all entities, provided they aimed for the protection of the environment and were not linked neither partially nor totally to political parties, public institutions, organisms, unions or business organizations. By the end of 2000, the AEEC had approved its own statutes and by 2002 it had become the EdC federation.

The main goal of EdC is the advancement of sustainability and human development. While working towards this goal, they focus on the coordination of joint actions by Catalan organizations as well as the maintenance of shared information and the link with Spanish, European and international organizations. According to its statutes, the RIG works on the spread of facts and knowledge, proposes the education of individuals towards the free acceptance of a new global socioeconomic model that respects the environment, foments dialogue with all social sectors involved, and coordinates working groups amongst the environmental collectives and other social movements. They are, in consequence, against all systems, technologies and processes that destroy or risk all natural systems or human quality of life. EdC defines itself mainly as a critical federation and it is because of this that their complete independence from other interests is one of their foundations. This critical nature has led them to stand against the new regional and European trends on sustainability and governance, considering them insufficient or lacking real content.

According to the documents analysed and the interviews, EdC has an Europeanization score of 18.5/30 points in our indicators, a total of 61.6% (See Table 10). The EdC seems to have a fairly critical position towards the EU, especially since the 2008 crisis, because of what they interpret as a change of position towards less favourable policies on the environment. However, the degree of Europeanization they have nowadays is still advanced, given their participation and organization.

³³ Assembly of Environmental Organizations of Catalonia - Assemblea d'Entitats Ecologistes de Catalunya

As we have said, the position in the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, their position is mixed. On one side, with regards to the changes in the statute, it must be said that there is no mention of the EU in statutes, only through the rhetorical mention of how the RIG represents Catalan environments interests in Europe. On the subject of identification with EU values, it is clear through the interviews that the presence of the EU has a great influence in the performance of the organization, pushing for the coordination and relation with other similar organization, besides the direct involvement in policy-making through open processes. According to them,

“On every aspect of the life of a European citizen, the norms and what is decided through the European Parliament, and on environmental issues it is no less so”³⁴.

On environmental issues, the EU has been fundamental in establishing environmental criteria that were non-existent before. The EU marked the road to follow and that is why they have a favourable position towards the integration process. However, according to the interviewee, in recent years they have seen a clear backlash in these progressive positions towards the environment related to the work of the industrial lobby. According to the RIG, there has been a clear change in the EU, and they claim:

“Ten or so years ago we always looked at the directives of the EU and other countries in Europe and they made us go towards policies as responsible as possible (...) now the directives and policies at the EU level are shrinking and we are obliged to go in that direction.”³⁵

With a growing concern on the reduction of competitiveness and since the 2008 crisis, EdC considers that the EU has changed its position and they can no longer identify themselves completely with the values the EU promotes. The speaker of the organization is very clear when she says:

“There has been a stop and some important steps backwards from the pressure of lobbies and all those States that have no real will to follow the measures implemented for the reduction of residues, prevention and avoidance of contamination and the extraction of resources”³⁶.

³⁴ *“Lo que sea cualquier aspecto de la vida de cualquier ciudadano europeo, cualquier normativa y lo que se decide en el Parlamento Europeo es capital, y a nivel medioambiental no es menos.”* Interview 2, 26/02/09

³⁵ *“Hace 10 años o así siempre mirábamos a nivel de directivas de la UE y otros países de Europa nos obligaban a que las políticas deben ser lo más responsables (...) ahora tenemos las directivas y las políticas a nivel comunitario que se achican y nos obligan a ir por ahí”* Op. cit..

³⁶ *“Ha habido un parate y un retroceso importante a partir de la presión de los lobbies y después de todos aquellos estados que no tienen ninguna voluntad de llevar adelante las medidas de reducción de residuos, de prevención y de evitar la contaminación y la extracción de recursos”* Op. cit.

When asked if they identify with the values of similar RIGs, they claim to have worked a lot with other RIGs in Spain, but especially in France. They have found that they share similar values with the French RIGs, given that *“we understand each other well because they are not as politicized (as in Spain)”*³⁷.

With regards to the dimension of organizational adaptation, EdC presents values similar to DEPANA. The material and human resources are distributed in different working areas, with no specific dedication to European matters. The RIG does not have a dedicated department, but the work is distributed amongst different areas that work on EU issues transversally, while there is also some delegation to pan-European organizations. With regards to financing, the statutes clearly establish that neither EdC nor any of the groups that form the federation are allowed to receive regular funding by institutions, which includes the EU³⁸. As a result, they obviously do not promote amongst their members the search for these resources, based on their exigency of total independence. This, of course, does not mean that they have not participated in regional programmes financed by the EU, mainly through LIFE. The relatively independent finances of EdC do not keep it from reaching a total Europeanization through organizational adaptation of 20%.

If we analyse the Europeanization through strategic adaptation, we can find that the values reached are as high as those seen in DEPANA, with a total of 8/10. The strategies shown by EdC involve not only the implementation of environmental policy at the regional level, but also the formulation at the EU level. The participation on EU programs directed to regions has been mentioned before as a source for funds, but it is important to note that this participation is by themselves and not through other organizations. Similarly, when we consider the work with pan-European organizations, EdC shows an active participation by itself at organizations such as Gaia-Europe³⁹, the ECN⁴⁰ and most importantly, the EEB. The interviewee underscored their work with the EEB, where their involvement *“has been very important for the transmission of information, knowledge, criteria and overall when negotiating laws and directives that most affect us”*⁴¹. Through their work with the EEB they have been able to promote joint actions for punctual issues as, for example, the opposition to the construction of the Very High Voltage line in the Pyrenees.

³⁷ *“En principio nos entendemos muy bien porque no están tan politicizados como están aquí”* Op. cit.

³⁸ Estatut Federació d'Ecologistes de Catalunya, art.5

³⁹ Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives <http://www.no-burn.org>

⁴⁰ The European Compost Network is the leading European membership organisation promoting sustainable recycling practices in composting, anaerobic digestion and other biological treatment processes of organic resources. <http://www.compostnetwork.info/>

⁴¹ *“Ha sido importantísima para la transmisión de información, de conocimiento, de criterio, sobre todo a la hora de negociar las leyes que nos afectan, las directivas que más nos afectan”* Interview 2, 26/02/09

The work on pan-European organizations has led to an active involvement of EdC on the formulation of EU environmental policy. Even if EdC does not participate actively in the development of policies in the Commission or lobbying the European Council, they claim to have had several meetings with European parliamentarians. In words of the interviewee:

*“Our entities, given our sizes, use this to mobilize, to put pressure on our administrations, urging them to be aware that there will be new EU directives that will affect this or that issue... putting pressure to our europarlamentarians so they will not lower the levels of environmental exigency in new directives”.*⁴²

Moreover, EdC has an important activity of complaints to the European institutions on environmental issues such as the enlargement of the ski stations in Baqueira, the contamination of water sources with nitrates in Catalonia or the proposed airdrome in Segrià.

With regards to their involvement on the implementation of environmental policy, EdC claims that most of their work is done at the regional level. According to the interviewee, their work is done by analysing the transposition of directives and pressing for its correct implementation. When asked if they are involved with national politics, they claim that as they are a Catalan organization, they are not allowed to participate at the national level. However, their work with the regional administration is much more fluid:

*“We work on delegations, have regular meetings with the Environmental Department, participate on working groups by topic, on directive or participatory councils on issues of Nature, Water or Energy”*⁴³.

Nevertheless, EdC expresses a critical position towards the regional government as well, given that the Catalan executive does not promote real participation but only consultative participation. The interviewee was especially harsh when saying that:

“Codecision, real participation, codecision on projects that affect the environment on the territory, that’s pure fallacy, because everything is consultive (...) there are no real mechanisms of

⁴² *“Nuestras entidades, depende del tamaño, lo utilizamos para la movilización, para la presión a nuestras administraciones, vigilen que ahora de Europa vendrá una directiva que nos podrá afectar en tal o cual cosa, apretar a los europarlamentarios de aquí para que haya una presión para que no rebajen los niveles de las exigencias medioambientales con las nuevas directivas”* Op. cit.

⁴³ *“Hacemos delegaciones, tenemos reuniones periódicas con el departamento de Medio Ambiente, en mesas por temas, si nosotros presentamos y participamos en los Consejos, o de dirección, o de participación de organismos de la Naturaleza, del Agua, de la Energía.”* Op. cit.

participation, and that is according to us one of the most serious situations happening in our country”.⁴⁴

According to EdC, it is only possible to be truly taken into account if they lobby through political parties such as Iniciativa per Catalunya Verts, something that EdC not only is unwilling to do, but forbids its members to be directly involved with any political parties, or to work in any political administration. In the end, even if the RIG claims that their participation is not seriously taken into account when deciding, their involvement is clear, either through formal means or through demonstrations and direct action. All in all, the Europeanization through strategic adaptation achieves a total score of 8.5/10, due to its active work both at the European and regional level.

Table 10: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – EdC

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change	0	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	4	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	6	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament -Complaints to EU institutions	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government -Direct action	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	8.5	
Total	18.5	30

Source: Developed by the author

⁴⁴ “La codecisión, la participación real, la codecisión en los planes y proyectos que afectan al medio ambiente en el territorio, eso es una pura falacia, porque todo es consultivo (...)No hay mecanismos de participación real, y esa es de las cosas que nosotros consideramos más graves que están pasando en nuestro país.” Op. cit.

3.4.2 Catalan Rural RIGs

Given that 62% of the Catalan territory is rural, home to 10% of its population, it is very important to include rural RIGs in this research, as they usually have a lot to say on environmental policies from a different perspective to that of environmentalists and industrialists. Catalonia has a long-standing tradition of cooperatives in rural areas, which are now mostly grouped in the FCAC⁴⁵. More recently, the LEADER rural initiative by the EU has helped create umbrella of small rural associations, which have in some regions continued working well beyond the original scope of the program. For Catalonia, the local action groups have banded together in ARCA.⁴⁶

3.4.2.1 FCAC

Cooperatives are autonomous associations of people that wish to fulfil together their needs as well as their social, cultural and economic aspirations, through a business of joint propriety and democratic administration. The cooperative movement was born in Europe at the beginnings of the industrial revolution and nowadays is present in the whole world and in various economic activities. In Catalonia, the cooperative movement has been part of the rural sector at least since the end of the 19th century and spread especially during the years leading to the Civil War. Afterwards, the movement experience a strong decrease, but regained strength with the return of democracy.

The Federation of Agrarian Cooperatives of Catalonia (FCAC) was created in 1983 following the legislation on cooperatives approved that year in the region. It is comprised of 250 organizations, which amount to more than 80% of the cooperatives in Catalonia and supply more than 200.000 people. Agricultural cooperatives bring together much of the food production in many sectors and constitute a powerful agribusiness characterized lately by the modernization of facilities, and the implementation of complete product control systems, ensuring the traceability of products as well as the development of promotional campaigns to reevaluate their own brands. The organization of these cooperatives in a federation gives the sector enough representative strength to defend their interests before the multiple platforms, public or private, either at the regional, national or EU arenas.

⁴⁵ Federation of Agrarian Cooperatives of Catalonia, Federació de Cooperatives Agràries de Catalunya

⁴⁶ Association of Rural Initiatives of Catalonia, Associació d'iniciatives Rurals de Catalunya

According to their statutes, the main objective of FCAC is representing the interests of the rural cooperatives and its members while offering counselling and all services needed for a competitive business management. While doing this, FCAC is committed to promoting the members and its institutions, as well as the agricultural and rural population in general, with the intention of strengthening all Catalan agricultural cooperatives. In this regard, FCAC has representatives in many organizations at regional, national and EU levels through which aims to guarantee the defence of the interests of the sector. The RIG studies, discusses and defends the interests of the cooperatives and their members while proposing solutions to the government. This active work and involvement in policy-making in all level earns the RIG a solid score of 20/30 which represents a total of 66.6% of Europeanization according to our index, and can be easily catalogue as having an advanced Europeanization (See Table 11).

If we analyse the first dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation, we can note that there have not been lots of changes to FCAC statutes along the years. However, after the modification of the region's law on cooperatives, the RIG changed its statutes to include some directives emanating from the EU. The new statutes include, for example, the obligation to publicize the internal accounting of FCAC, as a way to adequate the statutes to European corporative laws⁴⁷. However, there is no mention of EU related objectives, and the RIG does not seem to have changed its cooperative purposes because of the regional integration process. Regardless of this, there is identification with EU values but, as in most of the RIGs, this identification is not devoid of criticism. The FCAC has, for example, supported the initiatives of the EU with regards to branding and designation of origin⁴⁸, as well as negotiations with northern Africa or Turkey towards price controls on different products⁴⁹. According to our interviewee, the influence of the EU is enormous, as "the orientation of the PAC conditions the future of our partners and in consequence our own"⁵⁰. At the same time, it has expressed criticism of European policies and values of excessive free market and lack of protection for producers⁵¹, with several mentions to the decay of the CAP⁵². The interviewee also expressed that "in the agrifood sector there is a certain feeling that the policies are favouring a

⁴⁷ Llei 18/2002, art. 99

⁴⁸ "Satisfacció de la FCAC per l'activació de l'emmagatzematge privat d'oli d'oliva, encara que la mesura arriba tard", 30/09/2011, http://www.fcac.coop/sala_de_prensa/

⁴⁹ "Reunió entre la Unió Europea i Turquia per garantir un preu mínim de l'avellana", 1/10/2009 http://www.fcac.coop/sala_de_prensa/

⁵⁰ "Por ejemplo la orientación de la política agraria comunitaria condiciona el futuro de nuestros socios y en consecuencia también el nuestro." Interview 3, 18/09/2013

⁵¹ "Una hipòcrita normativa europea tolera als aliments importats allò que no permet als de casa nostra", 30/09/2008, http://www.fcac.coop/sala_de_prensa/

⁵² "La política agrària europea cada vegada és menys política, menys agrícola i menys comuna", 27/11/2007 http://www.fcac.coop/sala_de_prensa/

model of agriculture and livestock that is not related to the Mediterranean model”⁵³. Finally, FCAC shows an identification and relation with similar RIGs in other regions of the EU, but especially inside the CCAE⁵⁴ or with regions participating in LEADER. In general, the value adaptation shows a total of 5/10, representing a 16.7% of the total Europeanization of the RIG.

The dimension of organizational adaptation shows an increase of Europeanization. First, while the RIG does not have a specific department dealing solely with EU issues, it has a department that works on them amongst other responsibilities. FCAC has a technical structure under which it offers services to the cooperatives. These services include technical advice on rural matters but also information on EU matters and legislation, and management of funds and projects that are usually provided by the EU. With regards to funds, FCAC has participated on several programs promoted and funded by the EU, and in a similar way pushes their members to seek EU funding through projects such as LEADER. As we have said, the RIG provides a special service to cooperatives seeking funds at any level but especially at the EU, and gives legal and strategic advice towards a better managing of these funds. Given the fact that FCAC is strongly related to the EU with regards to funds, the final score for organizational adaptation reaches a 23,3%.

In the last dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation, FCAC shows its highest scores with a 26,6%. The participation of the RIG on EU programs directed to regions is strong, especially on programs such as PRODER⁵⁵, where FCAC was able to participate by itself. Similarly, with regards to pan-European organizations, FCAC is an active participant of COPA-COGECA. An example of this can be seen with the fact that an ex-director of FCAC, Josep Lluís Bosque, was elected while in office to be president of the dried fruits section of COPA-COGECA.

It is interesting to see that FCAC has an active participation on formulation of EU rural policies and in a related way on environmental policies. The strong ties to COPA-COGECA help them make their voices be heard more easily in Brussels, but their work does not end in pan European organizations. The RIG has a tradition of direct lobby in Brussels, whether through the regional office or to euro legislators at the European Parliament. FCAC is also strongly related to the Patronat Catalunya Mon, which promotes a stronger integration of Catalonia in the EU and the world. The

⁵³ *“En el ámbito agroalimentario existe la sensación que la políticas están favoreciendo un modelo de agricultura y ganadería que no se corresponde con el modelo de agricultura y ganadería mediterránea.”* Interview 3, 18/09/2013

⁵⁴ Confederation of Agricultural Cooperatives of Spain - Confederación de Cooperativas Agrarias de España

⁵⁵ Operative Program for the Development and Economic diversification of Rural Zones - Programa Operativo de Desarrollo y Diversificación Económica de Zonas Rurales

lobby at the EU is enhanced by the vice-presidency that FCAC has in the CCAE, which has its own offices in Brussels.

Nevertheless, because of its incidence and activities on the agricultural business, the RIG has a special status with regards to the regional administration. FCAC is proud to have a fluid relationship not only with the Agricultural Department of the Catalan government, but also with the Economic Department, the Labour Department and, even more important for this thesis, with the Environmental Department. FCAC claims to have a privileged spot in the spaces where decisions are taken. FCAC is a representative group that acts as speaker to most of Catalonia's cooperative movement as well as gives it cohesion and focus when facing the regional government. It is involved with the regional administration through an exchange of experiences and the discussion of issues involving the rural world, especially at the CTESC⁵⁶ where the RIG has a permanent member. On environmental issues, FCAC works on all the groups, which are related to rural areas, promoting the protection of nature in general, focusing on pollution and water management. An example of coordination with the Catalan government on environmental issues has been the application of the Natura 2000 network and the implementation of programs on areas vulnerable to nitrate contamination, as well as the promotion of a rational use of water, the control of greenhouse effect fumes and the waste collection. In the end, the RIG has a fluid relation with the regional government that greatly exceeds the implementation of environmental policies.

⁵⁶ Economic and Social Work Council of Catalonia - Consell de Treball Econòmic i Social de Catalunya

Table 11: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – FCAC

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	5	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	7	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission. -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	8	
Total	20	30

Source: Developed by the author

3.4.2.2 ARCA

LEADER is a local development method, part of the European Network for Rural Development funded by the European Commission, which allows local actors to develop an area by using its endogenous development potential. It has been implemented on the EU for more than 20 years, and according to their website, LEADER gives both the development strategy design and funding powers to the local level, which makes it an effective decentralization tool. The basic administrative unit is a non-profit Local Action Group (LAG) open to all actors in a given territory. The LAGs usually have tended to form a RIG to coordinate their efforts at the regional level, and in some countries they have also integrated national networks. These networks have the advantage of including traditional rural associations as well as smaller groups, with a wide territorial scope, which then sometimes continue their association well beyond the LEADER objectives.

ARCA is the RIG formed by the thirteen LAGs working in Catalonia. Recently, it has been part of the Rural Development Programme of Catalonia for the period 2007-2013. ARCA has re-launched in 2010 with the mission of representing LAGs in all levels of government and especially vis-à-vis the Catalan Department of Agriculture and other regional offices. ARCA does not aim only to represent LAGs but to become a true referent for all rural development in Catalonia, as well as a go-to source on all information related to rural issues in the region.

The RIG is structured along four main objectives, namely the provision of technical support to LAGs; the communication and dissemination of projects, good practices and methodologies; ensuring the representation and presence in all levels of government; and the participation in rural development and cooperation projects. Following these four main guidelines, the RIG the RIG statutes present a series of goals to achieve. These fundamental goals are: to promote and foster actions and projects that facilitate the integrated development of rural areas; to improve the attainment of the objectives of the Leader groups and Catalan rural development in general by providing technical assistance within a framework of work and participative debate, to improve the abilities of the Leader group specialist teams by providing training tools and actions, to foster inter-territorial and transnational cooperation, to participate in national and international networks linked to rural development and finally to establish cooperation projects with other related institutions and bodies, both public and private, and on a local, regional, national and international level. As it can be seen, the RIG has a strong participative perspective, which has led to a total score of 21 points on our index, or an equivalent of 69,9% that qualifies it as having an advanced Europeanization (See Table 12).

When we analyse the dimensions separately, we can find that in the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, ARCA scores a total of 5/10. First of all, regarding the inclusion of EU related objectives in their statute; they have claimed that their statutes follow EU laws closely. According to the interviewee, this inclusion of the EU in their statutes is indirect, basically following what regional and state law obliges. When asked whether they are identified or not with values promoted by the EU, like most RIGs in this research they have claimed to be identified but with certain criticism. The influence of the EU in a RIG is clear, given the nature of ARCA. They claim to “work according to the policies of the second pillar of the PAC on rural development, in diverse groups and sectors (youth, inequalities, entrepreneurship, renewable energies), under the EU directives but taking into account the specificities and necessities of the territory”⁵⁷. Their criticism to the EU comes mainly because of a certain lack of involvement of regions in the direct policy-making. ARCA claims to “value the participation promoted by the EU, at least in the issues we work on and know about, but we do find a lack of a more precise inclusion of the regions by the EU”⁵⁸. With regards to their work alongside similar RIGs in other regions, they claim to work closely not only on pan-European organizations but on specific projects. They specifically mentioned the Odisseu program, in which they exchanged positive experiences on the integration of youth to rural work with a similar RIG in Nord-Pas-de-Calais, France, during 2011, as well as several meetings with LAGs in different countries such as Estonia, Lithuania or Italy.

If we analyse the dimension of organizational adaptation, they score highly, with a total of 8/10. The RIG has had a department dedicated to EU matters since its inception, working on EU as well as international programs and projects. It is important to underscore the fact that this department has a person working closely with EU institutions to keep up with calls for submissions to EU projects but not to work on policy-making directly. With regards to EU funding, ARCA claims not to be funded by the EU regularly, but to receive funds sporadically. According to the interviewee, they received EAFDR⁵⁹ and ESF⁶⁰ funds but after following a selection process or through agreements with the regional government, in charge of the distribution of these funds. Thirdly, when asked whether they actively incentivize the search for EU resources amongst its members, the interviewee claims that

⁵⁷ *“En nuestro caso concreto, se trabaja de acuerdo a la política del segundo pilar de la PAC sobre desarrollo rural y en colectivos y ámbitos sectoriales diversos (jóvenes, igualdad, emprendeduría, energías renovables), en el marco y directrices de la UE, aunque atendiendo a las particularidades y necesidades del territorio”.* Interview 4, 29/08/2013

⁵⁸ *“Valoro que la UE fomente la participación (al menos en las materias y ámbitos en los que trabajamos y de los que somos conocedores). No obstante, si encuentro a faltar una inclusión más precisa de las regiones por parte de la UE.”*Op. cit.

⁵⁹ European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development.

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/agriculture/general_framework/l60032_en.htm

⁶⁰ European Social Fund. The ESF is Europe’s main instrument for supporting jobs, helping people get better jobs and ensuring fairer job opportunities for all EU citizens. <http://ec.europa.eu/esf/home.jsp>

they have organized courses directed to their members and other interest groups to raise awareness on the availability of EU funds. They have a weekly bulletin with a summary of the funding calls and programs not only at the EU level but also at the regional and national level. Their work is also more specific, given that they claim to identify the cooperation interests and fields of work of certain partners to be able to give them access to more focalized information.

Finally, on the dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation, the RIG also scores highly with a total of 7/10. With regards to pan-European organizations, while they participate on ELARD⁶¹, they do it through REDR, the national network for rural development, and not by themselves. However, they do participate actively, as we have seen above, on EU programs directed to and coordinated by regions, such as the EAFRD. According to the interviewee, they are revising their involvement to increase the lines of work and strategies for the next programming period 2014-2020⁶², so it is expected for their participation on EU programs to be increased in the following years.

The involvement of the RIG in the direct policy-making at the EU level is not as active as they would prefer. According to the interviewee, given their daily work and technical structure, they do not believe they are able to increase their involvement on EU policy-making. The interviewee repeated the criticism that

*“The EU needs to open more the participation to regions or be more inclusive to regions and, consequently, to entities such as ours”.*⁶³

As they are, they participate indirectly through REDR and ELARD to influence the policy-making process. At the same time, they try to influence policy makers whenever possible, mainly members of the European Parliament, and work closely with the regional office in Brussels. However, the RIG, claims to have an structural disadvantage, given the fact that they are:

*“A regional entity, and in European instances related to our field of work, contacts and invitations to working groups, informative rounds, etc. are done with the national entities, and given that there is a participation quota, we are not allowed to participate more actively”.*⁶⁴

⁶¹ European LEADER Association for Rural Development

⁶² *“De cara al próximo período de programación 2014-2020, se están marcando nuevas directrices u horizontes, lo que nos conlleva revisar e incrementar nuestras actuaciones, a veces precisar nuestra estrategia, nuestras líneas de trabajo, etc.”* Interview 4, 29/08/2013

⁶³ *“Como he comentado antes creo que falta que la EU ‘abra’ la participación a las regiones, o sea más inclusiva con las regiones y por lo tanto, con entidades como la nuestra por ejemplo.”* Op. cit.

⁶⁴ *“Somos una entidad regional y en las instancias europeas que más relación tienen con nuestro ámbito de trabajo, los contactos e invitaciones a grupos de trabajo, ruedas informativas, etc., lo establecen con entidades de ámbito estatal. A*

This disadvantage is overcome through their work on the implementation of environmental policy at the regional level, where their influence is clearly much stronger. Even though the interviewee considers the EU level as important as the regional level, she claims:

*“The directives of the EU are sufficiently flexible to attend the specificities of the territories and to allow public policy makers at the regional level to legislate according to these singularities”.*⁶⁵

ARCA has regular meetings with regional policy makers through formal channels, to keep up to date with policy developments. These formal meetings are usually every six months and are convened through regular mechanisms and follow formal rules, which include taking down minutes of the meeting. This access to regional policy makers allows the RIG allows them to be in close contact with the policy implementation, and ARCA is not shy to claim that it uses this access to try to influence policy in their favour whenever possible. The relative importance of the region and their easy access to regional policy makers clearly influences the orientation of the RIG strategies towards implementation over formulation of environmental policy.

veces con una cuota de participación establecida que no nos permite poder participar más activamente en estos actos.”
Op. cit.

⁶⁵ *“Las directrices de la UE para el desarrollo de las políticas públicas son suficientemente flexibles para atender especificidades de los territorios y dejar que las políticas públicas a nivel regional acaben de legislar en función de las singularidades.”* Op. cit.

Table 12: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – ARCA

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	5	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -Dedicated department on EU matters	3	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	8	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission. -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	8	
Total	21	30

Source: Developed by the author

3.4.3 Catalan Industrialist RIGs

Catalonia is, as we have said above, one of the main industrial regions in Spain and Europe. As a member of the Four Motors of Europe, it shares with Rhône-Alps, Lombardy and Baden-Württemberg a highly industrialized economy. To represent Catalan industrialist RIGs we have chosen *Foment del Treball Nacional*, Catalonia's main business association which embodies multiple industries with diverse sizes; and FedeQuim, which is the association of chemical industries, one of Catalonia's main productions.

3.4.3.1 FedeQuim

The chemical industry and the trade of chemical products have a deeply rooted tradition in Catalonia that dates back to the beginnings of the industrial revolution. Nowadays, it amounts to 48% of the whole chemical industry of Spain, and its commercial activity is even higher than that of some EU countries.

FedeQuim is the organization that gathers the enterprises in one of the main industrial areas in Catalonia, whose production is obviously intimately linked to the environment policy. Its origins date back to 1976 in the Spanish transition. After the end of Franco's regime, the different economic sectors undertook attempts to agglutinate in diverse organizations but the specific weight of the chemical industry in Catalonia and the action of its businessmen made it especially active in its organization. Soon after its creation, FedeQuim joined FEIQUE, the Spanish Federation of Chemical Industry as well as Foment del Treball Nacional and through both organizations, it joined the CEOE, the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations. Even if they are actually part of Foment del Treball Nacional, also studied for this research, the importance of the chemical sector, their organization and their will to act independently place FedeQuim in a crucial position as a business RIG.

The RIG has 220 direct Associate companies and 5 attached Associations, together forming a collective of more than 500 companies, mostly SMEs that operate in all of Catalonia. The RIG presents itself as a group interested in participating and influencing the decision-making at the regional level. It is a non-profit organization whose main objective is to defend the rights and interests of the chemical companies in Catalonia, through a follow-up by the EU, Spain and regional legal activities. According to its statutes, the basic objectives of FedeQuim are the promotion, support and defence of the interests of the chemical sector, ensuring the improvement of its

competitiveness and public image; to reply to queries and find solutions to business problems; and the corporate representation of the sector with the adequate level in each circumstance.

FedeQuim offers a permanent information and advice service to its associated, always looking after the progress of the sector companies and the betterment of its competitiveness and public image in cooperation with the FEIQUE and other associations linked to the sector. The RIG claims to be in permanent contact and dialogue with the authorities, through a good spirit of collaboration, to which not only FedeQuim members are invited to participate but also all Catalan chemical enterprises. Following our study model, the analysis of documents and the interviews show an advanced Europeanization of 66.6%, scoring 20/30 points in our indicators (See Table 13).

First, with respect to the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, FedeQuim achieves a total of 5/10. The interviewee states clearly that, nowadays, no enterprise could claim that it does not support values as that of eco-efficiency, but mainly because they go together with other values as the search for competitiveness, all of which should be dealt with some equilibrium. The changes that are noticeable in FedeQuim internal documents could be considered, in a certain way, as rhetorical. The values supported by the EU are of course included in the statutes and objectives of the RIG, however they claim:

*“It is a subject of equilibrium, the values do coincide, but it is in the way those values are translated where we can have our differences”.*⁶⁶

Following this line of argument, even if the EU seems to them beneficial in many matters, their position on environmental policies is very critical. To FedeQuim, there is hyper-regulation in the sector, which leads to a loss of competitiveness and eventually to relocation. On the other hand, while there is too much regulation, they find that there is a lack of control by the European authorities, which provokes that those businesses that follow the rules lose competitiveness over those businesses in regions where the control is non-existent. According to them:

*“The sky is filled with swords of Damocles (...) there is regulation without certainty if there is a capacity for compliance”.*⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *“Siempre es un problema de equilibrios. Los valores sí que son coincidentes. La forma de traducir esos valores es donde pueden haber diferencias”*, Interview 5, 19/02/09

⁶⁷ *“Llenamos el cielo de espadas de Damocles (...) hay regulación sin la certeza de que haya capacidad de cumplimiento”*, Op. cit.

In the end, as the interviewee says, the final result is not a preservation of the environment but relocation of business to regions where control is laxer, and persecution of businessmen not able to follow the rules. Even though this may seem as harsh criticism, the interviewee does not hesitate to state that the final results of EU environmental regulation are positive, given that:

*“Business is formed by men and women that want to live in a good environment, and if we find equilibrium we are on the correct path. (...) Evidently, if there were no regulation we would head directly towards chaos”.*⁶⁸

This ambivalent position towards the EU is present in their relation with similar RIGs in other regions. FedeQuim works with them directly and on several organizations, replicating this defensive position towards excessive regulation. FedeQuim mentions their participation and coordination in the Four Motors for Europe⁶⁹, when this organization was more active. The interviewee especially mentions their experience at the European Chemical Regions Network (ECRN), where they compare legislation on different regions as well as the pressure of the administration on chemical industries. However, when asked if they could adopt a more active role at the EU, they did not seem particularly keen in doing so, preferring their focus on regional activities, where they seem to have been more successful.

With regards on the dimension of organizational adaptation, FedeQuim follows the pattern present in EdC and on a lower scale in DEPANA. Even though they do not have a dedicated department on EU matters, there has been a reorientation of material and human resources in line with the importance of the European arena, something that the interviewee considers inevitable. This is in part a question of:

*“A matter of capacities, but also a matter of priorities set by the management board, which has not expressed an interest in having a higher involvement than the one it has now”*⁷⁰.

The environmental matters are dealt mainly through the initiatives that come directly from the EU, so the judicial area and the area of internationalization of FedeQuim are also focused on the EU. In relation to funding, they claim not to receive any European financing, however they do express

⁶⁸ *“Las empresas están formadas por hombres y mujeres que tienen familias y que quieren vivir en un buen ambiente, y eso forma parte del valor añadido de la empresa. Si se logra ese equilibrio, pues estamos en el buen camino. (...) Evidentemente si no hubiese ningún tipo de regulación iríamos de cara al caos.”*Op. cit.

⁶⁹ The Four Motors of Europe is an interregional organization formed by the governments of Catalonia, Rhône-Alps, Lombardy and Baden-Württemberg

⁷⁰ *“Hay un problema de capacidades, pero hay un problema de las políticas de participación de FedeQuim las fija la junta directiva y de momento la Junta Directiva no ha demostrado un interés específico para tener un protagonismo mayor que el que tenemos ahora”* Interview 5, 19/02/09

interest in receiving them for the implementation of some EU programs, such as REACH or the directives pushed by the EU-OSHA⁷¹, which have proved specially complicated. With regards to whether they incentivize the search for EU resources amongst its members, even though they organize courses and seminars, these are not related to EU funding and FedeQuim does not seem to promote the search for European resources. However, according to our research, some of the members of the RIG have received lines of financing for the adaptation of their installations to EU regulation.

Lastly, with regards of the strategic adaptation, on one hand they do not doubt that there has been a modification of the procedures and activities of FedeQuim following the Europeanization of environmental policy. The participation of the RIG in EU programs directed to the region is inevitable, as programs such as REACH⁷² demand their direct involvement. Their work on pan-European organizations is a clear example of this strategies adaptation. FedeQuim has been involved through Foment in Business Europe, but it has participated directly in the aforementioned ERCN, where it even has led research teams and is a very active member of CEFIC⁷³. As the interviewee says, this involvement comes from the dual nature of FedeQuim:

“From the chemical sector, our line of involvement that leads to the EU is FEIQUÉ and then CEFIC, and on a territorial level, it is through FOMENT, CEOE, Business Europe. Then what happens is that for whatever reason, people from our organization tend to be in many of the discussion tables”⁷⁴.

Through these organizations they have been able to exert indirect influence on policy-making, with varied but increasing results. However, their direct involvement on the formulation of environmental policies tends to be focused on these organisations. Even though that they have tried to exert influence on EU policy makers and they have expressed their complaints on what they call the hyper-regulation of the chemical sector, FedeQuim tends to avoid direct participation, which can be seen by the fact that they are not even related to the regional office in Brussels. As the interviewee puts it, it is a matter of respect, given the fact that they:

“Have very good friends in the administration, and it is even a matter of hierarchies. I mean, if we want to be rational, we cannot jump the middle managements, because we would not be following the protocol”⁷⁵.

⁷¹ European Agency for Safety and Health at Work

⁷² Registration, Evaluation, Authorization and restriction of Chemicals.

⁷³ European Chemical Industry Council

⁷⁴ *“Sectorialmente nuestra línea conductiva que nos lleva a la UE es de FEIQUÉ, CEFIC y por ahí llegamos, y a nivel territorial sería FOMENT, CEOE, UNICE. Entonces que pasa, es que hay gente nuestra que por la razón que sea puede suele estar en las mesas de debate o en la discusión de cualquier tema”* Interview 5, 19/02/09

The main participation on policy-making is, as in the rest of the Catalan RIGs, during transposition to Catalonia. It is at that moment that FedeQuim does its work of law-following and direct advice to the authorities. The interview emphasized that their main work is:

“Resolving issues of implementation (...) we do not work on engineering or consulting, and won’t write the drafts to the detail, but we will try to guide where to go and, if necessary, advice on which professionals that we may know can give a good solution to whatever they have planned”⁷⁶.

To achieve this result, they have a very oiled relationship with the administration. According to them, this has worked relatively in their favour, either through face-to-face meetings with representatives of the Generalitat, in working groups or through the Social and Economic Council of Catalonia. As a representative of the chemical industry, the RIG:

“Gathers opinions and evaluates them, compares them and makes them available to the administration, either if they are proactive opinions or worries such as the loss of competitiveness or benefit”⁷⁷.

The aim of FedeQuim is to try to influence a policy in the early stages of implementation, given that:

“The thing we like the least is to reach the stage in which we have to try to approve an amendment during parliamentary hearings. We believe that if we achieve a consensual solution beforehand it is much more useful”⁷⁸.

This work has given the RIG some good results in the past, being able to give their input to different environmental legislation such as the noise pollution act, that has led to a direct involvement in policy implementation.

⁷⁵ *“Tenemos muy buenos amigos en la administración. No, porque incluso por un problema de jerarquías, quiero decir, si queremos ser racionales, lo que no podemos hacer es saltarnos los estamentos intermedios que tenemos, porque si no, no estamos siguiendo el ceremonial”.* Op. cit.

⁷⁶ *“Resolvemos dudas de aplicación (...) nosotros no hacemos de ingeniería ni de ni les haremos un proyecto al detalle. Pero sí que intentamos orientar hacia dónde ir, y en el caso de ser necesario, aconsejar sobre que profesionales que nosotros podamos conocer pueden darles una buena solución al tema que tengan planteado.”* Op. cit.

⁷⁷ *“Recogemos las inquietudes e intentamos evaluarlas, compararlas y ponerlas en conocimiento de las administraciones, tanto inquietudes proactivas como inquietudes de pérdida de competitividad o de pérdida de beneficios”.* Op. cit.

⁷⁸ *“A nosotros lo que menos nos gusta es tener que llegar al estadio de en tramite parlamentario intentar que se apruebe una enmienda. Creemos que si se ha llegado a una solución consensuada primeramente es mucho más operativo.”* Op. cit.

Table 13: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – FedeQuim

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	5	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/2
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	7	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission. -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament -Complaints to EU institutions	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	8	
Total	20	30

Source: Developed by the author

3.4.3.2 Foment del Treball Nacional

Foment del Treball Nacional is the main business association in Catalonia, gathering enterprise and business organizations from all over the region and structuring them by sector and by geographical origin. It has represented entrepreneurs and the powerful Catalan industry since 1771, claiming to be the oldest union in Europe. Foment del Treball Nacional could be considered one of the main points of reference for Catalan society and an active participant in Catalonia's history. It was involved in the creation of some of the region's main industrial developments, such as the Industrial School in Barcelona, the development of the port, and the omnipresent financial organization Caixa d'Estalvis i Pensions de Barcelona.

The RIG has one main objective in its statutes and documents:

*"To be a social leader and a reference of public opinion in favour of the progress of Catalonia as an economic motor of the south-western region of Europe and the Mediterranean, in an environment of freedom, market economy, and welfare society."*⁷⁹

To achieve this, they represent Catalan business in dialogue with the society and the administration, promoting private and business initiatives, defending the social value of employers and the search for consensus in favour of economic progress of Catalonia, Spain and Europe. Foment del Treball Nacional helps the development of enterprise providing consulting services, and represents the productive sectors and all business in face of all administrations, from the regional to the European and international. They work alongside other business organizations aiming for economic development, participating in confederations at the Spanish and EU levels. The main lines of work encouraged by Foment del Treball Nacional, according to their statutes and explicit in their website are to promote a favourable regulation framework for the general interest of productive activities to facilitate investment and job creation; to be close to public administration in order to promote changes in policy when needed; and to provide direct services, mainly consulting on labour, fiscal, innovation and environmental issues, among others.

When analysing this RIG, we have put special focus on its Department of Environment (Foment-MA). Foment-MA was created officially in 1998, but the environmental commission already existed at least since 1981, working alongside various departments. This department is quite reduces but

⁷⁹ *"Ser líder social y referente de opinión pública a favor del progreso de Cataluña como motor económico del suroeste de Europa y de la cuenca mediterránea, en un entorno de libertades, economía de mercado y sociedad del bienestar."*
<http://www.foment.com/quienes-somos/paginas/vision-mision-valores.aspx>

bases itself on the support of a counsel commission of more than 200 recognized members. The main job of this department is doing a constant following of environmental legislation, not only at the moment of development in the different levels of government but also in the moment of transposition to Catalonia. Besides this, the department also advises business but they are not a consultancy agency. If we consider the Europeanization of Foment-MA, we can see that while most of the issues follow the broad guidelines marked by the general direction by institutional inertia, in many other issues they present their own position, usually quite critical to the EU. Nevertheless, they manage to reach a score of 24/30 in our Europeanization index, reaching a fully consolidated Europeanization of 79,9% (See Table 14).

If we contemplate the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, these results are quite interesting considering their critical position to EU environmental policies. On one hand, regarding changes in their statutes, there are considerable changes to include the EU. In article 5.1.c), under the title of purposes and functions, the RIG mentions the goal to “represent the productive sectors, territories and enterprises, small, middle sized and big, in face of administrations and public institutions, economic, political and social organizations in Catalonia, Spain, the European Union and internationally, wherever appropriate”⁸⁰, while in article 5.1.e) it states the purpose of “working alongside other business organizations to achieve together, and eventually through the integration into confederal organizations of Spain and the European Union, goals of development and economic progress of businesses of the widest scope”⁸¹. These are not rhetorical changes but a true adaptation of the internal documents of Foment del Treball Nacional to include the European Union in its areas of intervention.

It seems quite clear that the European arena has been crucial and exerts a huge influence in the way the RIG behaves, especially in its environmental department. According to the interviewee, if she did not consider seriously the European arena she should be fired, because it is the foundation of her work. According to the interviewee, the EU is:

⁸⁰ *“Representar els sectors productius, els territoris i les empreses petites, mitjanes i grans davant les administracions i institucions públiques, organitzacions econòmiques, polítiques, sindicals i socials de Catalunya, Espanya, la Unió Europea i de caràcter internacional, en el que sigui procedent.”*

⁸¹ *“Col•laborar amb altres organitzacions empresarials per tal d'assolir en comú, i eventualment mitjançant la integració en organitzacions confederals d'àmbit espanyol i de la Unió Europea, finalitats de desenvolupament i progrés econòmic i de les empreses, de més ampli abast.”*

“The origin of all regulation that is then implemented and is the object of our analysis, our study and our worries.”⁸²

Foment-MA expresses in its documents and in the interviews a very critical position towards the EU. They claim, as FedeQuim, that there is hyper-regulation, a lack of evaluation of costs and benefits when developing policies and populist politics oriented to using environmental issues on behalf of European institutions. In this regard, the interviewee expressed that:

“If it didn’t talk about the environment, nobody would pay attention to the EU. Really, what is the EU’s motivation? Is it the defence of its economy and for it to be competitive and to be able to go to international markets with an added value? I think not, clearly, because they are creating environmental policies as fireworks, with more or less complexity, to dazzle the people and to search for their place in the world.”⁸³

With regards to their work with similar RIGs in other regions, even though they have had joint works through FODERE⁸⁴, Foment-MA finds that the problems of the regions in this forum do not necessarily relate to those of Catalonia, given that most of those are regions from the centre and north of Europe. Foment also works closely with the similar RIGs at the Four Motors of Europe. Nevertheless, they believe they have similar problems with regions in the Mediterranean area and they may need to increase their joint ventures.

With regards to the Europeanization through organizational adaptation, Foment del Treball Nacional claims there is no dedicated department for EU issues. There is, however, a clear reorientation of resources to deal more with those matters, which goes in line with the changes in its statutes. This can be related to an interest that is clear in the documents analysed, in maintaining the structure of Foment as small and dynamic as possible. The EU has become an integral part of the RIGs day-to-day work and every department, and Foment-MA in particular, is involved with EU issues. With regards of resources, as it was the case with FedeQuim, Foment receives EU funding sporadically, in relation to the application of programmes such as REACH. The RIG does not receive EU funds regularly, as its members fund it. On the issue of the search for EU funding amongst its members, it is highly promoted by them. As It was described above, one of Foment’s goals is the

⁸² *“Efectivamente el ámbito europeo es la base de la regulación que a continuación se desarrollará y es objeto de nuestro análisis, de nuestro estudio y de nuestras preocupaciones.”* Interview 6, 12/01/09

⁸³ *“Si dejase de hablar de medio ambiente pues creo que nadie la escucharía ya. (...) ¿Realmente la motivación es la defensa de los intereses de su tejido económico y el velar porque este tejido económico sea competitivo y pueda salir a los mercados internacionales con un valor añadido? Yo creo que no, claramente, pues es que se están haciendo políticas ambientales como fuegos de artificio con mas o menos complejidad para deslumbrar al personal y buscar un sitio en el mundo.”* Op. cit.

