The Democratic Nature of Euroregions

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ABSTRACT

Euroregions are cross-border cooperation organisations that fit in the contemporary phenomena of Europeanization and decentralising governments. Like the EU and municipal cooperation organisations, Euroregions have been criticised for a lack of democratic legitimacy. This thesis has therefore investigated the democratic nature of Euroregions by means of a document research on a case study: the EUREGIO. Pitkin's four perspectives on representation are the guidelines of this research. Along the lines of these four perspectives, concepts such as accountability, selection of representatives, the descriptive make-up of a representative body, and responsiveness of the principle and agent, are analysed in the EUREGIO. This research concludes that the EUREGIO can be characterised as a trust-based semi-democratic organisation. Finally several policy suggestions have been made based upon this researches' results.

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I: Introduction

The world is in flux and public institutions change accordingly. The past decade has seen an increased emphasis on European Union (EU) cooperation. At the same time national governments are also transferring tasks to lower government institutions such as municipalities (decentralisation). The EU struggles with a lack of legitimacy, partly expressed through a rise of anti-EU parties across the EU's member states. Up until now the gap between EU policymakers and EU citizens seems to have not been bridged by institutional reforms (Schmitt & Thomassen, 1997: 3).

Decentralisation, Europeanization, and adhesion

On the national level, decentralisation creates dilemmas for municipalities. They have to choose between working together with other municipalities in regional organisations and lose autonomy, or be restrained in resources when fulfilling decentralised tasks on their own. While national parliaments struggle to maintain adhesion to the EU, city councils see a similar challenge in regional municipal organisations. Both these developments have contributed to the establishment of the so-called 'Euroregions'. These are geographically small areas that institutionalise cross-border regional municipal cooperation on the EU's internal and external borders. At the moment there are about 70 Euroregions throughout the European continent.

According to Barber[1], the establishment of Euroregions has provided municipalities with the possibility to take on cross-border problems that were previously solved independently (but less successful). Euroregions have a high cooperation degree (Perkmann, 2003: 13) and serve as a platform for municipalities to 'free' themselves from their relative peripheral position within the national state (Minghi, 1999: 204). By working together, Euroregion members (municipalities) have been able to attract considerable funds, foremost provided by the EU's Interregional Fund: *Interreg*. This money is being used for a broad range of projects: for example in the field of cultural integration of bordering municipalities, or in infrastructure and the improvement of cross-border labour mobility (Van 't Hof, 2010: 36). Altogether, for the period 2000-2006, Euroregions have received a budget of 4.875 billion Euros from the EU (European Parliament, 2005: 8). In return some Euroregions profile themselves as laboratories for EU integration, or the EU on a micro-level.[2]

Assessing democracy in Euroregions

Similar to the EU and regional municipal cooperation organisations, Euroregions have been criticised for their lack of (democratic) legitimacy. However, most research on Euroregions has

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[1] Personal communication, lecture on 'New Democracy: If mayors ruled the world' 31st of May 2016.

[2] "De EUREGIO is Europa in het klein. Of Europa ter plaatse. Ze is uniek maar haar uitdagingen en kansen zijn dezelfde als die van
[2] "De EUREGIO is Europa in het klein. Of Europa ter plaatse. Ze is uniek maar haar uitdagingen en kansen zijn dezelfde als die van
het 'grote' Europa. Alleen de schaal is anders." (EUREGIO, 2015: 37). Personal Translation.

focused on their organisational structures – not on their democratic characteristics. One of the few researchers assessing the extent to which Euroregions are democratic, or are lacking democratic legitimacy, is Van Winsen (2009). He discusses the different (democratic) structures of Dutch Euroregions, while stressing the influence of the lack of strong organisational structures through which Euroregions operate. According to Van Winsen, as a consequence of the weak structures of Euroregions, there is a lack of transparency and the institutions are therefore considered non-democratic. While this thesis draws on Van Winsen's analysis, it will not focus on the degree of organisation but instead aims to conceptualise and measure the democratic nature of the Euroregions. In this way, this research aims to fill the gap in the literature on the democratic characteristics of Euroregions, so to contribute to the body of literature on the functioning of Euroregions.

The assumption that Euroregions have faulty democratic institutions has been a premise for other statements made about the functioning of Euroregions. According to Strüver (2004), for example, the democratic deficit in Euroregions has the effect that investments monitored by Euroregions might not be distributed according to the public's wishes. Others like Heddabaut (2004: 84) argue that Euroregions lack democratic legitimacy and are therefore constrained when representing their members on the national and EU level. Policymakers might take these researchers' conclusions into account when making policy. Therefore it is important to critically analyse the premises on which researchers like Heddabaut and Strüver build their arguments. By investigating the democratic nature of Euroregions like this thesis does, it is possible to analyse the validity of their conclusions, and provide handles for policymakers to initiate institutional development accordingly.

Institutional development could result in enhanced effectiveness of Euroregions in dealing with cross-border issues, better stakeholder representation on the EU and national level, and increased funding. This has an influence on how Euroregion citizens experience the work of their Euroregion. Researching the democratic nature of Euroregions is thus important for providing information that could be used for normative discussions resulting in institutional development.

In order to come up with a valid conclusion on the democratic nature of Euroregions this thesis will first contain a short discussion of the essential literature in order to conceptualize this researches' parameters. Thereafter the method of this research is explained, followed by the presentation and discussion of the results.

II: Theory and conceptualisation

Before presenting the method and discussing the results, it is critical to set the parameters of this research by conceptualizing possible democratic characteristics of institutions, and more specifically of Euroregions. This chapter intends to provide a short discussion of the essential concepts and literature on (democratic) representation in the Euroregion context. First, however, it is necessary to elaborate a bit further on Euroregions and their organisational structure.

Euroregions

"Euroregions have made a decisive contribution towards surpassing frontiers in Europe, building good, neighbourly relations, bringing people together on both sides of borders and breaking down prejudices" the European Parliament stated already in 2005 (European Parliament, 2005: 3). In fact, indeed even the gradual formalisation of Euroregions themselves shows this institution is bringing different organisations (all promoting European cooperation) together. Euroregions were first formalized through the Convention of Madrid in 1980, organised by the Council of Europe.[3] Later, this formalisation was further entrenched through a framework the EU set up for the Euroregions' organisational (legal) structures[4]. Yet another organisation, the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR)[5], then set criteria for organisations to be acknowledged as a Euroregion[6].

While these formalisation measures complement each other, they are not adopted by all Euroregions. Therefore there are little common institutional characteristics between Euroregions. As they differ a great deal, it is hard to name key institutional characteristics that describe Euroregions.[7] Therefore thesis will stick to Perkmann's definition of Euroregions as "high intensity micro-cross-border organisations", as it defines Euroregions in its broadest sense.

Up till now Euroregion research has concerned itself with the organisational structures of Euroregions and their functioning. Perkmann (2003) for example has managed to classify different cross-border cooperation structures across Europe. Svensson (2015: 278) concludes that "even in favourable circumstances, contact networks are thin and Euroregions fail to develop into truly integrated political spaces" -she explains that this is because of the big differences between

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[3] This Convention provided a legal framework to allow Euroregions to be established on a public law basis.

[4] The European grouping of cross-border cooperation (EGCC) framework.

[5] The AEBR also represents the interests of Euroregions on other government levels (AEBR, 2016).

[6] For Euroregions the following criteria are set by the AEBR: "1) be an association of local and regional authorities on either side of the national border (sometimes with a parliamentary assembly), 2) have a trans frontier association with a permanent secretariat and a technical and administrative team with own resources, 3) of private law nature, based on non-profit-making associations or foundations on either side of the border in accordance with the respective national law in force, 4) of public law nature, based on inter-state agreements:, dealing among other things, with the participation of territorial authorities." (AEBR, 1999: 12).

[7] For example, other cross-border cooperation organisations such as 'Scandinavian groupings' and 'Working communities' also exists but are not seen as Euroregions while they fulfil a similar function as Euroregions.

countries' local political and administrative organisations. Hasselberger (2012) concludes that Euroregions have to adopt a better 'learning process' in order to become more vocal and provide more substantive benefits to the partners: because their institutional development is slow and uncoordinated. However, neither one of these writers, nor others, truly explore the democratic nature of Euroregions; this is what this thesis aims to do.

