

SUB-NATIONAL MOBILISATION IN THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS

“EUROFITNESS” OF POLISH REGIONAL AUTHORITIES¹

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1. Introduction

The study of regions and regionalism in Europe is undoubtedly very popular today.² Terms as “think globally, act locally” or “The Europe of the Regions” have been in fashion for some time already. European integration seems to have encouraged, not weakened, the view that regions can be an effective level of governance. There is an evidence that modern trends of globalisation, Europeisation and decentralisation influence the functioning of the sub-national actors. As Hellen Wallace states it, “*The modern governance, at least in western Europe, involves efforts to construct policy responses at a multiplicity of levels, from global to the local. The European arena constitutes points of intense interface and competition between levels of government and between public and private actors.*”³ The EU remains “*un objet politique non-identifié*”⁴ in which regional and local authorities struggle for their place and role.

As the result of these trends we can observe so called sub-national mobilisation on European arena. The examination of the phenomenon has been popular for some years and forms part of a growing literature.⁵ The mobilisation of regional and local bodies is usually seen in context of “eurofitness”, this is the awareness and the intention of this level of administration to become, and be, “fit” for Europe. The sub-national governments which “fit” for Europe are those which are able to assess the implication of EU legislation for their individual territory, to react to this and to represent their demands not only to central government but directly to the EU institutions.

There also have been developed and described some theoretical explanations for the phenomena of sub-national mobilisation and regional involvement in European policy-making. The scientists argue over a question whether the sub-national mobilisation can, and under what

¹ This paper presents partial findings from doctoral thesis titled *Forms of sub-national mobilisation in the EU decision-making process*, which was awarded “Jean Monnet” doctoral grant from the European Commission.

² In the article notions: “region”, “regional and local authorities”, “sub-national authorities” are applied interchangeably.

³ Wallace H. (1996). “Politics and Policy in the EU: the Challenge of Governance.”, In: H. Wallace and W. Wallace (Eds.), *Policy-making in the European Union*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

⁴ words of Jacques Delors in: Schmitter P.C. (1998). Examining the Present Euro-Polity with the Help of Past Theories. In G. Marks (eds.) *Governance in the EU*. Sage Publications, London.

⁵ See for example: Ch. Jeffery (Eds.), *The Regional Dimension of the European Union. Towards a Third Level in Europe?* London: Frank Cass; Heichlinger A. (1999) *A Regional Representation in Brussels: The Right Idea for Influencing EU Policy Making?* Current European Issues. European Institute of Public Administration. Maastricht; Benz A., Eberlein B. (1999). „The Europeization of Regional Policies: Patterns of Multi-level Governance”. In *Journal of European Public Policy* 6/2; Marks G., Hooghe L., Blank K. (1996). „European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No 3, p.347; Jones B., Keating M. (1998) (Eds.) *The European Union and the Regions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

conditions, alter the position of central governments in European policy-making. The most known and discussed models are Multi-level Governance and Policy Networks.⁶

In the context of sub-national mobilisation in the EU it is interesting, though challenging and difficult task, to describe Polish regional and local authorities' behaviour in the process of European integration. One can say that it is too early to judge or create any generalisations but in my opinion it is important to study and compare the paths of development of the mobilisation of regions from Poland and Member States. In this way we can formulate some predictions and advice for Polish sub-national authorities which already, in the negotiations phase and at the very beginning of EU membership, should push their interest on the European arena.

2. Europeisation and mobilisation of sub-national authorities

The scope and depth of European policy-making have dramatically increased over the years. Gradually, this what previously was a foreign affair become very 'domesticated'. This is the "Europeisation", defined as process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making and repercussions which the transfer has on the domestic institutions of the Member States.⁷ Undoubtedly, the process reaches also regional and sub-regional authorities of member states which are very much under the influence of the European Union's policies, especially regional policy. The Europeisation creates very strong incentive and challenge for sub-national authorities. The EU, acting in so-called top-down way, infringes on regional and local government in different ways:⁸

- ✓ European regulation imposes unavoidable obligations to implement, enforce and monitor EC legislation;
- ✓ European economic integration creates new opportunities and pressures for regions, for example through the Single European Market. The competition between regions crossover national borders and becomes more and more severe;