⁸⁴ Forum para el Desarrollo Empresarial de las Regiones Europeas

provision of direct services. These services include consulting and formation on EU lines of funding for business, and the best way to obtain EU resources. Apart from these seminars, Foment usually publicizes in its bulletin whenever a new call for submissions to EU funding is available.

Finally, regarding the strategic adaptation, even if Foment-MA initially stated that a more active participation at the European level would be desirable, they also claim that such strategy would not be beneficial. The difference resides in two arguments, first because they consider that at the European level and outside of the protection of Business Europe or the Spanish representation, they would not be taken seriously, and second, because for them “the root of the problem is not in Brussels”⁸⁵. Foment has a critical position on the environmental developments at the European level, channelled through Business Europe and the CEOE. Foment-MA seems to find an evident lack of coherence in policy makers, as they do not seem to know at all the problems in implementation. However, they do tend to express their criticism directly, given the fact that:

“The CEOE tends to merge the sensibilities of all seventeen ACs, Catalonia has the singularity of having an industrial presence much larger than the average AC, so Catalonia is usually a dissenting voice in many issues”⁸⁶.

It is because of this that the position adopted at a national level may not always be the best according to Foment-MA’s criteria. Something similar occurs in Business Europe, where their position is more diluted and it is because of this that they consider that Foment-MA should adopt an independent and strong position whenever necessary, severing the link with other organizations. Even if they have claims like those, they do participate actively in Business Europe and in the consultation rounds on directives being developed by the Commission, and they have even proposed their own methodology to speed the feedback during their participation. The RIG claims to have meetings with EU policy makers whenever possible, but with regards to the other organizations it belongs to. The interviewee explained it as:

“We are free to call somebody from the Commission, and in fact we do it, but when we invite somebody from the Commission, or even if we invite somebody from Business Europe, we always take CEOE in consideration, which is the contact organization with EU level organizations”⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ “La raíz del problema no está en Bruselas”. Interview 6, 12/01/09

⁸⁶ “Normalmente la CEOE tiene que amalgamar las sensibilidades de las 17 CCAA (...) Cataluña tiene como particularidad, bueno, usted lo sabrá, una presencia industrial muy superior a la media de CCAA, por lo tanto, nuestra opinión suele ser una voz discordante en muchos temas” Op. cit.

⁸⁷ “Nosotros somos perfectamente libres de convocar a alguien de la Comisión y de hecho lo hacemos. Pero cuando se invita a alguien de la Comisión Europea o cuando incluso se invita a alguien de Business Europe, por respeto institucional siempre se cuenta con la CEOE, que sería, digamos, el órgano de contacto con los organismos de ámbito europeo.” Op. cit.

They are also directly involved in policy-making through their office in Brussels and with the regional office and by this way they inform and transmit to their members the developments at the European level.

As it is, the participation of Foment in the formulation of environmental policy at the EU level, while diluted inside organizations such as CEOE and Business Europe, is vibrant and active. But yet again, their main activity is not in Brussels but in the implementation of policy in Catalonia. As the interviewee said:

“Our problems do not come from regulation but from how it is implemented and the discretion margin that the competent authority theoretically has”⁸⁸.

Nevertheless, this involvement is not free of complaints as well. As said above, the CEOE does not reflect their position or the position they would like to adopt in front of the EU. At the same time, when the policy is transposed at the regional level, the government does not defend their positions, mainly because “the politization, and I mean electoralization, of environmental policies is evident”⁸⁹. It is interesting to note that, even if the interviewee expresses these complaints, she does not hesitate to state that she “almost writes the transposed legislation herself”⁹⁰. The participation of Foment is in line with its importance in Catalonia’s civil society, and it is regularly included in consultation rounds and discussions through the environmental offices at the regional administration. Even though Foment may have its criticism to the environmental policies implemented, it is clear that their participation in the process that leads to this implementation in Catalonia is constant and fundamental.

⁸⁸ *“Nuestros problemas, ya le digo, no devienen del origen de la regulación, devienen de cómo se implementa eso, y de cuál es el margen de eh, de discrecionalidad, en teoría, que tenga la autoridad competente”.* Op. cit..

⁸⁹ *“Que la politización, y cuando digo politización es la electoralización de las políticas ambientales es muy evidente”* Op. cit.

⁹⁰ *“Yo leo y sigo toda la regulación europea, estatal y por supuesto autonómica, que esa ya no es que la lea, esa es que la escribo”* Op. cit.

Table 14: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – Foment del Treball Nacional

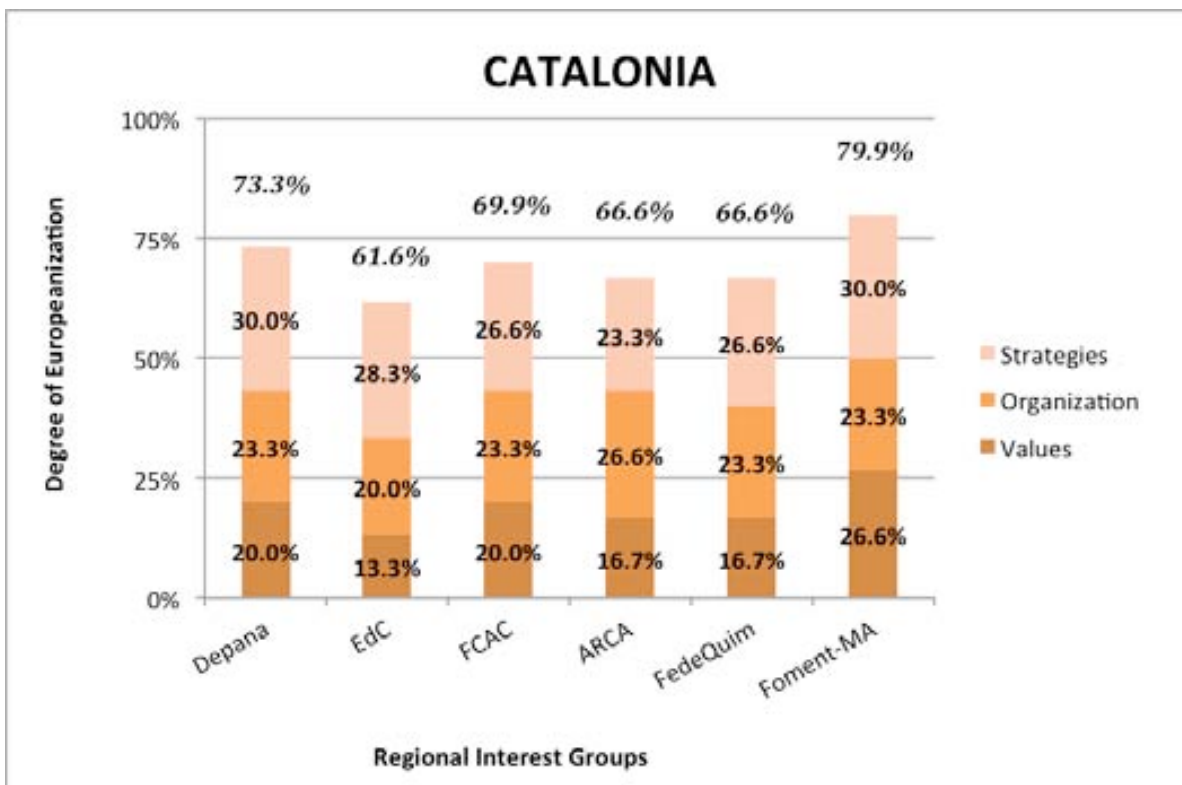
	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Considerable changes and inclusion in the statutes	4	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	8	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	7	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission. -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament -Lobby to members of the COREPER or the Council of Ministers	0.5 0,5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	9	
Total	24	30

Source: Developed by the author

3.4.4 Dimensions of Europeanization compared in Catalonia

A better understanding of the Europeanization of RIGs in Catalonia can be achieved if we compare the dimensions transversally. The purpose of this section is to compare the levels of Europeanization achieved by environmentalist, rural and industrial RIGs on the different dimensions used in the Europeanization index. After applying our Europeanization index in Catalonia we can see an Europeanization that ranges from 61.6% to 79,9% (See Table 15). The results obtained have been traduced into a bar chart for a better visualization (See Graphic 2).

Graphic 2 Environmental Policy and Dimensions of Europeanization- Catalonia



Source: Developed by author

Table 15 – Values of Europeanization of RIGs - Catalonia

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	DEPANA	EdC	FCAC	ARCA	FedeQuim	Foment	CODE
VALUE ADAPTATION							10
New EU related objectives	1	0	1	1	1	4	0/4
Identification with EU values	2	1	1	1	1	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.	3	3	3	3	3	3	0/3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION							10
Redirection of internal resources	3	2	2	3	2	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources	3	3	3	3	3	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members	1	1	2	2	2	2	0/2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION							10
Participation in pan-European organizations	2	2	2	2	2	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions	2	2	2	2	2	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies	2.5	2	2	2	2	2.5	0/3
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies	2.5	2.5	2	2	2	2.5	0/3
Total	22	18.5	20	21	20	24	30
	73,3%	61,7%	66,7%	70%	66,7%	80%	100%

Source: Developed by author

At a first glance, even if the values diverge considerably, one can see similarities on the Europeanization in the different adaptations presented by the RIGs. The Europeanization of RIGs from the environmental policy is mostly advanced and in one case fully consolidated. Even though EdC presents lower indicators, it is interesting to take into account that they all follow a similar pattern. All groups, with the exception of EdC, claim to have changed their values considerably to include European interests. The identification and work with other organizations in different regions across Europe plays a crucial role in raising these numbers as well. These scores on the valorative adaptation can relate to the relevance that the EU has had on the advance of environmental regulation. The case of Foment del Treball is relevant because of the fact that the inclusion of EU values has reached the RIGs statutes. Even though there is an Europeanization of values, it must be said that all of them but DEPANA expressed certain criticism. Europeanization of values certainly does not mean blind acceptance.

In the organizational dimension, it is very interesting to see that all the RIGs share similar values regarding the distribution of resources to departments on EU matters. All of them have had to reorganize themselves to increase the material and human resources of their departments or even have a specific department devoted to EU matters. It is important to establish that even though they have people working on EU matters, they also tend to delegate some of these issues to pan-European organizations. In relation to funding, there is a homogeneous pattern as well, given the fact that all the RIGs receive European resources or participate in programmes sporadically. With regards to the search for EU resources amongst its members, the results are varied, but most RIGs do promote it.

Lastly, in the strategic adaptation, all the groups seem to take special consideration in the participation in pan-European organizations. With regards on the direct involvement on EU policy-making, they seem to work through these organizations and the regional office, as well as lobbying EU politicians. Nevertheless, the main participation of these RIGs is at the moment of implementation of environmental policies to the region. The difference between industrialists, rural and environmentalists can be seen more directly in this dimension. First it is shown by lack of doubt DEPANA and EdC have in claiming that they try to influence the regional government through means such as legal accusations or direct action. On the other hand, the direct involvement in drafting the implementation of the EU policies is more pronounced in the rural and industrialists, especially Foment.

In general, the strategic and organization adaptations have the highest values. It seems that groups from the environmental policy take especially into account the European arena when defining their action plans. The fact that the pattern of public/private relations of the environmental policy is open to participation can be a facilitating factor when working in the region. Although, even if their strategies are oriented to the EU, they seem to adopt a critical and prudent position reflected on the value adaptation. A fundamental factor is evidenced on the funding, where one can suppose that the EU, even though is taken into account, is not the main source for financing. Summarizing, one can say that RIGs from an environmental policy area considered for this study tend to present an advanced or fully consolidated Europeanization, orienting their strategies to participating on the development and following of European policies, but with critical and prudent values, fundamentally their own resources and an organization that deals with European issues but not exclusively.

3.5 Mediating factors in Catalonia

The reason for why the Europeanization of RIGs may be linked to regional authority can be related to some factors that are described in this section. It may be linked to the fact that a higher regional authority may have a better structure for the representation of interests in policies as regionalized as this one. We can also suggest that a low regional authority may restrict collective action in the region, while a high regional authority may emphasize it, mainly stimulating the participation in subjects where the region is decisive. The more or less important role of the region as a promoter of RIGs according to the regional authority they present seems to be a recurrent issue in the interviews we conducted and could show a possible response to the link with a higher Europeanization as well. In this sense, it is useful to remember the importance of the mediating factors for Europeanization, meaning those factors intervening to ease or harden the Europeanization at subnational levels (Risse et al, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003). As it was indicated in the research design, we expect to find more favourable mediating factors in regions with a higher regional authority. The mediating factors presented by the authors are the veto players, the formal institutions, the informal cooperative institutions and the agents of change (Risse et al, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003). We have applied our Europeanization index to the RIGs in Catalonia and have seen that they can be classified as having a fully consolidated or advanced Europeanization. At the same time, we have seen that Catalonia scores high in the regional authority index. We now have to analyse the relationship between both.

In relation to the existence of veto players, we have seen that it is preferable for the decisions to be taken by the fewer amounts of people possible, so the process will not allow for more veto players. What we mean as veto players are not necessarily the players present in the Catalan political system, such as coalition parties or the different branches of government, but the decision makers in the policy we are considering for our research, mainly at the regional level, given the regionalization of environmental policy. If environmental policies are implemented across different departments in a decentralized manner, we can infer that there will be more veto players. In the case of Catalonia, there is a main department working on environmental policy, but there are others that are still involved in the decision-making process. The Department of Territory and Sustainability is the one most dedicated to environmental issues, but some environmentally important areas are situated in different departments. The Management of Natural Spaces or Flora and Fauna, for example, belong to the Department of Agriculture, while the Management of Energy belongs to the Business

Department. This dispersion could lead to an increase in veto players. There are a number of institutional actors, both at State and a regional administrative level, having the capacity to obstruct policy decision-making in a number of ways. However, there is a clear allocation of responsibilities, which makes it harder to avoid blame⁹¹. During the interviews it was also stated that the fact that some of the issues on environmental protection are still decided by the central government is a constraint in the capacities of the regional government and in this sense could increase veto players. All in all, in the matter of veto players, as it was the case before (Aguilar et al, 1999) it still cannot be claimed that Catalonia has an easy process of decision-making and conflict resolution in environmental policy. The Europeanization of RIGs could be constrained by this dispersion of responsibilities in the administration, mainly due to a lack of focus on where to aim their mostly scarce resources to obtain results in their strategies for the implementation of environmental policy. Even if, as one interviewee said, there have not been problems in this sense⁹²; the potential for interdepartmental conflict is there.

Regarding the formal facilitating institutions, the path is much more favourable. Formal facilitating institutions are those that empower RIGs with resources, information, access, etc. First and foremost, access to public information is a standard maintained across all the departments of the Generalitat. This is applied to all the policies, but the Department of Territory and Sustainability has implemented, with ups and downs, several processes of consultation or processes of participation for the general public, such as the one applied for the Plan for Energy and Climate Change in 2011. The aim is for these processes to be applied in the future to all the decisions that involve the general public. Normally, the consultation is open to the public but, as stated by one interviewee, some actors express a special interest in participating. In this way, the administration tends to focus on the RIGs involved in environmental policy and tries to incorporate them to the policy-making. When asked if some groups are favoured by the administration, such as the business organizations, the interviewee was quick to state that, on the contrary:

“Business organizations are not so keen on working on environmental issues, so they do not participate as long as we don’t ask them to, while environmental organizations want to participate in the development of projects, programs and legislation”⁹³.

⁹¹ Interview 19, 26/01/2012

⁹² Op. cit.

⁹³ *“Lo que pasa es que los industriales no son especialmente proclives a trabajar por los temas ambientales, entonces ellos participan en tanto y en cuanto nosotros les pedimos que participen, pero con las entidades ambientales, las que son especialmente ambientales, tenemos una relación muy fluida, porque ellos han expresado su voluntad de querer trabajar conjuntamente con nosotros en la elaboración de proyectos, programas y normativas.”* Op. cit.

These consults have proven to be fruitful and useful for the administration. However, when asked what would happen if there were conflict between what is proposed by the RIGs and a political decision by the administration, the interviewee did not hesitate to answer that whenever that happens, RIGs are informed of what causes a certain decision⁹⁴. This consultation process normally takes two or three stages. First the department presents a basic document that allows for the involvement of RIGs. They organize sessions, which could take place all around Catalonia and open an online space for the general public. In this way, they can gather information and proposals, which are then studied and considered for the plan, program or normative they are developing. Once they have their plan, there is another round of sessions where their decisions are explained and a final document is presented. The final stage is the process of public information, in which there is a last round of proposals from the general public. A different formal institution for participation is through the Inter-sectorial Commission that is established for the control of any important policy implemented. The RIGs that can participate in these Commissions are, again, those willing to get involved in the decision-making. As it can be seen, there are several formal facilitating institutions in the decision-making process for environmental policy in Catalonia that facilitate in a great way the involvement of RIGs. By allowing them to channel their proposals through formal institutions, the administration is facilitating their Europeanization as well.

The third mediating factor presented by the authors is the existence of informal cooperative institutions, which are often conceived as cultural understandings that define the realm of what is legitimately possible in the decision-making process. In this way, the continuous search for the participation of the civil society in their decision-making processes is a cultural understanding that increases the possibilities for the Europeanization of RIGs. When asked about this, one interviewee expressed that it is certainly not a written rule, but openness and participation is usually expected for any new policy. As he said:

“There is a culture in favour of listening and incorporating opinions (...) which predates this government and is transversal to parties”⁹⁵.

However, this participation should not be confused with an active search for consensus. Participation processes are opened to gather information and proposals, but the final say belongs to the administration, and it is not compulsory for them to take into account whatever the RIGs want done. RIGs can give proposals if there is a participation process, or they can control if they are

⁹⁴ Op. cit.

⁹⁵ *“Existe una cultura en favor de escuchar e incorporar opiniones (...) que antecede a este gobierno y es transversal a todos los partidos”* Op. cit.

involved in Intersectorial Commissions, but they are not the ones that take the decisions for the administration. There is an informal institution that values cooperation but also regards representation and the independence of the administration as a value. If it were known that the department is subject to intimidation by business or environmental organizations, the administration would suffer a great political cost. A different cultural understanding is related to the importance of the implementation of EU rules, norms and ways of doing things. In this way, Catalonia facilitates the Europeanization of RIGs, by aiming for the Europeanization of its administration.

The final mediating factor is the existence of agents of change, i.e. actors mobilized domestically to persuade others in favour of Europeanization. One of the interviews revealed showed that in general the regional administration itself is considered as an agent of change that favours the Europeanization of RIGs by facilitating their involvement in policy-making. In a similar way, he considers that environmental organizations, which are especially willing to participate, are also very important environmental policy-making. There is a learning curve for the administration as well as for the RIGs, in which they are both acquiring the basic knowledge for collaboration and for participation at other levels of policy-making⁹⁶. The administration is learning which subjects can be of the interest of RIGs, while RIGs learn to prioritize and get involved in those matters in which they can have a more profound impact. This learning process is continuing and probably, as one interviewee said, will never end. As the RIGs europeanize, they are transformed into new agents of change. It must be said that environmental RIGs, due to the characteristics of the environmental policy, are probably even more europeanized than other RIGs and may lead the pack. Other agents of change in Catalonia are related to but outside the administration, such as the Patronat Catalunya Món, which gathers the regional and local administrations, chambers of commerce, banks and universities to promote the region in Europe and across the globe.

⁹⁶ Op. cit.

3.6 Final remarks on the case of Catalonia

For the final remarks of this chapter, it can be useful to analyse the case of Catalonia through the hypotheses we proposed. Given the information we have obtained in the in-depth analysis of regional authority and mediating factors in the region and the scores achieved by the RIGs on our Europeanization index, we can begin to approximate a conclusion.

The first pair of hypotheses was related to how we can detect Europeanization, and the link between regional authority and the Europeanization of RIGs. According to hypothesis 2, higher levels of Europeanization of RIGs should be present in regions with a higher regional authority. Catalonia presents a superior to average level of regional authority, and its RIGs show an Europeanization roughly between 61,7% and 80%. As we can see, there is a high regional authority paired with a mildly high Europeanization of RIGs, which leads to a preliminary confirmation of the hypothesis 2.

The second set of hypotheses tries to explain the possible link between regional authority and Europeanization of RIGs, through the work of the mediating factors for policy-making. The findings suggest that regional authority has enhanced effects when mediating factors for policy-making are present, and as a consequence this leads to a higher Europeanization of RIGS. As it can be seen, while the distribution of environmental decision makers across different departments could lead to an abundance of veto players, the other mediating factors seem to favour the Europeanization of the RIGs in Catalonia. The existence of these facilitating mediating factors is clearly linked to a high regional authority, given that they are all related to Catalonia's capacities in the implementation of environmental policy and in the promotion of participation. In this way, the high regional authority leads to a higher Europeanization of the Catalan RIGs through the increase of the mediating factors that favour it and through the control of those factors that could harden it.

The case we have presented here shows a relatively high regional authority, as we have seen. Compared to Tuscany and Wales, according to the regional authority index, Catalonia scores in the highest spectrum of regions in Europe. Following our research, we find that RIGs working on environmental policy in Catalonia that we have studied present an advanced or almost fully consolidated Europeanization. In the case of Catalonia then, we can see a high Europeanization of RIGs with a high regional authority and facilitating mediating factors in the administration. Regarding mediating factors of policy-making, we can see that there are several facilitating mediating factors in the administration that clearly help the RIGs be involved in policy implementation, and even provide the background for a successful intervention in policy formulation at the EU level, such as in the cases of DEPANA and Foment del Treball Nacional. The strong regional authority of Catalonia seems to be able to provide a favourable milieu for the participation of RIGs and through this a push for

Europeanization. All in all, for the case of Catalonia, the high Europeanization of RIGs and the high regional authority seem to be associated to the presence of certain mediating factors, namely less veto players and more facilitating institutions and agents of change, for the participation of RIGs in the implementation of environmental policy in the region.

Europeanization of RIGs in Catalonia does not seem to vary depending on the fact that the RIGs are environmentalist, industrialist or rural. However, the difference between industrialists, rural and environmentalists can be seen more directly in their attitude towards policy implementation. Environmentalists try to influence the regional government through means such as legal accusations or direct action, while rural and industrialists prefer to be directly involved in policy drafts. All of them show similar levels of Europeanization, advanced or fully consolidated, even if some of the values diverge. As it was said before, it is interesting to take into account as well that they all follow a similar pattern. All groups, with the exception of EdC, claim to have changed their values considerably to include European interests, even though they expressed certain criticism. All of them have had to reorganize themselves to increase the material and human resources of their departments or even have a specific department devoted to EU matters, and actively search EU funds. Lastly, all the groups seem to take special consideration in the participation in pan-European organizations, are in a way involved on EU policy-making, but their main participation is at the moment of implementation of environmental policies to the region. All in all, Catalan RIGs from the environmental policy area considered for this study tend to present an advanced or fully consolidated Europeanization, orienting their strategies to participating on the development and following of European policies, but with critical and prudent values, fundamentally their own resources and an organization that deals with European issues but not exclusively. The institutional factors related to regional authority in Catalonia, then, seem to affect the way the RIGs adapt their values, organization and strategies towards the EU.

It is probable that certain mediating factors lead to favourable results for the RIGs through their active intervention, which makes it preferable for them to try to adapt to increase their participation with matters related to the EU. Catalan RIGs seem to find that their active involvement in policy implementation precludes them from intervening more in policy-making. It will be interesting to find out in the following cases presented in this research whether less favourable mediating factors lead to differential strategies towards the EU and a similar Europeanization, or whether it leads to a reduced participation in general and a reduced Europeanization.

4 Regional Interest Groups in Tuscany

Since the Italian *Risorgimento*, the Tuscan region has been at the avant-garde of the autonomic developments. This role of regional leadership in Italy is related to its important history and cultural legacy related to mercantilism, its institutional tradition, the active participation of its citizens, and its economic diversity (Leonardi, 1994). The economic dynamism present in Tuscany has led it to an advantageous position in relation to other Italian and European regions. This dynamism is based on three fundamental pillars: an economy based on small producers, strong political institutions at the regional level and a conscious civil society (Tomassini, 2005).

The economic performance of the region surpasses the European average and has experienced a considerable development since the 1970s, which has led it to close the gap with the strongest regions. Before the Second World War, Tuscany was an agricultural region with active urban centres but a minimal industrialization. The aftermath of the war led to a change in their economy and society⁹⁷, as well as a quick industrialization around the cities, mostly related to the fashion industry, as well as some heavy industry around Pistoia, Pisa and Florence (Bellanca, 2012). It must be said, nevertheless, that Tuscany is not at the front of the industrialized regions in Italy, but quite the contrary. The region still maintains an important agricultural sector and an economy strongly inclined

⁹⁷ Migration to urban and industrialized centers made Tuscany a part of the Italian “red zone”, traditionally under the rule of the left, represented by the Italian Communist Party. Since the implosion of the traditional party system in the *tangentopoli* scandal of the early nineties, the left governing Tuscany is a coalition of socialists, communists and Christian democrats unified under the Democratic Party (PD). The catholic and leftist tradition allowed for the alternation of progressive governments that maintained the stability of the economic system, protecting and supporting the traditionally small scale of the industries (Garmise, 1994).

to tourism (Becattini et.al, 2006). The Tuscan socioeconomic structure is based on small businesses concentrated around industrial districts (Cavaliere, 1999; Bellanca, 2012). These industrial districts are formed by hundreds of small companies specialized in one sector of the market such as glass, textiles or marble. The flexibility and specificity of the companies is combined with a high degree of competitiveness based on quality and not on prices or cost (Garmise, 1994; Becattini et.al, 2006). They created networks of cooperation and competition, helped by the sense of belonging to a community and the close relationship with regional institutions as well as to sectorial organizations, research centres and universities. Through these organizations, the resources are shared for the benefit of the industrial sector and the protection of their small and medium enterprises.

The economic development in Tuscany owes much to the increase in the capacities of its regional institutions and their continuous support. A culture of governance has deeply influenced the regional policy-making. Regional institutions have always looked for the advice and support of civil society and economic actors. This has particularly been so during the devolution process with the central Italian administration, and during their work at the European level (Piattoni y Smyrl, 2003). Due to their scarce power, the Italian regions have traditionally supported pragmatic policies of regional development. In Tuscany in particular this has translated to a support of small and medium enterprises through credits, technical education and regulation of externalities and the job market, as well as partnerships on large-scale projects. At the same time, the region is in charge of the social services structure that helps avoid social conflict and acts as the main contact for RIGs with other levels of government. The regional institutions usually try to achieve a social consensus for the policies they present. For businesses and RIGs, the role of promotion done by the Tuscan government has a direct impact to their benefit (Dal Canto, 2012; Picchi, 2012).

The economical matrix and the political system are supported by a civil society that shows a high degree of social capital (Putnam et al., 1993). The historical tradition of the Tuscan society allows for the development of social and civil networks that, if we follow the social capital theory, lead to the improvement of the institutions of government and a stronger economy (Passaleva, 2012). The cooperation in networks of small businesses is one of the key elements of the economic development of Tuscany. The Tuscan social capital produced by the great number of civil associations and the common history of its citizens, allows and pushes for the cooperation not only amongst businesses and the regional institutions but also with RIGs and other actors. Apart from what was studied by Putnam et al. (1993), it cannot be clearly determined that the social capital is the main reason for the development in Tuscany, but it can be said that it is a favourable intervening factor. Tuscany not only has an efficient social structure, but also a competent economic matrix and committed institutions that support them (Bellanca, 2012; Bagnoli, 2012).

In section 4.1 we track down the history of regionalism in Italy and Tuscany, focusing on history from the Italian Risorgimento and since the end of the Second World War. Section 4.2 deals with the score of Tuscany in the regional authority index by Hooghe et al. (2008b). In section 4.3 we describe how environmental policy is implemented in Tuscany, and the institutions that deal with it. Afterwards, sections and subsections in 4.4.1 through 4.4.3 analyse in detail the Tuscan environmental, rural and industrial RIGs and 4.4.4 provides a comparison between RIGs. Finally, section 4.5 describes the mediating factors for the Europeanization of RIGs in Tuscany. We end this chapter with some final remarks.

4.1 Italian Regionalism and the case of Tuscany

Regionalism in Italy is not a new phenomenon, but can be in fact dated to the 16th century (Levy, 1996; Lyttelton, 1996). In contemporary times however, there was a period of retraction following the unification in 1860 (Hine, 1996) and recently, there has been a process of decentralization started in the 1970s, with multiple cycles of change and stagnation (Leonardi, 1992), but which has seen meaningful progress since the 1990s (Baldi, 2006).

The regionalist movement in Italy did not develop in the same way as in other European countries. The strong regional identities that can be found in regions such as Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany or Veneto are based on the existence of independent administrations up to the 18th century, with its own defined political style. In these regions, the existence of an important city fomented the development of an identity that tended to diminish as the distance from the city increased. Consequently, these regions were not considered the main source of identification for citizens, given that they tended to focus on the city and its surroundings. This phenomenon was intensified during the industrialization and internal migration processes (Lyttelton, 1996).

The Italian unification process was accompanied in the north of the country with a negation of regional interests, especially the influence of the capital cities, their institutions and their administrations. In the south of the country on the other hand, even though it was mostly annexed through conquest, there was no development of a regionalist movement with a substantial influence, even in regions with ethno-linguistic singularities, with the possible exception of Sardinia and Sicily (Putnam et al., 1993). The institutional order that followed unification implanted a centralized system based on the Napoleonic model, fearing that recognizing the administration of regions would support the implementation of a risky federalism (Leonardi, 1992; Lyttelton, 1996). Basically, this Napoleonic legacy, fomented later during the fascist years, maintained a direct control from Rome, where the relationship with regional interests tended to go through parliamentary and corporatist

channels. Regional representatives and city mayors would then have a clientelist relationship with the central government, based on the distribution of resources (Levy, 1996). As a consequence of this constant dependency on Roman resources and of the appearance of new class identities from industrialization, the regional identity never completely developed on most of the Italian regions (Lyttelton, 1996).

The participation of regional movements during the Second World War, especially in Sicily, and the repulsion to the excessive centralism of fascism were enough for the implementation of a territorial reorganization of Italy in 1948 (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003). Regions were finally recognized as a necessary unit for democratization, development and a better administration, but without a proper representation in the national government (Hine, 1996). The protests of the strong regions, similar to the special regions in post-Franco Spain, led to the establishment of five special governments in Sicily, Sardinia, D'Aosta Valley, Trentino-Alto Adige and Friuli-Venezia Giulia. The regional administration of Italy was a compromise to avoid again the federalist option (Baldi, 2006; Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003). The rest of Italy was then symbolically divided in fifteen ordinary regions that were not really implemented until 1970, mainly because of a parliamentary gridlock and the lack of truly regional pressure groups (Leonardi, 1992). The power of regions was considered as limited and residual. If we add up to this the minimal representation of regions in the Italian Senate, exclusive regional powers⁹⁸ and financial autonomy were truly scarce⁹⁹. Even if since the beginning the special regions had legislative capacities on several issues, they needed to be based on national legislation as a framework, usually very detailed. The regional legislation also needed to respect the national interest and was controlled by a commissary of the government. All this made the regional legislative power a subsidiary of the national government (Hine, 1996). The regions were seen mainly as administrative units, without their own dependencies and with delegated funds from the central government, all of which fomented a culture of dependency (Baldi, 2006). The Italian party system that prevailed up to the early 1990s supported this centralized relationship, minimizing the relevance of regional governments. Voters then saw regional elections as just a preview for general elections. The interests of the regions were only represented through national party structures (Hine, 1996).

⁹⁸ The 1947 Constitution gave regions the power over provincial and local governments, local police, fairs and markets, public work projects and aqueducts, harbors mineral waters, excavations, hunting and fishing, agriculture and craftsmanship, as well as a structural core for a regional government, some financial resources and a formal relationship with the local and national authorities (Leonardi, 1992).

⁹⁹ In the early 1990s, 60% of the income of the special regions depended on transferences from the central government, while in ordinary regions this financial dependency rose to 80% (Della Porta, 2002).

By the late eighties and early nineties, the need for a new relationship between the centre and the regions, with a fiscal and institutional devolution, was evident. The residual nature of the Italian regions was slowly modified, mainly as a reaction to the new territorial policy pushed by the EU (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003). The huge corruption scandal of *tangentopoli* led to the end of the traditional Italian party system, and the appearance of Lega Nord and the autonomist leagues representing purely regional interest (Levy, 1996; Baldi, 2006). The reform of the party system implied a de-nationalization of Italian politics (Leonardi, 2003). The regions took advantage of the circumstances and the European support through cohesive to deepen their capacities and their power in the Italian institutional structure, raising their control on urban and rural planning, tourism, transport or environmental protection (Fargion et al., 2006). Even the central government started organizing meetings with the regions on European matters and inviting them to cabinet meetings. This increasing importance of regions made the differences in administrative capacities between the northern and the southern regions of the country more evident. In the south, the implementation of European programs represented the first time that such plans were applied on a regional level (Leonardi, 1992). Southern regions have a stronger tradition of dependency to Rome, while the north has always pushed for an independent development (Putnam et al., 1993; Levy, 1996). Because of this difference, the devolution of administrative capacities had to follow an uneven pattern according to the regions considered (Fargion et al., 2006).

Finally, since 1997, the Prodi government began a reform with the purpose of re-launching the Italian regionalism in a federal perspective, seeking a better administration and a rationalization of public spending through decentralization (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003). The administrative reforms implied the devolution to the regional governments, under the principles of adequacy and subsidiarity, of all the competences apart from those that were specific to the national interest¹⁰⁰. A conference between the central administration and the regions became compulsory on all issues related to the regional competences or interests. As far as fiscal reforms, regions were given the capacity to collect taxes related to their own activities, as well as an access to national taxes through co-participation, increasing this way considerably their resource independence. Some constitutional changes were introduced, which allowed for the direct election of the president of each region, under a model based on presidentialism. This way the regional governments could achieve a higher stability, a direct relation with citizens and a better representation of their interests in front of the

¹⁰⁰ The competences maintained by the central government were: foreign affairs, EU affairs, defense, citizenship, monetary issues, order and public security, cultural affairs and scientific research (Baldi, 2006).

central government. In a similar way, regions obtained an increased statutory autonomy (Baldi, 2006).

From 2001 onwards, after the second election of Silvio Berlusconi and his partners from Lega Nord, the process of regionalization continued, due to a combined pressure from Europe and domestic actors (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003). The Berlusconi administration created the Ministry of Devolution, under the leader of Lega Nord, Hugo Bossi (Leonardi, 2003). The regional capacities were increased even more, with the inversion of legislative repartitions. Since then, regions have legislative competences on all matters unless those strictly specified. Competences previously monopolized by the central government were delegated to regions, such as the ability to negotiate directly with the EU. This new opportunity structure opened the door for an increased Europeanization of regions, in particular those more proactive in the centre and the north of the country (Fargion et al., 2006). Nowadays, to achieve a true federalization of Italy, the subject of the transformation of the Senate into a territorial chamber is still unresolved (Baldi, 2006). Nevertheless, policy-making in the Italian system can no longer be done solely at the national level. Regions have achieved such a level of autonomy and competences that no agreement can be achieved without including subnational institutions and, indirectly, their RIGs (Leonardi, 2003). However, in practice, there is nothing like the Spanish system of regional statutes, and after more than a decade of reform there is little substance mainly due to party politics, either at the regions where leaders wish to gain recognition or at the centre where old centralist tendencies prevail (Keating, 2009; Keating & Wilson, 2010; Palermo & Wilson, 2014).

Tuscany has been amongst the protagonist regions in Italy, but nevertheless, it was not awarded a special status and it was banded together as part of the “ordinary regions” without special capacities. It is one of the most important regions in Italy, a country that has been present at the European integration process since it’s beginning. It is strategically located in the centre of the country, with an ample Mediterranean coast. Its institutions, economy and civil society as we have seen, are stable and dynamic. Even though the Tuscan economy could not be described as an Italian powerhouse, it has some features that give the region an advantage in comparison to the European average. At the same time, the institutional capacities delegated from Rome in recent years have allowed for the active participation not only in the development of their own regional policies, but also a role at the national and the European levels. Many RIGs in Tuscany now consider the region and not the central State as the main actor promoting their interests (Nanetti, 1994). This could be seen during the process that led to the adoption of the single currency in Italy. Tuscany was amongst the few regions that implemented a consultation process, in which RIGs were asked to be involved as intermediaries between their members and the regional administration (Biaganti, 2012). This model

has been defined by some as neo-corporatist (Piattoni y Smyrl, 2003). Tuscany has recently reformed its regional statute, including new forms of policy-making and citizen participation (Pizzorusso, 2012).

4.2 Regional Authority in Tuscany

In the regional authority study we use as one of the basis for this thesis (Hooghe, Marks & Schakel, 2008b) Tuscany scores a total of 14 points over 24 (See Table 16). This is above the general average of 11.7 from all the EU regions studied by the authors and represents the historical highest point for the region in its history. Tuscany, as all the other regions without a special statute, starts with 7 points in 1972 and reaches 14 just before 2006. It is important to add that the score established by Hooghe, Marks and Schakel was calculated after the reform of the region's statute in 2004, which is still in force.

If we analyse the self-rule dimension, in the first indicator, we deal with institutional depth, which goes from a total lack of autonomy from the central government to a complete autonomy. In the case of Tuscany, we can consider that it reaches the maximum level of 3 points, given that it has an administration with its own authority and is free from vetoes from the central government.

The second indicator deals with the policy scope or the authority of the region for developing its own economic, cultural or welfare policies. In this indicator, Tuscany scores 3 points as well, given that it has residual powers, and certain authority over some economic and cultural policies as well as the institutional structure but it has no authority over important policies such as immigration, health or security.

Regarding the indicator of fiscal autonomy, we must remember that it is not only important to know how much money the region spends, but also to know its decision-making abilities on how that money is spent. It distinguishes between the personal income tax, corporate, VAT and sales tax and the rest of the taxes, taking into account the region's ability to set its base and rate unilaterally. The authors claim that Tuscany deserves 3 points, given that the region controls the rate of at least one of the important taxes.

The last indicator in the self-rule dimension refers to representation or the region's capacity to elect its own regional representatives. In this category, Tuscany, as well as the rest of the Italian regions but Trentino Alto Adige, scores 2 points for being able to elect its own Legislative Power directly, and 2 points for having a regional Executive Power assigned by the regional Assembly, adding to a total of 4 points.

If we analyse now the dimension of shared rule, we can deal with the amount of influence that Tuscany has in the central government's decisions. In this sense, the first indicator is about the law making capabilities, in which we try to elucidate the role of the region in the national legislature. Given the endemic institutional restrictions present at the Italian central government, in particular the lack of a territorial chamber, there are no points assigned to Tuscany in this category.

With regards to executive control, we aim to know if there are routine intergovernmental meetings between the central government and Tuscany. In this indicator, Hooghe, et al. (2008b) assign a value of 1. As it was the case with Catalonia, especially in relation to environmental policy, we can say that many new channels of cooperation have been established (Pizzorusso, 2012).

In relation to the fiscal control indicator, the authors wanted to measure if the regions can codetermine the income distribution of national taxes. The score then remains in 0, as established by Hooghe, et al. (2008b), which implies that the regional government has no say at all on whatever occurs with the distribution of national taxes.

Lastly, regarding its capacity for constitutional reform, the regional authority of Tuscany is quite limited, given that they do not participate in the processes of constitutional change and either the central government or the national electorate can change the Constitution unilaterally. Tuscany and the rest of the regions without a special statute have no say at all. This fact paired with the complete inability to veto any kind of reform gives the region a score of 0.

Table 16 – Regional Authority in Tuscany

Regional Authority in Tuscany			
Variable	Dimensions	Indicators	Value
<i>Regional Authority</i>	Self-rule	Institutional Depth (0/3)	3
		Policy Scope (0/4)	3
		Fiscal Autonomy (0/4)	3
		Representation (0/4)	4
	Shared rule	Law making (0/2)	0
		Executive Control (0/2)	1
		Fiscal Control (0/2)	0
		Constitutional Reform (0/3)	0
Total (0/24)			14

Source: developed by the author based on Hooghe, Marks & Schakel (2008b)

4.3 Environmental Policy in Tuscany

For the most Europeanized policies, the EU usually deals with strategic regulation, the central State is in charge of the formulation of the policy and the regional government deals with the implementation (Börzel, 2002). Among the administrative competences devolved to the regions by the Italian central state, there are three main frameworks: economic development and production; territory, environment and infrastructure; and services to the citizenship (Baldi, 2006). The pattern for environmental policy present in the case of Catalonia is repeated in Tuscany, with a high Europeanization and high regionalization of the policy at the same time (Brugué et al., 2001). However, while in Spain the share of tasks is divided between the supranational and regional levels, mostly bridging the central level, in Italy there still remains a severe centralization on several environmental issues (Fedele, 2003). In recent years, the centralization has been softened by national legislation and in the case of Tuscany by the reform of the region's statute (Pizzorusso, 2012).

The environmental control, as a result, is included in the fundamental activities of the region. Nevertheless, it is important to underscore that the role of the region in these activities is not necessarily active, and the competence not necessarily direct, but there can be other government institutions involved. Many functions on environmental issues are developed in a structure of indirect administration through regional agencies (Baldi, 2006). In Tuscany, the ARPAT¹⁰¹ has a protagonist role, while the government's activity is centred on management and direction as well as the regulation and coordination with supra and sub-regional institutions. This is in accordance with the subsidiarity principle, present in the Italian Constitution as well as in the Tuscan statute¹⁰². It is an obligation of the government, then, to adequate the European environmental legislation in order to implement it in the region. Once transposed to the regional legislation, the implementation is delegated to the agencies, mainly ARPAT.

Tuscany presents an industrialization model characteristic to the regions in central Italy, but the existence of horizontal networks, a development based on communities, a production with a niche market and a constant innovation has allowed Tuscany to have more dynamism and flexibility towards external pressures (Leonardi, 1994; Baldi, 2006). This is very relevant to the way environmental policy has been developed in this region. The regional policy-making, since the

¹⁰¹ Regional Agency for the environmental protection of Tuscany - Agenzia Regionale per la protezione ambientale della Toscana

¹⁰² The article of the Italian Constitution related to the subsidiarity principle is article 118, while the one in the Tuscan statute is article 72, inc. 1.

constitutional reform of 2001 and the adaptation of the Tuscan statute in 2004, is based on cooperation and arrangements between the local, regional and national authorities, with the intervention of the European arena (Picchi, 2012). The participation of non-governmental actors is crucial in this coordination. These actors can include universities, research centres, national or European organizations, as well as RIGs (Baldi, 2006). Tuscany has aimed to incorporate, in this sense, the environmental policy in a wide and transversal context, replacing the sectorial approach that used to be applied. This new method is aligned as well with what is pushed forward by the EU since the VI Framework Program, where participation and civil society involvement achieved a special relevance.