Democracy

To scientifically identify the democratic characteristics of Euroregions, the parameters of the concept of democracy first need to be set. 'Democracy' is a contested term in normative political theory, but in the broadest sense it can be defined as a "method of group decision making characterized by a kind of equality among the participants at an essential stage of the collective decision making" (Christiano, 2015). This equality among participants is probably the most distinct characteristic of democracy. However the degree to which there should be, or is equality between the participants is not a set feature and is open for discussion. This chapter aims to set parameters for the measurement of democracy with the understanding that democracy and representation are contested terms.

The "founding father of democracy", the city-state model of ancient Athens is often seen as the classic conception of democracy. All those eligible to vote[8] had direct influence on the decision making process in Athens. With the democratisation waves in the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, many Western European and North American countries transformed their political systems into a democratic one, based on this classic Athenian ideal. With this change, however, a complexion to democracy that the citizens of Athens had not yet experienced was suddenly perceived: size. Instead of a few thousand at most, now millions of citizens were eligible to participate in collective decision-making. Barber,[9] for that matter, argues that the scale in which current democracies have to function nowadays is too great. According to him, this diminishes the true function of democracy.

Because of the problem of scale, indirect democracy, otherwise called representative democracy, has been adopted by almost all democratic states. Thomassen (1991: 167) accounts for this change in democratic structure in two ways. In the first place, he writes that one cannot assume that all eligible voters are casting their votes on every decision the government has to make - they would simply not have the time. Secondly, it would be naïve, according to Thomassen, to assume that all voters have sufficient knowledge to make policy-specific decisions. Therefore all those eligible to vote can mandate a number of representatives who make decisions on their behalf.

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[8] It is important to note that only citizens of Athens could vote this system therefore excluded women, slaves and most of the low-income men.
[9] Personal communication, lecture on 'New Democracy: If mayors ruled the world' 31st of May 2016.

'Linkage' a term that Schmitt and Thomassen (1999: 19) use in their analysis of the EU's legitimacy is important here. The term refers to the distance that a representative bridges, between him or her (the agent) and the one(s) she or he represents (the principle). In Euroregions, the representatives represent municipalities who are a member of the Euroregion collective. The Euroregions are thus linked with the municipalities, who then in return have a linkage to their citizens. In this way Euroregions are secondary democratic institutions, assuming that citizens directly elect the municipal councils, and then these municipal councils democratically elect representatives to the Euroregion bodies. Of course, in this thesis these assumptions will be investigated.

Representation seems the most essential concept in analysing the democratic nature of Euroregions, as their decision making process is based upon representation. Luckily, Pitkin (1967) has provided the world with a comprehensive definition of 'representation'. In her book, four views on representation are discussed: formalistic representation (divided in authorisation and accountability), symbolic representation, descriptive representation and substantive representation (Pitkin, 1967). To be able to fully grasp theses concept of representation, these four outlooks described by Pitkin will be discussed in this chapter. Next to these four views of representation, Pitkin discusses the different roles that representatives take on; these will also be shortly discussed here.

1. Formalistic Representation

Pitkins 'Formalistic representation' is the view of representation that focuses on the influence of institutions on the functioning of a representative (Dovi, 2014). This institutional position of a representative is split up into two elements: the authorisation and the accountability element of formalistic representation. In short these elements stand for the process of gaining power (authorisation), and the way in which institutions control this power (accountability). The main task of this part of the chapter is to conceptualise the institutional position of representatives in Euroregions.

Authorisation

Authorisation "is the process by which a representative gains power (e.g., elections) and the ways in which a representative can enforce his or her decisions" (Dovi, 2014: 5). Analysing the process of authorisation provides information on the different powers that underlie an institution; this is important because a presumed democratic institution ought to create an equal playing field for the participants (Rijpkema, 2015). The enforcement of decisions by the representative concerns the means that a representative has to represent his or her constituency. Therefore analysing the means of enforcement is important as it demonstrates the process of representatives turning their ideas into policy.

Municipalities authorise officials to represent the municipality in the Euroregion body. How the municipality selects these officials answers the question of the process by which a representative gains power. In general there are only two ways in which officials can be selected: by appointment or through an election. Of course it is possible to imagine processes that are a combination of appointment and election. An example of this could be pre-appointment of representatives within political parties, and afterwards the democratic approval by the plenary council of these representatives.

The ways in which representatives can enforce their decisions depends on the way in which the Euroregion has institutionalised their positions. Representatives can be the only decision makers, or might have to compete with other (non-elected) organs within Euroregions like an executive board. In addition there can be differences amongst Euroregions to the extent where representatives have authority over. Representatives might be authorised to make decisions in every field of a Euroregion's work, or can be limited in their authority. This, and the element in the paragraph will be assessed in more detail in the next section of this research.

Accountability

Accountability then, the other element Pitkin's Formalistic Representation view comprises of, is the whole of "sanctioning mechanisms available to constituents" and "the representative's responsiveness towards his or her constituents' preferences" (Dovi, 2014: 5). Accountability is the self-corrective mechanism of representation (Pitkin, 1967: 57). It is the comparison between the representative's mandate given by the constituency and the actions the representative has taken on which the constituency bases its sanctions or approval. Mansbridge (2014) recognises two types of accountability: sanction-, and trust-based. Sanction-based accountability is the punishment of a representative for going beyond his or her mandate. Trust-based accountability is the approach where the constituency lets the representative be accountable out of their own initiative.

The concept of accountability therefore focuses on the responsiveness of the representative to the represented (Pitkin, 1967: 57). Representatives can be responsive in many different ways: by being held accountable to the constituency, or the media, for example. Euroregion representatives should report back on their activities in the Euroregion to their municipalities. In this way their mandate can be reviewed, and the municipalities remain in control over the functioning of a Euroregion representative, who then keeps in control of the Euroregion. When reviewing the responsiveness of representatives there are two ways in which the responsiveness of representatives can be assessed: collectively (the accountability of the Euroregion representatives as a whole) or individually (Beetham & Lord, 1998: 27).

Roles of representatives

Pitkin discusses the importance of different roles of representatives take on when representing. These roles are especially important for the formalistic approach to representation discussed above, because they are indicators of the principle (municipality) – agent (representative) relation, and deepen the understanding of the formalistic approach of representation in Euroregions. These roles are often seen as the safeguard of accountability and authorisation, and uphold the autonomy of the representative (Dovi, 2014: 3). In general, there are three types of roles representatives can take on: the delegate[10], the trustee[11] and the party-soldier.[12] Defining a representative as one or the other might be difficult because their positions, in theory, in different dossiers and meetings representatives could take on different roles.

The three other perspectives of representation as defined by Pitkin are descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation. It is important to note that these perspectives on representation (including formalistic) are not mutually exclusive, and a combination of these types of representation is certainly imaginable. Donovan (2012: 25), for example, writes "that descriptive representation gives rise to substantive representation."

2. Descriptive representation

Descriptive representation is the idea that representatives should "look like, have common interests with, or share certain experiences with the represented" (Dovi, 2014: 5). For example the political scientist Phillips (1994: 64) argues that an unequal number of males as representatives as opposed to women could be a problem for (descriptive) representation. Phillips therefore proposes a gender-based descriptive democracy where the constituency's gender differences are similar to those in a representative organ (50% women in a city would mean 50% female councillors). Phillips and Mansbridge (1999) are in favour of descriptive representation because according to them it causes fairer deliberation and better aggregation of specific interest groups, which in turn creates better policy (Mansbridge: 1999: 634). In addition, they feel that descriptive representation provides more just representation as citizens are equally represented (Phillips, 1994: 68). Mansbridge and Phillips nuance their wish for a descriptive democracy however by stating that a descriptive representative body should only be descriptive in key characteristics of the constituency (gender, age, education, job background).

In the Euroregion context, the focus on a descriptive democratic ideal can be twofold present. In the first place, it is a prerequisite that the members of a Euroregion council should resemble the

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[10] If any instruction, consult or views from a representative's constituency is decisive for the representative's decision, the representative can be considered a delegate **(Eulau & Wahlke, 1978: 118)**

[11] If a representative is a plenipotentiary moralistic free agent who is able to make rational decisions according to his own convictions, without necessarily consulting the views of his decision **(Eulau & Wahlke, 1978: 188).**

[12] Representatives that base their decisions on the opinions of the party, instead of on the constituency or own convictions, are called 'party soldiers'. **Leibholz (in Towfigh, 2011: 3)**

municipalities that are a member of that Euroregion. Secondly, supporters of a descriptive democratic institution require the municipalities to resemble their citizens. Assuming that municipal councils represent their citizens in a descriptive manner, then Euroregions will also represent the Euroregion citizen because the Euroregions are represented descriptively modelled towards the municipalities.