⁶ Multi-level governance model says that actors other than member state executives can, under certain conditions, have an independent impact on the institutional design and development of a policy. It refers to multi-layered polity, where there is no centre of accumulated authority but where changing combinations of supranational, national and sub-national governments engage in collaboration. State-centric model states that this is the member state executives who decides what form international co-operation takes, who makes the decision, and under what rules. The states have the ultimate power, including the power to change earlier commitments or even withdraw them altogether. The preferences of nation state executives are here predominant and not those of the Commission or other actors. For an overview see for example: Hooghe L. (1995) *Sub-national mobilisation in the European Union*, EUI Working Paper RSC No. 95/6; Marks G., Hooghe L., Blank K (1996). "European Integration from 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance". In *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 34, No.3; Benz A., Eberlein B. (1999) "The Europeisation of Regional Policies: Patterns of Multi-level Governance". In *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol.6, No.2.

⁷ Börzel T.A.(1999). "Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeization in Germany and Spain" In *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 37, No. 4. pp. 573-96.

⁸ Keating M., Loughlin J. (1997) "Introduction". In Keating M., Loughlin J. *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. Frank Cass; Wright V. (1996) "The national co-ordination of European policy-making. Negotiating the quagmire". In Richardson J. (Eds.) *European Union. Power and Policy-Making*, Routledge.

- ✓ European funds offer potential support for regional economy and regional projects but at the same time regional policy is more and more restricted by the European Commission's state aid control and the system of implementation of the structural funds;
- ✓ The open and opaque character of the EU decision-making process implies never-ending negotiation between transnational, national and regional levels with many consultation and lobbying opportunities.

Thus, sub-national authorities responsible for implementing EU policies and encouraged by the EU institutional system logically have an interest in exercising some form of bottom-up influence over the genesis of these policies. Regional and local authorities mobilise and organise their representation on the European arena. They not only try to influence European policy via central government but more and more strive for direct co-operation with institutional system of the EU. In recent years in the EU there has been a sharp increase in the amount, levels, and different types of "contact" between the EU institutions and regional authorities. Regions look for direct access via general or specific lobbying, via pan-European associations and inter-regional partnerships or via representation offices in Brussels. Moreover, regional and local authorities have their Committee in the EU decision-making process. The provisions of Maastricht Treaty for a new advisory body within the EU institutions – the Committee of Regions - meant that for the first time regional and local authorities were granted the right to be officially consulted on different policy areas.

All these movements mean that the position of sub-national actors in the EU policy-making have indisputably been recalibrated in a significant way. They reach for competencies which internationalise them and give autonomous channels of access to the extra-state arena of European policy-making. As Ch. Jeffery states it: "*Sub-national authorities have begun to wrest away from central state institutions some share of the competence to represent their Member State in the process of EU policy-making, and to mobilise this through rather than beyond the established structures of the Member States. 'Europe', for sub-national authorities, has become domesticated rather more than they have become internationalised.*"⁹

We observe "awakening" of regional authorities. The regional and local authorities mobilise, which means that there are people - politicians and representatives, civil servants - on regional and local level who are aware that it is necessary to formulate and represent their opinion and interest not only on the intrastate arena but also in international dimension. They undertake certain activities, overcome internal conflicts and turn up on the European arena together with national and supranational authorities. Thus sub-national mobilisation means that regional leaders are

⁹ Jeffery Ch. (2000). Sub-National Mobilization and European Integration: Does it Make Any Difference? In *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 38, No. 1, pp.1-23.

enterprising and able to co-operate with their counterparts for representation of their interests on European arena. Important feature of this mobilisation is that it appears in a “bottom-up” manner, it derives form initiative of regional society and regional leaders and is not imposed by higher levels of administration.

Of course these new forms of para-diplomacy occur with diverse intensity and variety in individual regions which stems from the differences between regions in their economic importance, their political skills, administrative infrastructure and ability to mobilise civil society behind the efforts of regional governments.¹⁰

A closer look at the phenomenon of sub-national mobilisation allows to see its structure and changes. The mobilisation changes over time, it develops and spreads in space. We can point at some concrete activities of sub-national authorities which are involved here. Those activities are the symptoms or determinants of mobilisation and can be divided to initial and advanced but with reservation that the two groups overlap.