The fundamental instrument for the implementation of environmental policy in Tuscany is called the PRAA¹⁰³. Through this territorial plans on environment, the region aimed to build networks where public and private actors could participate together, following the model already used for the implementation of structural and cohesion EU funds (Bosco, 2008). The PRAA are elaborated with the coordination of the Direction of Territorial and environmental Policy of the government of the Tuscan Region, and are evaluated by the civil society and ARPAT, which in turn is included in the reports¹⁰⁴. The PRAA organizes under a single frame the strategic lines of the sectorial policies of energy and climate change, air pollution, noise pollution, electromagnetic and radioactive pollution, waste management, water, biodiversity, parks and protected areas, protection against coast and soil erosion and seismic risks. In this line, the main areas for direct action usually present in the PRAA are the fight against climate change, the protection of the soil, nature and biodiversity, and the sustainable use of the natural resources.

4.4 The Europeanization of RIGs in Tuscany

Similarly to what was done for the case of Catalonia, and to what will be seen in the case of Wales, we have chosen amongst the main types of interest groups involved on environmental issues, that is environmentalists, rural and industrialists RIGs (See Table X). Bear in mind that the interest groups selected need to have a strictly regional scope, not European or Italian. Among the scarce amount of groups whose field of activity is exclusively Tuscany, we have chosen the most representative units of observation following the same pattern (See Table 17). It is expected to find

¹⁰³ Regional Plan for Environmental Action - Piano Regionale di Azione Ambientale, developed roughly every four years.

¹⁰⁴ Even though the PRAA 2007-2010, has still not been renewed with a new PRAA for 2011-2014, these annual reviews are available at the ARPAT website: <http://www.arpato.toscana.it/>

differing results on the Europeanization of environmentalist, rural and industrialist RIGs, which is why the results for each sub-group are shown separately. In the final remarks of this chapter, there is a comparative analysis of these differences.

Table 17 – Units of analysis selected for Tuscany

RIG	Type of RIG	Year	Members
Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile	<i>Environmentalist</i>	2002	Individuals
Legambiente Toscana	<i>Environmentalist</i>	1980	Individuals and NGOs
CIA Toscana	<i>Rural</i>	1972	Individuals
Assogal Toscana	<i>Rural</i>	2000	Rural LAGs
Unioncamere Toscana	<i>Industrialist</i>	1968	Business chambers
Confindustria Toscana	<i>Industrialist</i>	1971	Business & industries

Source: developed by the author

4.4.1 Tuscan Environmental RIGs

For the case of Tuscany, two groups represent environmental interests were chosen: *Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile*, which is a research organization formed by a multidisciplinary array of professionals; and *Legambiente Toscana*, which is a traditional environmental organization linked to an Italian environmental network, but which that acts independently and is based in Florence¹⁰⁵.

4.4.1.1 *Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile*

The *Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile* (FTS)¹⁰⁶ is a non-profit organization founded in 2002, recognized by the Region of Tuscany by presidential decree. It is an interdisciplinary organization that mainly aims to promote sustainable patterns of development through research in various professional areas of expertise. It is based in the small town of San Miniato (Pisa), and formed by an interdisciplinary research group composed of economists, engineers, naturalists, lawyers, planners, etc., working alongside with Universities and research centres as well as some other environmental

¹⁰⁵ There are other groups representing environmental issues in Tuscany, but some do not have enough activities to be included in this research, and do not present a stable structure and organization such as *Ambiente e Lavoro Toscana* or *Toscana Europa*, while some others are branches of national and international groups without a clear independence of means and objectives, such as *Amici della Terra Toscana* or *WWF Toscana*.

¹⁰⁶ Foundation for a Sustainable Tuscany

associations. Fundamentally, the FTS does its work studying the interactions between the socioeconomic activities and the environment in Tuscany.

According to its statutes, the FTS principal objectives are to promote the environmental, social and economic life of Tuscany through scientific research, education and training; to facilitate the overcoming of harm to human health and ecosystems, and the achievement of improved ecological conditions and environmental issues; to increase the level of knowledge and participation of citizens in order to achieve the objectives of ecological and environmental protection, and a better quality of the social and economic system of Tuscany; to maintain a relationship of constant collaboration with relevant social and economic, institutional, scientific research and culture of Tuscany, Italy and Europe; to promote the employment and job quality and the formation of a large aggregation cultural and scientific, to protect the environment for the revival of the cultural and political on this issue; to support at every level the debate on which initiatives are better suited for the social protection of the environment, health and labour.

As it can be seen through its objectives the FTS works on sustainable policies through the participation of social actors and the promotion of strategic development objectives on the political arena. It is a very active group with multiple contacts at the regional level of policy-making, which leads to its participation in most of the programs promoted by the regional government. Nevertheless, according to the indicators considered for this study, the FTS scores a total of 17/30 points in our index, which represents a total of 56.6% and achieves an advanced Europeanization mainly due to their strategic adaptation (See Table 18).

If we analyse the indicators separately, one can see first in the dimension of value adaptation that the interviewee considers they have changed their ways of doing things and their interest to adapt them to the EU. Even though he considers that FTS shares most of the environmental values defended by the EU, he presents a clear criticism to the way that the EU deals with the RIGs. The FTS considers that the EU favours the values they defend, and the integration process should be deepened. However, while the European arena is the most relevant of all and is open to participation by different groups, they believe there is not a real disposition and attention to the opinions presented by singular groups, obliging them to delegate to pan European organizations. The score in the values dimension is greatly reduced by this criticism, reaching to a total of 13.3%.

With respects to the dimension of organizational adaptation, the FTS does not have a special department dealing with EU matters, nor even a person that is in charge of the subject. They mostly delegate these responsibilities to pan European organizations such as the EEB. However, they score greatly in their organizational adaptation, due to their active work on the search for funding. Their

multi-disciplinary approach based on the very en vogue concept of sustainability through the synthesis of the environment, the economy and the society makes the FTS a perfect candidate for European funding. According to one interviewee, *“only through contacts with Europe it is possible to achieve quality work and have opportunities of access to resources”*¹⁰⁷. The FTS not only has received EU funding several times, through the programmes oriented to the Tuscan Region, but they have also received funding directly to their organization. They also have an active policy of promoting the search for EU funding amongst its members. According to their statutes, the FTS has no other income but the resources obtained through public institutions and donations, which makes the EU resources fundamental to the RIG’s existence. In the end, the score of the FTS on organizational adaptation reaches 20% over a possible total of 33%.

Lastly, in the dimension of strategic adaptation we can see the active participation of the FTS in policy-making, which impacts strongly on their final Europeanization score. When asked on their work in pan European organization, as said above, they underscored their dependency to these organizations on European issues. The interviewee specified on their work on pan European initiatives for sustainable tourism, mainly through the project DODETERD¹⁰⁸ that links several RIGs with similar objectives. Apart from their work through pan European organizations, they work with the regional office in Brussels to influence the European institutions directly. However, the nature of their organization is not confrontational, so they do not organize direct action activities or push for complaints to the EU judicial institutions. Similarly, they do not seem to try to influence the Italian members of the COREPER or the Council but work transversally. The FTS routinely participates on European projects promoted from the EU for Tuscany. Finally, their main participation occurs when dealing with the implementation of EU environmental policies in Tuscany. As it is present in the main objectives of their statute, they aim to work alongside the government in the promotion of a sustainable economy and society, and this is mostly done through their relations with the regional government and the regional leaders of the projects. According to the interviewee, they work alongside the regional government on the drafting of environmental policy and also on the subsequent evaluation. This constant activity at the EU level through pan European organizations and their involvement in the implementation process at the regional level leads to a high score of 23.3% on the dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation.

¹⁰⁷ “Solo attraverso contatti con l’europa si accrescono qualità e si hanno più opportunità per le risorse”, Interview 7, 16/11/2009

¹⁰⁸ Handbook for Sustainable Tourism, Dodecalogo per un Turismo Sostenibile

Table 18: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization - FTS

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification but no relation	2	0/3
SUBTOTAL	4	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	6	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	7	
Total	17	30

Source: Developed by the author

4.4.1.2 *Legambiente Toscana*

Legambiente Toscana is a regional environmental organization whose name literally means League for the Environment Tuscany. It was founded in 1980 as a branch of Legambiente, one of the most important environmental interest groups in Italy. Its origins are linked to the anti-nuclear movement en vogue in Europe during the late 1970s. Even though it is still linked to the national branch in name, Legambiente Toscana is the sole responsible for the thirty-eight local groups and 5000 members across the Tuscan region, and has legal and fiscal independence.

The main objectives of the organization are environmental actions, as well as education, aiming always at complying with scientific environmentalism. Their activities are based on research done by a scientific committee, proposing economically feasible alternatives. They regularly give environmental education programs and volunteer camps, and are in charge with local authorities of the management of five natural areas across Tuscany. According to their statutes, their objectives are to defend the unique environmental and cultural diversity of our country; to report any abuse to the ecosystem, including the indiscriminate use of resources and pollution; to fight against nuclear energy and promote renewable and clean energy; to propose new lifestyles to reduce the negative impact on the environment and to live healthier; to protect the country's cultural and artistic heritage, to offer education programs in schools to raise environmentally aware generations, to fight against all forms of discrimination and social injustice, promoting values of solidarity and peace.

Legambiente Toscana has a traditional structure, with a board and a director, but it also has several discussion groups on environmental themes such as energy, water, protected areas, environmental education, waste, mobility and transportation, and cultural heritage. They usually work in tandem, not only with the regional government, but also with the local authorities, especially regarding conservation of local natural areas. For each project, Legambiente Toscana is responsible for the planning and implementation, as well as for the search for funding partners and associations. Their constant work with authorities led to a fairly good score on the implementation indicators for the Europeanization index. However, they do not show a strong adaptation on other dimensions, which led to a total score of 14/30, which represents 48,3% and a moderate Europeanization (See Table 19).

The analysis of each dimension and indicator separately shows in the dimension of values a similar pattern to the one present in FTS. The answers to our questionnaire refer to identification with the values promoted by the EU, and a support of their policies, but a certain criticism to the way they take into account the participation of RIGs. In a similar way, an analysis of the statutes of Legambiente Toscana shows that the EU is only rhetorically mentioned in passing, as the source of

most of the environmental legislation¹⁰⁹. There is no clear indication of a European orientation for the RIG, but at least the mention of the EU in their statutes must be considered. Legambiente Toscana considers that the EU favours the values they defend, and they promote a better integration with more participation of organizations like theirs. The score in the values dimension shows this very cautious optimism, reaching to a mere total of 13.3%.

When dealing with the organizational adaptation, Legambiente Toscana also receives a low score, with a total of 13.3%. Their work with the national organization, as well as their heavy lean on the EEB for all European matters reduces a lot their direct allocation of their own resources to these issues. The resources for the continuous work done by Legambiente mostly comes from the contribution of its vast number of members, which pay a monthly fee. However, according to its statutes, they are able to receive funding from other public or private organizations. This has led to agreements with local authorities as well as to a search for European resources in different programmes. Given that they have received eventual funding by the EU, Legambiente receives a fairly good score on this indicator. However, they do not give incentives to their members for the search for more EU resources, as it has a centralized organization and the local action groups are funded through the central Tuscan department.

Finally, the strategic adaptation shows, as it did with the FTS, the very active participation of the environmental RIGs in the policy-making processes in Tuscany. Regarding their participation, they said:

“Legambiente Toscana is a regional association that does the maximum they are able to do”¹¹⁰.

When asked about their involvement in the formulation of environmental policy at the EU level, they claimed:

“Our participation is modest because the rule is in the hands of the Council, that is the governments, and it would require a European government elected directly by the citizens for our involvement to be increased”¹¹¹

The implementation of EU environmental policies through the regional government is done with the direct involvement of the most representative groups, where FTS and Legambiente Toscana are

¹⁰⁹ Statuto di Legambiente, Art. 4, inc. C)

¹¹⁰ “Legambiente è una associazione regionale e quanto fa è il massimo che può fare” Interview 8, 07/08/2011

¹¹¹ “La partecipazione è modesta perché il governo è nelle mani del Consiglio, cioè dei governi; sarebbe necessario un governo europeo eletto direttamente dai cittadini” Op. cit.

clearly included. Even though Legambiente Toscana does not claim to work on early drafts of legislation, they do claim to participate in advisory committees at the regional level, as well as a direct lobby to regional and national representatives when needed. It must also be said that Legambiente Toscana plays an important role in the enforcement of environmental policy, through their conjoint work with local authorities in the protection of natural areas around Tuscany. Amongst these, Legambiente Toscana currently has a contract with the Municipality of Sesto Fiorentino for the protection of Podere La Querciola. This includes the conservation and improvement of an area of about 21 hectares, which comprises four wetlands.

It is interesting to note that Legambiente Toscana shows an important difference with FTS in their inclination towards initiatives of direct action. Probably due to their origins in the opposition to nuclear energy in the 1970s, Legambiente Toscana has a tradition of participation in demonstrations and similar protests. Legambiente also claims to be directly linked with the Porto Alegre movement, which is famous for the support of direct action as a means to pressure the policy-making process. The participation in demonstrations seems to be one of their main activities of visualization of the environmental issues, as well as awareness campaigns. All this work, as said above, is mainly done when the environmental policy is being implemented in Tuscany. Legambiente Toscana, on the other hand, has no clear involvement in the European policy-making apart from that delegated to pan European organization, mostly the EEB. This leads to a relatively low score on the involvement in the formulation of policies, but to a high score on their active and direct participation on European umbrella organizations, which in fact can be a most effective way of influencing policy-making.

A final remark can be noted regarding their strategic adaptation, due to the participation of Legambiente Toscana in several European programmes oriented to regions. Amongst these, the RIG is proud to be involved in the Youth in Action programme, and is a focal point for the European Voluntary Service, funded by the European Commission. All in all, the strategic dimension of Europeanization shows a total score of 6.5/10, or 21,6%, mainly due to their work on pan European organizations and their involvement in the implementation of environmental policy in Tuscany.

Table 19: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – Legambiente Toscana

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification but no relation	2	0/3
SUBTOTAL	4	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG for EU resources	0	0/2
SUBTOTAL	4	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations	0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government	0.5	0.5 each
-Work on advisory committees at the regional level	0.5	
-Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5	
-Direct action	0.5	
SUBTOTAL	6.5	
Total	14.5	30

Source: Developed by the author

4.4.2 Tuscan Rural RIGs

It may not be necessary to say that agriculture has always been an important part of Tuscan tradition. Nowadays, there are more than 90.000 rural enterprises in Tuscany, which not only add to the regional GDP, but also have a certain influence on tourism and environment. Almost half of the production in rural Tuscany comprises wine as well as milk and olive derivatives. Tuscan produce is world renowned, especially with brands as famous as the Chianti wine.

Given the importance of environmental policy to the livelihood of rural Tuscany, it is essential to include rural RIGs in this research. Amongst the groups representing agricultural interests in Tuscany, CIA Toscana¹¹² is an umbrella rural organization similar to FCAC, linked to a national organization but with a clear independence in goals and means¹¹³. On the other hand, similarly to what happened in Catalonia, the application of the LEADER program in rural Tuscany was done through local action groups, which have then worked together on regional networks that widely expanded the original objectives. For this case, the RIG that has grouped Tuscany's rural local action groups is Assogal Toscana¹¹⁴.

4.4.2.1 CIA Toscana

Given its importance, there are several groups representing rural interests corporately in Tuscany. However, as we said in the introduction, the objective of this research is the selection of interest groups with a clear regional scope and a certain independence from any national or international organizations. CIA Toscana seems to better fit the model of RIGs used for this thesis.

CIA Toscana is the Tuscan professional farmers association, representing the social, economic and civil interests of the rural community, with more than 80.000 members, of which around 20.000 are farm owners. As we said above, it is an umbrella organization, which in turn is also related to the

¹¹² Italian Farmers Confederation of Tuscany, Confederazione Italiana Agricoltori Toscana

¹¹³ When selecting rural RIGs, we came across the other two main rural organizations in Italy, namely Coldiretti (National Confederation of Direct Cultivators - Confederazione Nazionale Coltivatori Diretti) and Confagricoltura (Italian General Confederation of Agriculture - Confederazione Generale dell'Agricoltura Italiana). Both these groups have a long and traditional history of interest representation, with regional branches in Tuscany. However, it is hard to find in Confagricoltura Toscana and Coldiretti Toscana a clear differentiation of their means and objectives with those of the national organization. They both receive their funding from Rome, their activities mirror those proposed from the central organization and they basically follow the national directives. Even though they do not fit the definition of RIGs used in this thesis it is important to note that they are usually included on regional consultations done by the Tuscan government.

¹¹⁴ Association of the Tuscan Local Action Groups, Associazione dei GAL Toscani

national Italian Farmers Confederation. However, CIA Toscana as well as the other regional CIAs is an independent organization, with its own resources, statute and judicial autonomy. According to the statute, CIA is not a centralized and vertical organization but a system comprised by the regional associations in tandem with the national association. In this system, CIA Toscana even retains the ability to secede if two thirds of its members wish to do so¹¹⁵. CIA Toscana is democratic, autonomous from any parties, unions and administrations, and formed by all types of agriculture entrepreneurs. All members of the Confederation have equal rights obligations and privileges, and can access any position of responsibility without discrimination.

According to its statutes, the main objectives of CIA Toscana are the consolidation of professional agriculture in Tuscany, the promotion of opportunities for the development of agro business, the promotion of innovation on rural areas, and the supervision of the social and civil rights of the rural community. CIA Toscana aims to consolidate the activities of farmers in an integrated environment, together with other economic and social actors, and tries to give their input to policy-making in all the different levels of administration. As regards to environmental issues, they actively work on the protection of the environment and the supervision of the territory. One of its purposes is the achievement of a balance between rural and urban areas, promoting the diffusion of rural values on urban populations through cultural and educational activities. In addition to representing rural interest in the policy-making process, CIA Toscana has also successfully built a complex system of quality services to the demands and needs of the agricultural sector. They have also pushed forward many activities linked to the bio-energy sector, promoting the energetic use in agriculture of vegetal pure oil. This active and transversal work earns the RIG a solid score of 17/30 which represents a total of 56.6% of Europeanization according to our index, and achieves an advanced Europeanization (See Table 20).

When we analyse each dimension separately, we can observe a greater importance of the strategic adaptation above the other dimensions, in a similar way of that shown by FTS. Regarding the value dimension, firstly we can see on the RIGs statutes the lack of real commitment to the EU objectives. The only mention of the EU on CIA Toscana's statutes is a rhetorical reference to supporting the European integration¹¹⁶. Nevertheless, amongst the several documents CIA Toscana has produced in recent years, it is easy to observe a support to European values and ways of doing things. In relation to their position on environmental issues, CIA Toscana shares a position favouring

¹¹⁵ Statuto di CIA Toscana, Art. 21.

¹¹⁶ *"Il sistema Cia opera per la crescita armonica dell'intero Paese e per l'integrazione politica ed economica dell'Europa."* Statuto di CIA Toscana, Art. 4.

sustainability and a better coexistence between the country and the city. However, this identification with European environmental values is not free of criticism, and in several documents they are eager to show their differing proposals, especially regarding the sustainability of agriculture, the environmental measures included in the CAP¹¹⁷ and the reinforcement of the promotion of clear energy. In the final indicator for value adaptation, CIA Toscana presents identification but no relation with similar RIGs in other regions of the EU. They have expressed a certain interest in working with agricultural RIGs on the Life-VOICE¹¹⁸ project but this interest has not yet materialized. In general, their value adaptation shows a total of 13.3%.

The first indicator for the organizational adaptation deals with the creation of new departments that work on EU issues. On this matter, CIA Toscana has no specific department but delegates the European negotiations and interventions to the national CIA system and to pan European organizations such as Agricord¹¹⁹ and COPA-COGECA¹²⁰, with whom they have an *“explicit and articulated sharing of reactions”*¹²¹. Regarding their resources, it is important to clarify that CIA Toscana charges an annual fee to its members, by which it supports most of its costs. However, it is not forbidden for the association to receive funds from public and private institutions and it so does regularly. Apart from that, CIA Toscana is a fervent defender of the CAP, given that they strongly encourage their members on the search for funding. Their Internet portal for the formation of members even has a specialized site oriented to obtaining EU funding. All in all, the final score for organizational adaptation is a total of 20%, given its inclination towards the search for EU funding.

CIA Toscana is an ardent promoter of biodiesel and as they have expressed in several documents available through their website, the EU is not promoting this renewable energies enough. Through their continuous work, they have been able to advance on this issue at the European as well as the regional level, and have achieved a central role in the Life-VOICE project on biodiesel. This is just an example of CIA Toscana’s active involvement in policy-making, which leads to a strong score in Europeanization through strategic adaptation.

The RIG participates in several European projects directed to regions, such as NaturaNet, AquaNet and TRAINER, and as we have said before it is invested in defending the continuation of the

¹¹⁷ Common Agriculture Policy

¹¹⁸ Vegetable Oil Initiative for a Cleaner Environment

¹¹⁹ AgriCord is the network of non-governmental organizations for development cooperation with structural links to the farmers' and rural members' organizations in their home countries.

¹²⁰ Committee of Professional Agricultural Organizations (COPA) and General Committee for Agricultural Cooperation in the European Union (COGECA) – commonly referred to jointly as COPA-COGECA

¹²¹ “La reazione del Copa Cogeca, essendoci condivisione è articolata ed esplicita.” Interview 9, 4/5/2011

CAP. A special mention needs to go to their membership to the pan European organizations aforementioned, through which CIA Toscana directs most of its EU interventions. It is interesting to note that CIA Toscana's membership to these organizations is through the CIA system, so there is no direct involvement by the RIG. In a similar vein we can subscribe their intervention on EU policy-making through the pan European organizations. However, it must be noted that the CIA system has its own regional office in Brussels, which has allowed in the past a more direct intervention of CIA Toscana in lobbying the European institutions. According to Giordano Pascucci, the director of CIA Toscana:

"The European Parliament, and in particular the Agriculture Commission, given that they are elected, are the ones that show a strong sensibility to the problems of farmers and the needs of the society"¹²².

Finally, most of CIA Toscana's work is done in the implementation of EU environmental policy in Tuscany, through their multiple contacts with the regional government in Tuscany. According to the interviewee, they usually present their proposals even before being invited to the discussions¹²³. CIA Toscana has also been a proposer of the "Pact for Agriculture and Tuscan Society"¹²⁴ which promotes the cooperation between public and private organizations towards a sustainable agriculture. They regularly present proposals on all matters concerning rural life, not only environmental issues, and work on advisory committees whenever those are formed. According to the interviewee:

"Our work, assessments and proposals are known because of our successful implementation of agro-business projects, reaffirming a new stage of policy in the management of the territory, the development of a new system of governance in Tuscany, the challenges of innovation and the reinforcement of the protagonism of Tuscany in Italy and in Europe"¹²⁵.

As a representative of rural interests, CIA Toscana has also been involved in political demonstrations, together with other rural associations such as Confagricoltura Toscana, as well as with environmental RIGs. As a result of this strong intervention on the implementation of policy in

¹²² "Il Parlamento Europeo, ed in particolare la Commissione Agricoltura, essendo eletti, mostrano una forte sensibilità ai problemi degli agricoltori ed alle necessità della società", Op. cit..

¹²³ "Abbiamo presentato al Governatore Rossi ed alla Giunta Regionale le nostre proposte, che sono state complessivamente accolte, sia per la predisposizione del bilancio di previsione della Regione per l'anno 2011 che sul Programma Regionale di Sviluppo per il periodo 2011 – 2015, attualmente in discussione presso il Consiglio Regionale", Op. cit.

¹²⁴ "Patto fra Agricoltura e Società Toscana"

¹²⁵ "Le nostre elaborazioni, valutazioni e proposte sono ormai conosciute in merito alla realizzazione del progetto impresa per l'agricoltura, all'affermazione di una nuova stagione di politica per la gestione del territorio, alla messa a punto di un nuovo sistema di Governance per la Toscana, alla sfida dell'innovazione, al rafforzamento del protagonismo della Toscana in Italia ed in Europa.", Interview 9, 04/05/2011

Tuscany, as well as because of their rare but effective activity at the EU level, CIA Toscana earns a total score of 23.3% on Europeanization through strategic adaptation.

Table 20: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – CIA Toscana

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification but no relation	2	0/3
SUBTOTAL	4	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	6	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations Membership but not active participation or through national organization	1	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government -Direct action	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	7	
Total	17	30

Source: Developed by the author

4.4.2.2 *Assogal Toscana*

LEADER, as we said above, is a local development method, part of the European Network for Rural Development funded by the European Commission and whose basic administrative unit is a non-profit Local Action Group (LAG) open to all actors in a given territory. Not all LAGs working on the LEADER program form a regional association. In Wales, for example, LAGs have always worked independently. Assogal Toscana is the RIG formed in 2000 by the LAGs from Tuscany.

In Tuscany, after a period of close collaboration during the 1990s, various LAGs saw the need to work together, as the concerted effort proved to be much more effective in achieving a better result out of their activities. Since its creation, Assogal Toscana mediates and coordinates the work done by the LAGs on the LEADER program, given their different needs and characteristics. At the same time, it was created as a way of representing their interest and pooling their knowledge and efforts through one main channel in their relationship with the regional, national and European authorities, while representing Tuscany in the national network and in ELARD¹²⁶. The main objectives declared by the statutes of Assogal Toscana are the promotion, development and strengthening of Tuscany's rural economy, in the ambit of the EU initiative LEADER as well as in other development programs; the search for funding not only in LEADER but in any other rural programs; the promotion of common strategies amongst the LAGs; the promotion of an integrated rural development culture; the technical assistance and professional formation in the field of activity of the LAGs and the sensibilization of public opinion on rural issues.

As we can see, even from the first article of their statute, Assogal Toscana exceeds the LEADER objectives that originally prompted the coordination with other LAGs. The RIG promotes common strategies for the Tuscan LAGs in the spread of a new culture for rural development, through local development animation, technical and educational training and horizontal and vertical mainstreaming. Given that it has a clear relationship with the EU since its inception, and that it has developed a strong activity across regional institutions, it is not surprising that Assogal Toscana has the highest score in the Europeanization index of all the RIGs in Tuscany. It has achieved a total of 18/30, equivalent to 59.9%, and representing an advanced Europeanization (See Table 21).

First, if we analyse the Europeanization through value adaptation, we need to take into account how EU values have been part of Assogal Toscana since its creation. Given the fact that it was

¹²⁶ European LEADER Association for Rural Development

created in relation to the LEADER program, the RIG's statutes include EU objectives structurally¹²⁷. However, apart from this initial inclusion in the RIGs statutes, there are no special mentions, and there have not been any changes to their objectives since then. With regards to the identification with EU values, there is an initial temptation to consider that the RIG has a complete identification. The interviewee expressed the importance of the EU as:

*"It defines the objectives and priorities of the European programs for rural development, establishing the strategies and methods to implement"*¹²⁸

However, when asked during the interview, they also expressed a certain criticism to recent changes in EU policies. As it was the case with CIA Toscana, Assogal Toscana have expressed their concerns on the possible modifications of the CAP after 2013, claiming that:

*"There needs to be a significant increase in resources for rural development and in particular for LEADER type measures which have a proven capacity to facilitate successful rural restructuring"*¹²⁹.

With regards to their work with similar organizations in other EU regions, they identify with other organizations related to LEADER, but apart from their work on pan European organizations such as ELARD, or meeting LAGs on international rural conferences such as FERANTUR, there is no direct work with them.

Regarding the Europeanization through organizational adaptation, Assogal Toscana scores a total of 7/10. According to the Statutes, the political organs of Assogal Toscana are the Assembly, composed by a representative for each LAG, and the managing board. The Technical Committee composed by the LAGs managers controls the operative functioning. Though of course EU matters take a lot of their resources and the coordinator of Assogal deals with them directly, there is no special department exclusively dedicated to them. The technical committee decides how to implement the LEADER program correctly, but also deals with the whole management of the organization, as well as legal and other technical issues. With regards to funding, Assogal Toscana is directly funded by its members, which in turn are funded through the LEADER program. It is safe to say then that at least in part Assogal Toscana receives EU funding regularly. Apart from this funding,

¹²⁷ "E' costituita un'Associazione denominata "Associazione dei GAL Toscani" (...) aventi lo scopo di promuovere, sviluppare e potenziare l'economia rurale in Toscana, nell'ambito dell'Iniziativa Comunitaria "L.E.A.D.E.R." e di altri programmi di sviluppo rurale." Statuto Assogal Toscana, art. 1

¹²⁸ "L'UE definisce gli obiettivi e le priorità della programmazione europea per lo sviluppo rurale, individuando strategie e modalità per realizzarli" Interview 10, 08/08/2013

¹²⁹ "Submission on the Reform of Common Agricultural Policy Post 2013" June 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.AssogalToscanatoscana.it/>

the RIG is usually part of other programs such as the Italian MODERNO¹³⁰ project, through which it also receives direct funding. For the last indicator on organization adaptation, given the nature of the RIG, it is not possible to say that it actively incentivizes its members to search for EU funds, but it is clear that the LAGs do receive them.

Finally, regarding the Europeanization through strategic adaptation, there are several ways in which Assogal Toscana has Europeanized. The RIG is an active member on at least one pan-European organization where they have worked to:

“Represent the rural areas, promote territorial cohesion policies in rural areas and strengthen the LEADER method, promote the exchange of best practices, create a network between the local action groups and European interest groups that operate on rural areas, and disseminate information and raise awareness”¹³¹

As we have seen, it works closely with ELARD, through which it makes its positions on rural and environmental issues available to the European institutions. Their participation on EU programs directed to regions is clear, but apart from the LEADER program, Assogal Toscana has also participated on the TACIS¹³² program, funded by the EU Council, which helps the development of ex-soviet republics. As part of the REDAM II project granted by the EU, they aimed to start up and enhance a regional development process in the Armenian regions of Ararat and Vayots Dzor. Through this involvement on EU programs, Assogal Toscana has been able to expand its horizons beyond Tuscany and has worked towards the economic advancement of at least two regions in Armenia following the LEADER methodology.

Finally, we can analyse the work of Assogal Toscana on the formulation of environmental policies at the EU level and their involvement on its implementation at the regional level. The interviewee expressed the importance that the RIG gives to participation in as many arenas as possible, given that:

“It is very important to have more and more opportunities for discussion and where to express our views and experience”¹³³

¹³⁰ "MOdello di Distretto Energetico Rurale inNOvativo" (POR-CREO FESR 2007-2013)

¹³¹ *“Rappresentare i territori rurali, promuovere le politiche di coesione territoriale nelle aree rurali e rafforzare il metodo LEADER, promuovere lo scambio di best practices, creare rete tra i gruppi di azione locale europei e i gruppi di interesse che operano sulle aree rurali, diffondere informazioni e sensibilizzazione”* Interview 10, 08/08/2013

¹³² Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States

¹³³ *“È molto importante avere sempre più occasioni di confronto e in cui esprimere la propria posizione ed esperienza”* Interview 10, 08/08/2013

In contrast with the rest of the RIGs of Tuscany, Assogal Toscana seems to have an equally active participation on formulation and implementation. According to the interviewee, they have participated at the EU level not only through ELARD, but also by themselves. In September 2003, for example, they participated in a conference in Brussels called “Toscana Leader”, in which the Tuscan LAGs were invited by the European Parliament to exhibit their achievements. In 2005, they were part of the Conference on Rural Development in Brussels, with members of the Commission and the Parliament, and they helped organize the European Cooperation Fair, an event promoted by the DG of Agriculture and rural development. Their contact and work on Brussels seems to be fluid and well beyond the work done through ELARD. During the interview, they emphasized the relevance of their work on policy formulation, given the fact that:

“The EU has an important influence as it is the main level that defines the seven year framework programs which are clearly instrumental to Assogal’s work”¹³⁴

Similarly, they expressed the importance of the EU as it has a direct effect on Tuscany, and declared to be in favour of more participation *“as only a greater political awareness at European level can contribute to sustainable growth of the territory”¹³⁵*.

Their involvement on the implementation of policies at the regional level seems to be as equally active. Assogal Toscana works with regional institutions on advisory groups alongside other RIGs, and lobbies the regional politicians whenever necessary. The RIG has an especially close relationship with ARSIA¹³⁶ and to a lesser extent with ARPAT. They have established with the regional administration an exchange network with information and experience known as the “Agrinnova Formazione e Sviluppo Rurale Project” and have organized several workshops. Assogal Toscana has also been included on the formulation of new policies, especially during the elaboration of the “Rural development strategies for 2007-2013”, where it was been able to present their official proposals. As it can be seen, Assogal Toscana seems to be as keen on working with regional institutions on policy transposition, as they are on working at the European level.

¹³⁴ “L’UE ha un’influenza importante in quanto è il primo livello in cui viene definita la programmazione settennale” Op. cit..

¹³⁵ “In quanto solo una maggior consapevolezza politica a livello europeo può contribuire a una crescita sostenibile dell’intero territorio.” Op. cit..

¹³⁶ Regional Development and Innovation Agency for Agriculture and Forestry - Agenzia Regionale per lo Sviluppo e l’Innovazione del settore Agricolo forestale

Table 21: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – Assogal Toscana

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification but no relation	2	0/3
SUBTOTAL	4	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG receives EU funding regularly	4	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	7	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	7	
Total	17	30

Source: Developed by the author

4.4.3 Tuscan Industrialist RIGs

Industrial activities in Tuscany are extremely varied, from chemical industries on the coast to energy plants, shipyards, high-precision instrument, machinery and machine tools factories in the industrial zones of Florence, Pistoia and Pontedera, textile factories in the Prato area, glassworks in Empoli, furniture and gold-jewellery manufacturing in Arezzo, leather and shoe districts in many of the provinces, and the world-famous mining of Carrara marble. Two groups represent industrial interests, from a production and commercialization point of view. Confindustria Toscana is Tuscany's main business association, which represents multiple industries with diverse sizes, while Unioncamere Toscana is the association of commerce chambers from the main urban centres in the region. As it happened with Catalonia's Foment and CIA Toscana, both Confindustria Toscana and Unioncamere Toscana are related to national organizations, but have an independence of goals and means that make them eligible for this research.

4.4.3.1 *Unioncamere Toscana*

The Regional Union of Commerce chambers, Industry, Artisanry and Agriculture of Tuscany¹³⁷ was founded in 1968 to coordinate the Chambers from the Tuscan provinces of Arezzo, Firenze, Grosseto, Livorno, Lucca, Massa Carrara, Pisa, Pistoia, Prato and Siena. As an association of chambers, its main functions are the direction, development, sustainment, representation and coordination of all their activities. It is related to the national Unioncamere, but as it was the case with Confindustria, it has its own judicial entity, with independent objective and autonomous funding. The relationship with the national chamber union is mainly strategic towards national and European policy-making. Unioncamere Toscana has a Statute reformed in April 2012, in which they claim to be part of the national commerce chamber system as equal grounds with the other regional chambers and with the national organization¹³⁸.

Unioncamere Toscana represents the interests of the chamber system at the regional level, trying to contribute to the development of Tuscan economy as well as the chamber system as a whole. To the achievement of this main goal, they present a number of different objectives in their statute, namely to care for the interests of the chambers vis-à-vis the regional, national and

¹³⁷Unione Regionale delle Camere di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato, Agricoltura della Toscana

¹³⁸Art. 3.1

European institutions, as well as representatives of public and private organizations, to coordinate the activities of the system, and to promote initiatives in favour of the regional economy, involving business associations.

With regards to environmental policy, it is compulsory for Chambers of Commerce to comply with regulations to promote the local production system and the better management of waste, as well as to help businesses in the presentation of the MUD¹³⁹. In the MUD presentation process, Unioncamere Toscana also works alongside ARPAT in assisting on the management of the documentation. Unioncamere Toscana also tries to help businesses beyond their legal obligations on their daily and proper management of environmental issues, by training activities as well as different interventions in the environmental control process. Amongst the successful programs they have developed in Tuscany, they have implemented a website where they promoted contacts between waste producers and waste managers, for a better coordination of waste management. They have also made available a free recovery bag service that benefitted more than 34000 companies.

Unioncamere Toscana works on the promotion and development of the Tuscan chamber system on the Region, the State and the EU, working alongside other trade associations to adopt common strategies within the existing regulatory framework at European level and national level. It has a close relationship with the 105 Italian chambers, as well as with the European umbrella organization Eurochambers and the organization of Italian chambers abroad, Assocamere. Their work has gained Unioncamere Toscana a total score of 15.5/30 or 51.6% in our Europeanization index, which means it has barely obtained an advanced Europeanization (See Table 22).

In the first dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, Unioncamere Toscana scores a total of 4/10. When analysing their statutes, there is no mention of the EU, their values, their objectives or their “ways of doing things”. The statute mainly establishes the rapport of Unioncamere with the regional and local authorities, as well as the relationship with other chambers in Italy, but the EU is not considered as an arena to be mentioned. As a result, they score a 0 in the first indicator. However, as it was the case in Confindustria Toscana, this does not mean there is no identification at all with EU values. Unioncamera has expressed the importance of the EU as a market for Tuscan products and as a stabilizing context for business. According to some of its members:

¹³⁹ Unified Model of Environmental Declaration, Modello Unico di Dichiarazione Ambientale.

“The programs and initiatives promoted and implemented by the European Union are of interest to the business environment, and to the process of internationalization of Tuscan enterprises”¹⁴⁰

They have also expressed that the EU directly influences their objectives through:

“Funding policies and guidelines on specific issues regarding the research, business innovation and technology transfer.”¹⁴¹

However, the criticism is also present in some of their claims, especially related to the constant changes in European normative towards commerce. They have, for example, expressed certain criticism to the changes in labelling that often come with European directives, and the costs that these changes entail¹⁴². In the third indicator for organizational adaptation, they have obtained the highest score, given their constant work with the chamber network in Eurochambers and Assocamere, through which they have developed a close relationship with similar chambers in different countries.

On the dimension of Europeanization through organization adaptation, we can first see that Unioncamere Toscana has no departments dedicated exclusively to dealing with EU issues. However, they do have a department that deals with business internationalization and the management of EU projects. In this way, it is similar to the organization of Confindustria Toscana, where EU issues were banded together with internationalization efforts. But if we take into consideration EU policy-making, they mostly delegate to the national organization as well as to pan European organizations such as Eurochambers. Similarly, they have worked on some EU programs such as the CINEMA project alongside Confindustria, so it is safe to say that they have sporadically received EU funds directly. On the final indicator for organizational adaptation, the members of Unioncamere Toscana do receive EU funding as well, especially the Chambers of Firenze and Prato, which have a special funding line of their own through the European Enterprise Network¹⁴³. However, when consulting the RIG, they have not been able to give examples of how they have given incentives towards finding EU funds in the past, more than the usual information services.

¹⁴⁰ *“Programmi e le iniziative promosse e realizzate dall’Unione Europea, sono d’interesse per il contesto economico - produttivo toscano anche in relazione al processo d’internazionalizzazione delle imprese” “Una presenza all’estero”. 30/07/2013. UC Site. Retrieved from <http://www.tos.camcom.it/>*

¹⁴¹ *“Gli politiche di finanziamento su linee e tematiche specifiche per quanto riguarda la ricerca, l’innovazione nelle imprese ed il trasferimento tecnologico”, Interview 11, 23/03/2010*

¹⁴² *“Marcatura CE: nuove politiche dell’Unione europea”. Newsletter n° 21, 04/06/2010. Retrieved from <http://www.tos.camcom.it/>*

¹⁴³ *“L’Unione europea ascolta le imprese”, Newsletter n° 40, 26/11/2010. Retrieved from <http://www.tos.camcom.it/>*

Finally, on the strategic front, we can see first that Unioncamere Toscana does participate directly on pan European organizations. As it was explained above, the chamber system provides for coordination between partners, a model that is replicated on European matters. Whenever Unioncamere Toscana needs to establish a position at the EU level, they make their position known inside the umbrella organizations they belong to, and through this means they are able to influence the policy-making process. This way of working has seemingly been fruitful to the RIG, as they have said that:

“The interaction and discussion with other parties at European level could definitely lead to experiences and stimuli to improve the service capacity of the organization, and offer more consistent support for companies”¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless, when asked if they have worked directly on the formulation of environmental policy at the EU level, they have expressed that their work at Brussels has been *“scarce, because our business is directed almost exclusively at the provincial and regional levels”¹⁴⁵*. They have mostly worked with the regional office in Brussels and have through pan European organizations.

The tables are completely turned when it comes to implementation of EU environmental policies in Tuscany. Unioncamere Toscana, as a business representative, is extremely active and works directly with the regional administration on policy-making and policy transposition. The office of institutional services, together with the office of legal services, is in charge of monitoring legislation and managing the relationships with the regional and local authorities. As we have seen above, their work closely with the administration on the presentation of MUD, and this rapport seems to be useful to be included in advisory commissions and in the revision of draft legislation. According to the interviewee, they have been constantly included *“through mechanisms of information, informal meetings and formal encounters, at least since 2001, if not before”¹⁴⁶*. The relatively recent participation of the RIG on these consultations may be related to the late devolution of environmental capacities to Tuscany. However, when consulted on the effects of their interventions, the interviewee claims that until now these consultations have not been especially interesting to Unioncamere, as there has never been an environmental issue where they would have had the clear need to assert influence on policy-makers.

¹⁴⁴ *“L’interazione ed il confronto con altri soggetti a livello europeo potrebbe sicuramente apportare esperienze e stimoli per migliorare le capacità di servizio delle singole strutture ed offrire supporti più omogenei per le imprese.”* Interview 11, 23/03/2010

¹⁴⁵ *“Scarsa, perché la nostra attività è indirizzata quasi esclusivamente a livello provinciale e regionale”* Op. cit.

¹⁴⁶ *“Attraverso meccanismi di informazioni informali e incontri formali, almeno dal 2001, se non prima”,* Op. cit.

Table 22: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – Unioncamere Toscana

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change	0	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	4	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	6	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office	0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	6.5	
Total	16.5	30

Source: Developed by the author

4.4.3.2 Confindustria Toscana

Confindustria Toscana, the Regional Federation of Industry Associations of Tuscany, is the main business association in the region. Founded in 1971 as a regional branch of the national Confindustria, it has expanded its scope towards purely regional objectives especially after the devolution of competences to Tuscany. The adoption of their new statute in 2003, reformed then in 2011, gives Confindustria Toscana a complete autonomy from the national organization on matters regarding Tuscany, as well as a fiscal independence and budget control.

Confindustria Toscana is divided in sectorial commissions that work on the specific regional policies of each production sector. It also has a special department devoted to small and medium businesses and one devoted to young entrepreneurs. The RIG also has a research centre, where it funds studies on economic, social and political subjects of regional interest. This centre also gives technical advice to Confindustria Toscana and helps elaborate their policy proposals.

The work done by Confindustria Toscana on environmental issues is not characteristically strong, but follows a reactive pattern common to many industrial organizations. It does not have an environmental department as Foment-MA, but deals with environmental issues as part of their economical subjects. Confindustria Toscana considers unavoidable the path towards a green economy, and has adopted a positive attitude towards environmental policies, with a somewhat cautious reticence to the eventual costs of sustainability. As they have said:

“The environmental question is part of the strategic objectives of an enterprise and the investment in clean technology to reduce the environmental impact has taken a greater weight in the businesses balance sheets”¹⁴⁷

It is because of these potentially enormous consequences that they follow environmental legislation closely and voice their position whenever possible.