3. Symbolic representation

The third view of representation, symbolic representation, focuses on the "kind of response invoked by the representative in those being represented" (Dovi, 2014: 5). This form of representation occurs when representatives represent certain groups or interests, when not necessarily belonging to that group. Kymlica in Mansbridge's article (1999: 630) argues that male councillors are just as capable of representing the female constituency as female councillors, as long as female constituents are positively responsive towards the male representative.

Measuring the degree of symbolic representation should focus on the "acceptance that the representatives have among the represented", according to Dovi (2014: 5). More specifically, it should focus on the question whether municipalities are satisfied with the work, and the manner of representation, in which their representative represent and work within the Euroregion.

4. Substantive representation

The fourth and last outlook on representation Pitkin describes is 'substantive representation'. This is about the output of the effort a representative has put into representing his or her constituency (Pitkin, 1967: 216). Pitkin qualifies substantive representation as an important conceptualisation of representation, because it truly concerns the 'acting for' task that all representatives have. In other words Donovan (2012: 25) describes this view of representation as the following: "substantive representation [-] focuses on the substantive goods being afforded a particular group as a result of representation." For Euroregions, substantive representation would thus mean the substantive goods that the representative has afforded to the municipalities. This is most likely in the form of municipal projects being financed by the Euroregion, and these projects should therefore be measured. In particular comparing the wishes of municipalities for certain projects to be financed by the EUREGIO and the projects that were actually financed by the EUREGIO, is a good way to assess this.

Pitkin's different perspectives representation provide guidelines and concepts to assess the process of representation in Euroregions. The next chapter will put these discussed concepts into a framework for methodologically analysing the democratic characteristics of Euroregions.

III: Method

To assess the democratic nature of Euroregions, this thesis will employ a qualitative research method: we will conduct a document-analysis of existing records and public agendas. As Yang (2014: 162) already said: "qualitative research is suited for [-] questions such as those that are in need of understanding or explanation, occur over time, or are difficult or sensitive to define." Since Euroregion research is still in its preliminary phase, qualitative research is the best way to gain a detailed understanding of the democratic nature of Euroregions.

The document analysis of this research will be conducted on a case study. At this stage of Euroregion research a case study best fits the literature, as there is lack of research on the democratic nature of Euroregions. A case study in this format is explorative and therefore the best way to start research on the democratic nature of Euroregions. An explorative case study is even more so important as the organisational structures of Euroregions differ within, and among countries (Perkmann, 2003). Before conducting research on a large number of Euroregions, shared characteristics among the Euroregions need to be identified through preliminary studies of one such region, like this case study. In addition, using more Euroregions in this research could not guarantee the similarity in variables, because the organisational structures differ significantly, and as a result there would be a decrease in validity of the results.

The case: EUREGIO

This research will be a case study of the Euroregion 'EUREGIO', a Euroregion between the Dutch cities of Enschede and Zutphen and the German cities Münster and Osnabrück. The EUREGIO is one of the (if not the) most institutionally developed of all Euroregions, and serves as a model for other Euroregions. In 1958, the EUREGIO was the first Euroregion ever to be established. This makes the EUREGIO the most critical case of all Euroregions.

The literature concludes that the EUREGIO is the frontrunner in Euroregion institutional development (Perkmann, 2003: 6). "The EUREGIO, which also houses the Association of European Border Regions, has been able to create a framework of good practice in trans boundary cooperation based on its own experiences [-] and is an example that should be emulated", Scott stated already in 1997 (p. 127). The EUREGIO itself also identifies as a frontrunner in cross-border policymaking and takes pride in supporting other Euroregions with advice and good practice (EUREGIO, 2015: 35).[13] The EUREGIO is also the oldest Euroregion, and likely the most institutionally developed one. In

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[13] Personal translation: "Daarom stimuleren we de interregionale uitwisseling, op weg naar de realisatie van onze visie: een Europa dat ook door grensoverschrijdende samenwerking verder ineen groeit." (EUREGIO, 2015: 35).

addition, researchers see the EUREGIO as model for other Euroregions, it could be seen as the most generalizable case of all the Euroregions.

Document analysis

The document analysis will involve documents of a sample of four municipalities within the EUREGIO, and the EUREGIO's documents.[14] The municipalities have been selected on their geographic location and population size. The method for selecting several geographic differences is to ensure that the results are generalizable for the whole EUREGIO. The same counts for the selection of different population sizes: the selection is made to ensure that the results are applicable to both the small and large municipalities within the EUREGIO.

On the Dutch side of the EUREGIO, there are two regions: 'de Achterhoek,' and 'Twente'. These regions lie in two different provinces and are thus subject to two different provincial governments. The municipalities selected are the smallest and the biggest ones in these regions.

Table 1: the selected Dutch municipalities

	Small population	*Large population*
Achterhoek	Aalten (population 26 900)	Doetinchem (population 56 900)
Twente	Tubbergen (population 21 400)	Enschede (population 158 000)

This research will not involve a document analysis of German municipalities. Due to a language barrier it would not be possible to guarantee the validity and diligence with what the Dutch municipalities will be analysed with. It is indeed a possibility for future research to also assess German municipalities of the EUREGIO.

The timespan of the document analysis will be the years 2014, 2015 and January until May 2016. These years have been selected because the legal basis of the EUREGIO has changed into a public law basis in 2015. Therefore analysing this year, and the year before and after the change of the legal basis will provide the most complete assessment of the democratic nature of the EUREGIO.

From each of the municipalities the plenary council meetings will be analysed: in its agenda and records documents will be searched for mentions of the EUREGIO. The permanent committees of the municipal councils[15] will undergo a similar analysis. For the EUREGIO, all records of all meetings will be analysed on their mentions (naming the specific municipality) of the researched municipalities, for the same years as the municipalities. Furthermore the statutes of the EUREGIO, and general

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[14] Appendix 1 contains the collected data.

[15] For *Aalten* the committees 'Financien,' 'Samenleving' and 'Ruimtelijke Ordening.' For *Doetinchem* the committees of 'Beeldvormende' and 'Informerende.' For *Tubbergen* the committees 'Samenleving en Bestuur' and the committee 'Economie and Ruimtelijke ordening.' For *Enschede* the committee 'Gemeentelijke Visie'.

census statistics[16] will be used in this research. The framework laid out by Pitkin to assess the concept of representation, and thus the democratic nature of Euroregions, will be employed as follows.

Measuring formalistic representation

The formalistic approach of representation will be analysed through the document analysis. The focus of this part of the research method will lie in the comparison between the rules and the practice of representation in the EUREGIO council.

Authorisation

The main question for the authorisation perspective on representation are the process of gaining power, and the way a representative can execute his or her decisions. More specifically the document analysis will analyse the institutional rules surrounding the selection of representatives, in both the EUREGIO and the sample of municipalities. This is the starting point from which the process by which a representative gains power can be analysed. The document analysis will then look at the recordings of these selections within the municipal councils and committees.

The ways in which a representative can execute his or her decisions will be analysed in the same manner. First the institutional rules of the EUREGIO will be analysed in the document analysis, and this will then be compared with the practice.

Accountability

This section of the research will aim to define the type of accountability that municipal councils use when communicating with their EUREGIO representative. Through document analysis it is possible to find out whether the representative-municipal council accountability relation is more trust-, or sanction based. This thesis will also measure the way and frequency of reporting back to the municipality through the document analysis. This will be done through counting the number of meetings where the EUREGIO was discussed and what this discussion was about.

Measuring descriptive representation

Through the document analysis basic information on the nationality and gender of the EUREGIO representatives can be retrieved. This data will be cross-referenced with the data[17] provided by EUREGIO and the municipalities. The nationality, gender and political affiliation will be investigated in order to get an image of the descriptive make up of the EUREGIO officials.

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[16] Population size, and municipal budgets.

[17] Population size, gender.

Measuring symbolic representation

The symbolic perspective of representation will be investigated through the document analysis by looking at the questions, motions and other reactions given by the municipal councils when discussing the EUREGIO with their EUREGIO representative. This will provide information on the kind of response that municipal councils give to their EUREGIO representative.