2.1 The initial mobilisation

The initial mobilisation consists of activities of sub-national authorities aiming at reorganisation of their office and improving the openness of regional authorities to European affairs. It consists of preparation of staff (education, professional training, foreign languages), organising a system of gathering and processing an information about the EU, creating special, separate post for European affairs or simply adding these new European duties to already existing post. Important feature of initial mobilisation is that sub-national authorities are involved in basic forms of international co-operation like twinning links and cross-border associations based on bilateral contracts. For regions this is the most popular and the least risky way to open for international contacts. It can prepare them for more advanced ways of international co-operation, it allows them to enter into first international contacts and to meet partners for more advanced co-operation. Twinning links are basic symptom of para-diplomacy and a factor conducive to participation in EU decision-making process. This kind of international relations lies in the bottom of mobilisation and everything starts form this point.¹¹

The main determinants of initial mobilisation consist of:

¹⁰ The examination of the problem of diversity of mobilisation goes beyond the scope of this article but it is worth to mention that there is an evidence that regions with a high degree of institutional autonomy tend to be more active in inter-regional co-operation, pan-European pressure groups, lobbying, to have their offices in Brussels and to be well-informed about the Community. How much freedom in this actions sub-national authorities have depends very much on the national state structure. See also: Jeffery Ch. (2000). Sub-National Mobilisation and European Integration: Does it Make Any Difference? In *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 38, No. 1, pp.1-23; Börzel T.A.(1999). “Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeization in Germany and Spain” In *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 37, No. 4. pp. 573-96.

¹¹ The character of twinning co-operation has changed lately from contracts of brotherhood and solidarity to more focused on economic goals. There is more emphasise now on practical dimension and goals and instead of “twinning” often are applied terms as “co-operation linking”. For more see: *Six Years in the EU – the consequences for Sweden’s*

- ✓ Positive attitude to European integration;
- ✓ Training and education of staff in European integration;
- ✓ Designation of a person who beside her/his main duties is responsible for European affairs;
- ✓ Subscription to at least one specialist paper or magazine about the EU;
- ✓ Applying for EU funds (especially another than pre-accession funds);
- ✓ Making and developing international relations – twinning links and partnerships;
- ✓ Membership in international networks and organisations.

2.2 Advanced mobilisation

Advanced mobilisation of regional authority means that it creates more formal links with their foreign counterparts and aims at taking part in EU decision-making process. In other words advanced mobilisation embodies forming structures and organisations (networks) which are aimed at representing interests in front of EU institutions. The activities of advanced mobilisation consist of:

- ✓ Reorganisation of an office leading to co-ordination of European affairs (e.g. setting a special post or department for European tasks);
- ✓ Introduction of special procedure for circulation of EU information inside an office;
- ✓ Active participation in international organisations;
- ✓ Direct contacts with EU institutions;
- ✓ Setting a regional office in Brussels;
- ✓ Conscious and organised attempts to influence decisions on EU level.

3. Do Polish regional authorities try to be “fit” for Europe?

The discussion about sub-national mobilisation is important now, when in few months perspective Poland will become a part of the European Union. The adjustments concern not only economy and law but also public administration on regional and local level. Authorities of towns, villages, communities and regions have to be prepared to operate in the EU system. And not only to operate but to actively shape the European structures and processes. In their best interest they should be active, not passive actors of the scene. For Polish regional and local actors this will be a challenge and a chance. They will have to obey the rules and mechanism of European regional policy and, its main instrument, structural funds; they will be exposed to fierce competition with other European regions; they will have a chance to represent their interest using already existing channels of access to the European arena. Is the public administration on regional and local level

prepared for this new situation? Do they reorganise their work in order to be “fit” for Europe? What is their “Eurofitness” like?

The problem of sub-national mobilisation in European context is relatively new in Poland. There is no study in this field as far so the findings of this research can be a contribution to a wider discussion. The main objective of the research was to separate activities which demonstrate the mobilisation (initial and advanced) of Polish regional authorities (PRAs) and to assign each of regions to one of the categories according to an attitude to the European integration – opposite, passive, reactive, proactive.