The RIG aims to contribute with other political institutions, to the economic, social and cultural organization of Tuscany. Their main objective is the representation and protection of the interests of the businesses in all matters regarding the administration of the Tuscan region, as well as the information of its members in all the subjects that involve them. Of course, it pursues no commercial objective of its own, but is funded by the annual contributions of its members. To achieve these

¹⁴⁷ “La questione ambientale entra a far parte degli obiettivi strategici delle imprese e gli investimenti in tecnologie pulite, per ridurre l’impatto ambientale, assumono sempre più un peso maggiore nei bilanci aziendali.” “Green Economy”. 16/05/2013. Confindustria Servizi. Retrieved from <http://www.servizi.confindustria.toscana.it/>

objectives, Confindustria Toscana has a special rapport with all the main political and administrative institutions of the region, mainly the Parliament, the government, the unions and any other representative organizations. As regards to the Europeanization index, Confindustria Toscana earns a score of 16.5/30, which is equivalent to 54,9% and represents a level of Advanced Europeanization (See Table 23).

Regarding the first indicator of the value adaptation dimension of Europeanization, after analysing Confindustria Toscana's recently modified statute there is no mention of the EU, its objectives or its values whatsoever. While some other RIGs showed at least a rhetorical mention to the integration process, there is no mention at all here. In the same way, they claim to be identified with similar RIGs in other regions, but have no direct work with them, apart from that done with other Confindustria branches in Italy, or through EU programs. However, as we said above, we cannot claim that Confindustria Toscana does not partake with the environmental values proposed by the EU. The advancement of environmental values is not contested. Nevertheless, this identification with environmental values at the EU level does not come without criticism. More often than not, Confindustria has expressed its concerns on costs and repercussions of some policies that they consider overly cautious or lacking the necessary compensations to business owners. For example, on April 2013, the European Parliament voted against a disposition by the Commission to raise the price of CO₂emissions. Confindustria Toscana, pleased with this result, claimed that:

"As companies clamoured for a long time, in line with the position of Business Europe, the efforts of the European Commission should focus on constructive proposals that achieve the environmental and energy objectives together, raising the competitiveness of all our businesses and catching up against our competitors in the global market."¹⁴⁸

In the end, the total score for Europeanization through value adaptation is 3/10.

On the dimension of Europeanization through organizational adaptation, their score rises to a 7/10, mainly because of their search for EU funding. While Confindustria Toscana does have a department that works on EU matters, it must be said that this department deals mainly with the internationalization of business and giving support to its members on matters EU laws and processes.

¹⁴⁸ "E' quanto le imprese chiedevano a gran voce da tempo, in linea con la posizione di BusinessEurope (...) gli sforzi della Commissione Europea devono concentrarsi su proposte costruttive, che consentano di realizzare insieme gli obiettivi ambientali e energetici rilanciando la competitività di tutte le nostre imprese e recuperando lo svantaggio nei confronti dei nostri concorrenti sul mercato globale", 16/04/2013, "Confindustria: giusto lo stop di Strasburgo sulle quote di CO₂". Confindustria Notizie. Retrieved from <http://www.confindustria.toscana.it/>

The follow-up of EU environmental legislation is then mostly delegated to the national organization and to pan European umbrella associations such as Business Europe. With regards to resources, as we said before, Confindustria Toscana is mostly funded by the contributions of its members. However, as a business association it has received funding sporadically, with the help of the Enterprise Europe Network, for the organization of activities oriented to formation and promotion. Finally, Confindustria Toscana strongly encourages amongst its members the search for European funding, and divulges through its website and newsletters whenever a funding opportunity becomes available. Through their services department they offer not only information but also support and help on the elaboration of investment projects to be presented at EU investment markets, through a channel called Focus Europa. They have also put special effort on the promotion of funding for environmental programs such as the Eco-innovation project.

Lastly, Confindustria Toscana shows a varied Europeanization through strategic adaptation, with a score of 6.5. As it has been usually the case, this score mainly comes through their work on the implementation of EU policy. When analysing their work on EU programs directed to the region, we can find that Confindustria Toscana has been especially active on a project financed by the Commission called CINEMA¹⁴⁹, in which they work towards a better competitiveness of their industries with five other Italian business RIGs, as well as with more than 570 organizations in the Enterprise Europe Network. Similarly to CINEMA, Confindustria Toscana also participates in other projects with a wide scope, such as the aforementioned REACH.

Regarding their work on the formulation and implementation of EU environmental policies, we have mentioned how Confindustria Toscana participates through the national organization and the pan European association pushing forward their position on legislation. In contrast, their participation is not as passive when that legislation is implemented in the region. Confindustria Toscana has routinely had regular meetings with the regional government and in advisory committees, where they usually work on early drafts of environmental legislation. They have especially mentioned their work in the passing of the law on the quality of air¹⁵⁰ as a case in which their inputs were substantial to the final result. Their view on environmental policy is that:

¹⁴⁹ Central Italy Network to Enhance Competitive Business Activities

¹⁵⁰ Legge regionale 9/2010 in materia di qualità dell'aria ambiente.

“It must take an innovative approach and seek new ways of working with a wide cross section of society, it should improve the implementation of existing environmental legislation and integrate environmental issues with other policies.”¹⁵¹

Their constant work of interest intermediation with the regional government aims to achieve the goal of keeping the environmental policy within grasp of the businesses that form Confindustria Toscana.

Table 23: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – Confindustria Toscana

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change	0	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification but no relation	2	0/3
SUBTOTAL	3	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	7	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations	0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	6.5	
Total	16.5	30

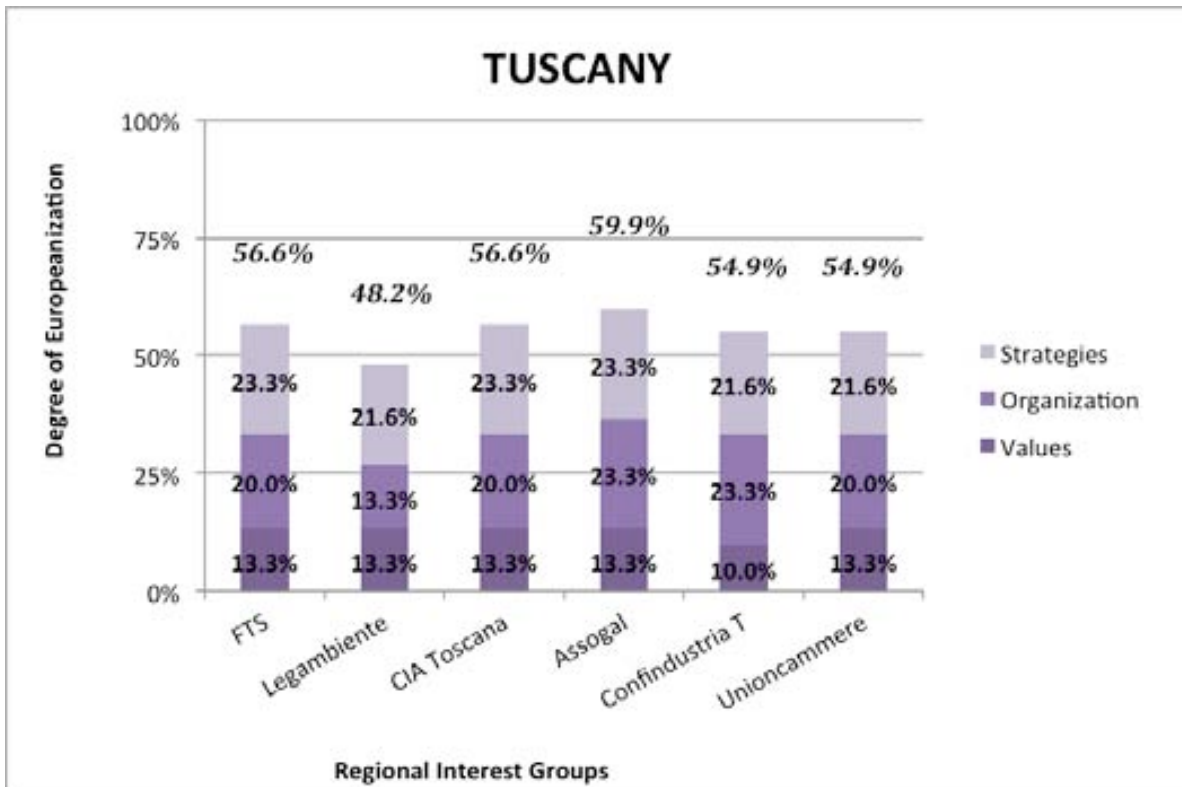
Source: Developed by the author

¹⁵¹ “La politica ambientale deve assumere un orientamento innovativo e cercare nuovi modi di collaborare con un ampio spaccato della società. Occorre migliorare l'applicazione della legislazione ambientale esistente e integrare la tematica ambientale con le altre politiche.” “Green Economy”. 16/05/2013. Confindustria Servizi. Retrieved from <http://www.servizi.confindustria.toscana.it/>

4.4.4 Dimensions of Europeanization compared in Tuscany

Even though the results for each RIG analysed are useful by themselves, it is only through comparison that we can achieve a better understanding of the Europeanization of RIGs in Tuscany. The purpose of this section is to compare the levels of Europeanization achieved by environmentalist, rural and industrial RIGs on the different dimensions used in the Europeanization index. After applying our Europeanization index in Tuscany, the results obtained are much more similar across different RIGs than those obtained in Catalonia, but nevertheless show in general an Europeanization of a lower level (See Table 24). The results obtained have been traduced into a bar chart for a better visualization (See Graphic 3).

Graphic 3: Environmental Policy and Dimensions of Europeanization- Tuscany



Source: Developed by the author

Table 24 – Values of Europeanization of RIGs - Tuscany

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	FTS	Legamb.	CIA	Assogal	Confind.	Unioncam.	CODE
VALUE ADAPTATION							10
New EU related objectives	1	1	1	1	0	0	0/4
Identification with EU values	1	1	1	1	1	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.	2	2	2	2	2	3	0/3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION							10
Redirection of internal resources	1	1	1	2	2	2	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources	3	3	3	4	3	3	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members	2	0	2	1	2	1	0/2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION							10
Participation in pan-European organizations	2	2	1	2	2	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions	2	2	2	2	2	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies	1.5	0.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	1	0/3
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies	1.5	2	1.5	1.5	2	1.5	0/3
Total	17	14.5	17	18	16.5	16.5	30
	56,6%	48,3%	56,6%	59,9%	54,9%	54,9%	100%

Source: Developed by the author

Even though it was possible that there were going to be differences between environmental, rural and industrial Tuscan RIGs, we have found that the Europeanization seems to be very similar across all with scores that range from 48,3% to 59,9%. Almost all the RIGs studied achieve an Advanced Europeanization, with only one case in which the Europeanization is moderate, with a score just below 50%. As we have said before, an advanced Europeanization can imply that even though the RIG is still greatly involved with the regional and national arenas, seems to have followed an important process of adaptation to the EU, while there are still factors where the Europeanization can be deepened. Even if Legambiente Toscana shows a lower level of Europeanization, it is interesting to note that all of them follow a similar pattern of very low Europeanization of values, and a higher Europeanization on organization and strategy.

In the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, the scores do not rise above 13,3%. We have found that the RIGs in Tuscany have not had severe changes in their statutes to reflect modification on their values or objectives. Whenever those changes are present in the

statutes, as it was the case in three of the RIGs, these changes are mostly rhetorical, only mentioning the EU in passing and without a serious relevance. This could be related to the stance that all of these RIGs have taken towards the EU. Even the most euro-enthusiasts, such as Assogal Toscana, have shown identification with EU values alongside with some severe criticism to the EU policy-making process, especially on openness and accountability. Third, regarding their work and identification with other similar RIGs in different regions, only Unioncamere Toscana explicitly claims to be working alongside them, while the rest only present identification without relation. This lack of work with other similar RIGs in other regions is interesting, given the transnational quality of environmental policy, and will be revised in the next section.

In the dimension of organizational adaptation, only Legambiente Toscana shows a low score of 13,3%, mainly due to the lack of incentives towards its members for the search of EU funds. This is explained by the fact that Legambiente is formed by individual members, and not by other organizations or groups that could receive EU funding. The rest of the RIGs, on the other hand, either actively help their members to obtain EU funds, as it is clearer with the case of CIA Toscana but also with FTS and Confindustria, or they have members receiving EU funding without the active incentive of the RIG. A fundamental part of the organizational dimension is the funds received by the RIG. In all cases without exception, the Tuscan RIGs showed that they have received EU funding for their activities. This funding has mostly been sporadic and with a specific purpose such as the formation and capacitation of its members in certain skills, but in the case of Assogal, this funding surpasses the eventualities and is in fact a funding for its continuing activities on the rural fields of Tuscany. Finally, when analysing the redirection of resources to a department directly devoted to EU matters, the results are divided. Half of the RIGs studied have no department dealing with EU issues, given the fact that they delegate this work to national or pan European organization, while the other half has a department working on EU issues but not exclusively. The fact that no RIG of those studied in Tuscany has a special department dedicated to EU matters can be quite revealing, especially if we take into account the fact that the environmental policy has a strong relation with the European level of policy-making.

The dimension of strategic adaptation seems to show the most interesting results. First, when asked about their involvement on pan European associations, all of the RIGs have expressed that they participate in a certain way. The relevance of pan European organization to RIGs is present in Tuscany as it was present in Catalonia. It is interesting to note as well that all the RIGs but one have expressed that they participate on pan European organizations by themselves. Only CIA Toscana explicitly claimed that their work on Agricord and COPA-COGECA is done through the CIA system and not by themselves. A sign of a high strategic Europeanization is the fact that all of the Tuscan RIGs have expressed that they participate directly and by themselves on EU programs directed to regions.

While some, like Assogal, are more active on EU programs than the others, it is clear that the EU has an important role on the activities in which the RIGs take part.

A most revealing result is the scores obtained on the participation of the RIGs in the formulation and the implementation of environmental policy. While neither of the indicators show a very high score, the RIGs show a consistently higher result on their involvement on the implementation of the environmental policy. Their work on the formulation of environmental policy at the EU level is mostly related to their involvement with pan European organization and the regional office in Brussels, with some showing as well certain contacts with members of the EU Parliament. On the other hand, when considering their work at the regional level, all of the RIGs seem to be very involved in meetings and draft proposals. While some are more active, such as Confindustria or FTS, some others show participation through different ways like demonstrations and direct action. All in all, the RIGs seem to take special consideration to the regional arena and they are eager to express their position on environmental matters whenever they are able to.

As we can see, the highest values obtained by the RIGs are in the strategic and organizational dimensions, while the value adaptation shows lower results. It seems that the Tuscan RIGs involved in the environmental policy take into account the European arena, but tend to focus their work on the regional arena when defining their action plan, and delegating the work on formulation to pan European and national associations. While they appreciate the EU involvement on environmental issues and partake in the values the EU pushes forward, they express a clear criticism and wish for an increased participation at the European level. However, even though their involvement in Brussels is limited and their opinions towards the EU are somewhat critical, all of the RIGs studied in Tuscany are closely related to the EU, mainly through funding but also through participation in EU programs directed to regions. All in all, it is not surprising that, given their involvement with EU funds and programs, as well as with pan European organizations, the Tuscan RIGs show an advanced Europeanization. However, it is also not surprising that, given their criticisms and the reduced participation on the formulation of EU policies and the scarce involvement with RIGs in other regions, their Europeanization is lower than in Catalonia. In the next section, we will analyse incidence of the mediating factors as a link between the Europeanization of the RIGs and the regional authority of Tuscany.

4.5 Mediating factors in Tuscany

As we have said before, there are plenty of reasons to link the Europeanization of RIGs to regional authority. The role of the region as a promoter of the participation of RIGs is a recurrent in the interviews. When analysing the RIGs in Tuscany, there is evidence of a certain restriction by the RIGs towards activating their participation at the EU level, even if the RIGs participated at the regional level. Once again, then, we should take into consideration the importance of the mediating factors for Europeanization, which ease or harden the Europeanization at subnational levels (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003). We expect to find more facilitating factors in regions with a higher regional authority. In the case of Tuscany, the mediating factors would relatively favour Europeanization. The mediating factors presented by the authors are the veto players, the formal institutions, the informal cooperative institutions and the agents of change (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003). We have applied our Europeanization index to the RIGs in Tuscany and have seen that they can be classified as having an advanced Europeanization with the exception of one case of moderate Europeanization. At the same time, we have seen that Tuscany has a medium score of 14/24 in the regional authority index.

The first mediating factor to be considered is the number of veto players, namely those actors with decision-making power or the ability to obstruct advancement on a certain policy (Risse, et al., 2001). The fewer the decision makers, the more fluid the process of policy-making becomes. If the amount of people with decision-making capabilities increases, the more probable a veto player can intercede in the process. In the case of Tuscany, we have been able to contact policy makers through a number of online questionnaires in order to get an assessment of the context in which environmental policy is implemented. In this case, the main decision maker is the Direction of environmental, energy and climate change policies¹⁵², but it is paired with independent agencies that act as checks and balances to the administration. The main agency working on environmental issues, as described before, is ARPAT. The relationship between the Direction and ARPAT is one of manager and evaluator, with a clear allocation of responsibilities and accountability. The veto players for environmental policy are then relatively reduced to those in these two organizations. However, in the case of Tuscany, some environmental issues are still under the control of the central government. The stance on nuclear energy, for example, cannot be changed unidirectionally by the regional government, but must be decided alongside with the national administration. All in all, in the case of

¹⁵² Direzione generale Politiche ambientali, energia e cambiamenti climatici

Tuscany, there does not seem to be a problem with the interference of veto players in the region, as there is a small number of participants in the environmental policy-making process, but the process could become much more complicated on specific environmental subjects in which the national government still has a say.

The second factor considered is the formal facilitating institutions. As described by Risse et al. (2001), formal facilitating institutions are those that empower RIGs with resources, information, access, etc. It could be in this factor where Tuscany shows some deficit when compared to Catalonia. When working at the regional level on the implementation of environmental policy, it is not possible to say that Tuscany lacks resources or is not open to participation. The Region of Tuscany shows across its administration a very open and modern model of public management, funded by the newly reformed statute¹⁵³ (Dal Canto, 2012). There are regular meetings with stakeholders on different topics, ranging from health and safety issues to economy development. Amongst these, the environmental has included participatory processes almost since it was devolved to the region (Fedele, 2003). As we have said before, Tuscany works on multi annual plans that are developed with the work of RIGs as well as citizens in general, which are able to present their proposals. At the same time, the regional government organizes regular conferences to divulge their work and to give new organizations an opportunity for access¹⁵⁴. The region has a transparent administration, mandated by the Tuscan statute, and this is rigorously applied to the Direction of environment. Every policy discussed by the direction is formally publicized and usually there is a period of open consultations before engaging other stakeholders in discussion. The same method is applied to the PRAA, the multi annual program where most environmental policies are included, but mainly involving corporations and RIGs. The open consultations are not equal to absolute control over the process. If there is disagreement, the administration has expressed that they have the final decision, as they are also accountable for whatever policy is implemented. The formal facilitating institutions facilitating the involvement of RIGs in the implementation of environmental policy in Tuscany abound. In fact, the

¹⁵³ *"The region promotes the autonomous initiatives of citizens and their organizations for the direct performance of activities of recognized interest (...) the implementation of the principle of social subsidiarity is primarily directed at improving the level of services, to overcome the economic and social inequalities, to promote cooperation of citizens and social groups, according to their specificity, for human promotion, solidarity and development of the community."* Statuto della Regione Toscana, art. 59

¹⁵⁴ During the time spent in Tuscany as part of the field work done for this thesis, the author was able to assist to no less than three different events related to environmental policy. During the Greendays Conference (November 25th to 27th, 2009), for example, RIGs and environmental stakeholders were able to share the event with the Environmental Department of the Tuscan region, discussing on the achievements by the administration to that moment, as well as sharing proposals for new goals and objectives for the near future. The event was closed with an open conference by the then president of the Region, Claudio Martini. The representatives of interest groups casually interviewed during this event expressed their confidence and satisfaction with the openness of the government and their acceptance of differing opinions.

region has even approved in August 2013 a new law promoting and regulation the participation of citizens and organizations in the policy-making process¹⁵⁵.

However, this is not much the case when we consider mediating institutions towards participation on policy formulation at the EU level. Tuscany, as most regions, has an office in Brussels that works on facilitating the access of the regional institutions to the EU, as well as helping regional stakeholders. As it can be seen from the previous analysis, the regional office has proved very useful for Tuscan RIGs when dealing with environmental policy formulation at the EU level. However, Tuscany does not have a strong involvement beyond the regional office and this can prove problematic for RIGs. When compared to Catalonia, Tuscany does not belong to trans-regional organizations such as the Four Motors of Europe, and its involvement on the Committee of the Regions is not as active. The work done by Tuscany is channelled and isolated through the regional office in Brussels, which can be limiting for some RIGs and reduces their Europeanization through strategic adaptation.

Apart from formal institutions, a third mediating factor are the informal cooperative institutions, cultural understandings that define the realm of what is legitimately possible in the decision-making process. The participation of civil society in Tuscany is neither new nor unusual, but a consequence of centuries of involvement by the people in the political processes of the region. Tuscany has been an arena for policy-making since at least the 16th century, which gives the regional administration a legitimacy that may not be present if we would only consider the devolution done by the Italian government in recent decades. The legitimacy of Tuscany as a policy-making arena is a cultural understanding that increases the participation of civil society and mobilizes the RIGs, which in turn facilitate their Europeanization. This culture of openness and participation, which some social scientists have described as part of Tuscany's social capital (Leonardi, 1994b) has become a template of Tuscan policy-making and is expected from any administration no matter their ideology.

Amongst the informal mediating factors we could also cite the networks of cooperation and competition formed by private producers in Tuscany, which have helped form a sense of belonging to

¹⁵⁵ *"a) For all public works of regional competence that exceeds the threshold of EUR fifty million, the Public Debate is made mandatory; b) except for cases regulated by law in the governance of the territory, the Debate is mandatory for all plans of regional forecasting and localization related to national public works; c) for all private works not exceeding the financial threshold above, the Debate is activated after evaluation by the Regional Authority and after acquiring the availability of the private company to financially support the development of the debate itself; d) for all the works, public and private, above a threshold of ten million euro, the Authority, on its own initiative or at the request of other parties, can assess the appropriateness of activating the Public Debate, acquiring, in case of private works, the collaboration of promoters; e) for public works on which the Region is called upon to give an opinion, the Authority can promote the Public Debate, to the extent compatible with the respect of procedural and state law."* Legge regionale 2 agosto 2013, n. 46

a community and the close relationship with regional institutions (Passaleva, 2012). Another cultural understanding in Tuscany is related to the implementation of EU rules, norms and ways of doing things. In Italy in general and in Tuscany in particular, the EU is generally seen as a path towards modernization, by way in which the customs that are considered intrinsically Italian and a cause for concern can be left behind (Sbraglia, 2001). This positive valuation of the EU as a “normalizer” of Italian “bad behaviour”, definitely helps the aspirations of RIG Europeanization.

The final mediating factor is the existence of agents of change or actors mobilized domestically to persuade others in favour of Europeanization. The regional administration in general operates as an agent of change favouring Europeanization but as we have seen above, this has a reduced scope, given the limited regional capacities that Tuscany has. Amongst the environmental RIGs considered, only Assogal seems to have an active participation at the EU level and could push others towards a similar Europeanization. However, without a proper structure supported by the region, the RIGs would find it harder to be successful in these activities. The RIGs seem to be in the middle of a learning process together with the region, where both are working towards a stronger involvement at the EU level but are not quite there yet. The region seems to have perfect the methods for the coordination of participation in the policy-making process, but has not been able to upscale this participation enforcing the involvement of the RIGs at the formulation of policies. There are agents of change in Tuscany, such as the more europeanized RIGs but their work towards a more divulged Europeanization of interest representation in Tuscany seems to be still embryonic. In a similar sense, regional foundations promoting a closer relationship with Europe and the EU do not seem to have as important a role and as strong an influence as they had in Catalonia. There does not seem to exist a Tuscan equivalent to the Patronat Catalunya Món, which in turn hardens the path towards Europeanization.

4.6 Final remarks on the case of Tuscany

For the final remarks of this chapter, it can be useful to analyse the case of Tuscany through the hypotheses we proposed. Given the information we have obtained in the in depth analysis of regional authority and mediating factors in Tuscany and the scores achieved by the RIGs on our Europeanization index, we can begin to approximate a conclusion.

Our first hypothesis was related to how we can detect Europeanization, and the link between regional authority and the Europeanization of RIGs. According to hypothesis 2, a higher regional authority leads to higher levels of Europeanization on RIGs. As we have seen, Tuscany presents a level of regional authority slightly superior to average, and its RIGs show an Europeanization roughly

between 48% and 60%. Compared to Catalonia, the results are lower in both accounts, and at first sight our hypothesis seems to be confirmed.

Our second hypothesis tries to explain the possible link between regional authority and Europeanization of RIGs, through the work of the mediating factors for policy-making. Regions with higher regional authority present more favourable mediating factors for policy-making and as a consequence this leads to a higher Europeanization of RIGs. All in all, there is some ambivalence in Tuscany's mediating factors. While there are a low number of veto players in environmental policy, and several formal facilitating institutions favouring participation, as well as informal institutions that create a favourable context for the involvement of RIGs in policy-making and their subsequent Europeanization, there are some aspects that lag behind. The lack of facilitating formal institutions pushing for the participation of RIGs at the EU level, as well as the absence of regional agents of change sufficiently powerful seems to influence the final results on the Europeanization of RIGs. These mediating factors are related to Tuscany's capacities at the regional level. While Tuscany has the ability to implement the environmental policy, it has not the correct capacities to promote participation at the EU level. Similarly, Tuscany has no capacity to push for a stronger allocation of resources to the region from the central government or to intervene on the national policy-making process with enough strength to impose a certain position. RIGs are then obliged to keep working through the channels that are available at the regional level, namely the formal facilitating institutions previously mentioned, or to delegate the intervention on environmental issues to the national or pan European organizations.

Compared to Catalonia and Wales, according to the regional authority index, Tuscany scores in the medium spectrum of regions in Europe. Following our research, we can also see that the RIGs working on environmental policy in Tuscany that we have studied present an advanced or moderate Europeanization. In the case of Tuscany then, we can see a medium Europeanization of RIGs with a medium regional authority. Regarding mediating factors of policy-making, we can see that there appears to be some facilitating mediating factors in the administration, while there are some less favourable mediating factors as well. In conclusion, the regional authority of Tuscany seems to be sufficiently strong to support RIG participation on environmental policy and its consequent push for Europeanization, but does not seem to be strong enough to increase the participation on policy formulation at the EU level, to avoid the interference of some veto players or to promote the appearance of strong agents of change. These disadvantages seem to have an effect on the limit to the Europeanization of the Tuscan RIGs.

5 Regional Interest Groups in Wales

Any social scientist trying to study Wales is first confronted with a set of different views of the region, based largely on stereotypes and clichés. Wales has been treated as a region, a nation and sometimes as just a place (Day, 2002). It wasn't until recently that it has really been allowed an independent administration. This has led to a general confusion of what is Wales and what it means to be Welsh, best symbolized in a now classic and politically incorrect description by the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1888, whose definition for Wales simply read "*For Wales: see England*" (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999).

When analysing Wales, there are three stereotypes that need to be confronted regarding its economy, its society and its culture. The more traditional and influential vision of Wales is that of a proletarian region, filled with worker houses and coal miners, right out of a Victorian scene. It is a conception of Wales whose origin dates to the industrial revolution and even then only applied to South Wales (Day, 2002). In the period from the mid 18th to mid 20th centuries, the population of Wales expanded considerably, and adopted a fundamentally working class characteristic, socially well organized and politically leaning to Labour. However, this has nothing to do with Wales nowadays, especially after decades of working class crisis in the region, and after suffering the worst part of Thatcherism. The story of the Wales of the late 20th and early 21st centuries is that of rejection, adaptation and reconfiguration of its proletarian past, towards a service based economy.

A second vision of Wales relates to its rural nature and "Welshness" linked to the countryside (Day, 2002). Before the industrial revolution, small farmers working in hard conditions mostly composed Wales. This second vision, however unreal, helped compose a national identity that

permeated the vision of a proletarian Wales, especially in relation to the relationships and bonds of mutual cooperation amongst the Welsh, as well as a certain lack of hierarchy that recently influenced their institution by the creation of a consensus based government (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). Nevertheless, neither one image nor the other truly encapsulates the Welsh character nowadays, and are not even so special comparing to the rest of the United Kingdom.

A third image of Wales is related to its Celtic origin. This third image of Wales is a romantic image lost in poetry and legend; again without a real root in current Welsh reality. The Celtic background may also be a cliché used by social scientists and tourist promoters wanting to address Welsh uniqueness (Day, 2002), as it is particularly difficult to find that which set Celts apart from, for example, Saxons. A more real distinctive form of “Welshness” comes, as it does in Catalonia, from the fact that the region has its own language and has maintained it alive throughout the years. Language as a unifying common denominator is a repeated trend in Europe ever since the rise of nationalisms in the 19th century. The language becomes the front for a separate way of life and culture, a true separate identity to that of the rest of the United Kingdom. However, if you take into consideration that only 20% of the Welsh population speak the language, you are over emphasising a characteristic, which is not even predominant.

If one takes these simplistic images, there is no clear definition of what it means to be Welsh or what makes Wales special or different inside the United Kingdom. Even though “Welshness” may have elements of all these different visions blended, any vision here presented could be as well defended or contested not only by other social scientists but also by any ordinary Welsh. However, this difficulty does not mean that Wales is not in fact a differentiated entity. It has been through devolution that Wales has been finally able to regain its notoriety and reclaim its unique position within the United Kingdom (Day and Jones, 2006).

In section 5.1 we track down the history of regionalism in the UK and Wales in particular, mainly focusing on devolution and its effects. Section 5.2 deals with the score of Catalonia in the regional authority index by Hooghe et al. (2008b), and its modification due to the changes introduced by the 2006 Government of Wales Act and the 2011 referendum. In section 5.3 we describe how environmental policy is implemented in Wales, and the institutions that deal with it. Afterwards, sections and subsections in 5.4.1 through 5.4.3 analyse in detail the Welsh environmental, rural and industrial RIGs and 5.4.4 provides a comparison between RIGs. Finally, section 5.5 describes the mediating factors for the Europeanization of RIGs in Wales. We end this chapter with some final remarks.

5.1 British Regionalism and the case of Wales

Wales has not been part a formally independent territory ever since it was unilaterally annexed by England in 1284¹⁵⁶, a fact reinforced by the Act of Union of 1536¹⁵⁷, which replaced Welsh law with English law and abolished Welsh courts (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). A symbol of this forced amalgamation of Wales to England can be seen in the Act of Union of 1707, which formed the United Kingdom and mentions the union of the Kingdom of England with the Kingdom of Scotland, completely ignoring the Principality of Wales (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999).

Nevertheless, the Welsh have always thought of themselves as a separate entity. During the early 15th century, Owain Glyndwr led a revolution that aimed to establish an independent Wales with its own church and institutions. The failure of this revolution, along with the ascent of the originally Welsh Tudors to the throne, sped the process of integration of the Welsh elite with the English society. Civil society in Wales developed and matured within a predominantly British context, diluting its “Welshness” (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999).

During the 19th century, the age of nationalisms was not ignored in a very active and industrial Wales. The economic developments and social transformations in Wales gave raise to the non-conformism of an urban middle class that started to feel neglected and discriminated by the English. The Cymru Fydd¹⁵⁸ movement was founded in 1886, in line with similar nationalist movements derived from Giuseppe Mazzini’s Young Italy (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). The early Welsh nationalists established a pattern that was to be followed later by other politicians. Their main objectives were to try to secure political recognition of the Welsh distinctiveness and to ensure this difference through the establishment of their own institutions of civil society, such as the Welsh National Library, or through the reform of previously established institutions (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999).

During the early 20th century, new issues of administrative independence were put forward, with the creation of the University of Wales and the separation of the Church of Wales. The formal

¹⁵⁶ *"The Divine Providence, which is unerring in its own government, among the gifts of its dispensation, wherewith it hath vouchsafed to distinguish us and our realm of England, hath now of its favour, wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominion, the land of Wales, with its inhabitants, heretofore subject unto us, in feudal right, all obstacles whatsoever ceasing; and hath annexed and united the same unto the crown of the aforesaid realm, as a member of the same body."* (Statute of Rhuddlan, 1284)

¹⁵⁷ *"...the dominion, principality, and country of Wales justly and righteously is and ever hath been incorporated, annexed, united, and subject to and under the imperial crown of this realm as a very member and joint of the same..."* (Act for the Government of Wales, 1536)

¹⁵⁸ “Young Wales”

administrative separation of the Church of Wales from the Church of England in 1920 was seen as an important change of attitude towards Wales (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999). After this separation, Wales became an independent province in the Anglican community¹⁵⁹. However, only after the Second World War, with the rise of Labour, the Welsh national identity began to be recognised as separate to the English. The declaration of Cardiff as the capital of Wales in 1955 was another landmark that informally recognized Wales as an entity separate from England but within the United Kingdom.

Even though the history of 20th century regionalism in Wales is closely related to devolution in the UK, the origin of Welsh regionalism predates the devolution movement by more than half a century. Apart from the Cymru Fydd movement, the regionalism in Wales has mostly been expressed democratically through parties in the Westminster Parliament, the European Parliament and the Welsh Assembly. Plaid Cymru¹⁶⁰, the Welsh nationalist party, was formed in 1925 with the clear goal of promoting the identity of Wales as an independent entity from England, but not necessarily promoting independence from the United Kingdom. Plaid Cymru won their first seat in Parliament in 1966 and has incremented their importance until becoming the second force in Wales behind Labour, a position maintained in the Welsh Assembly as well (Royles, 2007).

The process of differentiation from England has progressed hand in hand with a similar process, which goes in the opposite direction, towards the Anglicization of Wales. However, Welsh civil society, which had been considered by some as non-existent, emerged gradually from the process begun by the early nationalists (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999). This momentum was reflected in the establishment of the Welsh Office in 1964, to help administrate the newly devolved areas such as health, education and economic planning. The establishment of a Welsh Office was contested by conservatives, but pushed forward by the Labour party, which included it since 1959 in its national election manifestos (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). During its thirty-three years of existence, the Welsh Office grew from simply a territorial ministry to having its own functions, multiplying its staff and budget more than ten times in this period. The Welsh Office was, however, still the smallest ministry in the government, and many Welsh secretaries did not even come from Wales, especially during the frequent conservative governments.

¹⁵⁹ Nonconformism is the name taken by the movement organized by the Calvinistic Methodists since 1811, which pushed for a separation from the established Anglican church. This movement was supported by the Welsh population, while the elite tended to remain loyal to Anglicanism until the results mentioned (Davies, 1993)

¹⁶⁰ Plaid Cymru literally means "The Party of Wales"

Even though Wales had now a voice in cabinet, the assimilationist movement scored a big triumph in 1979. After many failed attempts to establish a Welsh Parliament, secretary John Morris was able to hold a referendum asking for more autonomy for Wales. The results were discouraging, with such a resound vote against the creation of a Welsh Assembly that a new referendum on the subject would only come after almost a decade (Wyn Jones & Scully, 2012).

Notwithstanding, the push for devolution continued through institutions, such as the Welsh Development Agency or the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, which were not democratically elected but served as a proxy for the representation of Welsh interests. These developments led to a return of devolution to the agenda in the late 1980s and eventually to a new referendum in 1997 pushed forward by Tony Blair's New Labour (Pilkington, 2002). Only half of the electorate participated, and the final vote was 50,3% in favour of the Welsh Assembly and 49,7% against it. The birth of the current Welsh autonomy was on weak grounds, but was finally approved by the central government in July 1998 (Wyn Jones & Scully, 2012).

The results of the 1979 and 1997 referendums show a Welsh civil society relatively weak when compared to civil society in Scotland or Northern Ireland (Patterson & Wyn Jones, 1999). No important political actor seemed to take into consideration the participation of the people, and the debate regarding devolution was particularly narrow. This may have been also a reflection of the total domination of the Labour party in Wales since the 1920s, which undermined the possibilities of a real debate in an issue that already provoked differences within the party. Nevertheless, public opinion towards direct rule from Westminster was severely affected by the strict policies put forward by Thatcher in Wales (Day, 2002). But the civil society was not able to open a debate for alternatives. Once New Labour put the debate for self-rule forward during the national campaign, the civil society in Wales became truly mobilized and was able to obtain a success for Welsh autonomy, however moderate.

Since the creation of the Welsh Assembly, this seems to have changed favourably for Welsh civil society, with more participation and more understanding of what it means to be autonomous inside the UK. The new Assembly allowed for a better access to public decision-making and a particularly Welsh consensus style of politics. However, during its first decade of existence the Welsh Assembly experienced several institutional problems, mainly due to the fact that, as originally created, it did not have primary law making powers (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). For issues affecting Wales, the Parliament in Westminster had to put forward legislation that was then transmitted to the National Assembly to be implemented. Even though the regional government had devolved capacities, it could not pass laws on these subjects. As a matter of fact, the Assembly just took over the powers of the

Welsh Office and was only able to expand the Acts of Parliament with subordinate legislation and even then only on devolved subjects¹⁶¹ (Pilkington, 2002).

In 2002, the Welsh Government established the Richard Commission to examine the institutional arrangements in Wales. The main recommendation of the Commission was the separation of the executive and legislative branches of government. As a result of the recommendations of the Commission, the Government of Wales Act of 2006 effectively separated the roles of the Welsh Government formed by the First Minister, Ministers and Counsel General and responsible for policies, subordinate legislation and decision-making, from those of the National Assembly formed by the 60 elected members and responsible for law making and representing the people of Wales (Deacon & Sandry, 2012).

A second recommendation by the Richard Commission involved the lack of law making powers by the National Assembly on the devolved subjects. The Government of Wales Act of 2006 introduced incremental law-making capacities on more than 20 areas, but there was still co-decision with Westminster, as these powers were obtained on an individual basis. The National Assembly had to gain capacities by drafting Legislative Competence Orders that had to be approved by both houses of the UK Parliament, or through framework powers conferred directly by the central government. The Act, however, provided for the possibility of gaining total power on the devolved areas through a referendum. On March 2011, the people of Wales voted by a margin of 2 to 1 in favour of full law-making powers for the National Assembly on the devolved areas. This was a landmark in the long road towards not only self-government but also self-recognition by the people of Wales (Wyn Jones & Scully, 2012).

5.2 Regional Authority in Wales

In the regional authority study we use as one of the basis for this thesis Wales scores a total of 11.5 points over 24 (Hooghe, Marks & Schakel, 2008b). This is just below the general average of 11.7 from all the EU regions studied by the authors. The study is diachronic, and analyses the state of regional authority in Wales before and after devolution. The region scores a mere 1.5 over 24 from 1964 to 1998, in the period preceding devolution, and 11.5 from 1998 until 2006, the year of the study. However, the result obtained by Wales is out-dated nowadays, as the Government of Wales

¹⁶¹ The government of Wales Act of 1998 detailed in Schedule 2 the devolved areas as being: agriculture and fisheries, culture, economic development, education and training, environment, health, highways, industry, local government, social services, sport, tourism, town and country planning, transport, water and the Welsh language (Pilkington, 2002).

Act of 2006 approved more powers for the Welsh Assembly, expanded even more by the 2011 referendum. The final score has been updated to take into consideration the new circumstances and the final regional authority score used for this research is a total of 12.5 over 24 (See Table 25).

If we analyse the self-rule dimension, in the first indicator, we deal with institutional depth, which goes from a total lack of autonomy from the central government to a complete autonomy. In the case of Wales, we can consider that it reaches the maximum level of 3 points, given that it has an administration with its own authority and is free from vetoes from the central government, as long as it legislates within the margins established by devolution.

The second indicator deals with the policy scope or the authority of the region for developing its own economic, cultural or welfare policies. In this indicator, Wales scores 2 points, even considering the increased powers after the 2011 referendum. Wales has devolved policy scope in more than 20 policy areas, but it has neither residual powers nor total control over its institutional set-up, its police force or immigration and citizenship. The lack of more devolved powers shows an important deficit in regional authority.

Regarding the indicator of fiscal autonomy, we must remember that it is not only important to know how much money the region spends, but also to know its decision-making abilities on how that money is spent. It distinguishes between the personal income tax, corporate, VAT and sales tax and the rest of the taxes, taking into account the region's ability to set its base and rate unilaterally. As Wales has no control over taxes, and only has the power to spend the budget previously set by Westminster, it scores 0 points in this indicator.

The last indicator in the self-rule dimension refers to representation or the region's capacity to elect its own regional representatives. It is in this category that the Government of Wales Act of 2006 changed the score for Wales. Previously, Wales scored 2 points for being able to elect its own Legislative Power directly, and 1 point due to the fact that there was no true Executive Power, and powers were shared between the Assembly and the Welsh Secretary in Westminster. After 2006, it scores 2 points extra for having a regional Executive Power assigned by the regional Assembly, adding to a total of 4 points, the maximum in the representation indicator.

If we analyse now the dimension of shared rule, we can deal with the amount of influence that Wales has in the central government's decisions. In this sense, the first indicator is about the law making capabilities, in which we try to elucidate the role of the region in the national legislature. Westminster is a particularly centralist form of government, with endemic institutional restrictions to representatives. There is no territorial chamber, but members of parliament represent their uninominal circumscriptions and then all representatives from Welsh circumscriptions group

together. In this indicator, Wales scores 0.5 points given the fact that the legislature in Westminster does have extensive legislative authority and a divided regional representation in the Welsh members of Parliament.

With regards to executive control, we aim to know if there are routine intergovernmental meetings between the central government and the National Assembly. In this indicator, Hooghe, et al. (2008b) assign a value of 1 given that there are routine meetings between the governments without legally binding authority. The main lines of dialogue between the regional and central government are the Wales Office and the Welsh Secretary.

In relation to the fiscal control indicator, the authors wanted to measure if the regions can codetermine the income distribution of national taxes. The score then remains in 0, as established by Hooghe, et al. (2008b). Wales, as mentioned above in relation to the creation of taxes, has no say at all on whatever occurs with the distribution of national taxes.

Lastly, regarding its capacity for constitutional reform, the regional authority of Wales is increased by the importance of its representatives in Westminster. Wales, as well as Scotland, Northern Ireland and of course England, can intervene and introduce amendments to any possible constitutional reform at the national level. However, Wales has no power on its own to veto any kind of reform. The final score in the indicator of capacity for constitutional reform is 2.

Table 25 – Regional Authority in Wales

Regional Authority in Wales			
Variable	Dimensions	Indicators	Value
<i>Regional Authority</i>	Self-rule	Institutional Depth (0/3)	3
		Policy Scope (0/4)	2
		Fiscal Autonomy (0/4)	0
		Representation (0/4)	4
	Shared rule	Law making (0/2)	0.5
		Executive Control (0/2)	1
		Fiscal Control (0/2)	0
		Constitutional Reform (0/3)	2
		Total (0/24)	12.5

Source: developed by the author based on Hooghe, Marks & Schakel (2008b)

5.3 Environmental Policy in Wales

The United Kingdom has had different attitudes towards environmental policy during its past in the EU. From an environmental laggard during the 1970s and 1980s, the UK has become a forerunner in environmental protection, even taking the lead in the EU (Werzel, 2006). Of course, this position as a leader in environmental protection is related to its importance as a field equalizer in a common market. If environmental standards are not europeanized, there is a case for advantageous positions for different countries. EU environmental policy levels the field for all and is also more capable of dealing with transnational environmental issues (Jordan, 2006). If you pair this benefits with the increasing awareness of the public towards green policies, it is clear that this shift in attitude was needed.