Measuring substantive representation

Substantive representation will be measured by comparing the issues that municipalities have requested the help, or the attention of the EUREGIO of. These are the goods that they want their representative to afford them. The EUREGIO records of the EUREGIO meetings will then be analysed for mentions of these goods that the municipalities want their representatives to afford them. The discrepancy between the municipal and EUREGIO records will show degree of substantive representation.

The next chapter will present the results from the document analysis.

NOTE: Originally this research also involved a (bilingual) survey that would have been distributed amongst the EUREGIO council members in order to confirm, or deny the desk-research's results. In addition, it would give insight in the roles that representatives take on. After multiple phone calls and email exchanges with the EUREGIO secretariat, they still did not manage to distribute the survey to any of the EUREGIO council members. The email addresses of the EUREGIO council members were also not publically available; therefore the success of this part of the research depended on the cooperation on the EUREGIO secretariat. Please see appendix 3 for the survey that was to be distributed by the EUREGIO.

The fact that the EUREGIO did not manage or wished to distribute the survey is an indicator of poor transparency: more on the EUREGIO's transparency in the next chapter.

IV: Results

The method discussed in chapter three has provided the results discussed below. These will be presented according to Pitkin's different views of representation discussed in chapter two.

Formalistic representation

Authorisation

The EUREGIO's protocol provides that the municipalities select representatives, but it does not specify the specific selection procedure. Therefore every municipality has their own procedure of candidate selection.[18] Each municipality gets a designated number of seats in the general assembly of the EUREGIO according to their monetary contribution to the EUREGIO. The monetary contribution is based on the population size of the municipality. The general assembly selects 84 EUREGIO council members. Figure 1 visualises this process of representation in the EUREGIO.[19]

Municipalities in Germany and the Netherlands (129 in total) select General Assembly representatives.

EUREGIO General Assembly (oversight body): +/- 190 municipal representatives. Selects the 82 EUREGIO council members

EUREGIO Council (decision-making body): 42 Dutch and 42 German representatives
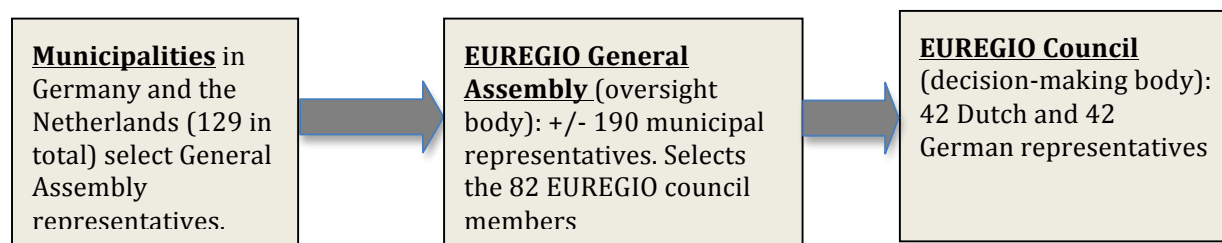
Figure 1:selection of representatives in the EUREGIO

Selection of municipality representatives

In all municipalities the candidate for EUREGIO representation was first selected by a sub-group of the plenary council such as the mayor and aldermen, coalition, or fractions within the municipal council. Afterwards the candidate would be presented to the plenary council who would then agree, and give a mandate to the representative.

The municipality of *Enschede* discussed the appointment of representatives to the EUREGIO in the plenary council. The plenary council approved the appointment of two coalition members, and two opposition members to the EUREGIO general assembly. *Doetinchem* selected a member of both the opposition and coalition, and the mayor as the third representative to the EUREGIO's general assembly. *Tubbergen* selected its mayor and a municipal council member; both are members of the coalition party in the municipality. *Aalten* elected three EUREGIO general assembly members two of who are in the coalition and one of the opposition.

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[18] Article 8 of the EUREGIO protocol.
[19] For the whole organisation chart please see appendix 2.

Doetinchem was the only municipality were a discussion surrounding the selection of candidates took place. The plenary council decided that the mayor should develop a standard selection procedure for EUREGIO general assembly members. The plenary council of *Doetinchem* would like this procedure to be used by all municipalities located in the Achterhoek.[20]

Selection for the EUREGIO Council

The Dutch members of the EUREGIO general assembly divide the 42 Dutch seats in the EUREGIO council according to the population size of the municipalities, if these representatives wish to be selected for the EUREGIO council.[21] For example the municipality of *Tubbergen* was given one extra seat in the EUREGIO council by the municipality of *Borne* because *Tubbergen* could benefit more from the network than *Borne* could.[22]

The German selection procedure, for the 42 German seats, is similar to the Dutch system. However, instead of the municipalities the *Kreisen[23]* select EUREGIO council members based on the population seize of the *Kreise*. This departure from the Dutch selection system is because German municipalities tend to be very small administrative organisations. *Kreisen* contain multiple municipalities, and are an administrative level higher, and thus represent multiple small municipalities in the EUREGIO.

The German and Dutch EUREGIO council members represent themselves through cross-national political parties based on party ideology. The socialists are represented in the PvdA-SPD fraction, the Christian Democrats in the CDA-CDU fraction and so on. The small parties work together in the 'fraction without borders'.

The EUREGIO council is the decision-making body of the EUREGIO. Its members vote on propositions that the secretariat and EUREGIO board than execute. The EUREGIO council members are thus the most important policymakers within the EUREGIO. Through acts they can approve, or reject subsidy proposals, and decide what to lobby for at the provincial, national and EU level.

New legal basis

The enforcement of a representative's decision has changed because of the new legal basis of the EUREGIO in 2016. Before 2016, the German municipalities were the only municipalities that could be official members, as the organisation had a German legal basis. For Dutch municipalities this meant that they had 42 seats in the EUREGIO council but the municipalities were not officially members of the organisation. Therefore they did not have any seats on the EUREGIO's general

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[20] On the 26th of November the council discussed the selection procedure for EUREGIO representatives in general; as they felt that the EUREGIO did not implement enough procedures for the selection of representatives.

[21] Article 12 of the EUREGIO protocol

[22] The municipality of Borne gave the seat to the municipality of Tubbergen, without any interference from the EUREGIO.

[23] Regional municipal administrative regions.

assembly. This changed with the change of the legal basis of the organisation. The organisation moved from a German foundation into a public law organisation based on a bilateral agreement between the Dutch and German governments: this happened with the Treaty of Anholt. As a consequence of this change was the possibility for both German and Dutch municipalities to have equal (voting) rights within the general assembly. In line with the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO the fees due to the EUREGIO have been equalized for all members. At first Dutch municipalities paid a higher contribution than German municipalities.[24]

Accountability

None of the municipalities researched discussed any mechanisms of sanctioning representatives. This implies that there is a trust-based accountability, where representatives ought to take initiatives themselves to be held accountable. In *Doetinchem* the plenary council discussed mechanisms that should be put in place to keep control over the EUREGIO's activities. The 'informative committee argued on the 9th of October 2015 that the EUREGIO does not provide the member municipalities with details of its budget, or records of the meetings.[25] The committee in *Doetinchem* therefore wanted to make agreements with the representatives on how they will report back to the municipality. There is a strong idea of individual accountability, as the EUREGIO as an organisation is not active in reporting back to the municipalities, because the representatives are expected to do so.

EUREGIO protocol's implementation

Representatives are obligated to report back to their municipalities according to the EUREGIO protocol.[26] *Enschede* showed structural attention in its agenda to the EUREGIO's work. As of the 16th of March 2015, every plenary council meeting's agenda addressed a possible update from the mayor on the EUREGIO's work. In most cases, however, there were no updates to be found in the recordings of the plenary council meetings. The standard agenda point for the EUREGIO was already there before the 16th of March 2015 but was scheduled on a monthly basis. The number of times the EUREGIO was discussed in a committee meeting, compared to the plenary council was practically equal.[27] Of the total of 351 municipal meetings researched only about 9% mentioned the EUREGIO in some way. Of the meetings that discussed the EUREGIO, more than half concerned the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO, or the appointment of new EUREGIO representatives. So it seems the EUREGIO protocol, that tries to enhance accountability among representatives, is not adhered to very strictly.

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[24] The contribution per municipality changed from €0,35 per Dutch citizen and €0,25 per German citizen to €0,27 for all municipalities per citizen.

[25] During this research records of the EUREGIO's council meetings were made public for the first time on the EUREGIO's website.

[26] Article 8 sub 10 of the EUREGIO protocol.

[27] Aalten is the only municipality researched that discussed the EUREGIO more in the council than in (smaller) committees. 62% of Aalten's EUREGIO discussion was in the plenary council.