The information for analysis was collected by means of a questionnaire sent to all 16 regional authorities’ offices (Marshals). 15 PRAs took part in the survey conducted in August and September 2002.¹² The questionnaires were filled in by high-ranking civil servants from departments dealing with European affairs (e.g. regional policy and European assistance, public relations and information, European integration or international relations). The questionnaire consisted of 46 questions divided to 6 thematic groups: A – attitude to European integration process and perception of an impact; B – preparatory works for integration (staff and organisational structures); C – sources of information; D – applying for EU financial assistance; E – forms of international relations; F – opportunity to influence negotiation process and European integration.

On the basis of the survey it was possible to point at main activities of PRAs which are connected with European integration. Each of the regions was examined in the respect of model indicators of mobilisation (initial and advanced). In this way a rank of the regions emerged, presenting them from the least to the most mobilised. Some interesting conclusion can be drawn from this rank.

3.1 Initial mobilisation

✓ Positive attitude to European integration

PRAs declare a very positive attitude towards European integration. All Marshals have already started to prepare for accession and they pay much attention to this task (Tables 1 and 2). PRAs are already under influence of European integration and they expect that after the accession the influence will be much more evident.

****Tab. 1****

Attitude of RAs to the European integration

****Tab. 2****

Importance of preparation to European integration

- ✓ Designation of a person who beside her/his main duties is responsible for European affairs

There is a wide variety of organisational and personal changes in Marshals. All of examined PRAs have undergo some changes but the picture is not uniform. In some places actions are still chaotic or symbolic. Not everywhere the special post dealing with European affairs has been created. In three Marshals the changes were limited to adding the duties to already existing posts – departments of international affairs and departments of regional programming. Yet, most of PRAs have in their organisational structures a post, a unit or a whole department for European tasks (for this reason the number of employees dealing with European tasks varies from 2 to 12). An intention to reorganise and/or develop an organisational structure is declared by 6 PRAs.

- ✓ Training and education of staff in scope of European integration

In majority of PRAs the staff dealing with European matters was specially educated or is being educated and trained in the European subjects (Table 3).

****Table 3****

Employees trained in EU policy within last two years

- ✓ Subscription to a specialist periodical about the EU

13 out 15 Marshals subscribed to at least one professional periodicals concerning EU policy. Most of them purchase regularly three or more titles. The periodicals are only one of many important sources of information for regional authorities (Figure 1). Regional representations in Brussels are the main informer (if a region has one). The PRAs are not interested very much in exchanging information with their counterparts in the country, they are not used to contact with Chambers of Commerce nor domestic regional organisations.

****Figure 1****

Sources of information

- ✓ Applying for EU funds (especially another than pre-accession funds)

The survey shows evidently that the preparation for European integration concentrates on applying for EU funds. In spite of high centralisation of management process, regional authorities are involved in it. The period of eligibility and amount of pre-accession funds (especially Phare Social and Economic Cohesion) varies depending on central decisions so this kind of activity cannot be numbered among symptoms of mobilisation. The poorest regions from eastern part of Poland and

¹² One of PRAs rejected the questionnaire.

border regions were eligible to assistance earlier than the other. The richer regions do not have such an experience in applying for EU funds. Thus eligibility to funds is a factor of sub-national mobilisation but it is not a determinant of mobilisation. Consequently, according to this analysis, more attention was paid to PRAs which tried to apply for financial assistance from smaller European funds and programmes. It turned out that PRAs do not actively look for another programmes than pre-accession funds. Only half of them applied to smaller Community Programmes.

✓ Making and developing international contacts (twinning and partnerships)

All regional offices have an unit or department of international relations and most of them exist from the moment of administrative reform i.e. 1999. International relations of most of PRAs are limited to making and developing partnership relations in the framework of twinning links/partner regions, cross-border co-operation (Euroregions), occasional contacts, membership in international organisations and networks sponsored by EU (Figure 2).