British environmental policy-making has been described as flexible, informal, consensual, incremental and devoid of long-term objectives (Werzel, 2006). A unified Environmental Agency for England and Wales was only established in 1996, with Scotland and Northern Ireland having their own independent agencies. Prior to this, environmental policy was not homogeneous, and was scattered amongst different agencies with attitudes towards regulation that were sometimes opposed. Today, only few questions in Britain that the environment is a legitimate area for EU intervention, as it has had relative success in raising public awareness to green issues, increased transparency, bettered sustainability and even solved some environmental problems in the process (Jordan, 2006).

Since the beginning of the devolution process, environmental policy has been one of the policies planned to be devolved to the regional government of Wales (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). The 1997 referendum opened the gate for the establishment of the National Assembly, and when it was finally established in 1998, it acquired the executive functions of the Welsh Office. Amongst the powers obtained, the National Assembly was able to draft secondary legislation in 20 different policy areas, which include environmental policy as well as rural affairs, forestry and fisheries. The Government of Wales Act of 2006 paved the way for the reforms that led to the 2011 referendum that increased considerably the powers of the National Assembly. After this referendum, the National Assembly gained the power to create and implement its own environmental laws (Wyn Jones & Scully, 2012).

Since the devolution, Welsh environmental policy had been implemented across different agencies, depending on the issue at hand. The main institutions involved in environmental policy were the Countryside Council for Wales, the Environment Agency Wales and the Forestry Commission Wales. Along with these agencies, the Welsh Government was also responsible directly for the implementation of EU environmental policy, through the Minister for Environment,

Sustainability and Housing and the Minister for Rural Affairs, Food, Forestry and Fisheries. The separation of responsibilities led to a diffusion of power, a lack of focus and low accountability. However, since April 2013, the Welsh government merged the agencies previously mentioned in a new body called Natural Resources Wales, which took over their responsibilities, in an effort to increase efficiency and reduce costs. This new body is under the new Minister of Natural Resources and Food, with the support of the Minister of Sport and Culture.

Nowadays, Natural Resources Wales is the regulatory authority in Wales for more than 40 different regimes of environmental legislation¹⁶², either passed by the National Assembly due to their newly devolved powers, the UK Parliament or the EU institutions. The agency is able to grant permits, assess compliance and even take enforcement action. When necessary, the agency also has the ability to regulate environmental legislation. The main objective is to implement this legislation in order to protect the Welsh environment and to avoid environmental incidents while also developing the natural resources of the region in a sustainable way. Since its inception, Natural Resources has become the largest body in Wales with over 2000 staff, a budget of around £177m and direct control over 7% of the land area of Wales.

5.4 The Europeanization of RIGs in Wales

The UK in general is considered a fertile ground for non-governmental organization and Wales is not an exception. Even more, solidarity and associationism are a crucial part of social life in Wales. As mentioned before one of the main visions of Wales that are present today is that of a mostly horizontal society with strong ties to labour organizations (Day, 2002; Nicholl, 2006).

Since its birth, the National Assembly has tried to work closely with RIGs and the voluntary sector, strengthening the civil society in general. There was an early discussion whether the lack of strong institutions in Wales had led to a comparatively weak civil society, in relation to the rest of the UK (Day et al, 2006a). This research relates to that discussion, trying to measure the Europeanization of Welsh RIGs and its relation to the regional authority. However, the work on civil society in Wales

¹⁶² Natural Resources Wales is responsible for consents and assents for sites of special scientific interest, radioactive substances (both nuclear and non-nuclear), licensing of species protected under European law, marine licensing, licensing of tree felling, surface water & groundwater discharges, water abstraction and impoundment (and drought measures), packaging regulations and EU/UK trading schemes, commercial fisheries of eels, salmon and shellfish, access restrictions and designation and review of open access land under the Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000, major industry (refineries, chemicals, cement, power stations, iron and steel, food and drink etc.), waste industry (storage, treatment, disposal). Source: <http://naturalresourceswales.gov.uk/>

has shown that even though it may not be as strong as that in England or Scotland, it definitely is thriving (Day et al, 2006b).

Devolution certainly has seemed to have some results regarding the strengthening of civil society and inclusivity in Wales. Economic renewal and revitalization during the early years of devolution, as well as a democratization of Welsh society have played an important role in this process (Day and Jones, 2006). Economic and social life in Wales used to be centred on agriculture and the industries of coal and steel, but this has seen an enormous change in recent years towards the new service economy (Deacon & Sandry, 2012). The communities experienced a transformation that was pushed forward by the new institutions, in which the people were asked to be involved and take action (Thomas and Taylor, 2006). The main sectors of civil society in Wales are comprised of the voluntary groups, trade unions, faith groups and professional associations (Nicholl, 2006).

The RIGs involved in environmental policy have found a rich ground to work. However, even though the environment was one of the early-devolved policies it was not easy to find exclusively regional groups, as the link with UK based groups is strong. As it will be analysed later, this may be related to the lower regional authority of Wales in general. It was possible to find six units of observation that matched the criteria for this research (See Table X). As in the preceding cases, in the final remarks of this chapter, there is a comparative analysis of the differences between the Europeanization of environmental, rural and industrialist RIGs. In the conclusions of this thesis, a trans-regional comparison will provide more information and some clarity to our research.

Table 26 – Units of analysis selected for Wales

RIG	Type of RIG	Year	Members
Wales Environment Link	<i>Environmental</i>	1990	NGOs
Sustain Wales	<i>Environmental</i>	2002	Individuals
Country and Land Association Wales	<i>Rural</i>	1907	Landowners
Farmer's Union of Wales	<i>Rural</i>	1955	Productive Landowners
South Wales Chamber of Commerce	<i>Industrialist</i>	1846	Industries
Welsh Federation of Small Business	<i>Industrialist</i>	1971	SMEs

Source: developed by the author

5.4.1 Welsh Environmental RIGs

Environmental RIGs are those whose main interest is the defence of the environment above all. In Wales, some of the big international organizations are present with their regional subsidiaries. WWF Wales has important activities in the region and has been part of many projects promoted by the Welsh institutions, but as they are a subsidiary, they do not match the criteria needed for our research. Taking these objectives into consideration we were able to find some smaller groups with interests solely based on the region. For the case of Wales, there are mainly two groups representing environmental interests: the *Wales Environment Link (WEL)*, which is an umbrella organization of small associations throughout all the Welsh territory; and *Sustain Wales*, which is a unitary organization based in Cardiff and independent but with strong links to the Welsh Government.

5.4.1.1 Wales Environment Link

The Wales Environment Link (WEL) is an umbrella organization of 35 environmental and countryside RIGs in Wales, representing around 242,500 people. The WEL is a coordinating and facilitating RIG based in Aberystwyth, which has been designated the intermediary body between the Welsh institutions and the environmental non-governmental organizations. Its main objective, according to its manifesto, is:

“To increase the effectiveness of the environmental sector in its ability to protect and improve the environment through facilitating and articulating the voice of the sector.”¹⁶³

The WEL was established in 1990 as the Wales Wildlife and Countryside Link, a meeting ground for the sometimes-competing Welsh environmental organizations. In 2002 it changed its name to Wales Environment Link and acquired its own objectives and structure. According to its statutes, WEL's main aims are to facilitate sharing of information and knowledge, provide joint working and campaigning opportunities, maintain and further develop its status and reputation as a united voice for environmental NGOs in Wales, and promote its policies and positions on a wide range of issues¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶³ Manifesto Cyswllt Amgylchedd Cymru, available at <http://waleslink.org/manifesto>

¹⁶⁴ According to their Manifesto, the WEL's priorities for Wales 2011-2015 in different policy areas are: Access & Recreation, Agriculture & Food, Historic Environment, Marine, Biodiversity Planning, Climate Change, Energy, Recycling Waste & Local Environmental Quality Transport, Forestry & Woodland, Water.

Any environmental NGO working in Wales is able to apply for membership. However, only organizations that can demonstrate being truly non-profit and having total independence from the government can be full members and participate in council decisions and nominate individuals to the Management Committee. Other NGOs are also welcome to the WEL, but will only be able to benefit from the services and information they provide and not participate in the decision-making processes of the RIG¹⁶⁵. The main source of funding for the WEL is the annual subscription fee that every member pays. The members benefit from added credibility, access to the resources of other members, access to information, more efficiency avoiding duplication of efforts and direct contact with the Welsh government.

With regards to funding, apart from the previously mentioned annual subscription, WEL does receive funding from Natural Resources Wales as well as the Wales Council for Voluntary Action and the Welsh Assembly Government. This funding from the public administration is mainly to support the role of the WEL as a representative network of civil society. The WEL also receives funding from WWF Cymru and WWF UK, mainly to cover the costs of joint working activities. According to the public information provided by the WEL¹⁶⁶, they also receive regular funding from the Esmee Fairbairn Foundation and the Waterloo Foundation to support the salaries of part of the staff. It must be said that all these are not the main source of funding, as more than £30,000 comes from the annual fees.

WEL organizes two meetings every year with the ministers in charge of environmental and rural affairs. While the WEL used to meet with the chief executives of the environmental statutory bodies, after the 2013 reform of environmental policy-making in Wales, these meetings are with the Minister of Natural Resources and Food, in charge of the newly created Natural Resources Wales. Apart from these meetings, WEL has representatives on more than 50 partnerships, most of them with the Welsh Government. Through the WEL, the members of the network contact the government directly with regards to their issues.

¹⁶⁵ WEL's member organizations include 22 full members: British Mountaineering Council, BTCV - British Trust for Conservation Volunteers Cymru, Butterfly Conservation, Campaign for National Parks, Coed Cadw/Woodland Trust, Council for British Archaeology Wales, CPRW – Council for the Protection of Rural Wales, Cylch, Friends of the Earth Cymru, Groundwork Wales, Keep Wales Tidy, Marine Conservation Society, National Trust, Open Spaces Society, Plantlife, Ramblers Cymru, RSPB Cymru, Sustrans Cymru, The Bat Conservation Trust, Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust, Wildlife Trusts Wales, WWF Cymru; 9 Associate Members: Afonydd Cymru, Cambrian Mountains Society, CAT - Centre for Alternative Technology, Elan Valley Trust, Environment Wales, Oxfam Cymru, Snowdonia Society, Wye & Usk Foundation, YHA; and 4 Honorary Members.

¹⁶⁶ Available at <http://waleslink.org/about/funding>

All in all, the WEL is an organization with a long-standing credibility and representativeness in Wales, based on their number of members, their work and continuous involvement with the regional administration. This RIG has been especially active with the Welsh government and amongst the Welsh RIGs considered in this study, it is one of the most Europeanized. However, their score does not go over 10.5/30 points in our index, which represents a total of 35% and a moderate Europeanization (See Table 27).

On the first dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, the WEL only scores 3/10 points. First of all, they do not express any interest in including EU related objectives to their statutes. The 2011-2015 manifesto expresses a lot of interest in environmental policy and in working towards better policy-making. However, all the emphasis is on Wales and its institutions, without any mention of European objectives. Even if the manifesto does not show any mention of the EU, there is a support of EU values in the interview conducted as well as in their publications:

“While some of Wales’ worst pollution problems have been tackled, our rivers, lakes and wetlands remain under threat. Currently, 66% of Wales’ rivers, lakes and wetlands do not meet ‘Good Ecological Status’ as required under the European Union’s Water Framework Directive”¹⁶⁷

With regards to their identification and relation with other EU regions, it must be said that whilst there is identification and relation, both these elements can be found mainly with organizations in different parts of the UK, and not necessarily a close cooperation with organizations in other countries. The WEL has meetings, known as Joint Links Conferences, with their equivalent organizations in Scotland and Northern Ireland every two years, where they discuss relevant UK issues. This of course, is not clearly a symptom of Europeanization but of the continuous centrality of the UK as a common reference.

On the dimension of Europeanization through organization adaptation, in a similar line to the lack of mention of the EU in the WEL statutes and manifestos, there is no dedicated department working on EU matters. The staff of the WEL is quite reduced, with a core staff of four people, mainly dedicated to management. The philosophy of the RIG is to work alongside the members, and not replacing them. With regards to funding, as mentioned above, their main resources come from the members’ fees, but during the interview they did not hesitate in saying that they would *“receive funding from any source, even the EU, as long as there are no strings attached”¹⁶⁸*. However, the WEL does not push for the search of EU resources amongst its members, even if the EU has sporadically

¹⁶⁷ Value our Freshwaters. Available at http://www.waleslink.org/sites/default/files/Valuing_our_Freshwaters_English.pdf

¹⁶⁸ Interview 13, Cardiff, 23/11/2010

funded some of them. All in all, the Europeanization through organization adaptation appears to be quite low, with a score of 2/10.

It is in the dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation where the score raises above the average with a total of 5.5/10. It is important to underscore, however, that this is mainly due to their work on the implementation of EU policies in Wales. The WEL has no participation at all in pan-European organizations, even though they are quite active in their lobbying activities. Their manifesto states clearly about the importance of influencing government when trying to achieve an environmental goal:

“The environment is the foundation for everything we do: it is the source of our energy, food and water, a place for exercise and enjoyment, it affects our health and is quite simply where we live and work. This puts the environment right at the heart of the work of any government, even more so in Wales where the duty, enshrined in the Government of Wales Act 2006, places sustainable development as central to everything the Welsh Assembly Government does”¹⁶⁹

But, as it can be read in this quote, their main objective is always trying to put their mark on what is done in Wales by the Welsh institutions and politicians. Their interest in the EU is scarce, even if *“the EU pushes forward frameworks that need to be implemented locally and it is our responsibility to make sure this goals are met.”¹⁷⁰* Even their work at the formulation of environmental policies is tilted towards a mainly regional approach. When asked if they tried to influence EU environmental policy-making, the strategies presented by the WEL are trying to influence Welsh European Parliamentarians and working alongside the Welsh regional office in Brussels or the Wales Local Government Association.

Their role in the implementation of EU policies at the regional level in Wales, however, could not be stronger. With regards to lobbying the UK government, the WEL mainly works alongside its sister organizations in other UK regions and have presented more than twelve documents in the last four years related to marine directives, wildlife law, climate change and more recently chemical use¹⁷¹. At the regional level, as mentioned above, they have regular meetings with people from Natural Resources Wales, as well as with the Minister of Resources and Food directly. This is clearly translated in their active role not only in advisory committees but also on drafts for environmental policy implementation. The consultations and presentations to the Welsh Government have almost

¹⁶⁹ Manifesto Cyswllt Amgylchedd Cymru, available at <http://waleslink.org/manifesto>

¹⁷⁰ Interview 13, Cardiff, 23/11/2010

¹⁷¹ Joint link documents available at <http://waleslink.org/what/documents>

been on a monthly basis, and the WEL has presented documents to the Welsh National Assembly at least fourteen times since 2009.

“Wales Environment Link believes that now, more than ever, sustainable development should be at the heart of government. Living sustainably requires both decision-making and lifestyle changes. These changes may be difficult in the short term and they may meet resistance in some quarters: but short-term investments will bring huge long-term savings and there are significant rewards to be gained for the economy and well being of Wales. In this manifesto, Wales Environment Link has set out the steps that we consider the future Welsh Assembly Government should take in order to ensure a sustainable future for the people and environment of Wales.”¹⁷²

As it can be seen on this quote from their manifesto, the WEL not only seems to be focused in being involved in all policies related to the environment, but it even sees itself as a propeller of a complete green transformation inside the Welsh administration. While environmental policy implementation is devolved to Wales, most of the regulation comes from the EU. As a consequence, the WEL’s strong focus on lobbying and consulting the regional government leads to high scores on Europeanization through strategic adaptation.

¹⁷² Manifesto Cyswllt Amgylchedd Cymru, available at <http://waleslink.org/manifesto>

Table 27: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – WEL

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change	0	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification but no relation	2	0/3
SUBTOTAL	3	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments on EU matters	0	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is interested in EU funding but has never applied	1	0/1
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	2	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -No participation	0	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	5.5	
Total	10.5	30

Source: Developed by the author

5.4.1.2 Sustain Wales

Sustain Wales is an environmental RIG with strong ties to the regional government. In the year 2000, the Welsh Government pushed forward the Sustainable Development Scheme. Amongst the recommendations included in the scheme there was the creation of a forum that gathered environmentally concerned citizens and organizations to work together to help the government of Wales.

In response to this recommendation, the Sustainable Development Forum for Wales was created in December 2002 first just as a gathering place but soon afterwards as an independent organization working to advance environmental policy in general and sustainable practices in particular. The forum evolved as an organization working alongside other RIGs and citizens to promote and share best practices and encourage sustainable development. Since 2011 their role as a forum for exchange of information was expanded to a more proactive role as a policy consultant, providing advice to policy makers and ministers of the Welsh Assembly. This modification of its practices and main objectives led to a complete overhaul and the adoption of the Cynnal Cymru - Sustain Wales name in 2013.

The main objectives of Sustain Wales are directly and simply stated in one of their founding papers called Transformation Nation¹⁷³:

“We are a networking organization that enables people to learn from each other and discover interesting good practice projects in Wales. We work with people and organizations across a broad range of issues - from climate change to economy and fair-trade to health. We increase awareness of sustainability issues and good practice examples, and raise awareness of practical resources encouraging sustainable living in Wales.”

All in all, Sustain Wales mainly aims to promote sustainable development¹⁷⁴ in Welsh government as well as in Welsh society. It is interesting to note that they consider themselves as *“a bridge between the Welsh Government and civil society”*¹⁷⁵. For this purpose, they work towards promoting debate, making opportunities for discussion available for those unable to reach the

¹⁷³ Available at <http://www.cynnalcyrmru.com/library/transformation-nation>

¹⁷⁴ According to their charter, Sustain Wales understands sustainable development as *“the enhancement of the economic, social and environmental wellbeing of people and communities, both locally and globally, achieving a better quality of life for our own and future generations in ways which promote social justice and equality of opportunity; enhance the natural and cultural environment and respect its limits - using only our fair share of the earth’s resources and sustaining our cultural legacy; living within environmental limits; ensuring a strong, healthy and just society; achieving a sustainable economy; promoting good governance; and using sound science responsibly.”* Available at <http://www.sd-charter.net>

¹⁷⁵ “Defining a Sustainable Economic Future for Wales” Available at <http://www.cynnalcyrmru.com/sites/default/files/>

government by themselves, influencing government through consultation and advice and last but not least trying to change behaviour through campaigns to increase awareness.

Their continuous work on policies has led them to have a total Europeanization of 43.3%, scoring 13/30 points and a moderate Europeanization. Their work is mostly inclined to the regional arena but there is an incipient orientation to the EU. However, the RIGs potential for Europeanization is far from the maximum (See Table 28).

In the first dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, Sustain Wales scores a total of 5/10 and shows this tendency to focus on the regional over the European. When analysing their founding documents, the mention to the EU, their values, their objectives or their “ways of doing things” is present but in a slight way. In one of these documents¹⁷⁶, there is a deeper mention of the importance of EU environmental policies. However, this mention and support is just to present the EU environmental policy as a context for a more complete regional policy. Sustain Wales also mentions the need to keep environmental policy as part of a larger scheme:

“While environmental protection remains at the heart of the strategy, other guiding principles need to be to include social equity and cohesion, economic prosperity, and ensuring policies are coherent with international responsibilities. The EU Sustainable Development Strategy priorities are reflected in our Sustainable Development Scheme. These linkages will ensure there is coherence between EU policies and coherence between regional, national and global actions, in order to enhance their contribution to sustainable development.”¹⁷⁷

If we consider the indicator for identification with similar RIGs in different EU regions, it is important to underscore the work done by Sustain Wales to contact and work in partnerships across the UK, Europe and the World. Apart from the membership on umbrella organizations, it is important to note their participation in global initiatives such as the Green Industry Platform¹⁷⁸. Their work alongside similar RIGs in other regions of Europe is mainly focused on sharing best practices. On this line, they cite their experience of working alongside Friends of Earth in Germany, as a way “to bring together a range of views on the inspiration offered by the German and the opportunity for Wales to develop its own transformation in community-owned energy”¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁶ “One World, One Wales” Available at <http://www.sustainwales.com/sites/default/files/>

¹⁷⁷ Op.cit.

¹⁷⁸ From their website “The Green Industry Platform is a global, high-level, multi-stakeholder partnership and forum to catalyze, mobilize and mainstream action on Green Industry around the world. It provides a framework for bringing governmental, business and civil society leaders together to secure concrete commitments and action in support of the Green Industry agenda”<http://www.greenindustryplatform.org/>

¹⁷⁹ “Energiewende: Could It Work In Wales?”, available at <http://www.cynnalwales.com/events/energiewende-could-it-work-wales-0>

On the dimension of Europeanization through organization adaptation, we can first see that Sustain Wales has no departments dedicated exclusively to dealing with EU issues. The RIG seems to delegate most of their EU work to a number of pan-European organizations they belong to, which work exclusively to advance environmental policy. With regards to funding, which is a strong indicator of the EU orientation of a RIG, it is interesting to note that the EU has not yet funded Sustain Wales. Nevertheless, there are several mentions of the possibility of applying for EU funding in their website, under different schemes.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, it is not in its spirit to push forward EU funding amongst its members, but there is information available for them on this regard. As we have seen above, their objectives are clearly regionally centred, and EU funding seems to be out of character for a RIG like this.

For a RIG so strongly participative on policy development, it is in the Europeanization through strategic adaptation that we can find the highest scores, with a total of 6/10 and, as it was the case with WEL, mostly related to the implementation side of environmental policy. Sustain Wales participates by itself mainly in two different pan European organizations. First, it is an associate member of the European section of ICLEI¹⁸¹, a network that represents local governments in all relevant policy processes for sustainability in Europe, working together with other European networks, the European Commission, the Committee of the Regions, and other organizations involved in formulating EU policies and strategies. The ICLEI accepts civil society organizations such as Sustain Wales as associate members able to participate and voice their opinion. Apart from their activities in ICLEI, Sustain Wales is also an associate member of the ESDN¹⁸², through which they have been able to participate in EU debates on sustainable development and environmental policy.

It is interesting to note that apart from their work on these pan European organizations, Sustain Wales has also worked towards influencing environmental policy at the European level through the more traditional methods employed by many other RIGs. In this sense, Sustain Wales has worked alongside the regional office in Brussels to push forward their recommendations on issues such as the European Energy Policy or on negotiations regarding climate change¹⁸³. Similarly, their work with members of the European Parliament of Welsh origin is related to their continuous lobbying to all institutions linked to Wales.

¹⁸⁰ For an example, see “Response to the EU Adaptation Strategy”, available at <http://www.sustainwales.com/news/response-eu-adaptation-strategy>

¹⁸¹ International Council for Local Environment Initiatives - <http://www.iclei.org/>

¹⁸² European Sustainable Development Network - <http://www.sd-network.eu/>

¹⁸³ For an example see “Reflections On The COP19 Climate Change Negotiations”, available at <http://www.cynnalcyrmu.com/library/reflections-cop19-climate-change-negotiations>

In this sense, it is fundamental to take into consideration the essential work that Sustain Wales does at the regional level during the implementation of EU environmental policies. Sustain Wales has drafted a formal legislative program for the 2011-2016 legislation, which includes different legislation that they will push forward within the Welsh Government. As mentioned above, Sustain Wales aims to make sustainable development “*the central organizing principle of the devolved public service in Wales*”¹⁸⁴. Apart from presenting their own draft legislation to the Assembly, Sustain Wales is actively involved in participating in consultations by the regional government. In this sense, the 2012 consultation on the White Paper¹⁸⁵ proposals for the sustainable development legislation was an important landmark in the RIGs continuous collaboration with the regional government. Similarly, Sustain Wales has launched since February 2014 a process of consultation across Wales to obtain information on the issues regarding sustainability that are important for Welsh people, in order to propose more draft legislation in the future. In particular, Sustain Wales works alongside the Welsh Government in implementing the Sustainable Development Charter, in supporting the Climate Change Commission for Wales and the Commissioner for Sustainable Futures, as well as partnering to support the Sustainable Living Grants Scheme¹⁸⁶.

In general, the work done by Sustain Wales alongside the Welsh government puts the RIG closely in line with the regional institutions. The government’s promotion of a sustainable future appears closely related to the continuous work done by Sustain Wales on the subject. However, this work is not paired with a similarly active role in the policy development at the European level. This strong involvement on policy implementation and a somewhat lackluster involvement on policy development seems to be a characteristic common with other RIGs in Wales.

¹⁸⁴ This citation comes directly from the draft law presented by Sustain Wales at the Welsh National Assembly – “Future Generations Bill”, available at <http://wales.gov.uk/topics/sustainabledevelopment/future-generations-bill/?lang=en>

¹⁸⁵ The White Paper made the First Minister of Wales include in July 2013 a Legislative Programme with the commitment to legislate towards sustainable development and will likely lead to a Formal Bill in 2015. For more information see “Sustainable Development Bill – White Paper”, available at <http://www.cynnalcyrmru.com/sustainable-development-bill-white-paper>

¹⁸⁶ For more information see <http://www.cynnalcyrmru.com/SSL%20Grants>

Table 28: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – Sustain Wales

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	5	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is interested in EU funding but has never applied	1	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG for EU resources	0	0/2
SUBTOTAL	2	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Active Participation by itself	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Interest but no participation by itself, only with national or pan European organizations	1	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	6	
Total	13	30

Source: Developed by the author

5.4.2 Welsh Rural RIGs

As it is mentioned above, one of the different images that any person first conceives of Wales is that of its rural countryside (Day, 2002). This image is so prevalent that has even prevailed the strong industrial representation of Wales that has been dominant since the end of the 19th century. This could be because, as it is the case for Catalonia and Tuscany as well, agriculture is still an essential part of the Welsh economy. According to the last countryside survey, the importance of agriculture has even increased since 1998 (Smart et al, 2009). More than 70% of Welsh land is under some sort of agricultural scheme¹⁸⁷, being the most common the pasture of livestock.

The relevance of the rural sector on Welsh economy and their very important lobbying activities make it essential to include Welsh rural RIGs to have a more complete picture of the RIGs on environmental policy. Amongst the groups representing rural interests in Wales, CLA Cymru¹⁸⁸ is an organization of big and small landowners, linked to a national organization but with a clear independence in goals and means. Given that many of the members of CLA Cymru are part of the LEADER initiative, this RIG would be an equivalent of Assogal in Tuscany or ARCA in Catalonia. Alongside CLA Cymru, the Farmer's Union of Wales is another very important RIG representing the interests of those who benefit from agriculture.

5.4.2.1 CLA Cymru

The main organization representing rural interests in Wales nowadays is CLA Cymru. Originally, CLA Cymru was a regional division of the Country and Land Association, founded in 1907. However, the devolution in Wales has led this RIG to have its independence, given the growing importance of the Welsh National Assembly on the development of environmental policy. Especially since 2011, when the Welsh Government was granted primary legislative powers in 2011 on environmental policy and rural planning, there has been a significant increase in the volume and shift in the direction of devolved policy. The specificities of Welsh land issues was also a defining factor for the autonomy of CLA Cymru and the establishment of their own governing bodies, separated from their national counterparts, even if they continue sharing many of the same structures.

¹⁸⁷ For more information see State of Nature – Wales, available at http://www.rspb.org.uk/Images/wales_tcm9-345854.pdf

¹⁸⁸ Country and Land Association of Wales

CLA Cymru is the membership organization for owners of land, property and businesses in rural Wales. They mainly promote the interests of their members and try to influence policy makers to help develop the rural economy. Nowadays, CLA Cymru has a membership that accounts for more than 35000 of landowners and about half of all the rural land in the region, which puts it as the most representative and important rural lobby in Wales. The membership ranges from big to small landowners with the ability to deliver environmental goods to the public, either produce or others, engaged in all sectors of the rural economy.

According to its core objectives¹⁸⁹, CLA Cymru exists specifically to protect and defend the interests of all landowners in Wales. Other objectives include defending private property rights in Wales and insisting on compensation when private property rights are diminished in any way, championing for the profitability of rural businesses and promoting the role of land owners and managers in delivering landscape, biodiversity and mitigating climate change. Apart from working as a lobby for rural owners, CLA Cymru offers a variety services to its members, from legal to tax services and professional planning. The RIG also is in charge of disseminating information, through the monthly CLA Land & Business magazine and their weekly bulletin, as well as leaflets and briefing notes. The internal organization of the RIG is divided in a Council and a Board, apart from a Policy Committee and branch committees in each county of Wales¹⁹⁰, elected by the local members. As mentioned above, the main objective of CLA Cymru is to co-ordinate and process responses to those national and local policy issues with regional implications and formulate regional policies, promoting the interests of landowners in Wales in all levels of government. This active lobbying work earns the RIG a score of 13.5/30, which represents a total of 45% according to our index, reaching the upper levels of a moderate Europeanization (See Table 29).

When we analyse each dimension separately we can observe, as it has been the case with other Welsh RIGs, a greater importance of the strategic adaptation above the other dimensions. Regarding the value dimension, firstly we can see on the RIGs statutes there is only rhetorical mentions of the EU as the origin of the framework environmental policy and funds but little or no real commitment to the EU objectives. This lack of mention of EU objectives is paired with their somewhat backhanded support to European policies. Of course, CLA Cymru acknowledges the importance of the EU policies, but is quite critical at the same time. As the interviewee mentions, the importance of the EU for rural issues including environment is ever growing:

¹⁸⁹ Core objectives available at <http://www.cla.org.uk/about-cla/core-objectives>

¹⁹⁰ Currently there are committees in North Wales, Meirionnydd & Montgomeryshire, Dyfed and South East Wales

“The reality is that in terms of environmental issues they are really important. You know, We have just seen the largest piece of legislation come out of Europe, a framework directive, and with a source directive to follow short, you know, so its hugely important (...) With further referendums and powers to the EU and what-have-you, its become even more important now to have the influence in Europe, because as I said, a lot of the time if you are lobbying once it comes to Westminster or the National Assembly, you are almost too late, to some degree.”¹⁹¹

Nevertheless, amongst the consultations and presentations done by CLA Cymru to different levels of government, their position is severely critical to EU policy and EU bureaucracy¹⁹². This position was also evident during the interview:

“There are benefits of being a member state and part of the EU, and having some continuity, there is also this issue always where each member state is very different in the way they do things, particularly when you are dealing with land, there are issues of land tenured issues and tenancy, which we are fairly unique in this country. My point being is that I think sometimes you’ve got bureaucrats sat in Brussels making up regulations which frankly when they disseminate down to the ground level are quite unworkable, and actually really aren’t delivering.”¹⁹³

With regards to the indicator of shared values with similar RIGs in other European regions, CLA Cymru mentions their work with similar organizations but only sporadically, and mostly through the umbrella organization ELO¹⁹⁴. Due to this very critical support to EU policies and values and the lack of interest in working directly with other RIGs, CLA earns 3/10 on the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation.

These low levels of Europeanization are repeated on the dimension of Europeanization through organizational adaptation. The first indicator deals with the creation of new departments that work on EU issues. CLA Cymru has a permanent staff of 10 people, most of them part-time, with one key member of staff working on lobbying and getting involved with environmental policy. There is no person dedicated to EU issues, but they delegate to other organizations, mainly to ELO, but also to the national CLA, which has a specific person working on EU policies.

¹⁹¹ Interview 15, 28/01/2011

¹⁹² For an example see Enable the Countryside to Thrive, Available at http://www.cla.org.uk/sites/default/files/CLA%20EU%20Manifesto%202014_0.pdf

¹⁹³ Interview 15, 28/01/2011

¹⁹⁴ European Landowners Organization. Created in 1972 ELO contributes to close cooperation between rural communities, and in doing so aims to counter the challenges of rural depopulation brought about by urbanization and globalisation. ELO represents a large number of rural family business and enterprises as well as individual actors in Europe involved in activities such as farming and agriculture, forestry and cork, wine production, hunting and fishing as well as water and waste treatment. It has activities based on a network of around 59 associations in the EU and Candidate Countries. See <http://www.europeanlandowners.org/>

Regarding their resources, they mostly come from the annual fee that CLA Cymru charges its members. The fee is somewhat progressive to income, as it is relative to the land each member owns. The RIG has never received and is not interested in receiving regular EU funds for its management. Apart from that, as a rural RIG, CLA Cymru is a defender of the CAP, but with a similar criticism as mentioned above¹⁹⁵. When asked on their stance towards its members looking for EU funding, the RIG is very supportive and acknowledges its very positive results:

“We are constantly informing our members of the grand schemes available through the rural development program and through Pillar Two funding streams, and grants for restoration of buildings and heritage. There’s a thing called the Agro-environment fund schemes, which in Wales is new and has taken off well. The agro environment scheme has been revolutionary and of course it is an important income source for hill farmers, where the livestock production on its own its become unprofitable.”¹⁹⁶

The Europeanization through strategic adaptation of CLA Cymru seems to be mucho stronger, achieving a total of 7.5/10. Even if the RIG is not interested in the EU funding their work, they have received funds from specific programs directed to regions. This has been done mostly through the LEADER initiative. Many members of the RIG are part of this initiative and form LAGs, which are coordinated by CLA Cymru. A similar Europeanization of their strategies can be seen in their constant work at the pan European umbrella organization ELO. The interviewee was clear in stating that is was through ELO that they mostly do their European lobbying:

“The way we work as an organization in terms of Europe, there is no doubt that a huge amount of regulation that comes and affect land owners is born out of the EU, so we do a lot in Brussels through a sister organization called the ELO. They effectively do our lobbying in Brussels, and our director of policy from here is back and forth to Europe trying to influence decisions before they are written down into the statute books.”¹⁹⁷

The answer of CLA Cymru to their disappointment in some of the policies that come out of the EU is not a retreat to the regional space, but a stronger Europeanization of their strategies:

“(EU policies) actually really aren’t delivering. And I mean we continually talk about using the carrot, not the stick in terms of regulation and trying to incentivize rather than police. We are firmly

¹⁹⁵ For an example see <http://www.cla.org.uk/your-area/wales/Welsh-news/big-changes-Welsh-farmers-and-landowners-following-common-agricultural-policy-cap-talks-week>

¹⁹⁶ Interview 15, 28/01/2011

¹⁹⁷ Op cit.

believers in that, so no, we disagree a lot of the time on what is proposed in Europe, and that's why we are there to lobby."¹⁹⁸

CLA Cymru acknowledges that working through ELO seems to get them better results when trying to influence policy-making at the EU level. However, they do not discard other forms of involvement on the formulation of EU policies. Apart from working with the regional office in Brussels, Cla Cymru has done lobbying with the official UK representatives in COREPER and, more frequently, has contacted European parliamentarians, either from Wales or not. In a different position to some other RIGs, CLA Cymru does reject any form of legal action and direct action towards EU and even national or regional institutions. As they put it:

*"We try not to make big headlines of taking the government to the cleavers, we try to be sort of constructive to a certain degree. It's more of a Farmers Union type behaviour to do that."*¹⁹⁹

Finally, with regards to the involvement on the implementation of EU policies, we have already seen that CLA Cymru aims to influence all the levels of government, even if when the policy is transposed it may be too late. CLA Cymru meets regularly with Welsh Government ministers and representing officials of the National Assembly. At the same time, they are usually involved in drafts of legislation and participate on consultation processes, but prefer the face to face meetings, as they claim to have better results that way. All in all, when asked which is the most effective path to influence legislation, either the regional, national or European, the interviewee at CLA Cymru did not even hesitate:

*"The Welsh Assembly. I have already met the Rural Minister many times, while in England, to meet the equivalent you have to queue up and organize months in advance. Its fairly accessible in Wales, and that's because it's a smaller country obviously but I think that rural issues and environmental issues are higher up the profile than in England, because obviously rural businesses are quite an important part of the GDP in Wales."*²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Op cit.

¹⁹⁹ Op cit.

²⁰⁰ Op cit.

Table 29: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – CLA Wales

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -No identification but relation	1	0/3
SUBTOTAL	3	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association.	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is not interested in EU funding	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	3	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Membership but not active participation or through national organization	1	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament -Lobby to members of the COREPER or the Council of Ministers	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	7.5	
Total	13.5	30

Source: Developed by the author

5.4.2.2 Farmer's Union of Wales

Apart from the important representation of landowners done by CLA Cymru, there is another important RIG representing rural interests in Wales. The Farmer's Union of Wales (FUW) is an independent RIG established in 1955 and the main difference with CLA Cymru is that it focuses mainly on productive landowners. This has led the FUW to have a more special interest in the development of the CAP and the environmental policy.

The FUW has mainly one objective, according to its manifesto, which is *“to protect and advance the interests of those who derive an income from Welsh agriculture”*²⁰¹. Apart from this main goal, the FUW prides itself to be a fully independent organization that values its freedom above all. It is only through this independence, according to them, that they can advance the objectives of the farmers without the intervention of other sectorial interests. It was due to this history of independence that they have been able to represent Welsh farmers' interests in all levels of government since the FUW was created. However, this does not mean they are not able to cooperate with others in favour of a better Welsh agricultural sector.

The FUW is organized as a network of eleven local offices throughout Wales, where officers provide special services to the members. Apart from these county offices, the RIG has eleven permanent committees²⁰² covering productive areas and issues of importance to farmers. In this way, the FUW divides their work territorially and thematically. The RIG has a special department in charge of centrally coordinating the different opinions that may arise from the regional offices and sectorial committees. This policy department is also in charge of monitoring the developments in agricultural and environmental policy in order to keep them up to date and advise them on consultations. In general, the FUW has maintained a singular profile linked to their main objectives and their roots as a syndical union and has been involved with protests, but at the same time it has been active in the consultation processes done by the Welsh government in relation to agricultural and environmental policy. However, in general their Europeanization does not go beyond their participation on implementation of environmental policy and their opinions regarding the CAP. This has led to a total score of 12.5 points on our index, or an equivalent of 41,6% that qualifies it as having a moderate advanced Europeanization (See Table 30).

²⁰¹ FUW Manifesto 2011 Available at

http://www.fuw.org.uk/tl_files/FUW/article_images/PolicyDepartmentPapers/2011FUWElectionManifesto.pdf

²⁰² Animal Health and Welfare Committee; Arable, Horticulture and Cropping Committee; Common Land Committee; Education, Training and Research Committee; Farm Diversification Committee; Hill Farming and Marginal Land Committee; Land Use and Parliamentary Committee; Livestock, Wool and Marts Committee; Milk and Dairy Produce Committee; Tenants Committee; and Younger Voice for Farming Committee.

When we analyse the dimensions separately, we can find that in the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, FUW just scores a total of 3/10. First of all, regarding the inclusion of EU related objectives in their statute; and after analysing their 2011 manifesto, the main inclusion of the EU is regarding the CAP and any possible changes in European legislation:

“There is overwhelming evidence that, in the absence of the CAP and fair returns from the marketplace, Welsh agriculture would collapse, and the on-going negotiations over the future of the CAP are therefore of critical importance to Wales.”²⁰³

Apart from this mention and the strategies put forward to achieve their goals, there is no clear inclusion of any European value or objective whatsoever but rhetorical mentions regarding other topics. In a similar way, the identification with EU values is fairly critical. While there is a continuous support for the CAP, they do not always see eye to eye on environmental policy. On one hand, they strongly support environmental policies in general, but on the other hand some of the EU environmental initiatives are seen as bureaucratic tools that raise their costs and have no easy practical use. They have expressed this position, for example, on the issue of environmental standards:

“Over the past decade, an overwhelming proportion of the costs incurred by the taxpayer in relation to standards have been a direct result of Government failures, while many other such costs are the direct result of the proliferation of domestic and EU legislation, much of which is wholly disproportionate to any risks.”²⁰⁴

With regards to their work alongside similar RIGs in other regions, their position is similar to the one presented by CLA Cymru, in which the specificities of the rural landscape in Wales makes it hard to relate with other rural organizations in the rest of Europe, if not the rest of the UK. They work closely with other unions in the UK when lobbying the national government but have found it harder to work alongside other RIGs. However, they have had some experiences with issues such as the promotion of fair trade or actions regarding climate change²⁰⁵.

If we analyse the dimension of organizational adaptation, they also score low with a total of 3/10. The RIG does not have a department dedicated to EU matters, not even one of their policy committees. They do work on environmental policy, but this work is spread along different departments and people. They have even sent people to Brussels but not on a regular basis and

²⁰³ FUW Manifesto 2011 pg. 2

²⁰⁴ Op cit.

²⁰⁵ For an example see <http://www.fuw.org.uk/FairTrade.html>

mostly to lobby on CAP issues and not on environmental policy. They mostly seem to delegate this work to their sister organization NFU²⁰⁶, which represents UK interests in general at the European level. With regards to funding, the FUW is categorically opposed to receiving funds from the EU, as they consider this would cloud their judgement and compromise the integrity of their presentations and their defence of Welsh farmers. As mentioned above, this is a fundamental principle for the RIG that is not to be violated. The membership fee covers the expenses of the FUW and they do not receive any other funding whatsoever. This notwithstanding, they do actively support the search for EU funding amongst its members, especially through the CAP and the LEADER initiative. The FUW offers assistance to its member on presenting their paperwork and proposals for EU funds through their accounting and legal services, and also provides financial advice. At the same time, the FUW magazine²⁰⁷ frequently publicizes this calls offering EU funds and publishes them in their pages.

Finally, on the dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation, the RIG scores higher than in the other dimensions with a total of 6.5/10. With regards to pan-European organizations, it is interesting to note that while they claim to have lobbied the EU institutions, they are not part of a pan-European organization. FUW is not even a member of COPA-COGECA, while the other rural organizations in UK, NFU and the National Farmers Union of Scotland and Ulster's Farmer Union are full members. They seem to do most of their negotiations either through their own channel or through national organizations, which is not very common amongst the RIGs studied and is a sign of a lack of Europeanization in line with their little collaboration with other RIGs in Europe. However, they do participate actively, as we have seen above, on EU programs directed to and coordinated by regions, mainly supervising and coordinating LEADER as well as on Agro-environment projects.²⁰⁸

As mentioned before, they claim to have directly tried to influence European institutions during the formulation of policy, mainly on the issue of CAP reform, which has been very present in rural life across Europe. However, on environmental policy they do not seem to have been as active. Nevertheless, their strategies for intervention in the policy-making seem to follow a similar pattern as those towards CAP. Mainly, they focus on European parliamentarians, who are invited to visit the land and meet the farmers. At the same time, the policy director usually goes to Brussels to visit authorities mainly through the regional office. They seem to try a strategy of influencing European policy-making through the proxy of the Welsh government, as they claim to do for CAP reform:

²⁰⁶ National Farmers Union, which has a Welsh branch <http://www.nfu-cymru.org.uk/>

²⁰⁷ Welsh Farmer <http://www.Welshfarmer.com/>

²⁰⁸ FUW Manifesto 2011 pg. 2

“While the Welsh Government is not directly represented on the European Council of Ministers, it has a duty to lobby all those who will influence the outcome of the current and future CAP negotiations in order to secure policies which recognise the importance of agriculture, and bring maximum benefits for Wales.”²⁰⁹

On the other hand, their involvement in policy implementation is much stronger, being that it is easier for them to get influence in Wales. Lobbying regional and national institutions has been the strategy of the FUW since its inception. The FUW has participated in all the consultations proposed by the Welsh Government, either through their central office or through their county offices or policy committees²¹⁰. This healthy rapport with the Welsh government is what keeps FUW an active RIG with constant work. The meetings with local members of the Assembly and ministers are also regular and frequent²¹¹. All this was a continuation of the usual work done by union, and they have continued doing so after devolution, but with a new twist. It seems to be that the FUW focuses on policy implementation more than policy formulation, but through their influence on the Welsh government tries to get benefits at all levels:

“The FUW would therefore look to a future Welsh administration which will ensure that Wales has a significant input into the official UK negotiating position, (...) back a policy which proactively supports family farms, and recognises their central role in protecting our natural environment and rural communities, press the European Union for a compulsory pan-European scheme and support policies which genuinely recognise the socio-economic and environmental handicaps faced in Wales”²¹²

²⁰⁹ Op cit.