Descriptive representation

The representatives in the general assembly of the EUREGIO are relatively equally distributed amongst the opposition and coalition parties in the municipalities. However all EUREGIO council members, of the researched municipalities, belong to a coalition party. In some cases a mayor was the representative for the municipality in the EUREGIO council as well, but of the investigated municipalities both these mayors were also members of coalition party in their municipality. So it seems opposition parties are not eager, or not in the opportunity, to be selected for the EUREGIO council. On the other hand because there are different coalitions in each municipality representatives from different parties have a seat in the EUREGIO council.

Figure 2: Parties in the EUREGIO council
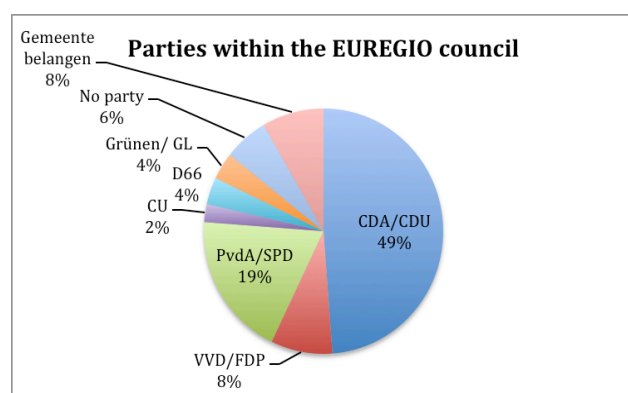
It is fair to say that the EUREGIO council seats are not distributed to one ideology or political party. The dominance of the CDA-CDU fraction can be explained because of the traditionally dominant role of the CDU (on the local level) in Germany (Clemens, 2013: 196).[28]

The number of women represented in the EUREGIO is significantly lower than the number of female council members. 18% of the EUREGIO council members are women. Comparing the German council members and Dutch council members there is a discrepancy visible. Where as 12% of the German EUREGIO council members are female, of the Dutch EUREGIO members 24% is. In this context, EUREGIO council member Coße (SPD/PvdA) has pointed out that there should be attention to "female-power" on the board of the EUREGIO, and the EUREGIO's general assembly and council.[29]

Relatively speaking, the Dutch and German EUREGIO members are equally represented in the EUREGIO's general assembly. Because the general assembly's seats are divided according to population size, the German representatives, who represent 2/3 of the EUREGIO's population,[30] occupy 2/3 of the seats, and vice-versa. However in the EUREGIO council, German citizens are underrepresented because half of the seats have been designated to the German, and half to the Dutch representatives.

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[28] 26 of the 42 German EUREGIO council seats belong to CDU members.

[29] This was discussed in the EUREGIO council meeting on the 27th of November 2015.

[30] The EUREGIO's website states the population distribution on their page 'EUREGIO Regio & Leden.'

Table 2 - The number of EUREGIO council members for each municipality

	Small population	Large population
Achterhoek	Aalten (1 EUREGIO council representative)	Doetinchem (2 EUREGIO council representatives)
Twente	Tubbergen (2 EUREGIO council representatives)	Enschede (1 EUREGIO council representative)

The Dutch EUREGIO council seats are also not distributed according to population. For example *Tubbergen* has two EUREGIO council seats, representing the 21.400 citizens, while *Enschede*, population 158.000, only has one representative in the EUREGIO council.

Symbolic representation

All municipalities have struggled with understanding the EUREGIO's organisational structure as has become clear from several speakers in municipal council meetings.[31] Therefore many municipal council and committee meetings concerned the implications of change in the legal basis of the EUREGIO. None of the researched meetings have discussed the work of the representative in the EUREGIO council. In *Tubbergen* a municipal councilmember even sarcastically congratulated their new EUREGIO representative with his 'heavy task'.[32]

Substantive representation

As opposed to a lack of responsiveness towards their representatives, the municipal councils and committees did discuss what substantive issues they wanted their representatives to discuss in the EUREGIO council meetings. *Tubbergen's* municipal council held multiple discussions surrounding the EUREGIO's benefits for local projects in the tourism sector[33] and the lack of network coverage from both German and Dutch telecom providers. [34] *Aalten* discussed the possibilities for cross-border emergency services,[35] better infrastructure for cross-border traffic[36] and subsidies for the local museum.[37] After the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO these demands for the EUREGIO's help continued. *Enschede* for instance discussed possibilities to increasingly develop the city into the

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[31] On the 7th of July 2015 a council member of Aalten said the EUREGIO is a "shady world" (personal translation 'schimmige wereld'), and Enschede's municipal council meeting (on the 23rd of November 2015) dedicated to the legal changes of the EUREGIO was characterized confusion over the implications the new protocol would have for the organisation.

[32] On the 15th of June 2015 a Tubbergen council member told the following: "Dan feliciteer ik de heer Hannink van harte met deze buitengewoon zware taak" to the newly elected EUREGIO representative. (Personal translation).

[33] Discussed on the 21st of March 2016.

[34] Discussed on the 1st of June 2015.

[35] The council discussed possibilities to increase the capacity of the cross-border police station at the border village of Dinxperlo, and ways to increase the coverage of the ambulance and hospital networks by being included in the coverage of German healthcare infrastructure. This was discussed on the 3rd of February 2015.

[36] The council discussed whether the EUREGIO should be used as a platform to lobby for better infrastructure for cross-border traffic (especially the possibility of increasing the road capacity, or including Aalten in a local railway line were topic of discussion). This was discussed on the 20th of October 2015.

[37] Aalten's local museum is in need of subsidies the option of promoting the museum in the EUREGIO and applying for subsidies from the EUREGIO were discussed on the 28th of October 2014.

commercial centre of the EUREGIO. *Doetinchem*, however, did not discuss any issues that they wanted to have addressed in the EUREGIO council.

In the researched documents of the EUREGIO's council meetings there have not been mentions of the goals that the municipalities wanted to be discussed in the EUREGIO council meeting with the exception of *Enschede*. Apart from *Aalten* and *Enschede* neither *Doetinchem* nor *Tubbergen* was discussed in any way during the council meetings. *Aalten* was discussed concerning the implementation of a bilingual educational track for students at the local high school.[38] *Enschede* was mentioned multiple times discussing the local airport,[39] a cycling path to Germany,[40] increasing a 'techbase' image for companies[41] and a better train connection to Germany.[42] Apart from Enschede, to a certain extent, neither of the other municipalities has been afforded any substantive goods by their representatives.

The next chapter will discuss and analyse the results from this chapter in order to answer the question what the democratic nature of Euroregions is.

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[38] Discussed on the 15th of January 2014.

[39] Discussed on the 27th of June 2014.

[40] Discussed on the 15th of January 2014, and the 20th of March 2015.

[41] Discussed on the 27th of June 2015.

[42] Discussed on the 27th of June 2015.

V: Discussion

To be able to conclude what the democratic nature of Euroregions is this chapter will analyse the results from chapter four. Using the different perspectives of representation the democratic nature of Euroregions will be assessed.

Formalistic representation

Authorisation

The authorisation of EUREGIO general assembly members is neither completely open nor transparent. This has the consequence that selection of EUREGIO representatives can become political leverage, instead of equal opportunities for all participants. Therefore the selection of EUREGIO representatives might not based on willing representatives who are selected for their merits. On the other hand, the plenary municipal council approving the selected representatives gives municipal council members the opportunity to speak out. While this has not happened, it provides councils with the option to initiate a discussion about the merits of potential representatives or make demands on the activities of a representative. This is important to uphold values of transparency and collective deliberation - critical to democratic legitimacy. Generally speaking the selection of EUREGIO general assembly members is superficially democratic.

Selection of EUREGIO council representatives

The selection of EUREGIO council members by the EUREGIO's general assembly can be characterised by a process of good faith. All municipalities have at least one seat in the EUREGIO council. In addition municipalities are aware of the benefits of the EUREGIO and how for some municipalities the benefits are greater than for others. Therefore seats are, like the *Borne-Tubbergen* case, given to those municipalities that can benefit the most from the EUREGIO. It is not necessarily democratic, but an attitude of good faith characterises the selection of the EUREGIO candidates and is also necessary for democratic institutions to work.