****Figure 2****

International co-operation

✓ Membership in international organisations

PRAs do not eagerly involve in international organisation and networks which is one of the most important determinants of mobilisation. Seven regions belong to Association of European Regions (AER), one to Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions (CPMR). Since Poland is a member of the Council of Europe, PRAs are also members of Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe. PRAs involve in some other organisations and networks such as: Baltic Sea States Subregional Co-operation, Baltic Gate, Neue Hansa Interregio, TECLA etc. 10 PRAs declare the intention to become a member of a network sponsored by EU in two years. PRAs still are very much interested in development of partnerships and have plans to make new relations of this kind with regional authorities from the EU and another parts of the world.

3.2 *Advanced mobilisation*

Some symptoms of advanced mobilisation have been already mentioned above - European tasks are given a high priority in three regions; special department of European integration was set in four PRAs; two regions are exceptionally active participants of paneuropean organisations of regions. It is worth to pay more attention to direct contacts with EU institutions because this is an important determinant of advanced mobilisation. Apparently PRAs have such contacts, mainly with European Commission and Committee of the Regions. Less opportunities for co-operation they

have with the European Parliament and they hardly contact with the Social and Economic Committee (Table 4).

****Table 4****

The direct contacts with EU institutions

The most popular ways of contact with the EU institutions are visits of Marshals' representatives in the European Commission and visits of the EU officers in a region. Rare are contacts on the basis of participation in a working or expert group. PRAs maintain contact mainly with DG Regio and DG Enlargement. It is worth to mention that special Joint Consultative Committee exists in the framework of co-operation of PRAs with the Committee of the Regions.

Setting an office in Brussels seems to be more and more popular task for PRAs in their preparation for EU membership.¹³ At present there are seven Polish regional offices registered in Brussels and all the remaining regions intend to open one soon (Table 5). The offices are so popular despite their expenses, organisational afford and effects still difficult to assess. The first offices were set by the poorest Polish regions - Lubelski and Podlaski.

****Table 5****

Polish regional offices in Brussels

3.3 Rank of mobilisation of PRAs

On the basis of the collected data it was possible to assess mobilisation and formulate a rank of mobilisation of PRAs. The result was then compared with GNP per capita in regions and with length of period of eligibility to Phare assistance. It was assumed that that the richer region the more mobilised it is and that the sooner the region has been eligible to assistance the more mobilised it is. The comparisons did not show any co-relations. Both poor and rich regions are at the beginning and the end of the rank. The same observation relates to the Phare eligibility.

The crucial factor for mobilisation of Polish regions seems to be human capital in PRAs. Human capital here means the presence of people – representatives of regions, regional leaders - who are aware of the necessity to adjust the structures and ways of operating of Marshal's office to the new situation. They are aware of a necessity to represent actively their interests on the European arena. The European mobilisation depends on representatives of a region and their commitment to international relations and participation in European integration. The more the people are educated and conscious of possibilities to act the more active internationally is a region.

¹³ Regional authorities were encouraged to open the office during special conferences organised under the auspices of Polish Parliament: "Promotion of Polish Regions: How to Open and Manage Regional Information Offices" Warsaw, 22 January 2001; "Regional lobbying in the EU", Białystok 19-20 June 2001.

Moreover, on the basis of the rank, PRAs were assigned to one of four groups: opposing, passive, reactive, proactive. Since all PRAs declare to be “EU friendly”, no one was assigned to “opposing” group. The three least mobilised PRAs belong to “passive” group. The majority of PRAs (9) are assigned to “reactive” and the three winners of the rank can be named “proactive”.

4. Conclusions

It is clear that for regions within the EU there are distinct advantages of being represented properly on the European arena. We can say that the same applies now to regional authorities from candidate countries, which within few months will become a part of the European Community. And this will not happen all at once. Together with the growing influence, i.e. Europeisation, regions had their time to prepare for full participation in the system. They will not transform from “outsiders” into “insiders” overnight. This is a complex transition process. To be able to involve effectively in these activities and represent their voice they have to achieve certain level of mobilisation. They have to organise their structures, order their needs and co-operate in networks internally and internationally. Only the background of initial and advanced mobilisation will enable them to join effectively the EU. There is justification for the expense of establishing a presence in Brussels and involve in advanced forms of para-diplomacy.