²¹⁰ See <http://www.fuw.org.uk/LatestConsultations.html>

²¹¹ For an example see <http://www.fuw.org.uk/read-press-release/items/fuw-and-mp-team-up-for-montgomeryshire-day-at-westminster.html>

²¹² FUW Manifesto 2011 pg. 2

Table 30: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – FUW

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -No identification but relation	1	0/3
SUBTOTAL	3	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is not interested in EU funding	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	2	0/2
SUBTOTAL	3	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Membership but not active participation or through national organization	1	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government -Direct action	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	6.5	
Total	12.5	30

Source: Developed by the author

5.4.3 Welsh Industrialist RIGs

The most prevalent image of Wales since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution has been that of a land of quarries and chimneys, the birth of the British coal industry and the steel factory of the UK (Day, 2002). However, as mentioned before, this traditional image of an industry-ridden region is contested by a different present. Most industries of the past have evolved and left Wales during the second half of the 20th century and especially during the 1980s. The traditional coal industry is nothing but a memory, as most of the mines are now closed. Wales has had to reform its economy towards more efficiency and services, with various results.

Nowadays, the main industries, apart from mining and steel, are electronics, with a special focus on new technologies, engineering, audiovisual industries and tourism. Two groups represent the industrial interests in Wales. First, the South Wales Chamber of Commerce, represents the companies located in the three south Wales industrial counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Carmarthen, where about 70% of the Welsh population and industries are located. Apart from this representation of big industries, the smaller companies are present in the Welsh Federation of Small Businesses. As it happened with Catalonia's Foment and Toscana's CIA and Unioncamere, the Welsh Federation of Small Businesses is also related to a national organization, but has an independence of goals and means.

5.4.3.1 South Wales Chamber of Commerce

The South Wales Chamber of Commerce (SWCC) is an organization that gathers more than 90% of Welsh exporting industries, with a total of more than 1000 large member companies covering most of the Welsh territory. It represents the companies located in the three south Wales industrial counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Carmarthen, plus Midland West Wales²¹³, with the rest of Wales being less inclined to industry and covered by other British chambers. The SWCC came to existence in 2009 as a fully-fledged chamber of commerce for Wales. However, its members have been together since 1846 under different denominations.

As the SWCC manifesto states, their main objective is:

²¹³The SWCC has merged with the Newport & Gwent Enterprise, which controlled these two important Welsh cities, as well as more recently in 2009 with West Wales Chamber of Commerce. With the control of the Cardiff area and its recent launch in 2013 of a Mid Wales capter of the SWCC, they have become the most representative business RIG in Wales.

“Providing a more prominent, powerful and effective independent business voice ready to speak on behalf of our members and to continue to support hundreds of local companies and organisations in making their businesses as successful as possible.”²¹⁴

At the same time, the SWCC provides information and advice on policy of interest to businesses in Wales and offers business services, provides networking infrastructure through their directory of members, and more importantly, represents independently the opinions of their members at regional and national platforms whenever needed. As they say, their independence is guaranteed because they are *“a membership-based business support organization run by local businesses, for local businesses.”²¹⁵* The SWCC is divided in three councils, Cardiff, Newport and Swansea, one for each main city in Wales and its surrounding areas, that meet every two months to discuss the Welsh business issues. Through these councils they provide accountability and decentralization as well as a channel to keep the RIG connected to local needs.

The SWCC clearly aims to be the representative RIG for business in Wales, and works to push forward business interests across the different levels of government. The SWCC sees itself as:

“A powerful and influential organization which not only addresses the business topics and issues of consistent concern to our members, but voices the problems, praise, questions and opinions of our members surrounding them to key decision and policy makers, stakeholders and partners within the South Wales region and beyond.”²¹⁶

The SWCC works closely with the Welsh Government in several different venues, and has exerted its influence at the national government through the British Chamber of Commerce. It is also an influential RIG amongst the Welsh civil society. However, when it comes to measuring their Europeanization, the SWCC reaches a total of 13/30 or 43.3% in our index, which means it has a moderate Europeanization (See Table 31).

In the first dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, SWCC scores a total of 5/10. When analysing their manifesto, there is no mention of the EU, their values, their objectives or their “ways of doing things”. The manifesto mainly establishes the importance of recognition of the Welsh language in a European context. As a result, they score a 1 in the first indicator. The rhetorical mention of the EU in their internal documents is contrasted by a favourable position towards

²¹⁴ South Wales Chamber of Commerce Manifesto 2013 – Available at http://www.southwaleschamber.co.uk/UserFiles/File/SouthWales_Manifesto%202013_online.pdf

²¹⁵ Op Cit.

²¹⁶ Op Cit.

European integration with regards to environmental policy. However, this favour comes in line with some criticism with regards to whoever has to bear the costs:

“Environmental issues are something that we include within our manifesto and within our working documents, (...) and I think there’s also been a number of bodies that have been very keen to look at how can we actually help the average business proprietor to contribute to the environment. (...) I think that sometimes when there’s a cost of disposal, businesses feel that it adds to their costs. Sometimes you get that type of feedback but I think it generally is because of the genuine perception in which the environmental issues are being adopted by most people.”²¹⁷

In the third indicator for organizational adaptation, they have obtained the highest score. The SWCC has a very active collaboration with several similar RIGs in different regions. This constant activity is especially interesting because many of these regions are from outside of the UK, and the collaboration has persisted in time:

“We would have very strong links with the other chambers of commerce across the other countries. I guess, being places like France, Spain, you have to be a member of the chamber of commerce to be in business broadly speaking so we would have strong links in that connection but we also get involved on a reasonably regular basis as good with some form of joint work. One example being with Germany and Ireland on a project to look at how people in their 50s can best serve the working population, and also we’ve done a number of interactive projects connecting your rural activities in particularly West Wales with rural activities in Southern Ireland and rural activities in parts of the Dutch periphery.”²¹⁸

On the dimension of Europeanization through organization adaptation, we can see that the SWCC has no departments dedicated exclusively to dealing with EU issues. If we take into consideration EU policy-making and environmental policy in particular, the SWCC delegates most of its work to the BCC²¹⁹, which would take the lead and invite Wales to participate if the matter affects them in particular. As the SWCC says, this is done so because of the fact that *“some issues tend to be macro-based in terms that they are kept within a bigger organization”²²⁰*. With regards to funding, it is interesting to note that even if the RIG has received EU funds in the past, it is not interested in receiving them nowadays because of the issue of maintaining their independence:

²¹⁷ Interview 17, 26/01/2011

²¹⁸ Op Cit.

²¹⁹ British Chambers of Commerce <http://www.britishchambers.org.uk/>

²²⁰ Interview 17, 26/01/2011

“We have had in the past action programs that were funded by the EU but at this moment in time no. We’ve tried to actually prioritize private income as our source of funding (...) In certain parts of our business we may act as a subcontractor to something that’s worked on a EU funding contract so it could be something as simple as getting teenagers into work”²²¹.

This same aversion towards receiving EU funding is replied in their lack of interest in promoting the search of EU funds amongst its members. The SWCC claims that the Welsh government does this work of publicizing EU funds and they feel that is enough.

Finally, on the strategic front, we can see first that the SWCC does not participate directly on pan European organizations. It is interesting to note that being such a representative chamber with lots of activities on its own, they rely on BCC on almost everything that has to do with the EU. The SWCC does not belong to umbrella organizations, and it is only through BCC that it gains some access to Eurochambers, but only limited by the gatekeeping work of the national organization.

As they say in their website, representation is an important focus of the SWCC’s activities. However, they do not only delegate most of the EU issues to the BCC, but they also delegate the representation of their interests in Westminster. Nevertheless, the SWCC still tries to be involved in some of the developments at the environmental policy-making of the EU. Mostly, their involvement is done through working alongside some of the European Members of Parliament and sending copies of the economic surveys the SWCC periodically publishes. They claim to have a fairly regular dialogue with them and inform them of their work. This appears to be mostly done to keep themselves in a reachable position as well:

“We want to make sure if any of those ministers, whichever parliament they are sitting, wanted some feedback on welsh businesses we would be in a position to do that and quite regularly we would be asked to facilitate a small meeting with welsh businesses to talk about a specific subject”²²²,

This reachable position is the one exercised by the SWCC at the regional level with the Welsh government, local administration and civil society in general. The RIG uses its privileged position as business broker to express the opinions of the community on a wide range of issues, including environmental policy in particular:

²²¹ Op Cit. Also, their 2013 manifesto explains: *“Because the Chamber receives no government funding, we are independent enough to challenge key issues that could have an adverse effect on your trading conditions and we are a strong focal point for communication with other decision-making bodies.”*

²²² Interview 17, 26/01/11

“Mainly we deal with the Welsh assembly, in most cases where there is actual local activity is the Welsh assembly that we would have the mayor activities with. You always get the ability to contribute to small, call it tweaks, changes, ways in which things are communicated so I think from that perspective we fulfil quite significant role of trying to explain. This allowed us to actually have a voice and sit at the table which we probably wouldn’t have done previously”²²³.

The SWCC mostly focuses on lobbying the institutions at the regional level, but through the BCC they have tried to influence Westminster and the EU. Apart from this, they have regular meetings with members of the Welsh Assembly and belong to different consultation and policy promotion groups²²⁴. The RIG has also been involved in the preparation of draft legislation, but not exactly related to environmental policy. All in all, it can be seen that their focus is regional, having regular formal and informal meetings with policy-makers to try to influence the implementation of these policies.

²²³ Op cit.

²²⁴ The SWCC promotes its interests by being a member of the Welsh Government Youth Entrepreneurship Steering Group, the Welsh Government Micro Business Task & Finish Group, the Council for Economic Renewal, Business Wales, Wales Management Board, Procurement Board, the Welsh Government City Region Task & Finish Group and the South East and South West Wales Economic Forum

Table 31: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – SWCC

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -Identification and relation	3	0/3
SUBTOTAL	5	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is not interested in EU funding	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	2	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -Membership but not active participation or through national organization	1	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Participation by itself	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	6	
Total	13	30

Source: Developed by the author

5.4.3.2 Welsh Federation of Small Business

The Welsh Federation of Small Business (WFSB) is a RIG formed by more than 10000 SMEs in Wales. SMEs account for more than 99% of Welsh business, especially after the changes in Welsh economy in the 1980s with the closing down of most heavy industries. Nowadays, SMEs are an important part of the Welsh economy and their voices are usually heard through the WFSB, given that SMEs cannot afford their own public relations departments. This representation of SMEs makes the WFSB the largest business organization in Wales. The base of businesses that form the WFSB are those that while they do not provide basic services, are also fundamental for the development of any community and the creation of wealth. Even over half of WFSB members are based in rural counties.

The WFSB was created as a subsidiary to the FSB²²⁵, but given that after devolution the Welsh Government has wide powers over economic development policies in Wales and the National Assembly for Wales has substantial legislative powers following the referendum in March 2011, the WFSB adopted their own agenda and manifesto. Even though the WFSB is independent, there is still a close relationship with the FSB. The WFSB is mainly organized in two big branches in North and South Wales, where members can present their local issues and problems to a development manager. Apart from this, there are 12 branch committees throughout Wales and a Policy Unit that analyses draft legislation. To keep in constant touch with its members, the WFSB has a monthly online survey as well as an annual membership survey on the main issues they face.

The main objective of the WFSB is:

“To position small businesses at the heart of the political agenda in Wales, ensuring that small business needs are articulated and reflected in Welsh Government policy”²²⁶

To achieve this they try to address the concerns of their members and solve their problems through close consultation with the decision-makers. As a RIG formed by SMEs, their contact with local authorities must be constant and fluid. One of their motto states:

“If it matters to you, we take it to the heart of government and work to create positive change”²²⁷.

²²⁵ “The Federation of Small Businesses is the UK’s largest campaigning pressure group promoting and protecting the interests of the self-employed and owners of small firms. Formed in 1974, it now has 200,000 members across 33 regions and 194 branches.” <http://www.fsb.org.uk/>

²²⁶ WFSB Manifesto 2008 Available at [http://www.wfsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/assets/fsbwalesmanifesto2008\[1\].pdf](http://www.wfsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/assets/fsbwalesmanifesto2008[1].pdf)

²²⁷ Op cit.

In summary, lobbying is the main purpose of the WFSB. The RIG uses its extensive network to consult the business community on policies before they are implemented, and through this process they assure the local government that their resources are achieving the intended purpose. Given that the WFSB is mostly focused on the regional arena, it is not a surprise that they have obtained a total of 9/10 points, 30% in the Europeanization index, achieving the lower levels of a Moderate Europeanization (See Table 32).

First, with respect to the dimension of Europeanization through value adaptation, the WFSB achieves a very low total of 2/10. On the first indicator, it is not possible to say that there is more than a rhetorical inclusion of EU values and objectives in the WFSB statutes and internal documents. When analysing their latest manifesto of 2008, there is no mention at all of EU, and in their internal documents whatever mention there is, appears to be but somewhat diluted. The RIG has a special document analysing EU structural funds and their importance to Welsh economy, but even then the mention of the EU is collateral and their focus is on what the Welsh Government can achieve and how the RIG can benefit from their close relationship to Welsh institutions²²⁸. When mentioning identification with EU values, as is the case with many of the RIGs studied, there is certain criticism:

“Our member businesses are now looking to how they can minimize the carbon footprint, environmental impact, how they can reduce their energy costs for a very big start. (...) I think it surely much of this sort of stuff that’s being concerning us here in Wales the last couple of years emanated originally from EU legislation so it’s something that is increasingly going to affect more business as well I think and it’s something that we are trying to get them on board with”²²⁹

This position can be seen throughout the interview when dealing with environmental issues and the EU, but it appears more clear that there is a lack of Europeanization with the RIG’s disinterest in working with other organizations in different regions. This decision is based on the supposed differences of the Welsh context, either political due to the legislative settlements of devolution or economical due to the influence of the public sector. All this supposedly makes it harder for them to find common ground with other RIGs:

“Whether if the similar regions is going to have a similar sort of economic backgrounds that is possibly crossed over but you know again, because we essentially concentrate here and certainly

²²⁸ “We hope the Welsh Government is able to focus on delivery of EU funds as its main objective. Ensuring structural funds are used to deal with the structural problems in the Welsh economy is vital to capitalise on the growth and prosperity that Wales needs and that small businesses have the potential to provide” SMEs and EU funding, available at <http://www.fsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/images/fsb%20wales%20sme%20and%20eu%20funding%20report.pdf>

²²⁹ Interview 18, 26/01/2011

our lobbying here in Wales first and foremost Westminster secondly and then Europe probably thirdly and we very rarely get involved in sort of cross European sort of issues and lobbying”²³⁰

With regards on the dimension of organizational adaptation, WFSB follows a pattern present in other Welsh RIGs, in which their organization does not deal with EU issues directly. Even though the WFSB has no dedicated department on EU matters, they do work closely with the European department at FSB²³¹. The WFSB claims to deal on a case to case basis and depending on the issue they would change their strategy and they would allocate different people or resources:

“We don’t have a special Welsh representative in Brussels, there are people from the whole of the FSB bureau, but we obviously keep an eye on what’s happening in terms of legislation whether if it is emanating from Westminster, from Cardiff or from Brussels, we are aware of what emanates and how it would affect small businesses, if it has an impact in Wales and it comes from Brussels we would then seek to lobby those politicians”²³²

The WFSB is categorically opposed to receiving funds from the EU and is also opposed to promoting the search for EU funds amongst its members:

“Our only funding comes from our membership and nowhere else, (...) and we don’t get involved in any advice essentially because it is one of those things that other organizations do and if other organizations do that then there’s probably very little need in us doing it as well”²³³

It is interesting to note that some of its members have participated in EU programs and received EU funds nonetheless. This is mainly related the size of the RIG, with more than 10000 SMEs amongst its members. Since 2000, the main source of EU funding for SMEs in Wales has been the structural funding, and for the 2014-2020 period, West Wales and the Valleys can still receive this EU support.²³⁴

Finally, the WFSB thrives on the dimension of strategic adaptation, given the fact that they present themselves as a lobbying organization more than anything else. However, it is interesting to note that they claim not to belong to any pan-European organization:

²³⁰ Op Cit.

²³¹ *“We lobby in Brussels and Westminster on European Union proposals that affect small businesses, as a large proportion of UK law originates in Brussels. We engage with EU policymakers to ensure proposals are small business-friendly and encourage growth, investment and employment.”* European Department FSB - <http://www.fsb.org.uk/business-issues/european-union>

²³² Interview 18, 26/01/2011

²³³ Op Cit.

²³⁴ SMEs and EU funding, available at <http://www.fsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/images/fsb%20wales%20sme%20and%20eu%20funding%20report.pdf>

“Essentially all of the work we do is generally just as the WFSB and the reason we can do that is because we have one of the largest business organizations anyway, so we do have this mandate to be able to speak as a lone voice”²³⁵

The WFSB prefers to work by itself when dealing with the implementation of environmental policy, and only leans on the help of the UK FSB when trying to lobby the formulation of environmental policy at the European level:

“There is an increasing importance of the European legislation, especially I guess in and many of those things in terms of small businesses and job creation and enterprise and innovation (...) that’s why we found the need to have a permanent representation there through the FSB representative”²³⁶

The strategies that the WFSB mainly uses when trying to influence policy-making is mostly the active lobby of the European Members of Parliament from Wales, as well as the MPs at Westminster dealing with these issues. By working with MPs as well as EU representatives in Cardiff the WFSB seems to be able to make their voice heard without much need to invest in day-to-day lobbying to EU institutions in Brussels:

“We have meetings with our MPs just to talk about issues that are currently affecting businesses in Wales but are coming out of Europe and things that the MP can take back to Europe and speak to the Commission. If possible, we regularly have contact here in Wales with people who work within the Commission in Europe as well, we have a representative office here in Cardiff which we speak to regularly as well just to keep address as to things that are happening there”²³⁷

This close relationship with Welsh politicians permeates all of the RIGs strategies, not only policy formulation but also policy implementation. The WFSB claims that the increasing power of the Welsh Government has been essential for their own growth as an independent RIG with their own goals and means. This centrality of their strategies towards Welsh institutions is present in their manifesto:

“Much of our work entails responding to Welsh Government and National Assembly consultations with FSB Wales members’ concerns, engaging with the policy development process in Wales and surveying members on issues of importance to small businesses in Wales.”²³⁸

²³⁵ Op cit.

²³⁶ Op cit.

²³⁷ Op cit.

²³⁸ WFSB Manifesto 2008 Available at [http://www.wfsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/assets/fsbwalesmanifesto2008\[1\].pdf](http://www.wfsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/assets/fsbwalesmanifesto2008[1].pdf)

To achieve this goal of constant presence at Welsh institutions, the WFSB has a dedicated team based in the Welsh Press and Parliamentary Office in Cardiff, through which they can be constantly present and inform Welsh policy-makers instantly. The WFSB has instrumented these strategies when it has tried to influence the implementation of environmental policies in Wales, such as the management of their National Parks. The WFSB's main claim is that:

“(Environmental policies should) provide opportunities for businesses and meaningful employment for residents, while protecting and managing the environment.”²³⁹

A same position has been presented on the Wales Environment Bill, in which the WFSB has been an active proponent of draft legislation and looks forward to work closely alongside Natural Resources Wales in the future²⁴⁰. In general, as it has been frequent with the Welsh RIGs, the WFSB seems to be inclined towards working hard on policy implementation, while at the same time they leave the policy formulation to national or pan-European organizations.

²³⁹ Planning in National Parks, available at <http://www.fsb.org.uk/wales/publications>

²⁴⁰ Environment Bill White Paper, available at

<http://www.fsb.org.uk/policy/rpu/wales/images/fsb%20wales%20sme%20and%20eu%20funding%20report.pdf>

Table 32: Dimensions & Indicators for Europeanization – WFSB

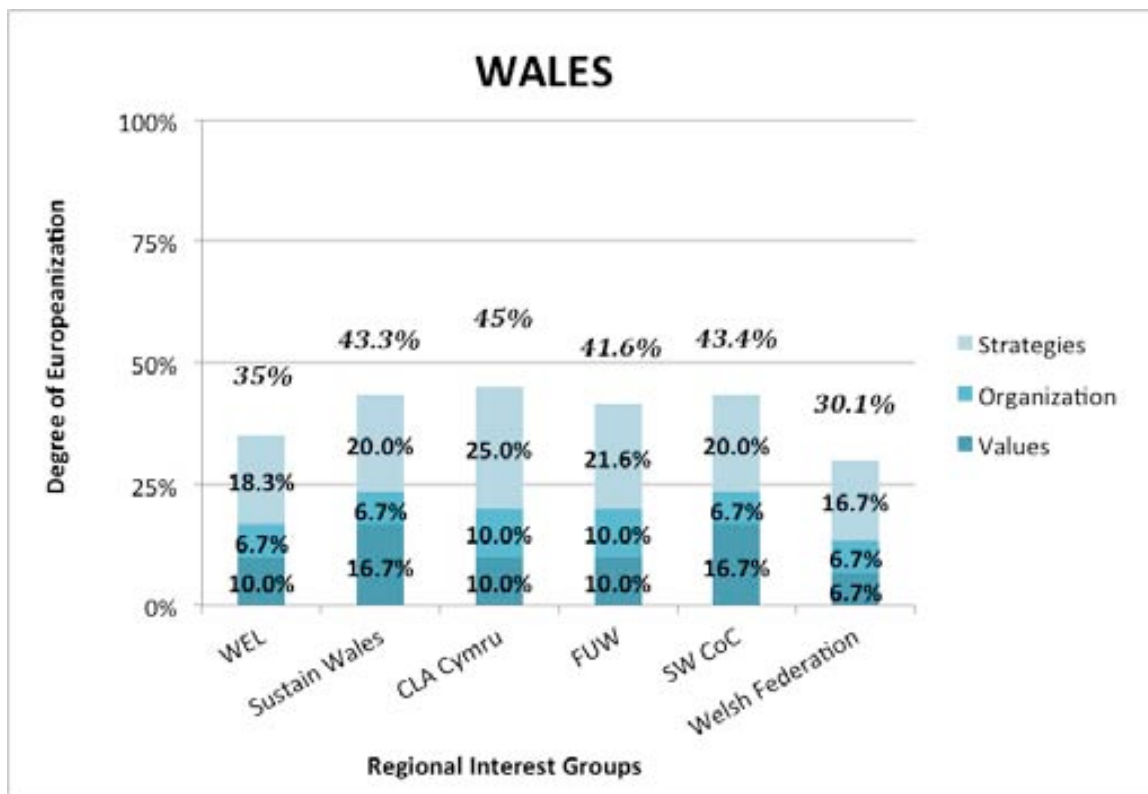
DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEIGHT	CODING
VALUE ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Inclusion of EU related objectives -Rhetorical changes	1	0/4
Identification with EU values -Identification with criticism	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions. -No relation and no identification	0	0/3
SUBTOTAL	2	
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Departments working on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is not interested in EU funding	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources	1	0/2
SUBTOTAL	2	
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	0.33	10
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -No participation	0	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions -Interest but no participation by itself, only with national or pan European organizations	1	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission. -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament	0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government	0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5	0.5 each
SUBTOTAL	5	
Total	9	30

Source: Developed by the author

5.4.4 Dimensions of Europeanization compared in Wales

As it was done with Catalonia and Tuscany, the analysis of the Welsh RIGs can't be complete without a comparison of the dimensions transversally. In this section we aim to compare the levels of Europeanization achieved by environmentalist, rural and industrial RIGs on the different dimensions used in the Europeanization index. After applying our Europeanization index in Catalonia we can see an Europeanization that ranges from 30% to 45% (See Table 33). The results obtained have been traduced into a bar chart for a better visualization (See Graphic 4).

Graphic4 Environmental Policy and Dimensions of Europeanization- Wales



Source: Developed by author

The Europeanization of Welsh RIGs from the environmental policy is moderate and in one case very close to limited. The amplitude between the highest and lowest scored Welsh RIGs is 4.5 points, but it is interesting that they all follow a similar pattern, with a strong strategic adaptation and generally lower organizational and valorative adaptations.

Table 33 – Values of Europeanization of RIGs - Wales

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	WEL	Sustain Wales	CLA Cymru	FUW	SWCC	WFSB	CODE
VALUE ADAPTATION							10
New EU related objectives	0	1	1	1	1	1	0/4
Identification with EU values	1	1	1	1	1	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.	2	3	1	1	3	0	0/3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION							10
Redirection of internal resources	0	1	1	1	1	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources	1	1	0	0	0	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members	1	0	2	2	1	1	0/2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION							10
Participation in pan-European organizations	0	2	1	1	1	0	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions	2	1	2	2	2	1	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies	1	1.5	2	1	1	1.5	0/3
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies	2.5	1.5	2.5	2.5	2	2.5	0/3
Total	10.5	13	13.5	12.5	13	9	30
	35%	43,3%	45%	41,7%	43,3%	30%	100%

Source: Developed by author

All groups, with the exception of the WEL, claim to have changed their statutes or internal documents to include European interests, values or objectives. At the same time, all RIGs have expressed support with criticism to EU environmental values. This is not directly related to identification and work with other organizations in different regions across Europe, where values differ considerably, from no identification or interaction at all, which is the case of the WFSB, to total identification and interaction in Sustain Wales and the SWCC. Nevertheless, the scores for valorative adaptation tend to be low in general, even though all RIGs recognize the importance of the EU in promoting environmental regulation.

In the organizational dimension, it is very interesting to note that none of the RIGs in Wales have a special person or department dedicated to EU issues, and all but the WEL delegate this day-to-day work to either national or pan-European organizations. This is an interesting difference with RIGs in other regions that tended to allocate resources to deal with EU issues. On the matter of EU funding, four out of the six RIGs studied claimed that they wanted to maintain their independence by

not applying to EU funds. At the same time, with regards to the search for EU resources amongst its members, the results are varied, but most RIGs do promote it actively or have members that have received EU funding.

Lastly, in the strategic adaptation, in most of the RIGs but Sustain Wales, the participation in pan-European organizations is done indirectly, mostly by delegating to their national organization as mentioned before. At the same time, when asked about their involvement on EU programs directed to regions, almost all claim to have participated by themselves, mostly because it is an easy and low-cost option for getting involved with EU policies. With regards on the direct involvement on EU policy-making, the results are varied but tend to be relatively low. Most of their work on policy formulation is lobbying members of the European Parliament, something that all of the RIGs claim to do frequently. Another aspect all of them explore is the work with the Welsh equivalent of the Regional Office in Brussels. RIGs with more resources are able to diversify their participation at the EU level with direct involvement on pan-European organizations or lobbying members of COREPER. On the other hand, it is very clear that most of the RIGs score high on their involvement on the implementation of environmental policy. All of the RIGs work closely with the Welsh Government, with regular meetings with members of the Assembly and a constant dialogue through consultation processes. For some of the RIGs, this relationship is more fluent and they have been able to participate directly on draft legislation. All in all, the regional arena seems to be the most valued and normally used by all the Welsh RIGs.

In general, as said above, it is the Europeanization through strategic adaptation that has the highest values, and even then, it is because of their work on the implementation of environmental policy at the regional level. It seems that Welsh RIGs do consider the EU as an important arena for environmental policy, but delegate the work on policy making to national or pan-European organizations and focus on lobbying regional institutions. Another important factor for a lower Europeanization is evidenced on the funding, where most of them do not want to receive funds from the EU. At the same time, there does not seem to be a clear difference amongst members of rural, environmental or industrial RIGs in all the dimensions. Summarizing, one can say that the RIGs involved with environmental policy in Wales considered for this study tend to present a moderate Europeanization with relatively supportive but critical values towards the EU, working fundamentally with their own resources and orienting their strategies to participating on the implementation of the policies at the regional level.

5.5 Mediating factors in Wales

As we can see from the interviews and the review of internal documents of the RIGs in Wales, there is a strong interest in participating in the implementation of environmental policy, while they do not seem equally interested in paying attention to the formulation of said policy at EU levels. Their intense work at the regional level is paired with a strong relationship with the regional institutions. Most of the Welsh RIGs claim to meet regularly with politicians and to participate in open consultations. Again, the role of the region as a promoter of the participation of RIGs appears to be central in this participation. We should take into consideration the importance of the mediating factors for Europeanization, which ease or harden the Europeanization at subnational levels (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003). According to our hypothesis, we expect to find more facilitating factors in regions with a higher regional authority. It is useful to remember that the mediating factors described before are the veto players, the formal institutions, the informal cooperative institutions and the agents of change (Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003). In the case of Wales, there are several facilitating institutions that promote the participation of RIGs at the regional level, but their RIGs appear to be limited by other mediating factors. We have applied our Europeanization index to the RIGs in Wales and have seen that they can be classified as having a limited Europeanization. At the same time, we have seen that Tuscany has a medium score of 12.5/24 in the regional authority index.

As it was the case for Tuscany and Catalonia, we consulted policy-makers in Wales through online questionnaires to get an assessment of the context in which environmental policy is implemented. The number of veto players, described as actors with decision-making power or the ability to obstruct advancement on a certain policy, is the first mediating factor to be considered (Risse, et al., 2001). As we have said before, the process of policy-making needs to have as few decision makers as possible to be fluid. If more people have decision-making capabilities, the process will probably be more prone to complications. As mentioned above, the main institution dealing nowadays with environmental policy is Natural Resources Wales. However, it is important to note that this institution is relatively new, having been created just in 2013. Before that, three different institutions dealt separately with the development, implementation and control of the environmental policy in Wales, depending on the issue at hand. These institutions were the Countryside Council for Wales, the Environment Agency Wales and the Forestry Commission Wales (Kay, 2002). As it can be implied, the number of veto players was especially high in this case, given the dissemination of decision-makers across different organizations, making it harder and more costly for RIGs to influence policy (Chaney et al, 2001). Apart from these agencies, the Welsh Government divided the control of the policy implementation between Minister for Environment, Sustainability and Housing and the Minister for Rural Affairs, Food, Forestry and Fisheries. This was

seen by the RIGs as a strong disability of the regional institutional framework and worked to change it, with favourable results in the creation of Natural Resources Wales in April 2013 under the new Minister of Natural Resources and Food, with the support of the Minister of Sport and Culture. All environmental legislation, no matter if the source is Europe, the UK or Wales, is under the authority of Natural Resources Wales. This has helped form a stronger accountability and has focused the sometimes-scarce resources of Welsh RIGs towards lobbying one institution and keeping track of only one set of consultation processes. However, while veto players may have been reduced at the regional level, there is still the matter of the central government. Many RIGs have expressed the need to lobby not only the National Assembly and the Welsh Government, but also the MPs in Westminster. This still happens even after the deepening of devolution after the 2011 referendum. All in all, with the creation of Natural Resources Wales, the region seems to be in track to solving the problem of a large number of veto players. However, given the fact that there still is an important involvement of Westminster in policy-making, there still appears to be difficulties for a successful participation of the RIGs, which may in turn lead to less participation on policy implementation.

Secondly, we consider the factor of formal facilitating institutions, described as those institutions that empower RIGs with resources, information, access, etc.(Risse, et al., 2001). As we have seen in the empirical analysis, there are many facilitating institutions that empower RIGs in Wales. When working at the regional level on the implementation of environmental policy, Wales is very open to participation, holding open consultations for all the bills considered by the Assembly and, in some of the cases, making the National Assembly members available when necessary. Both Natural Resources Wales²⁴¹ and the Welsh Government²⁴² hold regular consultations on a large number of subjects and, according to them, this helps them understand how their work may affect the constituents of Wales and in this way improve their work. These consultations are done through as formal written papers, public meetings, focus groups or questionnaire exercises, and are publicized and available to all through the Natural Resources Wales website and other public instances. The involvement of RIGs in the implementation of environment policy in Wales is not complicated by the government, which in turn provides a wide number of formal facilitating institutions, with formal consultation being the most used. This relative ease of access to decision-makers and low capacity of most groups to have the definitive influence is sometimes considered as a “welsh way” of policy-making (Keating et al, 2008). However, Wales has not been equally helpful with regards to providing mediating institutions towards participation on policy formulation at the EU level. The European Affairs Committee is the

²⁴¹ Natural Resources Wales Consultation site <http://naturalresourceswales.gov.uk/our-work/consultations/?lang=en#.U6BLPI2SzyA>

²⁴² Welsh Government Consultation site <http://wales.gov.uk/consultations/aboutconsultation?skip=1 & lang=en>

main Welsh institution dealing with the region's relations with the EU. The Committee offers no incentives towards the Europeanization of RIGs and seems to focus more on transmitting to London the Welsh opinion on EU issues rather than working to promote this participation directly (Rawlings, 2003). The Wales House may be considered similar to a regional office in Brussels aimed to facilitating the access of RIGs to the regional institutions to the EU, but their work has been scattered and only follows the path provided by the now-closed Welsh European Centre. At the same time there is a Welsh office for Local Government (WLGA) in Brussels²⁴³, but it is not a regional institution and in fact may complicate the process of influencing policy by multiplying the proponents.

A third mediating factor we consider are the informal cooperative institutions, cultural understandings that define the realm of what is legitimately possible in the decision-making process. The UK society has always been prone to participation and involvement in civic issues. This is only exacerbated in a Welsh society that has been described as homogeneous, cooperative and generous (Day et al, 2006b; Deacon & Sandry, 2012). However, this solidarity is paired with certain mistrust for the regional arena as a real venue for decision-making (Keating et al, 2008). Even though this attitude has been changing since the early days of devolution, it has been confirmed repeatedly in the past, with the close win in the referendums looking to increase the power of regional institutions (Wyn Jones & Scully, 2012). This leads therefore to a tendency towards considering Westminster as the main arena for policy-making while denying the importance of the new institutions that have appeared after devolution in the UK and integration in Europe. There appears to be a lack of clarity of the capacities and limitations of the Welsh Assembly and the Welsh institutions, so the RIGs are required to be able to influence the Assembly and Westminster, with the subsequent drain of resources (Royles, 2007). While there are formal procedures aiming to include RIGs in the policy-making at the regional level, there are in turn informal cooperative institutions pushing RIGs away from this participation. The low regional authority of Wales is necessarily related to this suspicion towards the effectiveness of Welsh institutions (Day et al, 2006b) and the lack of interest in europeanizing their strategies (Keating et al, 2008). Welsh RIGs participate locally due to their access to formal institutions, mainly consultations, but are still interested in influencing regional politics as a sub-product of national politics. This lack of the facilitating informal institution of regional attachment, as described by Chacha (2013), reduces the possibilities for Europeanization of the RIGs. No RIG appeared to be interested solely on the regional arena, and more than one were barely interested at all in influencing the European arena. As is the case with the UK in general, there is not a lot of appreciation to the integration process, and this can be seen in the criticisms repeated by the

²⁴³ Welsh Local Government Association European Office <http://www.wlga.gov.uk/wlga-european-office-brussels>

RIGs during their interviews. This euro-scepticism may interfere in the Europeanization of the RIGs as a negative mediating factor, a non-cooperative informal institution.

The final mediating factor is the existence of agents of change or actors mobilized domestically to persuade others in favour of Europeanization. A regional administration with increased powers may be able to operate as an agent of change, financing and promoting the Europeanization of RIGs. However, the participation of Wales at the European level, while it has increased in recent years, has always been reduced in comparison to that of more powerful regions like Catalonia, or even Scotland. In past years, the Welsh European Centre operated in a similar way as the Patronat Catalunya Món, promoting in Brussels the commerce and cultural exchange with Wales. Nowadays, this promotion has been adopted by the WLGA, without the direct management of private entrepreneurs that made the Welsh European Centre so dynamic. Amongst the RIGs considered, the most europeanized is CLA Cymru, but their unique nature as a landowner's organization puts them in a difficult position to act as an agent for the Europeanization of other RIGs. Wales seems to be involved in a continuous process of reform that makes the agents of change in Wales seem to be more involved in promoting devolution and decentralization than in promoting Europeanization directly.

5.6 Final remarks on the case of Wales

It is necessary to analyse the case of Wales through the hypotheses we proposed. Given the analysis of the Welsh RIGs and their score on the Europeanization index, in relation to the regional authority and mediating factors in Wales it is possible to start elucidating some answers.

Our first set of hypotheses claimed that we could detect the Europeanization of RIGs analysing the adaptation of their values, organization and strategies, and that there is a link with regional authority. According to hypothesis 2, a higher regional authority leads to higher levels of Europeanization on RIGs. As we have seen, Wales presents the lowest level of regional authority of the regions studied, and lower to the media of all those studied by Marks et al. (2008). At the same time, Welsh RIGs show an Europeanization roughly between 30% and 45%. Compared to Catalonia and Tuscany, the results are much lower in both accounts, and at first sight our hypothesis seem to be confirmed.

Our second hypothesis tries to explain the possible link between regional authority and Europeanization of RIGs, through the work of the mediating factors for policy-making. Regions with higher regional authority present certain mediating factors for policy-making, namely less veto players and more facilitating institutions and agents of change, which as a consequence leads to a

higher Europeanization of RIGs. As previously mentioned, the mediating factors are veto players, formal and informal cooperative institutions, and agents of change. The last hypothesis rounds up the findings of the previous hypotheses claiming that more favourable mediating factors for policy-making, present in regions with higher regional authority, lead to a higher Europeanization of RIGs or vice versa. With relation to the mediating factors in Wales, there are some which are favourable and some that are not. While the creation of Natural Resources Wales led to a reduction of veto players in environmental policy, there are still many decision-makers as Westminster keeps its importance in the Welsh political system. At the same time, Wales has several formal facilitating institutions favouring participation, such as the ever-present consultation processes, but these institutions are not present to push forward Europeanization. The work of the European Committee is lacking and the equivalent to the Regional Office is not active or representative enough to help RIGs. With regards to informal favourable institutions, the case of Wales presents to the contrary informal institutions that block Europeanization, mainly the lack of trust towards regional arenas for policy-making and a euro-scepticism that even though it is not as high as in some other parts of the UK, is still present and important when RIGs are venue shopping. Finally, these unfavourable mediating factors conspire to impede the appearance of an important agent for chance to help RIGs overcome the mostly regional focus they maintain.

These mediating factors are related to Wales' lower regional authority. Even though the National Assembly has gained recently the ability to legislate and implement the environmental policy, it has not yet developed a Europeanized strategy. Some of the RIGs have expressed that if problems with environmental policy are tackled when they arrive to the National Assembly, it is already too late. However, their answer is to seek the help of national or pan-European organizations to help influence Westminster in first place. RIGs keep working through the participative channels provided by the region, but part of their strategy is still focused in influencing London through the intervention on environmental issues to the national or pan European organizations.

Compared to Catalonia and Tuscany, according to the regional authority index, Wales scores in the lower spectrum of regions in Europe. Following our research, we can also see that the RIGs studied working on environmental policy in Wales present a limited Europeanization. Regarding mediating factors of policy-making, we can see that there appears to be more veto players and less facilitating mediating factors in the region. In conclusion, the regional authority of Wales seems to be in crescendo, as well as the participation and support of RIG, but does not seem to be strong enough. While in Catalonia or Tuscany, the RIGs may have been interested in getting involved in EU policy-making as a way to bypass the central state, in Wales they seem to be still too much involved in reinforcing the regional participation techniques to focus on their own Europeanization.

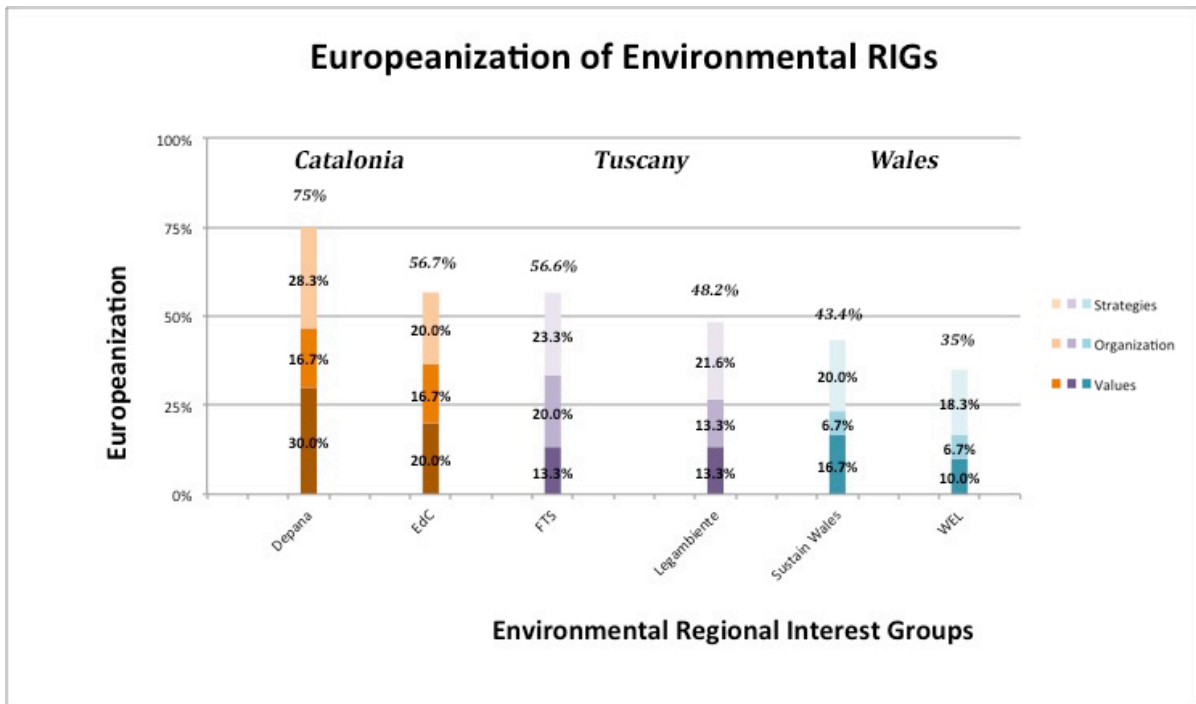
6

Europeanization of Regional Interest Groups in Comparative Perspective

After a deep analysis of each of the RIGs in the three different regions used for this research, it is useful to take notice of the trends in Europeanization of RIGs. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse transversally the similarities and differences in Europeanization of RIGs in the different regions, and to see if RIGs from a similar background, meaning environmentalists, industrialists and rural, share similar patterns of Europeanization even if they belong to different regions. Apart from this transversal analysis, this section also focuses on the general trend of Europeanization between regions, and its relationship with the literature previously presented.