Enforcement

The change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO is a significant improvement of the representative's means of enforcement because it has levelled the playing field for the general assembly's representatives. This enables the Dutch representatives to increasingly have a direct saying in the larger policy lines and oversight over the EUREGIO's other bodies. The EUREGIO council is designed to give full authority its representatives, who do not have to compete with other bodies. The representatives are fully able to address the issues raised by their municipalities in the EUREGIO council meetings. The EUREGIO council members can approve subsidy proposals for their

municipalities or lobby for certain projects that help their municipalities by putting it on the EUREGIO council's agenda. The enforcement of the EUREGIO council members is therefore in good order to allow them to fully represent their municipalities.

Accountability

The accountability of representation by the municipal council seems quite low. There are no sanctioning mechanisms in place. There are little possibilities for plenary municipal councils to control the work of their representatives, if their representative does not personally take the initiative to be held accountable. The EUREGIO secretariat does not help to fill the gap in accountability by providing the municipalities with regular records of its activities and meetings. [43]This makes the representation of municipalities in the EUREGIO a fully trust-based accountability that is not properly functioning.

The accountability of EUREGIO representatives leaves much to be desired. The representatives barely take any initiative to provide substantive report of their work within the EUREGIO's council. Representatives seem not to be aware of the linkage they form between the municipality and the EUREGIO. If the accountability of representatives happens in a trust-based accountability system, representatives should take the initiative to consequently report on the EUREGIO's and their own work, which at the moment they do not.

Descriptive representation

The EUREGIO's general assembly is relatively descriptive because the population and political preferences are equally represented in this body. All sides of the political spectrum, nationalities and coalition or opposition are equally represented in the EUREGIO. This way municipalities and citizens are able to connect to the work of the EUREGIO this increases legitimacy.

The EUREGIO council is a whole different matter. In the first place are the Dutch municipalities overrepresented in the council. Secondly none of the council representatives of the municipalities investigated belonged to an opposition party. The only upside for descriptive representation in the EUREGIO council is the diverse number of parties that are similar to the local voting preferences. The EUREGIO council is a political organ; therefore an equal division of seats between the German and Dutch representatives is understandable. However, the selection of the representatives of the EUREGIO council should take their political alignments (opposition vs. coalition) more into account. The lack of municipal opposition party members in the EUREGIO's council curbs the council's critical democratic oversight over the council's representatives and the EUREGIO's activities.

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[43] After calling the EUREGIO to request records of the meetings the press officer said these coincidently would come available that same week.

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Lastly, the number of females represented in both the general assembly and council is significantly lower than the number of female municipal council members, let alone the EUREGIO's population. If the EUREGIO aims to be a democratic institution that represents and serves all her citizens equally the number of females in the EUREGIO council needs to be increased.

Symbolic representation

The EUREGIO's new organisational structure has certainly improved the enforcement that representatives have for their decisions, but is also a difficult process for municipal council members to grasp. This could explain the low responsiveness that municipal councils have towards their representatives. To make the EUREGIO a more democratic institution the municipal councils need to be more responsive towards the work that their representative does. This way the municipalities can demand substantive goods from their representative in the EUREGIO, and keep the representative accountable for his or her actions.

Substantive representation

Except for *Enschede,* none of the sampled municipalities has seen any substantive representation. The municipalities have asked, or pointed out several projects, topics or issues they want to have addressed by the EUREGIO. The representative, however, has not brought these up. This is indicates that the linkage between the representatives' their work and tasks, and the municipalities who have to formulate these tasks is very weak.

The next, and last, chapter aims to provide general ideas with which the EUREGIO could improve its democratic features.

VI: Conclusion

This research has aimed to investigate the democratic nature of Euroregions. Through an extensive desk-research this thesis has come to the conclusion that the EUREGIO can be characterised as a trust-based semi-democratic organisation. The organisation has potential for creating interdependent solutions for cross-border problems. Especially small municipalities could benefit from their membership with the EUREGIO. To increase these benefits its -sometimes- faulty democratic institutions, however, could be improved.

Policy suggestions

Firstly, the formalistic perspective-research on representation has showed that there are flaws in the process of selecting representatives. The EUREGIO has given representatives enough possibilities to enforce their tasks and goals but lacks standard procedures for a representative's selections. By creating a standard selection procedure for EUREGIO general assembly representatives the organisation's transparency would increase.

Secondly, clearer rules and obligations could be formulated by municipalities on representatives on how to report back to their municipalities. This way representatives can be actually be held accountable. This is necessary for a democratic institution, as representatives otherwise become independent agents instead of being bound to their principle (the municipality).

Thirdly, the EUREGIO council needs to increase the number of women and municipal opposition members that have a seat in the council, if it wants to adhere to the principle of descriptive representation. This way female EUREGIO citizens will feel better represented and policies are more critically analysed from a female point of view. The same counts for opposition members who can have critical oversight over other representatives. Both these improvements will increase the EUREGIO's legitimacy and democratic functioning because all those represented are equally represented.

Fourthly, the general responsiveness of both the municipality and the representatives could be improved for the sake of accountability. In this way the benefits EUREGIO membership has for municipalities will increase. The EUREGIO's representatives currently seem to miss opportunities for providing substantive goods to their municipalities and citizens. This decreases the legitimacy of the representatives, and EUREGIO as a whole.

These policy-suggestions have only involved the results that this thesis has collected. Future research could improve these suggestions and make them more generally applicable.

Limitations and future research

This research has been a case study and although it has concerned the most-likely case, there remain large differences between Euroregions. Future Euroregion research therefore needs to focus on other Euroregions in order to reveal similar, or different characteristics from which more generalizable conclusions can be drawn. Additionally, this thesis has not used samples of German municipalities, due to a possible language barrier. Future research could explore possible similarities or differences amongst the German and Dutch municipalities. On top of that, using other research methods (a survey) on the EUREGIO case could build on this thesis' results, for this thesis has not succeeded in breaking down the 'walls' of the EURGIO secretariat.

Much is left un-explored in the world of the democratic nature of Euroregions, as Euroregion research in general still is in its preliminary phase. However this thesis has hopefully provided useful conclusions on the democratic nature of Euroregions, and could be seen as a stepping-stone for future Euroregion research into the democratic nature of Euroregions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: the EUREGIO's organisational chart
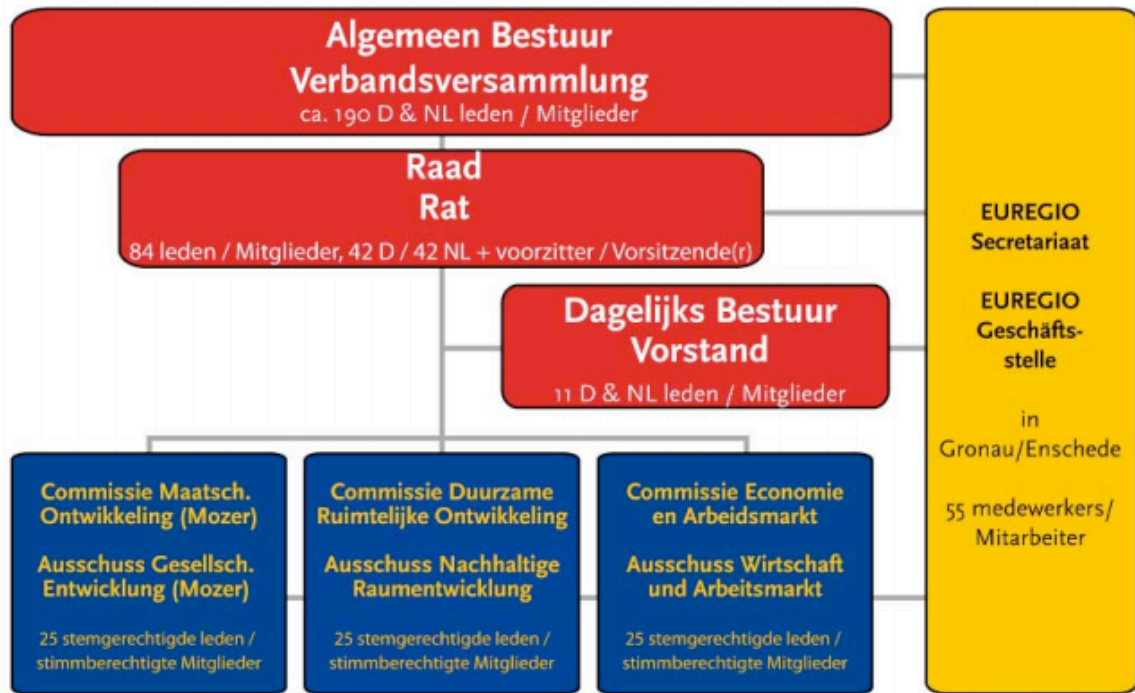
The process of representation selection in the EUREGIO, including a figure, is described on page 16.