Some regions in Poland seem to have thought so for quite a long time. Some still have doubts, are afraid or just neglect the problem. All PRAs concentrate on applying for EU funds and international co-operation (twinning links and cross-border co-operation). The most mobilised regions, by engaging in a regular dialogue with the EU institutions, begin to understand the nuances of policy formulations, decision-making and institutional interaction which are shaping the EU policies. Contact with key policy makers in the accession process not only puts them on the map as far as the European integration is concerned, it also allows to monitor and to influence the legislative procedure for the benefit of a region.

No doubt that Polish regions are in the learning process. The reform and decentralisation of administration in 1999 influenced significantly their international activities. It is still difficult to speak of their international policy or strategy, but some of PRAs move on from phase of chaotic actions to more ordered and strategic undertakings in this field.

The research points to conclusions that first - all regional authorities are mobilised but the scope and level of mobilisation varies very much in each region; second - there is no clear-cut evidence that the mobilisation (even in the most mobilised regions) aims at representing interests and influence decisions on the European arena.

On one side there are reasons to think that international activity of regions, beside its elementary manifestations (twinning co-operation and partnership on the basis of bilateral contracts), is not impressive. Most of regional authorities do not follow any special para-diplomatic

strategy and they do not aim at influencing EU decision-making. PRAs assume that they hardly have the possibility to influence negotiation process even on national level. PRAs seem to be unconvinced that membership in a paneuropean organisation of regions is a chance for them to enter the European arena. Perhaps this stance stems from opinion that benefits of such an international involvement are long-term and do not compensate for high membership fee.

On the other side PRAs not only have a positive attitude to Polish accession to the EU but majority of them prepare for the accession. For a long time they have been enthusiasts of international co-operation with their counterparts from EU countries in form of twinning links. More and more they benefit from EU funds, they gather information, train their staff and introduce changes in organisational structures. All these actions belong to determinants of mobilisation. For some regions these actions have high priority and they are advanced in their European mobilisation. These regions usually set an representing office in Brussels.

The results of the survey indicated also that the level of mobilisation varies in each region. The most justified reason for this diversity is a human factor. It seems that mobilisation does not depend on streams of financial assistance from EU nor economic wealth of a region. Without brave and competent leaders who decide to bring a region on the European arena, a region can lag behind and stay the passive participant of European integration process. Such a region operates under influence of European decisions but is not able to take part in shaping them. It means that it should be a priority to educate and to form an active behaviour of people representing regional level. Otherwise the chance to become a part of EU decision-making process could be neglected or even squandered. The PRAs must be aware that only the mobilised regions are able to make use of already existing channels of access to the European decision-making process. The not-mobilised regions will have to conform and just passively follow the other, mobilised regions.

The sooner Polish regions start to prepare themselves for this the better. By having a presence in Brussels¹⁴ or being an active member of international organisation, Polish regional authorities will be able to exchange information and know-how with other regions that have already gone through this process. The reach experience and know-how about sub-national mobilisation in the EU should be carefully studied and converted into good practice in our country.

14 Since the cost of having a base in Brussels could be an overwhelming burden for SNAs from Poland, it is worth mentioning some alternatives and ways of reducing it. One option is to go into partnership with a number of regions from a country (consortium). By paying together for staff and sharing facilities costs can be cut dramatically. However, in some circumstances, such a pan-regional approach can lead to conflict between the partners, often to the detriment of the smaller ones. Another alternative can be to take advantage of services of the Brussels office of an EU partner region. This pattern seems to be most appropriate for Polish regions which usually have advanced contacts and co-operation within the framework of twin-towns or twin-region from EU countries.

Table 1.
Attitude to European integration

	Number of answers
Very positive	8
Positive	7
Negative	0
Very negative	0
No opinion	0
Total	15