The first group of RIGs analysed in each region were the environmental RIGs (See Graphic 5). Normally, there are big groups representing environmental issues but most are branches of national and international groups without a clear independence of means and objectives, such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth or WWF. These interest groups are not regional, and for that matter are not useful for this research. The environmental RIGs are generally small, with very little infrastructure and a base mostly formed by voluntaries.

Graphic 5: Europeanization of Environmental RIGs



Source: Developed by the author

For the case of Catalonia, the RIGs selected were two relatively small but regional groups representing environmental interests: the umbrella organization Ecologistas de Catalunya (EdC), which federates 13 small associations throughout all the Catalan territory and based in Molins de Rei; and the active DEPANA, which is a unitary organization acting independently from Barcelona. In Tuscany, the groups representing environmental interests that were chosen are Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile (FTS), which is a research organization formed by a multidisciplinary array of professionals; and Legambiente Toscana, which is a traditional environmental organization and is based in Florence. In Wales, the RIGs selected were the umbrella federation Wales Environment Link (WEL); and Sustain Wales, which is a unitary organization based in Cardiff. The cases of Legambiente Toscana and the Sustain Wales were specially interesting in the fact that even though they could be seen as non independent, given their relationship with national networks or the government, they put forward a very clear message of autonomy in their documents and through the information gathered. This is not an unusual case, as similar links were seen in other RIGs from different areas.

If we analyse the environmental RIGs, there are no apparent similarities between them across the different regions (See Table 34). The environmental RIGs range from an almost advanced Europeanization in Catalonia's DEPANA, to a limited Europeanization in Wales' WEL. However, it is interesting to note that the environmental RIGs are mostly different when it comes to values and organization, but are similar in strategy adaptation. The average Europeanization through value

adaptation is 17,2%, but the amplitude between the lowest (WEL) and the highest (DEPANA) is of 20percentage points, over a total of 33%. The Europeanization through value adaptation of WEL is 66,7% lower than that of DEPANA, which shows that the appreciation towards the EU is very different amongst the environmental RIGs. In all of them, there is a rhetorical or non-existent mention of EU values in their internal documents, manifestos and statutes. Regardless of the region, the RIGs expressed support to the intervention of the EU on environmental policy, but most of them did so with criticism towards EU institutions as well. It is interesting to note that amongst all the RIGs studied for this research, not only environmental, only one RIG (DEPANA) expressed unabashed support to EU values and interests on environmental policy. At the same time, all the environmental RIGs expressed identification with RIGs in other regions, but some have not worked with them.

With regards to the dimension of organization adaptation, the values differ a lot as well. The average Europeanization through organization adaptation for environmental RIGs is 13,3%, and the amplitude between the highest (FTS) and the lowest (Sustain Wales and WEL) is 13,3percentage points over a total of 33%. The Europeanization through organization adaptation of the less europeanized Sustain Wales and the WEL is 66,5% lower than that of the FTS. The results for this dimension are as dispersed as in the value dimension, covering almost all the possibilities available. While the WEL has not changed its internal organization, DEPANA has created a special department dedicated to the EU, and most at least have redirected their resources. At the same time, there is some variance in the origin of their resources, from receiving sporadically EU funding, to the Welsh environmental RIGs that have never even applied to them.

On the dimension of Europeanization through strategic adaptation, the differences are not so acute as in the other dimensions. The average Europeanization in this dimension is 21,9%, and the amplitude between the highest (DEPANA) and the lowest (WEL) is 10 percentage points over a total of 33%. The Europeanization through strategic adaptation of the WEL is 35,3% lower than that of DEPANA, which shows a more homogeneous Europeanization in this dimension. The findings show that most of the RIGs participate on pan-European organizations, with the only exception of the WEL, and have participated in programs directed to regions. It is interesting to note their strategies on the formulation of environmental policy at the EU level are strong, with the exception of Legambiente Toscana. However, their involvement on the implementation of said policy at the regional level is generally stronger in all the RIGs.

Table 34 – Values of Europeanization of Environmental RIGs

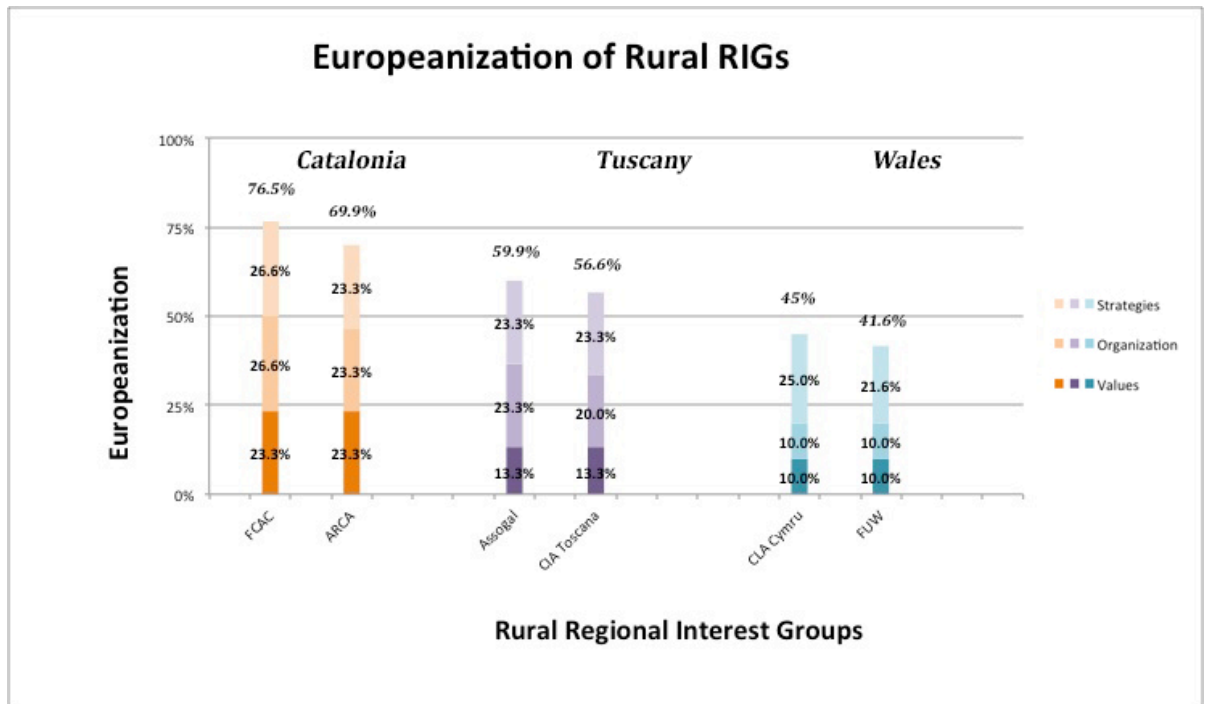
DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	DEPANA	EdC	FTS	Legamb. Toscana	WEL	Sustain Wales	CODE
VALUE ADAPTATION							10
New EU related objectives	1	0	1	1	0	1	0/4
Identification with EU values	2	1	1	1	1	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.	3	3	2	2	2	3	0/3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION							10
Redirection of internal resources	3	2	1	1	0	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources	3	3	3	3	1	1	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members	1	1	2	0	1	0	0/2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION							10
Participation in pan-European organizations	2	2	2	2	0	2	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions	2	2	2	2	2	1	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies	2.5	2	1.5	0.5	1	1.5	0/3
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies	2.5	2.5	1.5	2	2.5	1.5	0/3
Total	22	18.5	17	18	10.5	13	30
	73,3%	61,7%	56,6%	59,9%	35%	43,3%	100%

Source: Developed by author

All in all, with regards to environmental RIGs, there does not seem to be a clear pattern across the regions. The Europeanization is very varied in general, and when discriminated by dimension, even if there are similarities in some indicators, tend to show a very high difference between RIGs of different regions.

The second group of RIGs analysed were the rural RIGs (See Graphic 6). The rural RIGs are varied, from small farmer cooperative groups to large landowners associations. It is interesting to note that in Catalonia and Tuscany we have included RIGs formed with the incentive of the LEADER initiative that has helped create groups of small rural associations. Similar to what happened with environmental RIGs, when selecting rural RIGs, we came across the other rural organizations with long and traditional history of interest representation and with regional branches in Tuscany. However, if there is no clear differentiation of their means and objectives with those of the national organization, there is no purpose in considering them RIGs.

Graphic 6: Europeanization of Rural RIGs



Source: Developed by the author

The rural RIGs selected from Catalonia are part of the longstanding tradition of cooperatives in rural areas. Most of the cooperatives are grouped in the FCAC, while some have worked through their LEADER local action groups to form ARCA. The groups representing agricultural interests in Tuscany are CIA Toscana, which is an umbrella rural organization similar to FCAC, and Assogal Toscana, which is the RIG that has grouped Tuscany’s rural local action groups. For the case of Wales, there is no group of local action groups from LEADER, but given that many of its members are part of LEADER, we have in turn selected CLA Cymru, an organization of big and small landowners. The second rural RIG from Wales selected is the Farmer’s Union of Wales, a smaller organization representing the interests of those who benefit from agriculture.

As it was the case with the environmental RIGs, there does not seem to be a clear pattern between rural RIGs across the different regions (See Table 35). The rural RIGs range from an advanced Europeanization in Catalonia’s FCAC, to a limited Europeanization in both Wales’ rural RIGs. There appears to be some similarities in their Europeanization through strategic adaptation and differences on values and organization but the amplitude seems to be lower than on environmental RIGs. The average Europeanization through value adaptation is 15,5%, and the amplitude between the lowest (the Welsh) and the highest (the Catalan) is of 13.3percentage points, over a total of 33%. The Welsh RIGs have an Europeanization through value adaptation that is 42,9% of that of the Catalan RIGs, which shows that the appreciation towards the EU is relatively different amongst the

environmental RIGs. These differences are all in their work with similar RIGs in different regions, given the fact that all rural RIGs have a rhetorical mention of EU values in their internal documents, manifestos and statutes and expressed support with criticism to the intervention of the EU on environmental policy. On the matter of work with RIGs in other regions, there seems to be a divide depending on the region of the rural RIG. Both Catalan rural RIGs identify with other RIGs and have worked with them, both Tuscan rural RIGs identify but have no relation with RIGs in other regions, and on the contrary, both Welsh RIGs have worked with other RIGs but claim that their situation is different and unique.

Table 35 – Values of Europeanization of Rural RIGs

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	FCAC	ARCA	CIA	Assogal	CLA Cymru	FUW	CODE
VALUE ADAPTATION							10
New EU related objectives	1	1	1	1	1	1	0/4
Identification with EU values	1	1	1	1	1	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.	3	3	2	2	1	1	0/3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION							10
Redirection of internal resources	2	3	1	2	1	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources	3	3	3	4	0	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members	2	2	2	1	2	2	0/2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION							10
Participation in pan-European organizations	2	2	1	2	1	1	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions	2	2	2	2	2	2	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies	2	2	1.5	1.5	2	1	0/3
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies	2	2	1.5	1.5	2.5	2.5	0/3
Total	20	21	17	18	13.5	12.5	30
	66,7%	70%	56,6%	59,9%	45%	41,7%	100%

Source: Developed by author

With regards to the dimension of organization adaptation, the values differ a lot as well. The average Europeanization through organization adaptation for environmental RIGs is 18,9%, and the amplitude between the highest (FCAC) and the lowest (FUW) is 16,3 percentage points over a total of 33%. The Europeanization through organization adaptation of the less europeanized FUW is 37,59% of that of FCAC. The results for this dimension are similarly dispersed as in the environmental RIGs,

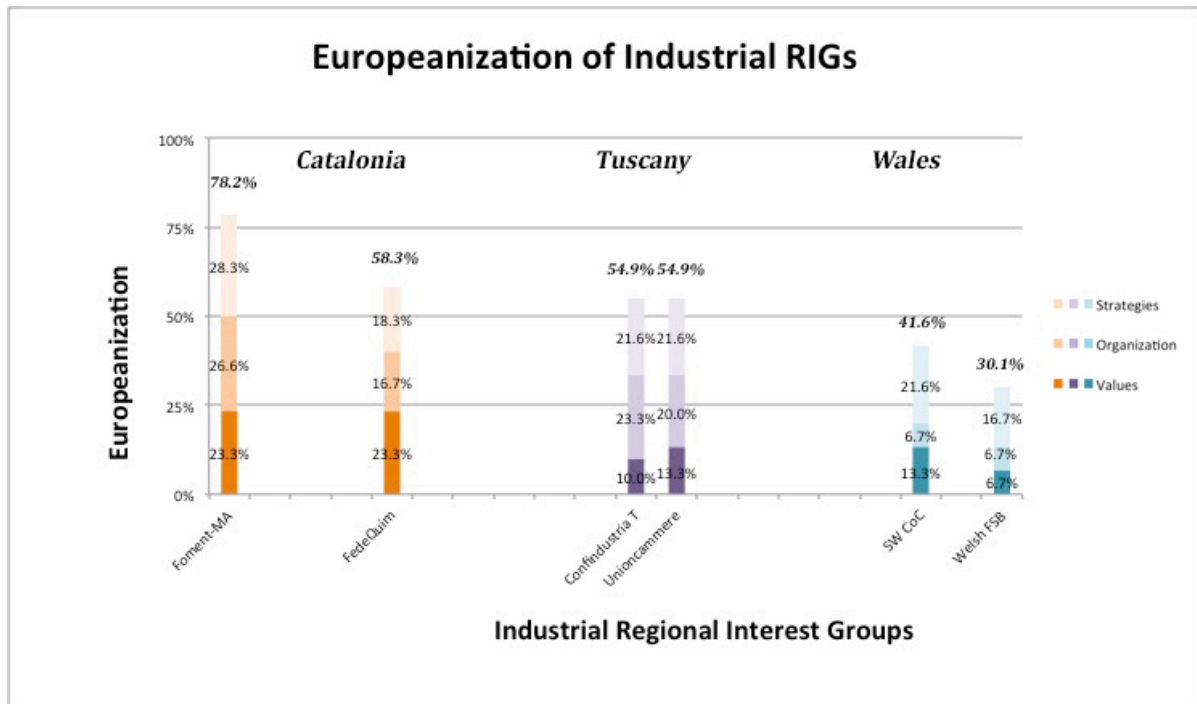
covering almost all the possibilities available. The most interesting difference is in the origin of their resources, from Assogal, which has received regular EU funding, to the Welsh rural RIGs that are not interested in it. However at the same time, all the rural RIGs but Assogal publicize the search for EU resources amongst its members. This comes as no surprise given the importance of LEADER and the CAP.

Finally, regarding Europeanization through strategic adaptation, again the variance is not so acute as in the other dimensions. The average Europeanization in this dimension is 23,8%, and the amplitude between the highest (FCAC) and the lowest (FUW) is only 5 percentage points over a total of 33%. The Europeanization through strategic adaptation of the FUW is 17,9% lower than that of FCAC, which shows the most homogeneous Europeanization. The participation of the RIGs on pan-European organizations is either active by itself or through their national organization, and all of them have participated on EU programs oriented to regions. There are similarities in their strategies on policy-making in Brussels, with the FUW been the lowest again. It is interesting to note their strategies on the on the implementation of environmental policy at the regional level is generally stronger in all the RIGs, and seems to follow a regional pattern, more acute in Wales and less so in Tuscany and Catalonia.

Even if the Europeanization on the different dimensions was more similar between rural RIGs than between environmental RIGs, it is possible to say that the differences are present, especially on the organization. The fact that a RIG deals mostly with rural issues does not seem to create a special pattern of Europeanization regardless of the region they belong to.

The third group of RIGs analysed for each region were the industrial RIGs (See Graphic 7). The industrial RIGs are more structured and have more funds than environmental or even rural RIGs, and generally have a closer relationship with government officials, probably because of a corporatist tendency present in the institutional context of Spain, Italy and the UK. The nature of these organizations has made it harder than in others to find RIGs that are not mere branches of a national interest group.

Graphic 7: Europeanization of Industrial RIGs



Source: Developed by the author

In Catalonia, the industrial RIGs selected were Foment del Treball Nacional, Catalonia’s main business association; and FedeQuim, which is the sectorial association of chemical industries, one of Catalonia’s main productions. Even if both RIGS may share members, their scope and activities are different. At the same time, both are closely related with national organizations, but keep a fundamentally regional stance. The two groups that represent industrial interests in Tuscany are Confindustria Toscana and Unioncamere Toscana. Confindustria is Tuscany’s main business association while Unioncamere Toscana is the association of commerce chambers from the main urban centres in the region. Both Confindustria Toscana and Unioncamere Toscana are related as well to national organizations, but have an independence of goals and means. For Wales, the South Wales Chamber of Commerce (SWCoC), represents about 70% of the Welsh population and industries are located, while the smaller companies are present in the Welsh Federation of Small Businesses (WFSB).

The Europeanization of industrial RIGs seems even more dispersed than that of environmental or rural RIGs (See Table 36). Both the most Europeanized RIG studied (Foment) and the least Europeanized (WFSB) are industrial RIGs. While there were similarities on some account for environmental and rural RIGs, there does not seem to be similarities or patterns in their Europeanization through value, organization or strategy adaptation. The average Europeanization through value adaptation on industrial RIGs is 15%, and the amplitude between the lowest and the

highest is of 16.6percentage points, over a total of 33%. The least europeanized WFSB has an Europeanization through value adaptation that is only 28,7% of that of the most europeanized Foment. While there is a unanimous critical identification with EU values, the differences in the other indicators for value adaptation are almost total. While Foment mentions EU values on their internal documents and statutes, the Tuscan Industrial RIGs do not mention them at all, and the rest only mentions them rhetorically in internal documents. On the matter of work and identification with RIGs in other regions, the divide is similar, with WFSB neither working nor identifying with other RIGs in different regions while most of the rest works and identifies with them regularly.

The values observed on Europeanization through organization adaptation are not very similar either. The average Europeanization through organization adaptation for environmental RIGs is 16,7%, and the amplitude between the highest and the lowest, which are Foment and both Welsh industrial RIGs, is 19,9percentage points over a total of 33%, the largest percentage difference in the study. The Europeanization through organization adaptation of the Welsh industrial RIGs is only25,2% of that of Foment. The results for this dimension are similarly dispersed as in the environmental or rural RIGs. There is scarce redirection of resources, given the fact that most industrial RIGs either delegate to national or pan-European organizations, or have a department not exclusively dedicated to EU issues. The origin of funds shows again differences, with most of the RIGs having received EU funds, while the Welsh industrial RIGs are not interested in them. With regards to the search of EU funds amongst its members, the industrial RIGs are evenly divided between those who actively promote it and those who even though do not promote it, have members who have received EU funds.

When it comes to Europeanization through strategic adaptation, the same divergence reappears between the industrial RIGs. The average Europeanization in this dimension is 21,35%, and the amplitude between the highest (Foment) and the lowest (WFSB) is 11,6 percentage points over a total of 33%. The Europeanization through strategic adaptation of the WFSB is 40,9% lower than that of Foment, which shows that unlike environmental or rural RIGs, the industrial RIGs do not seem to show a more homogeneous Europeanization through strategy adaptation. Most of the industrial RIGs participate actively on pan-European organizations, but the Welsh either do not participate or do it through national organizations. There is more similarity with regards to EU programs oriented to regions, with only the WFSB claiming no participation by itself. The differences are clear in their strategies on the formulation of environmental policies, with many of them lobbying EU institutions, but most avoiding most of the possible lines of influence. Their strategies, as with the environmental and rural RIGs, are more strongly directed to the implementation of environmental policy at the regional level, where the scores are varied but generally stronger in all the RIGs.

Again, as it was the case for environmental and rural RIGs, the differences between the industrial RIGs outweigh the similarities in their Europeanization, without even one similar dimension of adaptation, as it was the case on the others. Even if industrial RIGs have more resources and ways of influencing policy-making, there is no clear coherence between them across the regions.

As mentioned before, for most of these interest groups, it seems that the permeability and multilevel nature of the European system of intermediation has allowed for a stronger Europeanization (Ladrech, 2005; Klüver, 2010), by the effect of regional authority and the increase of multiple beneficial mediating factors. However, if we analyse the Europeanization of RIGs from different regions taking into account the fact that they are environmental, rural or industrial in nature, there are no patterns or similarities than can be clearly seen.

On the one hand, some of the RIGs, more importantly business associations, may be able to have a better access to the EU and regional institutions due to their resources and their expertise (Dür & Mateo, 2014) but these advantages are different on each RIG. On the other hand, public interest groups such as environmental organizations may focus on direct action and influencing public opinion (Dür & Mateo, 2012) leading to more transregional participation and a different kind of Europeanization, but again diverge depending on the RIG considered. Participation in policy making and policy implementation is not equal for all groups, as resources become a limitation to engage in lobbying the EU (Beyers & Kerremans, 2007; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Dür & Mateo, 2014), the ability to process and deliver information is not easily achieved by all (Chalmers, 2011), and differences in their organizational structure and characteristics affect their success of the interest groups (Bunea, 2012). Some RIGs may enjoy a privileged access in regions with a more corporatist systems or in policy communities (Eising, 2007). At the same time, those RIGs more active in euro-associations may see their strategies and organization modified considerably as well as an increase in their access to information (Pleines, 2011; Chalmers, 2011). All in all, even if groups from a same type may enjoy similar advantages or have the same disadvantages with regards to their value adaptation, organization or strategies, the resulting Europeanization is different. Given the differences found in the overall Europeanization between groups from the same type, it would appear that the Europeanization of RIGs does not relate directly to the type of group, which contrasts with some of the options presented by the literature (Dür & Mateo, 2014).

There still are considerable differences between their levels of Europeanization, even if in the cases analysed the type of interest group does not seem to influence the Europeanization directly. This differences in Europeanization need to be accounted by another variable. This thesis considers that it is not the kind of RIG considered which affects Europeanization, but the region from which it belongs, and more precisely the regional authority and mediating factors of said region. In the

concluding chapter of this thesis, we will analyse the data obtained in light of the hypothesis presented before.

Table 36 – Values of Europeanization of Industrial RIGs

DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS	FedeQuim	Foment	Confind.	Unionca.	SWCC	WFSB	CODE
VALUE ADAPTATION							10
New EU related objectives	1	4	0	0	1	1	0/4
Identification with EU values	1	1	1	1	1	1	0/3
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions.	3	3	2	3	3	0	0/3
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION							10
Redirection of internal resources	2	2	2	2	1	1	0/4
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources	3	3	3	3	0	0	0/4
Search of EU resources among its members	2	2	2	1	1	1	0/2
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION							10
Participation in pan-European organizations	2	2	2	2	1	0	0/2
Participation on EU programs oriented to regions	2	2	2	2	2	1	0/2
Involvement on the formulation of EU policies	2	2.5	0.5	1	1	1.5	0/3
Involvement in the implementation of EU policies	2	2.5	2	1.5	2	2.5	0/3
Total	20	24	16.5	16.5	13	9	30
	66,7%	80%	54,9%	54,9%	43,3%	30%	100%

Source: Developed by author

7 Conclusions

To begin with our conclusions, it is crucial to remember which are the main objectives of this thesis. As we said in our introduction, the main purpose is to explore in which way, to which measure and due to which reasons RIGs have transformed their organization, values, resources and strategies, adapting them to the logic and ways of the EU. We defined a europeanized RIG as that whose objectives are similar to those championed by the EU, which works side by side with similar organizations regardless of their location, which makes use of EU funds and resources, taking into consideration their methods and techniques. A europeanized RIG also has strategies beyond their regional scope and tries to influence policy in different levels of government, especially the EU arenas where policy is many times formulated, as well as the traditional national arena and the increasingly important regional arena of policy implementation.

It can be useful to begin the conclusion considering the limitations in this research. The scope is limited to the regions considered and the eighteen cases analysed. It is therefore not possible to definitely establish that regional authority is the defining variable for explaining the differences in Europeanization, and of course. Nonetheless, regional authority either measured as we did here or through other instruments, seems to be a factor that needs to be taken into account when trying to explain the Europeanization of RIGs.

There is another caveat that needs to be made when evaluating the results of this research. Most of the interviews and the bulk of the research were done between 2008 and 2013, on a special period in the history of the EU. While in the beginning of the research the discussions on EU matters were still recovering from the failure of the European Constitution, by the end the continent and the

world are still trying to recover from an unprecedented economic crisis that shook Europe and the EU institutions to the core. Some of the opinions embedded in the fieldwork are a product of this context, where other important events such as the emerging social mobilizations, the changes in government in all three countries, or the increasing claim for independence in Catalonia, need to be taken into account as well.

In the first chapters, we analysed the theoretical framework for Europeanization, interest groups and regions, with the purpose of understanding the concepts we would be working with and linking these three common lines of research on political science. These three literatures were the pillars over which the thesis was supported. The theoretical interest was to contribute to the literature of Europeanization, considering the concept as a dependent variable (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007; McCauley, 2010) and providing a possible index for its measurement on interest groups. In this sense, this research can firstly be considered a contribution to the extended literature on interest groups and their relationship with the EU (Cram, 2001; Beyers, 2002; Grote y Lang, 2003; Coen & Dannreuther, 2003; Bouwen, 2004; Ladrech, 2005; Eising, 2007; Beyers & Kerremans, 2007; Constantelos, 2007; Beyers, 2008; Beyers et al, 2008; Princen & Kerremans, 2008; Klüver, 2010; McCauley, 2010; Callanan, 2011; Chalmers, 2011; Quittkat & Kotzian, 2011; Jarman, 2011; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Bunea, 2013; Dür & Mateo, 2014).

At the same time, another theoretical interest was to contribute to the literature on regions and regionalism or to the recent research on the impact of EU integration on regions (Fabbrini & Brunazzo, 2003; Bursens & Deforche, 2008; Borghetto & Franchino, 2010; Neshkova, 2010; Tatham, 2011; Knodt et al. 2011; Tatham, 2012; Stephenson, 2013), finding out the consequences that an increased regional authority would have on regional actors such as RIGs.

More importantly, this thesis can be seen as a contribution to the literature on the relationship of RIGs and the EU (Eising, 2007; Knodt, 2011; Knodt et al, 2011; Callanan, 2011; Keating & Wilson, 2014; Tatham & Bauer, 2014) and more precisely the Europeanization and RIGs (Roller & Sloat, 2002; Constantelos, 2004; McCauley, 2010).

Three main questions guided our research:

To what extent and in which aspects have RIGs europeanized?

Why are some RIGs more europeanized than others?

In which modes regional authority leads to more europeanized RIGs?

The first question was related to the need to find a way to measure the Europeanization of RIGs, which beforehand seemed to be different in different regions and thus triggered our scientific

curiosity. But being able to measure Europeanization would not be enough; it is necessary as well to find out a possible reason for the variances in Europeanization. After finding this possible reason through the concept of regional authority, the third question goes forward and tries to find out how this process occurs. In summary, the research aimed to know if the differences in Europeanization of RIGs could be explained by differences in regional authority, via the work of the mediating factors present in the different regions.

For the purpose of answering these research questions we developed four hypotheses. It is useful to recall the hypotheses presented at the beginning of this research to contrast them with the results obtained.

Hypothesis 1: *The Europeanization of RIGs can be detected through the adaptation of their values, organization and strategies*

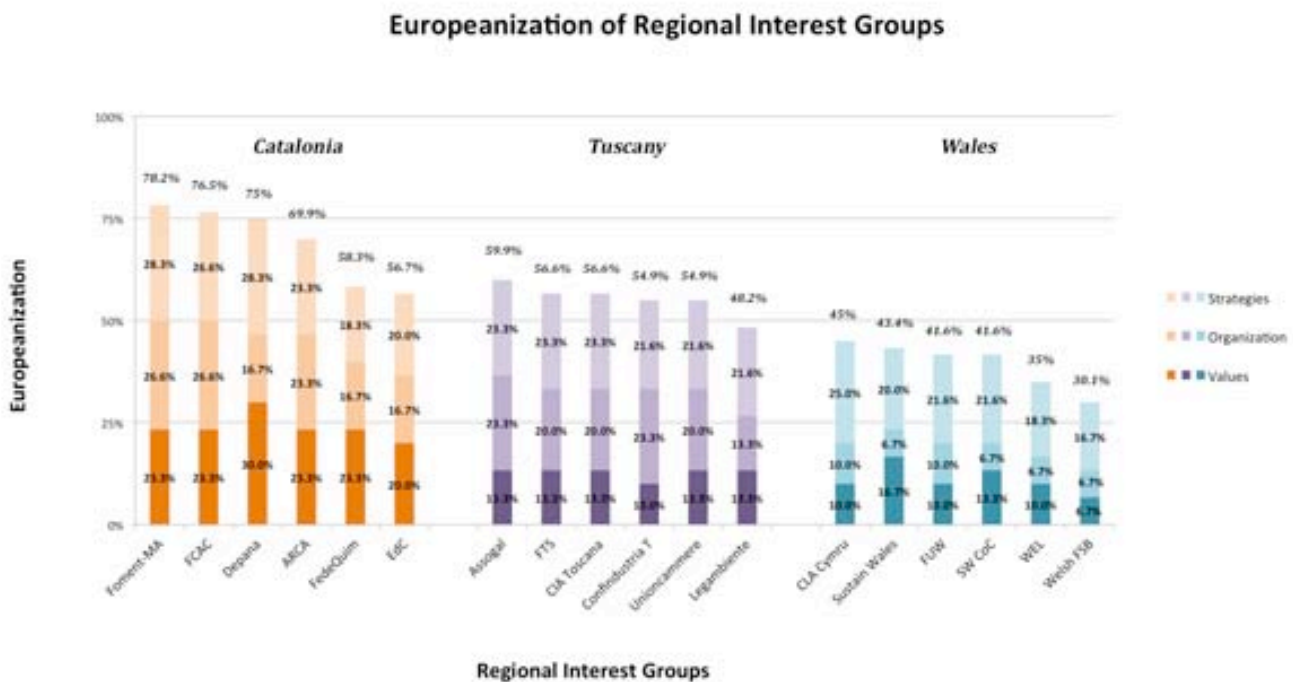
Hypothesis 2: *Higher levels of Europeanization of RIGs are present on regions with a high Regional Authority.*

Hypothesis 3: *The Mediating Factors of veto players, formal and informal cooperative institutions and agents of change can affect the effect of Regional Authority on the Europeanization of RIGs.*

Hypothesis 4: *The higher Regional Authority and favourable Mediating Factors for policy-making, lead to a higher Europeanization of RIGs.*

To prove these hypotheses, we chose three regions and eighteen RIGs that would be our units of analysis. After the empirical research was conducted, all of our hypotheses seem to have been confirmed and a final summary of the total results can be shown (See Graphic 8).

Graphic 8: Europeanization of Regional Interest Groups in Catalonia, Tuscany and Wales



Source: developed by the author

The first hypothesis deals with the method used to measure Europeanization on RIGs. One of the main contributions of this thesis comes in this point. After analysing the literature and empirical research, it appeared clear that, even if there were previous attempts to measure the Europeanization of legislation (Töller, 2010) there was no tool available for the measurement of the Europeanization of political actors. Although Europeanization has grown to be a big part of EU studies in recent years, while it focused on policies, institutional change and party politics (Vink & Graziano, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009; Graziano 2011) it has mostly been used as an independent variable (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007). This may be a reason why there have not been many incentives to develop tools for its measurement. Our first hypothesis states that by measuring the value, organization and strategy adaptation to the EU, derived from the definition proposed by Radaelli (2003), it would be possible to achieve a measurement for Europeanization. Using this Europeanization index, it is possible to help those Europeanization studies which start from the domestic level as a basis, describing actors, ideas, problems, rules, styles and outcomes and then go up to analyse the possible involvement of EU variables in the mix (Radaelli, 2003; Radaelli & Pasquier, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009).

By creating a completely innovative Europeanization index, the intention was to reach a standardized tool to be able to compare the Europeanization of RIGs in different regions. This index has been very useful, allowing us to see the variation on Europeanization between RIGs and with

enough scope to be able to discriminate the origin of these differences. The indicators were easy to spot on internal documents, manifestos or statutes, and it was also easy to convert them to questions easily understood by the people interviewed. The fact that the three adaptations to the EU have equal value also helped put on the same level and bring light to different ways of Europeanization that are not so easily seen. But the success of the Europeanization index does not end in its application on RIGs, as it can be easily adapted to be implemented on other actors and institutions from different strands and levels of policy-making. The usefulness of the Europeanization index can be readily seen when we consider the rest of the hypotheses proposed.

From the measurement of Europeanization in hypothesis 1 we get to the link between regional authority and the Europeanization of RIGs. According to hypothesis 2, higher levels of Europeanization of RIGs should be present in regions with a higher regional authority. The regional authority is a variable developed by Marks et al. (2008b) and used in our research as the main independent variable. The general average from all the EU regions studied by the authors is 11.7 points over a total of 24 (Marks et al, 2008). The regional authority in the regions considered is scaled from higher in Catalonia, to medium in Tuscany and lower in Wales. For Catalonia, after adjusting the original measurement to include changes by the new Statute of Autonomy, the final score was 16.5, considerably superior to the European average. In Tuscany, the regional authority level is 14, also superior to the average, but less so than in Catalonia. For Wales, some adjustments were also needed after the 2006 Government of Wales Act and the 2011 referendum, reaching a total regional authority of 12.5 points. All the regions considered are above the European average, due to the fact that the regions were selected amongst those involved in devolution and not necessarily from fully centralized or federal countries.

After reviewing the Europeanization of RIGs, Catalonia, the region that presents the higher level of regional authority, has RIGs that show an either advanced or fully consolidated Europeanization, roughly between 61,7% and 80%. Tuscany presents a level of regional authority slightly superior to average, and its RIGs show an advanced Europeanization between 48% and 60%. Finally, the regional authority of Wales is the lowest of the regions studied and below the European average measured by Marks et al. (2008). At the same time, our research shows that the Welsh RIGs have a moderate Europeanization roughly between 30% and 45%. These results can be more clearly seen on Graphic 8, which shows the decline of the Europeanization of RIGs, from the most europeanized Catalan RIGs on the left to the least europeanized Welsh RIGs on the right. This is in line with our hypothesis that proposed that higher regional authority correlated with higher Europeanization of RIGs.

It is fundamental to note that within each region, all the RIGs, no matter if they were environmentalists, rural or industrial, show similar values of Europeanization. It is interesting to

consider as well how some of the Europeanization elements, which were very common in one region, were completely rare in another. This is particularly true in the organization adaptation, and especially in the case of funding from the EU, which was very common in Catalonia and Tuscany, and almost non-existent in Wales. Similarly, resource distribution was scarce in Wales and abundant in the other regions. As we propose in this thesis, these differences are related to the effect of regional authority and the influence of mediating factors in RIGs. It appears that some favourable mediating factors present in Catalonia and Tuscany, such as a more favourable position towards the EU or success stories by agents of change, may predispose RIGs towards considering the EU as a rational venue for the search for resources. At the same time, the lack of these same mediating factors in Wales reduced the incentives for Europeanization of its RIGs. The differences in strategies are striking as well, but before analysing them in more detail, it is interesting to take into consideration the rest of the hypotheses.

The hypotheses 3 and 4 try to explain the possible link between regional authority and Europeanization of RIGs, through the work of the mediating factors for policy-making. We expand the work done by the literature on the effect of mediating factors on national interest groups, by incorporating the regional institutional framework (Cram, 2001; Beyers, 2002; Grote & Lang, 2003; Beyers & Kerrermans, 2007; Klüver, 2010). First, hypothesis 3 states that the mediating factors of veto players, formal and informal cooperative institutions and agents of change can mediate in the effect of Regional Authority on the Europeanization of RIGs. In other words, due to the institutional framework of each region we can find first that a differing number of actors able to obstruct decisions affects the Europeanization of RIGs due to the fact that the ability of RIGs to focus their intervention on policy implementation varies as well. Then, the existence of formal facilitating institutions may enable the participation of civil society in general and RIGs in particular, facilitating their Europeanization through an increase in their involvement in the policy-making. Finally a high number of informal cooperative institutions and agents of change with success stories may predispose RIGs towards activities at the EU level such as the search for EU resources, the participation on pan European associations or the work with similar RIGs in different regions. In contrast, a scarce number of informal cooperative institutions and agents of change may lead to a lag of the Europeanization of the RIGs in the region.

For the case of Catalonia, the mediating factors seem to be generally favourable. Even if there is a certain distribution of environmental decision makers across different departments which could be considered an abundance of veto players, the other mediating factors seem to be favourable, such as the formal facilitating institutions related to participative government and consultation or the existence of strong agents of change like the Patronat Catalunya Mon, as well as a generally favourable position towards the EU, replicated in Spain but even stronger in Catalonia, at least until

recent years. These favourable mediating factors are related to a high regional authority because of Catalonia's capacities in the implementation of environmental policy and in the promotion of participation. As a result, the Europeanization of RIGs in Catalonia is higher than in the other regions.

On the other hand, it is not so clear to see these favourable mediating factors in Tuscany. The regional authority of Tuscany seems to be sufficiently strong to support RIG participation on environmental policy and its consequent push for Europeanization, but does not seem to be strong enough to increase the participation on policy formulation at the EU level, to avoid the interference of some strong veto players or to promote the appearance of strong agents of change. There are informal institutions that create a favourable context for Europeanization, but there is a lack of facilitating formal institutions pushing for the participation of RIGs at the EU level, as well as the absence of regional agents of change sufficiently powerful. These unfavourable mediating factors are also related to Tuscany's capacities at the regional level. Tuscany does not have sufficient capacities to promote participation at the EU level and has no capacity to push for a stronger allocation of resources to the region from the central government or to intervene on the national policy-making process with enough strength to impose a certain position. As mentioned before, RIGs are then obliged to work through the formal facilitating institutions or to delegate the intervention on environmental issues to the national or pan European organizations, diluting their direct work and weakening their Europeanization.

Third, the case of Wales has lower regional authority, and its mediating factors are, similarly to Tuscany, leaning towards being unfavourable. The National Assembly does not have a really europeanized strategy towards environmental policy, a fact shown by the reticence of RIGs in applying to the regional institutions. Some of the RIGs considered that their participation in a regional instance is too late to get something done. While Natural Resources Wales reduced the number of veto players, there are still many decision-makers at Westminster. RIGs still have a big part of their strategy focused in London. In summary, as we saw in a previous chapter, Wales has more veto players and less favourable mediating factors in the region. Regional authority in Wales is increasing and this has come with more participation by civil society and involvement of RIG. However, the differences with Tuscany and mainly Catalonia, two regions whose powers and regional institutions are longstanding, are very apparent, especially with RIGs that tend to get involved in institutional tinkering more than in policy-making. At the same time, Wales has several formal facilitating institutions favouring participation but not pushing forward Europeanization. With regards to informal cooperative institutions, Wales has institutions such as a distrust of regional government and a traditionally British euroscepticism that block Europeanization, or European integration in general for that matter.

The final hypothesis goes forward with the relationships between regional authority, mediating factors and Europeanization. As observed, a higher regional authority improves the institutional framework and social structures that incentivises RIGs to participate and get involved in policy-making. For once, the increased participation of interest groups in the regional and European networks of policy-making appears to lead to an easier adaptation to European policies (Knodt, 2011) and to the development of strategic alliances with similar groups across the EU, which can influence the domestic policy-making (Falkner, 2000). These effects, according to the model presented in this thesis, will vary across different regions depending on the effects on mediating factors of the different regional authority. In this sense, the premise presented by Risse et al. (2001) and Börzel & Risse (2003) is replicated, in which the actors adapt to the constraints and opportunities present in the institutional context. This helps them reconfigure their own values, organization and strategies to adapt them to the EU. In other words, the RIGs europeanize more in regions with stronger regional authority due to a more favourable context for Europeanization.

This has repeatedly been confirmed in the RIGs studied, and can be seen in the slope of the Graphic8, from the Fully Consolidated Europeanization of Foment in Catalonia to the Moderate, and almost Limited, Europeanization of WFSB in Wales. The strong regional authority of Catalonia seems to be able to provide a favourable milieu for the participation of RIGs and through this a push for Europeanization. The ambivalent institutional context in Tuscany leads to a lower regional authority and some unfavourable mediating factors that restrict Europeanization. Finally, even after devolution, the evolving regional authority in Wales has not increased as much as to give the RIGs a favourable context for their Europeanization. The recent analysis of the institutional context in Catalonia (Jordana et al, 2012; Noferini, 2012; Aja & Colino, 2014), Tuscany (Pizzorusso, 2012; Dal Canto, 2012; Picchi, 2012; Palermo & Wilson, 2014) and Wales (Deacon & Sandry, 2012; Wyn Jones & Scully, 2012) point in a similar direction, in which the regional capacities seem to be involved in the weakening or strengthening of the political actors of the region.

It is interesting to consider how favourable mediating factors in regions with high regional authority affect Europeanization through strategic adaptation. Basically, favourable mediating factors lead to favourable results for the active intervention of the RIGs in the different levels of policy formulation and policy implementation. If mediating factors such as veto players and formal institutions were unfavourable towards participation, and due to a differential of costs between RIGs (Dur & Mateo, 2012; 2014), they would not assume the costs of a more intense participation in policy implementation, and thus would reduce their Europeanization. Organizational and value adaptation would probably not develop as easily if there are no possibilities for Europeanization through strategic adaptation.

Nevertheless, it could be said that if mediating factors were unfavourable towards participation in policy implementation, RIGs would then try to increase the Europeanization of their strategies by intervening in environmental policy-making directly at the EU level. However, to achieve this purpose there is a need of other favourable mediating factors in the form of agents of change and facilitating or cooperative formal and informal institutions. The empirical research seems to point out that if these mediating factors are not present, Europeanization does not progress. While Catalan RIGs seem to find that their active involvement in policy implementation precludes them from intervening more in policy formulation, on the other hand Welsh RIGs are involved in policy implementation, but consider that the regional arena is not necessarily the most useful, and tend to go back to national politics, while find their access to EU policy-making reduced by a lack of mediating factors, limiting their possibilities for Europeanization in the way. In the case of Wales, then, a lack of the cooperative informal institution of regional attachment, as described by Chacha (2013), reduces the Europeanization of the RIGs.

At the same time, even if it is costly, it does not seem possible for these groups to think in other ways of behaving than relating themselves more with the EU. It was common to hear from the interviewees that getting them more involved in the European arena had become an obligation if they wanted to keep being relevant and having some influence margin. It could be stated that because of this apparent obligation that Europeanization on all the RIGs studied does not go lower than Moderate. There seems to be a will to orient themselves towards the EU and that will is reflected on the value adaptation, without it necessarily implying a profound change in their organization or strategies yet. As more RIGs have success stories on their participation at EU levels, this behaviour tends to be mimicked by others, as predicted by Ladrech (2005), becoming agents of change. In this way, the apparent permeability of EU institutions with relation to environmental policy facilitates Europeanization (Beyers, 2002; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). It would be interesting to see how this works on different policies with more opaque policy-making patterns.

All in all, less favourable mediating factors tend to lead to differential strategies towards the EU and in consequence a reduced Europeanization. A pattern could be seen, by which in Catalonia there seemed to be a high participation on formulation and implementation of environmental policy, in Tuscany a reduced participation on formulation but strong participation on implementation, and in Wales an active but disgruntled participation on implementation and very low direct participation on formulation. This seems to confirm the importance of regional authority as a facilitator for the participation of RIGs on all levels of policy making, reinvigorating their Europeanization.