Appendix 2: Data

The records of the researched documents that contained mentions of the EUREGIO are below.

Municipality	Date	Type of Meeting	Type of document	Topic
Aalten	15-Mar-16	Plenary Council	Records	The promotion of transport networks towards Germany to counter the region's decline.
Aalten	26-Jan-16	Plenary Council	Records	Use the EUREGIO network to promote cultural/ art exhibitions in the municipality.
Aalten	20-Oct-15	Plenary Council	Records	EUREGIO's transportation/ connection network
Aalten	07-Jul-15	Plenary Council	Records	Discussion on the change of legal basis ends up in a discussion on the use of the EUREGIO network it's a shady world "schimmige wereld"
Aalten	20-May-14	Plenary Council	Agenda	Appointment of 3 delegates to the EUREGIO general assembly
Aalten	01-Jun-15	Committee 'Finance' and 'Society' (same meeting))	Agenda	Document on what the EUREGIO has contributed to the municipality.
Aalten	03-Feb-15	Committee 'Finance'	Records	Possibility of cross-border security policy (police and ambulance services)
Aalten	28-Oct-14	Committee 'Finance'	Records	The possibility to promote the local museum in the EUREGIO network/ region.
Doetinchem	24-Jun-15	'Beeldvormende' committee	Records +Agenda	Postpone selection EUREGIO representatives until after the summer
Doetinchem	11-Jun-15	'Beeldvormende' committee	Agenda	Decrease in due membership fee for the EUREGIO transferred to other intercity network funding
Doetinchem	12-Nov-15	'Beeldvormende' committee	Records + Agenda	Representation in EUREGIO council, what is the EUREGIO, questions on its purpose and benefits.
Doetinchem	09-Oct-15	'Informerende' committee	Records	Representation in the EUREGIO, how the council should maintain oversight over the EUREGIO's activities
Doetinchem	09-Jul-15	Plenary Council	Records + Agenda	Change in fee due to EUREGIO and what to do with the

				surplus
Doetinchem	25-Jun-15	Plenary Council	Records	Change in funding for city networks including the EUREGIO
Doetinchem	26-Nov-15	Plenary Council	Records + Agenda	Electing EUREGIO representatives, and motion to push for more structural EUREGIO representatives selection procedures
Enschede	13-Jan-14	Committee 'Stedelijk'	Records	Possible use of EUREGIO funding to remoderate a monument building about to be demolished
Enschede	02-Jun-14	Plenary Council	Agenda	Electing EUREGIO representatives
Enschede	14-Dec-14	Plenary Council	Records	Working accross the border; motion to create a plan for cross border workers in coordination with the EUERGIO
Enschede	21-Sep-15	Plenary Council	Agenda & Records	Electing a new EUREGIO representative (after resignation from the municipal council for personal reasons)
Enschede	23-Nov-15	Plenary Council	Agenda & Records	Discussion on the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO
Enschede	16-Mar-15	Committee 'Stedelijk'	Agenda	The EUREGIO is a standard agenda point
Enschede	31-Aug-15	Committee 'Stedelijk'	Agenda & Records	Discussion on the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO
Enschede	16-Jun-14	Committee 'Stedelijk'	Agenda	The EUREGIO becomes a monthly set agenda point
Tubbergen	17-Nov-15	Committee 'Samenleving & Bestuur'	Records	Attracting a workforce from across the EUREGIO
Tubbergen	12-Oct-15	Committee 'Samenleving & Bestuur'	Records	The representative says there is not much to say about the EUREGIO's work at the moment
Tubbergen	08-Jun-15	Committee 'Samenleving & Bestuur'	Records	Discussion on the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO
Tubbergen	16-Jun-15	Committee 'Samenleving & Bestuur'	Records	Voting about the change of the legal form of the EUREGIO
Tubbergen	06-Oct-14	Plenary Council	Records	Appointment EUREGIO representative
Tubbergen	15-Jun-15	Plenary Council	Agenda	Discussion on the change of the legal basis of the EUREGIO
Tubbergen	01-Jun-15	Plenary Council	Records	Telecom providers EUREGIO's influence on network coverage

Tubbergen	21-Mar-16	Plenary Council	Records	Subsidy from the EUREGIO to promote local tourism

This table provides the details of total meetings compared to the number of meetings that discussed the EUREGIO (meetings in the table above).

Tubbergen	**Meetings held**	**Meetings EUREGIO was discussed**	**Percentage**
2016	21	1	5%
2015	38	6	16%
2014	23	1	4%
Total:	82	8	10%
Doetinchem			
2016	15	0	0%
2015	43	7	16%
2014	28	0	0%
Total:	86	7	8%
Enschede			
2016	14	0	0%
2015	46	4	9%
2014	37	4	11%
Total:	97	8	8%
Aalten			
2016	19	2	10%
2015	36	4	9%
2014	33	2	6%
Total:	88	8	11%
All municipalities			
2016	69	3	4%
2015	163	21	13%
2014	121	7	6%
Total:	353	31	9%

These are the results from the EUREGIO records.

Date	Municipality mentioned	Type of document	Topic
15-Jan-14	Aalten	Records + meeting papers	Bilingual education project high school students
15-Jan-14	Enschede	Records + meeting papers	Bicycle road to Germany (F35), employment project GreBe, and intercultural project 'People to People'
27-Jun-14	Enschede	Records + meeting papers	Airport Twente
21-Nov-14	*No data*	*No data*	*No data*
20-Mar-15	Enschede	Records + meeting papers	Emergency healthcare for young children, and the bicycle road to Germany (F35)

26-Jun-15	*No data*	*No data*	*No data*
27-Nov-15	Enschede	Records + meeting papers	Attracting (German) companies for technology base Twente in Enschede, improving the train connection to Germany
18-Mar-16	Doetinchem	meeting papers	Presentation on 'learning without borders' by a Doetinchem high school
18-Mar-16	Enschede	meeting papers	Visiting the Hannover Messe (an industrial promotion event) together with the German municipality Gronau, and the FMO and Twente airports

NB: if you have any questions concerning this research' results please do not hesitate to email to d.p.a.jaeger@umail.leidenuniv.nl.

Appendix 3: the Survey

The following survey was created for this research but was not distributed by the EUREGIO. This version presented in this appendix is the Dutch version; if you wish to receive the German version please do not hesitate to contact d.p.a.jaeger@umail.leidenuniv.nl.

Welke gemeente/ waterschap representeert u?

Wat is uw leeftijd?

Wat is uw geslacht?
- ❍ Man
- ❍ Vrouw

Wat is uw nationaliteit?
- ❑ Nederlandse
- ❑ Duitse
- ❑ Andere

Welke talen spreekt u?
- ❑ Nederlands
- ❑ Duits
- ❑ Engels
- ❑ Frans
- ❑ Andere

Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?
- ❍ Middelbaar onderwijs
- ❍ MBO opleiding
- ❍ HBO opleiding
- ❍ Universitaire opleiding

Bent u op dit moment, of ben u ooit lid geweest van de volgende organisaties?

	Op het moment lid	Lid geweest	Nooit lid geweest
Vakbond	❍	❍	❍
Vereniging voor de belangen van ondernemers	❍	❍	❍
Vereniging voor vrouwen belangen	❍	❍	❍
Milieu organisatie	❍	❍	❍
Organisatie voor de belangen van etnische minderheden	❍	❍	❍
Religieuze organisatie	❍	❍	❍

Tot welke beroepsgroep behoort of behoorde u naast uw werkzaamheden als raadslid?

	In het verleden	Op het moment
Beroeps politicus	❑	❑
Ambtenaar	❑	❑
Bedrijfsleven	❑	❑
Onderwijs	❑	❑
Advocatuur/ dokter	❑	❑
Agrarische sector	❑	❑
Student	❑	❑
Gepensioneerde	❑	❑
Huisman/vrouw	❑	❑
Arbeider	❑	❑
Administratief werk	❑	❑
Techniek	❑	❑
Journalist	❑	❑

Hoe bent u geselecteerd als lid van het Algemeen Bestuur van de EUREGIO? (vanuit u gemeente/ waterschap)
- ⭕ Verkozen
- ⭕ Aangewezen

Door wie bent u aangewezen om in algemeen bestuur plaats te nemen?
- ❑ Door mijn partij
- ❑ Door de coalitie in de (gemeente) raad
- ❑ Door de gehele (gemeente) raad
- ❑ Door een commissie binnen de gemeenteraad
- ❑ Anders

Door wie bent u aangewezen?