Table 2.
Importance of preparation to European integration

	Number of answers
Priority	3
Important	9
Not very important	3
Total	15

Table 3.
Employees trained in EU policy within last two years

	Number of answers
Majority	9
Half	2
Few	2
No data	2

Figure 1. Sources of information about the EU

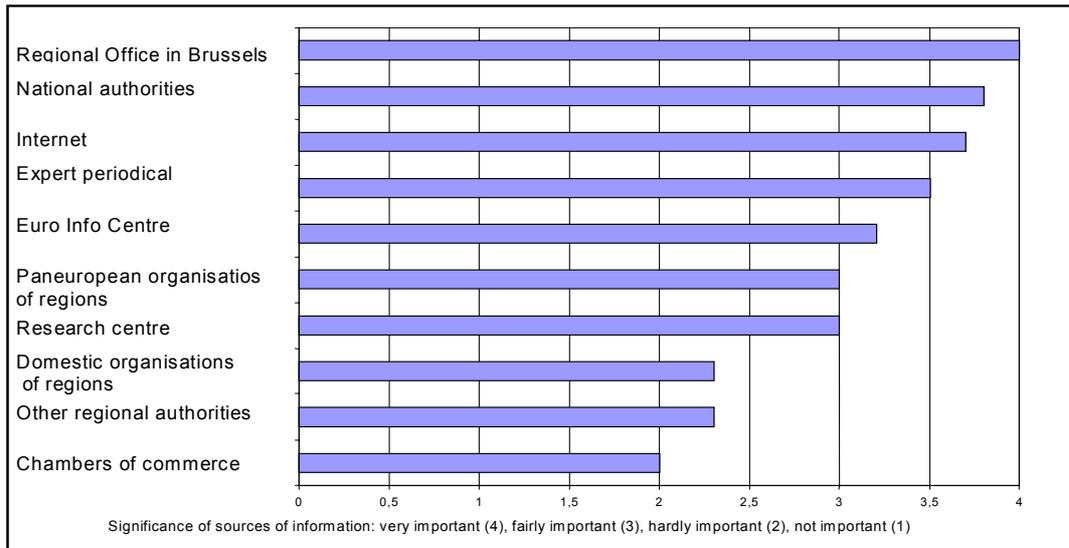


Figure 2. International co-operation

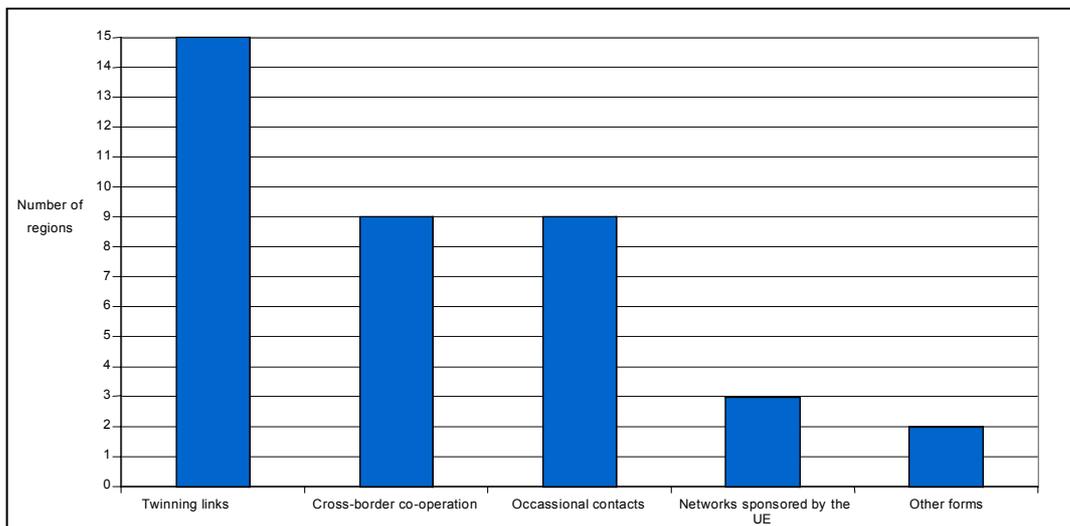


Table 3.

The direct contacts with EU institutions

Institutions of the EU	Seminars and conferences	Formal committees (advisory or expert)	Visits of the EU officers in a region	Visits of regional representatives in the EU institution	Other, private contacts
Number of answers*					
The European Commission	6	1	8	8	1
The Committee of the Regions	8	4	5	5	1
The Economic and Social Committee	1	0	0	3	1
European Parliament	3	1	2	6	0

* It was allowed to choose more than one answer

Table 4.

Polish regional offices in Brussels

Years	Number of offices
1999	2
2000-2001	5
Intention	8