There are important differences as well found on Europeanization through organization adaptation, mainly by way of the search for EU resources. As resources are a limitation to

participation and lobbying (Beyers & Kerremans, 2007; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Dür & Mateo, 2014) there is a strong interest on most RIGs towards the EU as a source of alternative resources, either through direct European funds or through special programmes. However, the RIGs of Wales show a genuinely reduced interest in these funds. This difference could be related to the fact that the funding is better coordinated and focused through strong regional institutions that can provide and facilitate the search for EU resources especially for less successful RIGs. A lower regional authority in Wales implies less formal facilitating institutions such as a regional development agency or a strong regional office in Brussels. It could also come back to a lack of regional attachment in Wales (Chacha, 2013). Similarly, on regions with higher regional authority and open participation, RIGs could have the capacity to influence the decisions on funding and can profit from this. Nonetheless, environmental groups seem to insist on the development of European strategies that not necessarily translate on material resources and focus more strongly on cooperation and Europeanization through value adaptation. Regarding the way in which the resources are invested, the data obtained suggests that most of the RIGs studied keep focusing their activities on trying to solve their issues through the closest level of government, where their participation and influence are secured. Even in Wales, where regional authority is lower, RIGs did not even consider not participating in consultation processes.

Before finishing, it is useful to offer a dialogue with the literature previously analysed, while trying to propose a couple of possible explanations on why different levels of regional authority could influence the Europeanization of RIGs. The criticism of a lack of theorization on Europeanization studies (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2005; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009) has been answered by a recent stride of empirical literature that includes the recent analysis of interest groups in general and RIGs in particular (Roller & Sloat, 2002; Constantelos, 2004; Eising, 2007; McCauley, 2010; Knodt, 2011; Knodt et al, 2011; Callanan, 2011; Keating & Wilson, 2014; Tatham & Bauer, 2014). As mentioned before, this thesis contributes to this literature and expands it, incorporating the notion of regional authority (Hooghe et al, 2008) and analysing in detail the impact of mediating factors on political actors (Risse et al, 2001; Börzel & Risse, 2003).

One of the main contributions of this research to the literature on Europeanization, as we mentioned before, is the index for its measurement. Even if some other studies have tried to measure Europeanization (Töller, 2010), after the analysis of the literature it was apparent that there was nothing similar to this index for the Europeanization of actors. The Europeanization index is completely original, innovative and has proven its usefulness when applied to RIGs. But its potential does not end in the measurement of the Europeanization of RIGs. Using the definition provided by Radaelli (2003) as a starting point, the Europeanization index could provide a helpful guide to future research. Even if it was developed keeping in mind its use to measure interest groups, it can be easily

adapted. As Europeanization studies advance towards the use of Europeanization as a dependent variable, the need for its measurement increases (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007; Exadaktylos & Radaelli, 2009; McCauley, 2010; Graziano 2011). Europeanization studies have tended to focus on policies, but an index as the one presented here could be used to measure other study objects such as different organizational actors and institutions across the multilevel environment of EU politics and policy-making.

Another novelty of this study is that, once Europeanization is measured, it can be more easily and reliably used as a dependent variable (Radaelli, 2006; Vink & Graziano, 2007), applicable to political actors such as RIGs. The fact that regional authority can be related to Europeanization is just one of many different possibilities for the research of Europeanization in actors. Some other variables could be considered as intervening in the process of Europeanization of RIGs. The possibilities are endless, such as the organizational structure (Beyers, 2008) and the resources of the RIG (Beyers & Kerreman, 2007; Dür & Mateo, 2012; Dür & Mateo, 2014), their type of interest (Schmidt, 2006; Dür & Mateo, 2014), their access to information (Chalmers, 2011), the pattern of public/private interaction of the policy they work in (Falkner, 2000; Schmidt, 2006; Knodt, 2011; Dür & Mateo, 2014), the fit/misfit of the policy with European policy (Börzel, 2002), or even the economical or demographical characteristics of the region (Keating, 2008; Piattoni, 2011) or the institutional frameworks such as pluralism or neocorporativism (Kohler-Koch, 1999a; Eising, 2007). A future agenda for research could take any of these variables and apply the Europeanization index accordingly.

It would be especially interesting as well to consider the basis of this thesis and to push forward its limits, analysing countries without regional decentralization and finding out the effects of this institutional background on the Europeanization of RIGs as well as other type of organizational actors. A transnational study across more countries, as well as a diachronic analysis taking into consideration the possible changes in EU institutions and its effects on RIGs across time would definitely be interesting lines of research. A similar study as the one done recently by Keating and Wilson (2014), but focusing on Europeanization instead of regionalization of interest groups, would definitely be a fruitful path for research.

To conclude, we propose one final reflection on regional authority, mediating factors and Europeanization. RIGs, as all interest groups, are an integral part of political activities and a fundamental tool for political participation. Only those groups able to take advantage of the possibilities available at these decentralized scenarios in the European multilevel institutional framework will be able to defend their interests to the maximum. The regional authority was used in this thesis as a way to measure the institutional possibilities that a given region provides for its RIGs.

The appearance of favourable or unfavourable mediating factors intervened in the final level of Europeanization reached by these RIGs. The cost for Europeanization was lower for RIGs on regions with a higher regional authority, where they could accept EU values more easily, reorganize themselves accordingly and participate more frequently in the formulation and implementation of policies. The cost may be higher for some other RIGs that find their intervention costly and inefficient. However, as the EU arena inevitably develops, the incipient Europeanization of any RIG turns into a benefit that could lead not only to achieving their objectives on a determined policy, but also to solidify their position within the region and the country. This stronger position could then be used to influence institutional transformations, to reinforce decentralization and to reduce those unfavourable mediating factors in the process. In the end, the potential synergy between regional authority and the Europeanization of RIGs could lead to institutional consequences well beyond those envisaged in this thesis.

8 Bibliography

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9 Annexes

9.1 Interview List

Nº	RIG	Location/Type of Interview	Date
Catalonia			
1	DEPANA	Barcelona – Formal Face to Face	21/01/2009
2	Ecologistas de Catalunya	Molins de Rei - Formal Face to Face	26/02/2009
3	FCAC	Skype	18/09/2013
4	ARCA	Skype	29/08/2013
5	FedeQuim	Barcelona – Formal Face to Face	19/02/2009
6	Foment del Treball Nacional	Barcelona – Formal Face to Face	12/01/2009
Tuscany			
7	FTS	Florence – Formal Face to Face	23/03/2010
8	Legambiente Toscana	Pisa – Formal Face to Face	07/08/2011
9	CIA Toscana	Skype	04/05/2011
10	Assogal Toscana	Skype	08/08/2013
11	Unioncamere Toscana	Florence – Formal Face to Face	23/03/2010
12	Confindustria Toscana	Written answer	10/08/2013
Wales			
13	Wales Environment Link	Cardiff – Formal Face to Face	23/11/2010
14	Sustain Wales	Cardiff – Formal Face to Face	29/11/2010
15	CLA Wales	London – Formal Face to Face	28/01/2011
16	Farmer's Union of Wales	Written answer	08/08/2013
17	SWCC	Newport – Formal Face to Face	26/01/2011
18	WFSB	Cardiff – Formal Face to Face	26/01/2011
Government officials			
19	Catalonia	Skype	26/01/2012
20	Tuscany	Written answer	10/08/2013
21	Wales	Written answer	18/08/2013

9.2 Interview model

INDICATOR	GUIDING QUESTION
VALUE ADAPTATION	
Inclusion of EU related objectives -No change -Rhetorical changes -Changes but delegation to pan-European organization -Considerable changes -Considerable changes and inclusion in the statutes	Is there in your statutes a mention of the European Union? Is this mention specific or by passing? Do your internal rules follow European standards or rules? Do you think that the EU offers new objectives to your organization? Do you consider that EU matters should be a priority? Do you think your organization should take a more active role on issues emanating from the EU? Why?
Identification with EU values -No identification -Identification with criticism -Complete identification -Complete identification and inclusion in the statutes	Would you say that the EU promotes values that are congruent to those defended by your organization? Would you consider the EU especially relevant to your matters? What is the position of your organization towards the increasing importance of the EU on environmental issues?
Identification similar organizations in other EU regions -No relation and no identification -No identification but relation -Identification but no relation -Identification and relation	Would you say your organization shares values and interests with other organizations from the country? And with other organizations from the EU? Do you have regular contact or even partnerships with other organizations from other regions?
ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION	
Departments working on EU matters -No departments on EU matters -No departments but delegation to national or pan-European association -A department which deals with EU matters but is not only dedicated to them -Dedicated department on EU matters -Dedicated department on EU matters and participation on national or pan-European depts.	Is there a specific department or person dealing with EU issues? Is there somebody who deals with the transposition of environmental policy to the region? If yes, since when? Which are his/her functions? Have you had good results from having a dedicated person on these issues? Have there been any modifications to your internal organization regarding European issues? (E.g.: redirection of money, changes on the organization)
Funding by subsidies or direct EU resources -The RIG is not interested in EU funding -The RIG is interested in EU funding but has never applied -The RIG has applied but has never received EU funding -The RIG has received EU funding / resources sporadically -The RIG receives EU funding regularly	Are you interested in EU funding. Do you receive direct EU funding? How often? Since when? If not, have you received EU funding in the past?
Search of EU resources among its members -No incentives by the RIG for EU resources -No incentives by the RIG but some members receive EU resources -Active incentivizes for EU resources by the RIG	Do you promote among your members the search for European funding? (E.g.: informative seminars, etc.) How? Since when? Do members receive EU funding by themselves?
STRATEGIC ADAPTATION	
Active Participation in pan-European organizations -No participation -Membership but not active participation or through national organization -Active Participation by itself	Is your organization linked to any pan European organization or federation? Is this membership through a national organization or on your own?

<p>Participation on EU programs oriented to regions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -No interest on EU programs -Interest but no participation by itself, only with national or pan European organizations -Participation by itself 	<p>If you don't mind me asking, does your organization participate on programmes funded by the EU?</p> <p>If yes, does it participate in partnership with the regional government or with other organizations? Does it participate with organizations from other regions?</p>
<p>Involvement on the formulation of EU policies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Work with their own staff on pan-European organizations -Work on committees and workgroups of the European Commission -Work with the Regional Office -Lobby to the members of the European Parliament -Complaints to EU institutions -Lobby to members of the COREPER or the Council of Ministers 	<p>Does your organization have any involvement on environmental policy making at the EU level?</p> <p>Do you make any kind of contact with members of the European Parliament? How about the national delegation in Brussels?</p> <p>Has your organization ever tried to pursuit legal actions at the European level regarding environmental policy?</p>
<p>Involvement in the implementation of EU policies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lobby to the national government -Work on advisory committees at the regional level -Direct work on drafts of policy implementation -Routine regular meetings with the regional government -Lobby directly to members of the regional government -Direct action 	<p>Does your organization participate on the preparation of regional environmental policy?</p> <p>Does your organization have contact with national members of the parliament? Directly or through national organizations?</p> <p>Has your organization ever tried to pursuit legal actions at the national or regional level regarding environmental policy?</p> <p>Does your organization meet with members of the regional government to discuss environmental policy? Are these contacts formal or informal? Are they beneficial?</p> <p>Has your organization ever organized direct actions regarding environmental policy? (E.g. demonstrations, protests, strike, etc.)</p>

Online questionnaire available at

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1-ysN_Uf4hl8e8eNgdNRWKV7EFsOVimxOmDRLVVNCuv8/viewform?usp=send_form

Online Civil Service questionnaire available at

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1FLmSjRQnX0_uOe-0F-jOwRx8-BxHTyZVyE3S5urPeSU/viewform?usp=send_form

9.3 RIG info files

9.3.1 Catalonia

DEPANA	
Interview	Barcelona , 21/01/09
Founding Year	1976
Type of Organization	League for the Defence of the Natural Patrimony NGO
<p>Also known as the League for the Defence of the Natural Patrimony, DEPANA is one of the main environmentalist organizations in Catalonia. Founded in 1976, and declared as a public purpose organization in 1979, its main purpose is defending the natural patrimony of the region with a globalizing perspective of the environmental problems, defending the public interest of enjoying a healthy and better quality of life. It has more than 1800 individual members in all of Catalonia’s territory and performs multiple tasks of awareness and protection, while giving advice and working alongside public entities.</p> <p>Even though it is a non-profit organization financed mainly by its members and maintained through volunteer work, it also receives public financing. The RIG seeks to promote a change in the mentality of Catalan society towards a more sustainable future for the region. With this in mind, they work proposing new juridical instruments for the defence of environmental rights, helping and working in conservationist campaigns and projects and teaching the values of respect for nature in general. According to DEPANA’s statute, reformed in 2011, the main objective of the organization is the study and defence of the Catalan environment taking into account the species, ecosystems and the relationship of the people with the environment. This includes the management of the territory, with its social and economic dimension. To achieve this purpose, DEPANA has several lines of action including: the promotion and organization of activities of conservation and formation alongside associations with similar interests; the promotion of educational activities directed to the youth; the elaboration of reports related to nature and the environment; the collaboration with other non-profit organizations; the supervision of urban planning and the management of the region for it to be respectful of nature; the search for better regulation regarding the protection of the natural patrimony, and ensuring its correct application; the participation on national and international forums for the defence of the environment, as well as in any organisms and administrations that ask for their involvement in the defence and study of nature; and the management of land acquired by purchase, donation or rent with the purpose of conservation.</p> <p>All in all, DEPANA is an organization with a long-standing credibility in Catalonia, based on their history and involvement with the regional administration, as well as their proved scientific and management skills. This RIG has been especially active at all levels of government, with a tradition of coherence and independence.</p>	

ECOLOGISTAS DE CATALUNYA	
Interview	Molins de Rei, 26/02/09
Founding Year	In 1996 began the debates for the creation of an Assembly of environmental NGOs, finally created in March 1998. In 2002 the Assembly transformed into EdC.
Type of Organization	Federation of Environmentalist NGOs
<p>Ecologistes de Catalunya (EdC) is a federation that gathers more than 20 environmentalist organizations in all of Catalonia. Unlike DEPANA, EdC is a completely independent organization from all administrations, unions, political parties or businesses. Its origins date back to 1966 when a group of Catalan environmental organizations initiated a process of coordination and debate about the state of environmentalism in Catalonia. This coordination was originally just a list of contacts to be able to act jointly in case of ecological emergency, a joint informative space to spread their activities and an annual meeting. This coordination led with time to a more profound work and to the formation in 1998 of the AEEC, an assembly open to all entities, provided they aimed for the protection of the environment and were not linked neither partially nor totally to political parties, public institutions, organisms, unions or business organizations. By the end of 2000, the AEEC had approved its own statutes and by 2002 it had become the EdC federation.</p> <p>The main goal of EdC is the advancement of sustainability and human development. While working towards this goal, they focus on the coordination of joint actions by Catalan organizations as well as the maintenance of shared information and the link with Spanish, European and international organizations. According to its statutes, the RIG works on the spread of facts and knowledge, proposes the education of individuals towards the free acceptance of a new global socioeconomic model that respects the environment, foment dialogue with all social sectors involved, and coordinates working groups amongst the environmental collectives and other social movements. They are, in consequence, against all systems, technologies and processes that destroy or risk all natural systems or human quality of life. EdC defines itself mainly as a critical federation and it is because of this that their complete independence from other interests is one of their foundations. This critical nature has led them to stand against the new regional and European trends on sustainability and governance, considering them insufficient or lacking real content.</p>	

FCAC	
Interview	Skype, 18/09/13
Founding Year	1983
Type of Organization	Federation of Cooperatives
<p>The Federation of Agrarian Cooperatives of Catalonia (FCAC) was created in 1983 following the legislation on cooperatives approved that year in the region. It is comprised of 250 organizations, which amount to more than 80% of the cooperatives in Catalonia and supply more than 200.000 people. Agricultural cooperatives bring together much of the food production in many sectors and constitute a powerful agribusiness characterized lately by the modernization of facilities, and the implementation of complete product control systems, ensuring the traceability of products as well as the development of promotional campaigns to reevaluate their own brands. The organization of these cooperatives in a federation gives the sector enough representative strength to defend their interests before the multiple platforms, public or private, either at the regional, national or EU arenas.</p> <p>According to their statutes, the main objective of FCAC is representing the interests of the rural cooperatives and its members while offering counselling and all services needed for a competitive business management. While doing this, FCAC is committed to promoting the members and its institutions, as well as the agricultural and rural population in general, with the intention of strengthening all Catalan agricultural cooperatives. In this regard, FCAC has representatives in many organizations at regional, national and EU levels through which aims to guarantee the defence of the interests of the sector. The RIG studies, discusses and defends the interests of the cooperatives and their members while proposing solutions to the government.</p>	

ARCA	
Interview	Skype, 29/08/13
Founding Year	2009
Type of Organization	Association
<p>ARCA is the RIG formed by the thirteen LAGs working in Catalonia. Recently, it has been part of the Rural Development Programme of Catalonia for the period 2007-2013. ARCA has re-launched in 2010 with the mission of representing LAGs in all levels of government and especially vis-à-vis the Catalan Department of Agriculture and other regional offices. ARCA does not aim only to represent LAGs but to become a true referent for all rural development in Catalonia, as well as a go-to source on all information related to rural issues in the region.</p> <p>The RIG is structured along four main objectives, namely the provision of technical support to LAGs; the communication and dissemination of projects, good practices and methodologies; ensuring the representation and presence in all levels of government; and the participation in rural development and cooperation projects. Following these four main guidelines, the RIG the RIG statutes present a series of goals to achieve. These fundamental goals are: to promote and foster actions and projects that facilitate the integrated development of rural areas; to improve the attainment of the objectives of the Leader groups and Catalan rural development in general by providing technical assistance within a framework of work and participative debate, to improve the abilities of the Leader group specialist teams by providing training tools and actions, to foster inter-territorial and transnational cooperation, to participate in national and international networks linked to rural development and finally to establish cooperation projects with other related institutions and bodies, both public and private, and on a local, regional, national and international level.</p>	

FEDEQUIM	
Interview	Barcelona, 19/02/09
Founding Year	1976
Type of Organization	Sectorial Federation
<p>FedeQuim is the organization that gathers the enterprises in one of the main industrial areas in Catalonia, whose production is obviously intimately linked to the environment policy. Its origins date back to 1976 in the Spanish transition. After the end of Franco's regime, the different economic sectors undertook attempts to agglutinate in diverse organizations but the specific weight of the chemical industry in Catalonia and the action of its businessmen made it especially active in its organization. Soon after its creation, FedeQuim joined FEIQUÉ, the Spanish Federation of Chemical Industry as well as Foment del Treball Nacional and through both organizations, it joined the CEOE, the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations. Even if they are actually part of Foment del Treball Nacional, also studied for this research, the importance of the chemical sector, their organization and their will to act independently place FedeQuim in a crucial position as a business RIG.</p> <p>The RIG has 220 direct Associate companies and 5 attached Associations, together forming a collective of more than 500 companies, mostly SMEs that operate in all of Catalonia. The RIG presents itself as a group interested in participating and influencing the decision-making at the regional level. It is a non-profit organization whose main objective is to defend the rights and interests of the chemical companies in Catalonia, through a follow-up by the EU, Spain and regional legal activities. According to its statutes, the basic objectives of FedeQuim are the promotion, support and defence of the interests of the chemical sector, ensuring the improvement of its competitiveness and public image; to reply to queries and find solutions to business problems; and the corporate representation of the sector with the adequate level in each circumstance.</p> <p>FedeQuim offers a permanent information and advice service to its associated, always looking after the progress of the sector companies and the betterment of its competitiveness and public image in cooperation with the FEIQUÉ and other associations linked to the sector. The RIG claims to be in permanent contact and dialogue with the authorities, through a good spirit of collaboration, to which not only FedeQuim members are invited to participate but also all Catalan chemical enterprises.</p>	

FOMENT DEL TREBALL NACIONAL	
Interview	Barcelona,12/01/09
Founding Year	1771
Type of Organization	Business Association
<p>Foment del Treball Nacional is the main business association in Catalonia, gathering enterprise and business organizations from all over the region and structuring them by sector and by geographical origin. It has represented entrepreneurs and the powerful Catalan industry since 1771, claiming to be the oldest union in Europe. Foment del Treball Nacional could be considered one of the main points of reference for Catalan society and an active participant in Catalonia's history. It was involved in the creation of some of the region's main industrial developments, such as the Industrial School in Barcelona, the development of the port, and the omnipresent financial organization Caixa d'Estalvis i Pensions de Barcelona.</p> <p>To achieve this, they represent Catalan business in dialogue with the society and the administration, promoting private and business initiatives, defending the social value of employers and the search for consensus in favour of economic progress of Catalonia, Spain and Europe. Foment del Treball Nacional helps the development of enterprise providing consulting services, and represents the productive sectors and all business in face of all administrations, from the regional to the European and international. They work alongside other business organizations aiming for economic development, participating in confederations at the Spanish and EU levels. The main lines of work encouraged by Foment del Treball Nacional, according to their statutes and explicit in their website are to promote a favourable regulation framework for the general interest of productive activities to facilitate investment and job creation; to be close to public administration in order to promote changes in policy when needed; and to provide direct services, mainly consulting on labour, fiscal, innovation and environmental issues, among others.</p> <p>When analysing this RIG, we have put special focus on its Department of Environment (Foment-MA). Foment-MA was created officially in 1998, but the environmental commission already existed at least since 1981, working alongside various departments. This department is quite reduces but bases itself on the support of a counsel commission of more than 200 recognized members. The main job of this department is doing a constant following of environmental legislation, not only at the moment of development in the different levels of government but also in the moment of transposition to Catalonia. Besides this, the department also advises business but they are not a consultancy agency. If we consider the Europeanization of Foment-MA, we can see that while most of the issues follow the broad guidelines marked by the general direction by institutional inertia, in many other issues they present their own position, usually quite critical to the EU.</p>	

9.3.2 Tuscany

FONDAZIONE TOSCANA SOSTENIBILE	
Interview	Florence, 23/03/10
Founding Year	2002
Type of Organization	Foundation
<p>The Fondazione Toscana Sostenibile (FTS) is a non-profit organization founded in 2002, recognized by the Region of Tuscany by presidential decree. It is an interdisciplinary organization that mainly aims to promote sustainable patterns of development through research in various professional areas of expertise. It is based in the small town of San Miniato (Pisa), and formed by an interdisciplinary research group composed of economists, engineers, naturalists, lawyers, planners, etc., working alongside with Universities and research centres as well as some other environmental associations. Fundamentally, the FTS does its work studying the interactions between the socioeconomic activities and the environment in Tuscany.</p> <p>According to its statutes, the FTS principal objectives are to promote the environmental, social and economic life of Tuscany through scientific research, education and training; to facilitate the overcoming of harm to human health and ecosystems, and the achievement of improved ecological conditions and environmental issues; to increase the level of knowledge and participation of citizens in order to achieve the objectives of ecological and environmental protection, and a better quality of the social and economic system of Tuscany; to maintain a relationship of constant collaboration with relevant social and economic, institutional, scientific research and culture of Tuscany, Italy and Europe; to promote the employment and job quality and the formation of a large aggregation cultural and scientific, to protect the environment for the revival of the cultural and political on this issue; to support at every level the debate on which initiatives are better suited for the social protection of the environment, health and labour.</p> <p>As it can be seen through its objectives the FTS works on sustainable policies through the participation of social actors and the promotion of strategic development objectives on the political arena. It is a very active group with multiple contacts at the regional level of policy-making, which leads to its participation in most of the programs promoted by the regional government.</p>	

LEGAMBIENTE TOSCANA	
Interview	Pisa, 07/08/11
Founding Year	1980
Type of Organization	League of NGOs and individual members
<p>Legambiente Toscana is a regional environmental organization whose name literally means League for the Environment Tuscany. It was founded in 1980 as a branch of Legambiente, one of the most important environmental interest groups in Italy. Its origins are linked to the anti-nuclear movement en vogue in Europe during the late 1970s. Even though it is still linked to the national branch in name, Legambiente Toscana is the sole responsible for the thirty-eight local groups and 5000 members across the Tuscan region, and has legal and fiscal independence.</p> <p>The main objectives of the organization are environmental actions, as well as education, aiming always at complying with scientific environmentalism. Their activities are based on research done by a scientific committee, proposing economically feasible alternatives. They regularly give environmental education programs and volunteer camps, and are in charge with local authorities of the management of five natural areas across Tuscany. According to their statutes, their objectives are to defend the unique environmental and cultural diversity of our country; to report any abuse to the ecosystem, including the indiscriminate use of resources and pollution; to fight against nuclear energy and promote renewable and clean energy; to propose new lifestyles to reduce the negative impact on the environment and to live healthier; to protect the country's cultural and artistic heritage, to offer education programs in schools to raise environmentally aware generations, to fight against all forms of discrimination and social injustice, promoting values of solidarity and peace.</p> <p>Legambiente Toscana has a traditional structure, with a board and a director, but it also has several discussion groups on environmental themes such as energy, water, protected areas, environmental education, waste, mobility and transportation, and cultural heritage. They usually work in tandem, not only with the regional government, but also with the local authorities, especially regarding conservation of local natural areas. For each project, Legambiente Toscana is responsible for the planning and implementation, as well as for the search for funding partners and associations.</p>	

CIA TOSCANA	
Interview	Skype, 04/05/11
Founding Year	1972
Type of Organization	Rural Association
<p>CIA Toscana is the Tuscan professional farmers association, representing the social, economic and civil interests of the rural community, with more than 80.000 members, of which around 20.000 are farm owners. As we said above, it is an umbrella organization, which in turn is also related to the national Italian Farmers Confederation. However, CIA Toscana as well as the other regional CIAs is an independent organization, with its own resources, statute and judicial autonomy. According to the statute, CIA is not a centralized and vertical organization but a system comprised by the regional associations in tandem with the national association. In this system, CIA Toscana even retains the ability to secede if two thirds of its members wish to do so. CIA Toscana is democratic, autonomous from any parties, unions and administrations, and formed by all types of agriculture entrepreneurs. All members of the Confederation have equal rights obligations and privileges, and can access any position of responsibility without discrimination.</p> <p>According to its statutes, the main objectives of CIA Toscana are the consolidation of professional agriculture in Tuscany, the promotion of opportunities for the development of agro business, the promotion of innovation on rural areas, and the supervision of the social and civil rights of the rural community. CIA Toscana aims to consolidate the activities of farmers in an integrated environment, together with other economic and social actors, and tries to give their input to policy-making in all the different levels of administration. As regards to environmental issues, they actively work on the protection of the environment and the supervision of the territory. One of its purposes is the achievement of a balance between rural and urban areas, promoting the diffusion of rural values on urban populations through cultural and educational activities. In addition to representing rural interest in the policy-making process, CIA Toscana has also successfully built a complex system of quality services to the demands and needs of the agricultural sector. They have also pushed forward many activities linked to the bio-energy sector, promoting the energetic use in agriculture of vegetal pure oil.</p>	

ASSOGAL TOSCANA	
Interview	Skype, 08/08/13
Founding Year	2000
Type of Organization	Association
<p>In Tuscany, after a period of close collaboration during the 1990s, various LAGs saw the need to work together, as the concerted effort proved to be much more effective in achieving a better result out of their activities. Since its creation, Assogal Toscana mediates and coordinates the work done by the LAGs on the LEADER program, given their different needs and characteristics. At the same time, it was created as a way of representing their interest and pooling their knowledge and efforts through one main channel in their relationship with the regional, national and European authorities, while representing Tuscany in the national network and in ELARD. The main objectives declared by the statutes of Assogal Toscana are the promotion, development and strengthening of Tuscany's rural economy, in the ambit of the EU initiative LEADER as well as in other development programs; the search for funding not only in LEADER but in any other rural programs; the promotion of common strategies amongst the LAGs; the promotion of an integrated rural development culture; the technical assistance and professional formation in the field of activity of the LAGs and the sensibilization of public opinion on rural issues.</p> <p>As we can see, even from the first article of their statute, Assogal Toscana exceeds the LEADER objectives that originally prompted the coordination with other LAGs. The RIG promotes common strategies for the Tuscan LAGs in the spread of a new culture for rural development, through local development animation, technical and educational training and horizontal and vertical mainstreaming.</p>	

UNIONCAMERE TOSCANA	
Interview	Florence, 23/03/10
Founding Year	1968
Type of Organization	Union of commerce chambers
<p>The Regional Union of Commerce chambers, Industry, Artisanship and Agriculture of Tuscany was founded in 1968 to coordinate the Chambers from the Tuscan provinces of Arezzo, Firenze, Grosseto, Livorno, Lucca, Massa Carrara, Pisa, Pistoia, Prato and Siena. As an association of chambers, its main functions are the direction, development, sustainment, representation and coordination of all their activities. It is related to the national Unioncamere, but as it was the case with Confindustria, it has its own judicial entity, with independent objective and autonomous funding. The relationship with the national chamber union is mainly strategic towards national and European policy-making. Unioncamere Toscana has a Statute reformed in April 2012, in which they claim to be part of the national commerce chamber system as equal grounds with the other regional chambers and with the national organization.</p> <p>Unioncamere Toscana represents the interests of the chamber system at the regional level, trying to contribute to the development of Tuscan economy as well as the chamber system as a whole. To the achievement of this main goal, they present a number of different objectives in their statute, namely to care for the interests of the chambers vis-à-vis the regional, national and European institutions, as well as representatives of public and private organizations, to coordinate the activities of the system, and to promote initiatives in favour of the regional economy, involving business associations.</p> <p>With regards to environmental policy, it is compulsory for Chambers of Commerce to comply with regulations to promote the local production system and the better management of waste, as well as to help businesses in the presentation of the MUD. In the MUD presentation process, Unioncamere Toscana also works alongside ARPAT in assisting on the management of the documentation. Unioncamere Toscana also tries to help businesses beyond their legal obligations on their daily and proper management of environmental issues, by training activities as well as different interventions in the environmental control process. Amongst the successful programs they have developed in Tuscany, they have implemented a website where they promoted contacts between waste producers and waste managers, for a better coordination of waste management. They have also made available a free recovery bag service that benefitted more than 34000 companies.</p> <p>Unioncamere Toscana works on the promotion and development of the Tuscan chamber system on the Region, the State and the EU, working alongside other trade associations to adopt common strategies within the existing regulatory framework at European level and national level. It has a close relationship with the 105 Italian chambers, as well as with the European umbrella organization Eurochambers and the organization of Italian chambers abroad, Assocamere.</p>	

CONFINDUSTRIA TOSCANA	
Interview	Written answer, 10/08/13
Founding Year	1971
Type of Organization	Business Association
<p>Confindustria Toscana, the Regional Federation of Industry Associations of Tuscany, is the main business association in the region. Founded in 1971 as a regional branch of the national Confindustria, it has expanded its scope towards purely regional objectives especially after the devolution of competences to Tuscany. The adoption of their new statute in 2003, reformed then in 2011, gives Confindustria Toscana a complete autonomy from the national organization on matters regarding Tuscany, as well as a fiscal independence and budget control.</p> <p>Confindustria Toscana is divided in sectorial commissions that work on the specific regional policies of each production sector. It also has a special department devoted to small and medium businesses and one devoted to young entrepreneurs. The RIG also has a research centre, where it funds studies on economic, social and political subjects of regional interest. This centre also gives technical advice to Confindustria Toscana and helps elaborate their policy proposals.</p> <p>The work done by Confindustria Toscana on environmental issues is not characteristically strong, but follows a reactive pattern common to many industrial organizations. It does not have an environmental department as Foment-MA, but deals with environmental issues as part of their economical subjects. Confindustria Toscana considers unavoidable the path towards a green economy, and has adopted a positive attitude towards environmental policies, with a somewhat cautious reticence to the eventual costs of sustainability. It is because of these potentially enormous consequences that they follow environmental legislation closely and voice their position whenever possible.</p> <p>The RIG aims to contribute with other political institutions, to the economic, social and cultural organization of Tuscany. Their main objective is the representation and protection of the interests of the businesses in all matters regarding the administration of the Tuscan region, as well as the information of its members in all the subjects that involve them. Of course, it pursues no commercial objective of its own, but is funded by the annual contributions of its members. To achieve these objectives, Confindustria Toscana has a special rapport with all the main political and administrative institutions of the region, mainly the Parliament, the government, the unions and any other representative organizations.</p>	

9.3.3 Wales

WALES ENVIRONMENT LINK	
Interview	Cardiff, 23/11/10
Founding Year	1990
Type of Organization	Federation of Environmentalist NGOs
<p>The Wales Environment Link (WEL) is an umbrella organization of 35 environmental and countryside RIGs in Wales, representing around 242,500 people. The WEL is a coordinating and facilitating RIG based in Aberystwyth, which has been designated the intermediary body between the Welsh institutions and the environmental non-governmental organizations.</p> <p>The WEL was established in 1990 as the Wales Wildlife and Countryside Link, a meeting ground for the sometimes-competing Welsh environmental organizations. In 2002 it changed its name to Wales Environment Link and acquired its own objectives and structure. According to its statutes, WEL's main aims are to facilitate sharing of information and knowledge, provide joint working and campaigning opportunities, maintain and further develop its status and reputation as a united voice for environmental NGOs in Wales, and promote its policies and positions on a wide range of issues.</p> <p>Any environmental NGO working in Wales is able to apply for membership. However, only organizations that can demonstrate being truly non-profit and having total independence from the government can be full members and participate in council decisions and nominate individuals to the Management Committee. Other NGOs are also welcome to the WEL, but will only be able to benefit from the services and information they provide and not participate in the decision-making processes of the RIG. The main source of funding for the WEL is the annual subscription fee that every member pays. The members benefit from added credibility, access to the resources of other members, access to information, more efficiency avoiding duplication of efforts and direct contact with the Welsh government.</p> <p>With regards to funding, apart from the previously mentioned annual subscription, WEL does receive funding from Natural Resources Wales as well as the Wales Council for Voluntary Action and the Welsh Assembly Government. This funding from the public administration is mainly to support the role of the WEL as a representative network of civil society. The WEL also receives funding from WWF Cymru and WWF UK, mainly to cover the costs of joint working activities. According to the public information provided by the WEL, they also receive regular funding from the Esmee Fairbairn Foundation and the Waterloo Foundation to support the salaries of part of the staff. It must be said that all these are not the main source of funding, as more than £30,000 comes from the annual fees.</p> <p>WEL organizes two meetings every year with the ministers in charge of environmental and rural affairs. While the WEL used to meet with the chief executives of the environmental statutory bodies, after the 2013 reform of environmental policy-making in Wales, these meetings are with the Minister of Natural Resources and Food, in charge of the newly created Natural Resources Wales. Apart from these meetings, WEL has representatives on more than 50 partnerships, most of them with the Welsh Government. Through the WEL, the members of the network contact the government directly with regards to their issues.</p>	

SUSTAIN WALES	
Interview	Cardiff, 29/11/10
Founding Year	2002
Type of Organization	Business Association
<p>Sustain Wales is an environmental RIG with strong ties to the regional government. In the year 2000, the Welsh Government pushed forward the Sustainable Development Scheme. Amongst the recommendations included in the scheme there was the creation of a forum that gathered environmentally concerned citizens and organizations to work together to help the government of Wales.</p> <p>In response to this recommendation, the Sustainable Development Forum for Wales was created in December 2002 first just as a gathering place but soon afterwards as an independent organization working to advance environmental policy in general and sustainable practices in particular. The forum evolved as an organization working alongside other RIGs and citizens to promote and share best practices and encourage sustainable development. Since 2011 their role as a forum for exchange of information was expanded to a more proactive role as a policy consultant, providing advice to policy makers and ministers of the Welsh Assembly. This modification of its practices and main objectives led to a complete overhaul and the adoption of the Cynnal Cymru - Sustain Wales name in 2013.</p> <p>All in all, Sustain Wales mainly aims to promote sustainable development in Welsh government as well as in Welsh society. It is interesting to note that they consider themselves as <i>"a bridge between the Welsh Government and civil society"</i>. For this purpose, they work towards promoting debate, making opportunities for discussion available for those unable to reach the government by themselves, influencing government through consultation and advice and last but not least trying to change behaviour through campaigns to increase awareness.</p>	

COUNTRY AND LAND ASSOCIATION WALES	
Interview	London, 28/01/11
Founding Year	1907
Type of Organization	Rural Association
<p>The main organization representing rural interests in Wales nowadays is CLA Cymru. Originally, CLA Cymru was a regional division of the Country and Land Association, founded in 1907. However, the devolution in Wales has led this RIG to have its independence, given the growing importance of the Welsh National Assembly on the development of environmental policy. Especially since 2011, when the Welsh Government was granted primary legislative powers in 2011 on environmental policy and rural planning, there has been a significant increase in the volume and shift in the direction of devolved policy. The specificities of Welsh land issues was also a defining factor for the autonomy of CLA Cymru and the establishment of their own governing bodies, separated from their national counterparts, even if they continue sharing many of the same structures.</p> <p>CLA Cymru is the membership organization for owners of land, property and businesses in rural Wales. They mainly promote the interests of their members and try to influence policy makers to help develop the rural economy. Nowadays, CLA Cymru has a membership that accounts for more than 35000 of landowners and about half of all the rural land in the region, which puts it as the most representative and important rural lobby in Wales. The membership ranges from big to small landowners with the ability to deliver environmental goods to the public, either produce or others, engaged in all sectors of the rural economy.</p> <p>According to its core objectives, CLA Cymru exists specifically to protect and defend the interests of all landowners in Wales. Other objectives include defending private property rights in Wales and insisting on compensation when private property rights are diminished in any way, championing for the profitability of rural businesses and promoting the role of land owners and managers in delivering landscape, biodiversity and mitigating climate change. Apart from working as a lobby for rural owners, CLA Cymru offers a variety services to its members, from legal to tax services and professional planning. The RIG also is in charge of disseminating information, through the monthly CLA Land & Business magazine and their weekly bulletin, as well as leaflets and briefing notes. The internal organization of the RIG is divided in a Council and a Board, apart from a Policy Committee and branch committees in each county of Wales, elected by the local members. As mentioned above, the main objective of CLA Cymru is to co-ordinate and process responses to those national and local policy issues with regional implications and formulate regional policies, promoting the interests of landowners in Wales in all levels of government.</p>	

FARMERS UNION WALES	
Interview	Written answer, 08/08/13
Founding Year	1955
Type of Organization	Union
<p>Apart from the important representation of landowners done by CLA Cymru, there is another important RIG representing rural interests in Wales. The Farmer's Union of Wales (FUW) is an independent RIG established in 1955 and the main difference with CLA Cymru is that it focuses mainly on productive landowners. This has led the FUW to have a more special interest in the development of the CAP and the environmental policy.</p> <p>The FUW has mainly one objective, according to its manifesto, which is <i>"to protect and advance the interests of those who derive an income from Welsh agriculture"</i>. Apart from this main goal, the FUW prides itself to be a fully independent organization that values its freedom above all. It is only through this independence, according to them, that they can advance the objectives of the farmers without the intervention of other sectorial interests. It was due to this history of independence that they have been able to represent Welsh farmers' interests in all levels of government since the FUW was created. However, this does not mean they are not able to cooperate with others in favour of a better Welsh agricultural sector.</p> <p>The FUW is organized as a network of eleven local offices throughout Wales, where officers provide special services to the members. Apart from these county offices, the RIG has eleven permanent committees covering productive areas and issues of importance to farmers. In this way, the FUW divides their work territorially and thematically. The RIG has a special department in charge of centrally coordinating the different opinions that may arise from the regional offices and sectorial committees. This policy department is also in charge of monitoring the developments in agricultural and environmental policy in order to keep them up to date and advise them on consultations. In general, the FUW has maintained a singular profile linked to their main objectives and their roots as a syndical union and has been involved with protests, but at the same time it has been active in the consultation processes done by the Welsh government in relation to agricultural and environmental policy. However, in general their Europeanization does not go beyond their participation on implementation of environmental policy and their opinions regarding the CAP.</p>	

SOUTH WALES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	
Interview	Newport, 26/01/11
Founding Year	1846
Type of Organization	Chamber of Commerce
<p>The South Wales Chamber of Commerce (SWCC) is an organization that gathers more than 90% of Welsh exporting industries, with a total of more than 1000 large member companies covering most of the Welsh territory. It represents the companies located in the three south Wales industrial counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Carmarthen, plus Mid and West Wales, with the rest of Wales being less inclined to industry and covered by other British chambers. The SWCC came to existence in 2009 as a fully-fledged chamber of commerce for Wales. However, its members have been together since 1846 under different denominations. Their main objective is providing a more prominent, powerful and effective independent business voice ready to speak on behalf of our members and to continue to support hundreds of local companies and organisations in making their businesses as successful as possible.</p> <p>At the same time, the SWCC provides information and advice on policy of interest to businesses in Wales and offers business services, provides networking infrastructure through their directory of members, and more importantly, represents independently the opinions of their members at regional and national platforms whenever needed. As they say, their independence is guaranteed because they are <i>“a membership-based business support organization run by local businesses, for local businesses.”</i> The SWCC is divided in three councils, Cardiff, Newport and Swansea, one for each main city in Wales and its surrounding areas, that meet every two months to discuss the Welsh business issues. Through these councils they provide accountability and decentralization as well as a channel to keep the RIG connected to local needs.</p> <p>The SWCC clearly aims to be the representative RIG for business in Wales, and works to push forward business interests across the different levels of government. The SWCC works closely with the Welsh Government in several different venues, and has exerted its influence at the national government through the British Chamber of Commerce. It is also an influential RIG amongst the Welsh civil society.</p>	

WELSH FEDERATION OF SMALL BUSINESS	
Interview	Cardiff, 26/01/11
Founding Year	1971
Type of Organization	Federation
<p>The Welsh Federation of Small Business (WFSB) is a RIG formed by more than 10000 SMEs in Wales. SMEs account for more than 99% of Welsh business, especially after the changes in Welsh economy in the 1980s with the closing down of most heavy industries. Nowadays, SMEs are an important part of the Welsh economy and their voices are usually heard through the WFSB, given that SMEs cannot afford their own public relations departments. This representation of SMEs makes the WFSB the largest business organization in Wales. The base of businesses that form the WFSB are those that while they do not provide basic services, are also fundamental for the development of any community and the creation of wealth. Even over half of WFSB members are based in rural counties.</p> <p>The WFSB was created as a subsidiary to the FSB, but given that after devolution the Welsh Government has wide powers over economic development policies in Wales and the National Assembly for Wales has substantial legislative powers following the referendum in March 2011, the WFSB adopted their own agenda and manifesto. Even though the WFSB is independent, there is still a close relationship with the FSB. The WFSB is mainly organized in two big branches in North and South Wales, where members can present their local issues and problems to a development manager. Apart from this, there are 12 branch committees throughout Wales and a Policy Unit that analyses draft legislation. To keep in constant touch with its members, the WFSB has a monthly online survey as well as an annual membership survey on the main issues they face.</p> <p>The main objective of the WFSB is to position small businesses at the heart of the political agenda in Wales, ensuring that small business needs are articulated and reflected in Welsh Government policy. To achieve this they try to address the concerns of their members and solve their problems through close consultation with the decision-makers. As a RIG formed by SMEs, their contact with local authorities must be constant and fluid.</p> <p>In summary, lobbying is the main purpose of the WFSB. The RIG uses its extensive network to consult the business community on policies before they are implemented, and through this process they assure the local government that their resources are achieving the intended purpose.</p>	

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*This thesis has been written with the support of a
PIF2008 scholarship from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*