Door wie bent u verkozen om in algemeen bestuur plaats te nemen?
- ❑ Door mijn partij
- ❑ Door de coalitie in de (gemeente) raad
- ❑ Door de gehele (gemeente) raad
- ❑ Door een commissie binnen de gemeenteraad
- ❑ Anders

Door wie bent u verkozen?

Waren er meerdere binnen uw partij of groep die u vertegenwoordigt) die verkiesbaar waren om lid te worden van het Algemeen Bestuur van de EUREGIO die het niet zijn geworden?
- ⭕ Ja, 1
- ⭕ Ja, 2
- ⭕ Ja, 3
- ⭕ Ja, 4-5
- ⭕ Ja, 6-7
- ⭕ Ja, meer dan 7
- ⭕ Nee

Was er binnen uw eigen partij sprake van verschillende kandidaten?
- ⭕ Ja
- ⭕ Nee

Was er buiten uw eigen partij sprake van verschillende kandidaten?
- ⭕ Ja
- ⭕ Nee

Welke partij(en)?

Waarom bent u EUREGIO raadslid geworden?
- ❑ Onderdeel van mijn takenpakket
- ❑ Uit persoonlijke interesse
- ❑ Uit affiniteit met de doelen van EUREGIO
- ❑ Anders

Hoe belangrijk zijn voor u de volgende doelen van de EUREGIO?

	Het belangrijkst	Erg Belangrijk	Belangrijk	Niet belangrijk	Niet erg belangrijk	Absoluut niet belangrijk
Ruimtelijke ontwikkeling	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Infrastructuur	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Verkeer	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Energie	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Innovatie in het MKB	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Mobiliteit in de arbeidsmarkt	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Verbeteren arbeid kwalificatie	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Toerisme	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Onderwijs (taal)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Onderwijs (algemeen)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sociaal-Culturele Ontmoetingen	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Gezondheidszorg	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Openbare Veiligheid	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
De EU in het klein worden	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

In hoeverre vind u dat de volgende elementen belangrijk zijn voor de EUREGIO?

	Het belangrijkst	Erg Belangrijk	Belangrijk	Niet belangrijk	Niet erg belangrijk	Absoluut niet belangrijk
Dat burgers direct en actief kunnen participeren bij belangrijke EUREGIO beslissingen	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dat burgers hun meningen over belangrijke EUREGIO beslissingen kenbaar kunnen maken bij EUREGIO raadsleden	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dat naast lokale verkiezingen er EUREGIO-raad verkiezingen zouden moeten zijn (hypothetisch)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dat EUREGIO-raad beslissingen de mening van de meerderheid van de EUREGIO burgers moeten representeren	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Dat EUREGIO raadsleden onafhankelijk van de mening van burgers beslissingen in de raad moeten nemen	○	○	○	○	○	○

Hoe vaak komen EUREGIO gerelateerde zaken bij onderstaande gelegenheden aan de orde?

	Zeer vaak	Vaak	Soms	Weinig	Nooit
Het aantal (gemeente) raadsvergaderingen	○	○	○	○	○
Het aantal fractie vergaderingen van uw eigen partij	○	○	○	○	○
Het aantal keer dat u het met burgers over de EUREGIO-raad heeft	○	○	○	○	○
In de media	○	○	○	○	○

Hoe vaak wordt er gebruik gemaakt in uw (gemeente) raad van de volgende mogelijkheden:

	Vaak	Regelmatig	Nauwelijks	Nooit
Mondelinge vragen over het EUREGIO beleid	○	○	○	○
Schriftelijke vragen over het EUREGIO beleid	○	○	○	○
Moties voor ander EUREGIO beleid	○	○	○	○
Amendementen voor ander EUREGIO beleid	○	○	○	○
Agenda punten aandragen voor de EUREGIO-raad vergaderingen	○	○	○	○
Intrekken van het mandaat van het afgevaardigde EUREGIO raadslid	○	○	○	○

Hoe vaak is het intrekken van het mandaat van een afgevaardigd EUREGIO raadslid voorgekomen?
_____ 1

Waarom was het mandaat van een afgevaardigd EUREGIO raadslid ingetrokken?
○ Omwille van algemene gemeentelijke besluiten voor de euregio
○ Omwille van gemeentelijke besluiten omtrent het functioneren van een individueel raadslid
○ Wegens persoonlijke omstandigheden
○ Anders

Waarom was het mandaat van een afgevaardigd EUREGIO raadslid ingetrokken?

Wat is naar uw mening de betrokkenheid van lokale media bij het werk van de EUREGIO?
○ Zeer betrokken
○ Betrokken
○ Weinig betrokken
○ Niet betrokken

Hoe uit u zich in de media over uw werk binnen de EUREGIO-raad?

	Vaak	Regelmatig	Nauwelijks	Nooit
Via regionale Nederlandse/ Duitse kranten en tijdschriften	○	○	○	○
Nationale kranten en tijdschriften	○	○	○	○
Online media	○	○	○	○
Regionale Nederlandse/ Duitse radio en of televisie stations	○	○	○	○
Nationale radio en, of televisie stations	○	○	○	○
Social media (twitter/ Facebook/ etc.)	○	○	○	○

Hoe belangrijk is de representatie van de volgende groepen binnen de EUREGIO voor u?
_____ Nederlanders
_____ Alle EUREGIO inwoners
_____ Etnische minderheden
_____ Vrouwen
_____ Werkenden
_____ De middenklasse
_____ Lokale ondernemers
_____ Boeren
_____ Religieuze instellingen
_____ Mijn eigen gemeente
_____ Minder bedeelde inwoners

Door welke groepen werd u gesteund in de meest recente verkiezingen?

	Veel steun	Steun	Weinig	Geen
De nationale afdeling van de partij	○	○	○	○
De regionale afdeling van de partij	○	○	○	○
De lokale fractie	○	○	○	○
Ondernemers	○	○	○	○
Vakbonden	○	○	○	○
Religieuze instelling	○	○	○	○
Etnische groepen	○	○	○	○
Belangen verenigingen voor vrouwen	○	○	○	○

Hoe ziet u het belang van de volgende taken als EUREGIO raadslid?
_____ Doelen stellen voor de EUREGIO
_____ Het controleren van het EUREGIO bestuur
_____ De EUREGIO inwoners representeren
_____ Mijn (gemeente) raad representeren
_____ Debat omtrent de EUREGIO opgang brengen
_____ Beslissingen van de EUREGIO aan burgers uitleggen
_____ Mijn partij belangen behartigen binnen de EUREGIO

Hoe vaak heeft u (in uw rol als raadslid/ burgemeester) contact met de volgende belangengroepen?

	Aantal keer per dag	Aantal keer per week	Aantal keer per maand	Aantal keer per jaar	Weinig tot nooit
Mijn (gemeente) raad	○	○	○	○	○
Burgemeester en wethouders van mijn gemeente	○	○	○	○	○
De EUREGIO raad	○	○	○	○	○
Het EUREGIO bestuur	○	○	○	○	○
Mijn EUREGIO fractie	○	○	○	○	○
Mijn politieke partij	○	○	○	○	○
Andere politieke partijen	○	○	○	○	○
Journalisten	○	○	○	○	○
Individuele burgers	○	○	○	○	○
Ondernemers	○	○	○	○	○
Nationale politici	○	○	○	○	○
Organisaties voor vrouwen belangen	○	○	○	○	○
Organisaties voor etnische belangen	○	○	○	○	○
Vakbondsleden	○	○	○	○	○

Mocht er een conflict van belangen zijn bij een EUREGIO beslissing tussen uw eigen opvatting, die van uw partij en de opvatting van de burgers, wiens mening is naar uw idee belangrijkste voor uw taak als EUREGIO raadslid?
○   Mijn eigen mening
○   De opvatting van mijn partij
○   De mening van burgers

Zou u de resultaten van dit onderzoek willen ontvangen?
○   Ja
○   Nee

Wat is uw email adres (voor het toesturen van de resultaten)?

Veel dank voor het beantwoorden van deze vragenlijst . Heeft u nog vragen of opmerkingen omtrent deze enquête?